



**COMMUNICATION PATTERNS OF THE JUNAIDIYAH
THARĪQAH (SUFĪ ORDER) IN THE CASE OF THE RELOCATION
OF SHAIKH MUHAMMAD QURTHUBI'S TOMB
IN PALANGKA RAYA**

*Cecep Zakarias El Bilad**

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palangka Raya

Correspondence author's email: cecepelbilad@iain-palangkaraya.ac.id

Siti Zainab

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palangka Raya

Nor Fatmah

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palangka Raya

Syairil Fadli

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palangka Raya

Abstract

Keywords:
communication
pattern;
Junaidiyah
tharīqah;
relocation of
Shaikh
Muhammad
Qurthubi's tomb

The relocation of the grave of Junaidiyah tharīqah's leader, Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi, in Palangka Raya is unique. It was done without dismantling the old grave or moving his body. This unusual step was based on mystical messages from the shaikh's spirit to his chosen students. This research explores why this action was taken and how this mystical doctrine became the community's shared belief. It is a qualitative study, and data were collected through interviews and observation using a phenomenological approach. The research findings are analyzed using theories of group communication, ritual communication, and the psychology of communication. The results show that Junaidiyah tharīqah is a primary group with norms and doctrines that members must follow, determining their communication patterns. These patterns tend to be one-way in matters of teachings and spirituality and multidirectional in administrative and institutional matters. Interpersonal communication is intimate and solid. The research implies that the Junaidiyah tharīqah's mystical doctrines deeply influence their members' communication patterns, fostering unwavering spiritual loyalty and shaping unique interpersonal and group communication dynamics.

Abstrak

Kata kunci:

pola komunikasi;
tarekat Junaidiyah;
relokasi makam
Syaiikh Muhammad
Qurtubi

Pemindahan makam pimpinan *tharīqah* Junaidiyah, di Palangka Raya cukup unik. Pemindahan dilakukan tanpa membongkar makam yang lama dan tanpa memindahkan jenazahnya. Langkah aneh ini didasari oleh beberapa pesan mistis dari ruh Syaikh Qurthubi kepada murid-murid pilihannya. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi mengapa tindakan tersebut dilakukan dan bagaimana doktrin mistik tersebut menjadi kepercayaan bersama para pengikutnya. Jenis penelitian ini kualitatif. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dan observasi, dengan pendekatan fenomenologis. Temuan penelitian dianalisis dengan teori komunikasi kelompok, komunikasi ritual dan psikologi komunikasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *tharīqah* Junaidiyah adalah sebuah kelompok primer. Ia mempunyai norma-norma dan doktrin-doktrin yang harus dianut oleh para anggotanya. Norma dan doktrin tersebut menentukan cara komunikasi mereka yang cenderung satu arah dalam hal ajaran dan spiritualitas, dan multi-arah dalam hal administrasi dan kelembagaan. Komunikasi interpersonal pun berjalan secara intim dan solid. Penelitian ini menunjukkan adanya pengaruh doktrin spiritual pada sikap berkomunikasi para anggotanya. Penelitian ini mengimplikasikan bahwa doktrin mistis *tharīqah* Junaidiyah sangat mempengaruhi pola komunikasi anggotanya, menumbuhkan kesetiaan spiritual yang tak tergoyahkan dan membentuk dinamika komunikasi interpersonal serta kelompok yang unik.

How to cite this (APA 7th Edition):

Bilad, C. Z. E., Zainab, S., Fatmah, N., & Fadli, S. (2024). Communication Patterns Of The Junaidiyah *Tharīqah* (Sufi Order) In The Case Of The Relocation Of Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi's Tomb In Palangka Raya, *Al-Balagh : Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, 9(2), 231 - 266, <https://doi.org/10.22515/albalagh.v9i2.8872>

INTRODUCTION

Background Of The Study

Communication is fundamental in human life. Every person has needs, and he needs the help of others to fulfill them. This is where he has to communicate with those he needs. Dedy Mulyana said humans build a common framework to mutually express their feelings about their situation to produce a mutual understanding. A communication process between humans who need each other is then established. They try to formulate a solution together (Berger, 2014; Ramadanty, 2014).

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Humans tend to group together in achieving their goals. It is naturally formed from birth and constitutes essential in their life (Baber, Upadhyay, & Kaurav, 2018). However, unlike animals, which also have the habit of grouping because of similarities in species or physical appearance, humans cooperate based on norms, beliefs or primordial similarities (Moya, 2022).

Humans have various goals and motivations in making groups, for example, because of their similar hobbies, interests, abilities, gender, work, ideology, beliefs or religions, family relationships and so on (Baber et al., 2018). The motivation behind its formation will determine the nature and functioning of a group. Charles Horton Cooley, an American sociologist, categorized groups into two categories: principal groups and secondary groups (Cooley, 1983).

A primary group is composed of several people who interact or collaborate closely. They develop the same perspective, goals and ideals and work together to achieve them. They merge their self-awareness into one collective whole and develop a sense of mutual concern, sympathy, love, and affection, even though ambition and competition may remain between them, such as in family, children's friendship groups, neighbors, etc. Group communication occurs intensively and intimately (Hero & Sundari, 2020; Rakhmat, 2012).

Meanwhile, the secondary group is impersonal and is usually built based on material goals. Bonds between members are built temporarily until their goals or aspirations are realized. In this type of group, there is no strong emotional bond between them because they do not have a non-material orientation, such as in the business world, trade, vendor-client, labor organizations, and so on. With these characteristics, the communication that occurs tends to be non-personal. The messages exchanged only relate to the interests that brought them together; it doesn't get to the personal aspects. Communication patterns prioritize formality (Asci, Cemberci, Civelek, & Gunel, 2015; Rakhmat, 2012).

One example of a group formed because of spiritual goals and motivations in the Muslim community is *tharîqah*¹ or Sufi order. Linguistically, *tharîqah* comes from the Arabic word "*tharîqah*" which means path or method. In the tradition of Sufism, it is a set of practical methods for Muslims who want to get closer to God. Within *tharîqah*, there

is an intensive interaction between the authoritative shaikh/grand teacher and his students through the stages of a spiritual journey. It consists of three elements: a shaikh, a set of methods of spiritual education, and a certain relationship pattern that binds the students in the group. The three elements can become the unique character of this spiritual group (Hanieh, 2011).

In its development, the interaction between the shaikh and his students grows into a community. Some *tharîqahs* have even grown large and have management branches across regions, countries and even continents, for example, the Qadiriyyah *tharîqah*, Nasyabandiyah, Syadziliyyah, Idrisiyyah, Tijaniyyah, and so on. In Indonesia, 46 *tharîqah* groups have become *mu'tabarrah* (recognized for their scientific validity), according to the decision of JATMAN (*Jam'iyah Ahluth Tharîqah al-Mu'tabarrah an-Nahdliyyah*), an association of the *tharîqah* shaikhs in Indonesia (Bilad, 2022).

Among the *mu'tabarrah* Sufi orders, Junaidiyah *tharîqah* was the youngest to enter Indonesia and was the last to receive the *mu'tabarrah* status. The center for this *tharîqah* is only found in Palangka Raya and several areas in Central and South Kalimantan. It's unknown whether there are other branches of this *tharîqah* in Indonesia or abroad. Shaikh Umar Bajunaid of Mecca himself, the teacher from whom Tuan Guru Kaspul Anwar Firdaus obtained this order, is not known as a figure who spread this order or any other Sufi order. Historical sources regarding the ulama of Mecca in the 12th century refer to him as the imam of Masjid al-Haram and the mufti of the Shafi'iyah school (Jabbar, 1982; Mar'ashli, 2006). The name Junaidiyah, as a Sufi order, is still quite unfamiliar to the academic community.

The name of this Sufi order is attributed to al-Junaid al-Baghdadi, a legendary Sufi of Baghdad in the 9th century. So far, this figure is widely known as the founder of the teachings of Sunni Sufism - as opposed to that of Shi'ism - which became the basis for the development of today's Sufi orders such as Qadiriyyah, Rifa'iyyah, Shadziliyyah, etc (Setiawan, Maulani, & Busro, 2020). Therefore, the existence of a Sufi order, which attributes its name to al-Junaid al-Baghdadi, is unique and has never been heard before. The name of a school in Islamic tradition is usually taken from the founder or figure who laid the foundation for its teachings (Bilad, 2024). This means that the teachings of Junaidiyah *tharîqah* were inherited from that of Junaid al-Baghdadi through the

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genealogical chain of its masters. In each Sufi order, a master will choose among his students to become potential heirs to his leadership, both as the highest leader and in its branches. This goes on from generation to generation, so every *tharîqah* that develops today must have a genealogical chain of teachers connected to its first founder.

The Junaidiyah Sufi order was brought to Indonesia by Shaikh Kaspul Anwar Firdaus after he returned from studying in the Holy Land of Mecca in 1934. He learned it from Shaikh Umar Bajunaid, a Syafi'iyah mufti in Mecca. He then received permission to spread it in his hometown, Alabio, South Kalimantan. This order developed rapidly after the leadership relay was passed on to its chosen student, Muhammad Qurtubi from Amuntai, South Kalimantan, in 1975 (Bilad, 2022). In 1997, Shaikh Qurthubi moved to Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan, along with all his Junaidiyah activities. Five years later, in 2002, he died. However, he did not determine who his successor would be in the leadership of the *tharîqah*. During the leadership vacuum, various activities of the *tharîqah* were coordinated by his wife, N.J. (initial), and his trusted student, A.S. (initial), who was given the will to marry her wife after he died. These two persons later became the central figures in the Junaidiyah *tharîqah*. In 2019, the community had a new leader, KH. Mahran Yasin from Banjarmasin.

A controversy has recently occurred within this Sufi order regarding the transfer of Shaikh Qurthubi's grave to a new location. Initially, his body was buried in front of the mosque of an Islamic boarding school in Palangka Raya. But twenty years later, in 2022, his loyal disciples plan to relocate his body to a new location in Marang Village, about 21 km from downtown. They argued that before passing away, he had ordered that when he died, his body would be buried on his land in Marang Village. However, when he died, the area was still forest and swamp, and there was no good road to reach it. Currently, the road crossing the area is good, the land has been cultivated, and there are some buildings. The Junaidiyah students felt it was time for his body to be moved to this location as his dreams. Moreover, several of his students received a supernatural order from Shaikh Qurthubi's spirit to start an effort to move his grave.

It turned out, however, that this plan was rejected by the leader of the Islamic boarding school and most of the heirs of the landowner. Even when the group of Junaidiyah members arrived to dismantle the grave, they mobilized a crowd to prevent

it. The two groups of people were arguing, and there was almost a physical clash. They consider the Junaidiyah group's plan to move their shaikh's grave unreasonable and not in accordance with the rules of Islamic law. They also had no written evidence of his message before he died (Latifah, 2022). The school leader then took the matter to the Indonesian Ulama Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia/MUI) Palangka Raya City. Not long after that, in March 2022, a fatwa was issued prohibiting the excavation and removal of Shaikh Qurthubi's grave because it was deemed there was no urgent reason.

The Junaidiyah finally abandoned plans to relocate the grave. However, the relocation was still realized about a month after the fatwa was issued. Uniquely, it did not involve dismantling Shaikh Qurthubi's grave and moving his body, but only by burying the coffin, which had been prepared since the first failed attempt, into a grave that had also been previously prepared in Marang village. Since then, they have started visiting him and no longer questioning their master's body in the old grave.

This unusual way of grave relocation was apparently based on a mystical moment. Norjanah, a main figure of the *tharîqah*, said that some day two of her members spiritually encountered the late Shaikh Qurthubi, who ordered that his grave be moved to his land in Marang. Based on this magical order, the next day, the officials of the *tharîqah* rushed to carry out the grave relocation (N.J., personal communication, 2023). Such mystical belief is deeply rooted in the minds of the Junaidiyah disciples. They firmly believe that since his death in 2002, Shaikh Qurthubi from the spiritual world has remained active in monitoring his students and continues to provide supernatural guidance through the main figures in the order (B.S., personal communication, 2023).

In the scientific tradition, the topic of mystical experiences is controversial. It cannot be proven empirically, so most scientists consider such experiences only to be the result of mental illness (Biela, 1993). However, some other scientists view that a mystical experience is subjective in nature, but such a kind of experience can always be found in every religious or spiritual community. Therefore, it is worthy of scientific study. William James, for example, studied it psychologically and found that various mystical experiences had substantial similarities even though their manifestations could vary (James, 1902). Abdulla Galadari, for example, compared the spiritual experiences of two of the world's great religious figures, Muhammad and Siddharta (Galadari, 2019).

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Anyone can obtain this mystical experience at any time, because it is essentially a form of development of a person's self-consciousness in which the human consciousness continues to evolve from time to time (Lachman, 2021). However, such an experience is not easily achieved even by those who have joined a spiritual community. He must seriously follow the guidance of his spiritual teacher and go through the stages well, as we will observe in the community of Junaidiyah *tharîqah*.

Apart from the controversy regarding the veracity of mystical experience, what interests us here is how these mystical belief were communicated so that they become shared among all the Junaidiyah followers. The base of this spiritual community is located in Palangka Raya City. Still, it has a number of branch associations in cities and districts in Central Kalimantan and South Kalimantan, whose distance between one and another can be hundreds of kilometers. The members also have diverse backgrounds in education, economics and social, so there can be many gaps in opinion and response to an issue. However, on the issue of moving Shaikh Qurthubi's grave, they were solid and fully trust their leader's decisions, even though the decisions were difficult for common sense to accept.

Research Gap

A few studies were carried out on this *tharîqah*. Some concern about its history. For example, an article entitled "*Tarekat Junaidiyah: Sejarah, Ajaran dan Perkembangannya [Junaidiyah Tharîqah: History, Doctrines and Its Development]*," which discusses the history of the arrival of the *tharîqah* to Palangka Raya and its development from time to time (Bilad, 2019). Meanwhile, Ipansyah (2017), in his article "*Tarekat Junaidiyah di Kalimantan Selatan [Junaidiyah Tharîqah in South Kalimantan]*," discusses the history of its first arrival in South Kalimantan and its development there.

Khotimah (2005), in her study entitled "*Aktifitas Dakwah Islam Tarekat Junaidi al-Baghdadi di Palangka Raya [Islamic Da'wah Activities of Junaidi al-Baghdadi Tharîqah in Palangka Raya]*" describes the models and strategies for disseminating the teachings of the *tharîqah* in the surrounding environment. Apart from that, Febrianti, Abubakar, & Husni (2019) researched the development of Junaidiyah *tharîqah* and its impact in the field of social and social worship.

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The recent one was by Latifah (2022) examines the case of the relocation of Shaikh Qurthubi's grave in her Bachelor thesis in IAIN Palangka Raya, "*Fatwa MUI Palangka Raya Nomor 1 Tahun 2022 tentang Penggalian dan Pemindahan Makam Alm.Guru KH. Qurthubi [Fatwa of MUI Palangkaraya Number 1 of 2022 concerning the Exhumation and Relocation of the Grave of the Late K.H. Qurthubi].*" She highlights the chronology of the birth of the fatwa forbidding the excavation of the Shaikh's tomb. She on balance presents the arguments of both opposing parties and the MUI's arguments.

None of the previous studies have discussed communication patterns within the Junaidiyah Sufi order regarding the relocation of the tomb of Shaykh Muhammad Qurtubi. Therefore, this research will highlight the aspect that has never been touched upon by the previous researchers, namely how the communication process takes place within that spiritual community so that we will know why they've been united and solid in believing their leaders and the mystical doctrines regarding the case of relocating their Shaikh's grave.

Purposes Of The Study

We want to examine, therefore, how the communication patterns developed in this community are so effective in instilling mystical beliefs in its followers. This *tharîqah* group is one of the few social groups in this era whose existence is supported by irrational beliefs in the figure of a "holy man." The members will do anything willingly as he orders. Religious people In it, of course, there are spiritual doctrines that are taught and shared and influence the communication patterns among its members, placing them as the highest authority of truth. Culture and language are essential in communication (Casadevante, 2023). In a *tharîqah*, the hegemony of truth by the spiritual leader is an inviolable tradition, so the communication patterns within it are definitely centered on that figure. This research will look at the facts that happened to the *tharîqah* Junaidiyah.

Rationale Of The Study

This research is important because it reveals communication patterns within the Junaidiyah Sufi order regarding the relocation of Shaikh Muhammad Qurtubi's grave. The communication patterns revealed by the Junaidiyah Sufi order can be an example

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of managing conflict so as to create a mutually beneficial solution. On the other hand, the communication patterns revealed are also a form of grounding Islamic values that can be put into practice by the community.

Novelty Of The Study

Mystical experiences can be found in every spiritual community in various religious traditions (Lachman, 2021), and many scientists have studied them. An interesting one was conducted by Gilbert (1984) in his paper *the Communication of Mystical Experience*. He explained that mystical experience is super-sensory and spiritual, but once one has finished experiencing it, the impression can be remembered and felt physically. This means there is a neural communication mechanism between the senses and super-sense, which gives rise to awareness of the transcendent dimensions he has just visited. Regarding the possibility of communicating the memory of the mystical experience to other people, the substance of the experience may be impossible to communicate. Still, the purpose, benefits or wisdom can be interpreted according to the level of understanding.

Gäb's (2024) article about Mystical inefficiency: a nonconceptual theory is the most recent study. He explained that it was thought that mystical experiences could only be felt but could not be expressed in words. This claim then received a lot of criticism and denial. Therefore, he offers an additional explanation about the ineffability of mystical experiences. Mystical experiences cannot be conceptualized because they only involve one kind of consciousness and do not fulfill any conditions that allow them to be expressed. When a mystical experience occurs, the subjectivity of one's consciousness disappears, while consciousness is the foundation for building conceptualization.

Different from these two studies and many other studies on a mystical experience, which usually considers it as the moment of meeting with God, this research examines a mystical experience in the form of a spiritual meeting with a deceased figure considered *waliyullâh* (a friend of Allah). According to studies by Bulkeley (2009) and Irfan & Aziz (2021), a mystical experience can take the form of interaction or encounter with symbols such as light or supernatural or purified figures who have died, such as Jesus, Mary, angels, prophets, holy persons, clerics or parents. However, it is different

from Bulkeley's research (2009), which examines mystical dreams; this research concerns the spiritual experience of awake encounters with the deceased holy figure. It is also different from Irfan & Aziz's (2021), which was conducted among the Muslim community in Pakistan, this research was done in the spiritual Muslim community in Indonesia and wants explicitly to show that in such a community, a mystical experience is very personal and subjective, can be easily believed by others and becomes their collective belief.

METHODS

This is field research and is qualitative in nature. The data collected is in the form of verbal expressions, written notes or certain behavior or conditions experienced by research subjects (Taylor, 2014). We employ a phenomenological approach to comprehend the phenomenon under investigation, as evidenced by the phenomenon itself. Our objective is to investigate the subjective conditions, emotions, and assumptions the research informants have encountered. (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This approach allows us to investigate the manner in which the informants interpret and comprehend the mystical concepts that serve as the foundation of the plan to relocate Shaikh Qurthubi's tomb. Their comprehension and interpretation are the factors that motivate them to comply with the directives of their spiritual leader and to unify their backing for the relocation.

The informants in this study consist of five people, namely A.S (67 years old) and N.J (64 years old) as the central figures of the Junaidiyah *tharîqah* after the death of Shaikh Qurthubi; B.S (54 years old) and M.S (62) who experienced the mystical experiences, both of which have been in this *tharîqah* more than 20 years; M.Y (72 years old) the caliph of the *tharîqah*; and four active members who have been more than 3 years in this *tharîqah*, namely A.H.J (60 years old) and M.W (30 years old) in Banjarmasin, M.R (52 years old) and H.S (38 years old) in Palangkaraya.

They are selected according to their position and capacity in the spiritual community (Salim, 2006). Data from these informants was extracted firstly through observation and secondly through interviews. The type of observation used was participant observation and natural observation, so that we could explore the data in

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depth by chatting directly with the informants and immersing ourselves in their routine activities as they were (Hasanah, 2016). In that way, we could observe directly how the communication process took place among them, for example, during the dhikr warid ritual every Wednesday evening.

Meanwhile, the interview was conducted to collect verbal data from the informants. We used the open-ended interview technique, with the questions asked flexibly according to the ongoing conditions so that the data obtained would be detailed and in-depth (Mulyana, 2006). We prepared interview guidelines, but the questions asked were selected and improved according to the condition at the time of the interview and the informant's ability to answer. We agreed on the time and place of the interview with each informant according to their willingness and comfort. It is conducted once or several times to determine the depth of information or opinion required from each informant and adjust it to their capacity and position in the community. The main figures of the congregation were interviewed two or three times, while others were only interviewed once. The important points they extracted include the incident of moving Shaikh Qurthubi's grave, the reasons behind it, the flow of events, the parties involved, the personal views of the community's members, and so on.

The data that was obtained was then processed in four steps. First, we classify the data based on predetermined units or themes; second, textual description describing the experiences obtained by both informants and researchers themselves; The third, structural description is writing down the phenomena experienced and the meanings from their reflections. Next, we described the essence, namely thoroughly describing the meanings and essence of the experiences experienced by the informants (Nuryana, Pawito, & Utari, 2019).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Teachings Of Junaidiyah Tharîqah

The name Junaidiyah is attributed to Imam Junaid Al-Baghdadi, a prominent Sufi figure from Baghdad in the 3rd Hijriyah/9th century AD. In daily conversation, the disciples often call it *tarekat Junaidi* or *tarekat Junaidi al-Baghdadi*. Since 1997, the center of this *tharîqah* movement has moved to Palangka Raya along with the emigration of its

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caliph, Shaikh Qurthubi. His teacher, Tuan Guru Kaspul Anwar Firdaus, was the first person to bring this *tharîqah* to his homeland from his teacher in Mecca, Sayid Umar Bajunaid, who obtained from his teachers up to the Prophet Muhammad. The following is the list of the caliphs (*sanad*) in *tharîqah* Junaidiyah according to *Buku Warid Tharîqah Junaidiyah* (Qurthubi, 1998b):

- 1) KH. Mahran Yasin
- 2) KH. Muhammad Qurthubi bin Khalid
- 3) KH. Kasyful Anwar Firdaus
- 4) As-Sayyid 'Umar Bâjunaidî
- 5) Al-Imâm 'Abdullâh al-'Ulwî
- 6) Al-Imâm al-'Ulwî
- 7) Al-Imâm 'Abdurramân al-'Ulwî
- 8) Al-Imâm 'Abdurrahîm al-'Ulwî
- 9) Al-Imâm Bâjunaidî
- 10) Al-'Ulwî ar-Ridlâ
- 11) Al-Imâm Muḥammad az-Zâhidî } Mystical Pledge (*bai'ah as-Sirr*)
- 12) Al-Imâm al-Qusyairî
- 13) Al-Imâm an-Nashrâbâzî
- 14) Al-Imâm asy-Syibli
- 15) Abî al-Qâsim al-Junaîd al-Baghdâdî
- 16) Abî al-Ḥasan Sarî as-Saqathî
- 17) Abî al-Ḥafîdz Ma'rûf ibn Fairûz al-Karkhî
- 18) Abî Sulaimân Dâwud ibn Nushair ath-Thâ'î

Furthermore, Dâwud ath-Thâ'î received sanad from two paths, namely:

a. 'Alî ibn Abî Thâlib:

- 19) Ḥabîb al-'Ajamî
- 20) Al-Imâm al-Ḥasan al-Bashrî
- 21) Al-Khalîfah al-Imâm 'Alî ibn Abî Thâlib *karramallâhu wajhah*
- 22) Sayyidinâ Muḥammad *shallallâhu 'alaihi wasallam*
- 23) Jibrîl *'alaihissalâm*
- 24) Allâh *'azza wa jalla*

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b. Abî Dzar al-Gifârî:

- 19) Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Alî
- 20) Mâlik ibn ‘Umairah
- 21) Abî Dzar al-Gifârî
- 22) Sayyidinâ Muḥammad *shallallâhu ‘alaihi wasallam*
- 23) Jibrîl ‘*alaihissalâm*
- 24) Allâh ‘*azza wa jalla* (Qurthubi, 1998b)

*Sanad*² is the essential thing in a *tharîqah*. The leader, usually called a Shaikh, murshid or caliph, is recognized for his expertise and authority in teaching the teachings of the *tharîqah*, if he obtains it from a Shaikh who is also expert and authorized. And so on in a chain up to Rasulullah Muhammad PBUH. This also applies to the Junaidiyah Sufi order.

There are several levels of lessons taught to students. Broadly speaking, these levels are divided into three. First, *martabat tharîqah al-ûlâ*. Students are guided to carry out Junaidiyah's teachings at this level and then tested by *riyâdlah* before continuing the journey to the next level. The *riyâdlah* is carried out utilizing solitude (*khalwat*) in a small room for 7 days with predetermined procedures. Second, *martabat tharîqah al-wusthâ*. In this stage, students work on the particular teachings of this level. Once they are deemed sufficient, they are then tested with seclusion. Here, there are three levels of seclusion, namely 3 days, 1 week and half a month. These three stages are carried out separately according to their conditions and opportunities. Third, *martabat tharîqah al-qushwâ wa al-‘ulyâ*. At this stage, the students continue to work on teaching at this level. Once deemed sufficient, they will be ordered to undertake seclusion for ten months according to a predetermined procedure (N.J., personal communication, 2023).

These lessons were taught in stages by the caliph or *badal*³. But before that, the students must first carry out the 'baiat' procession (pledge of allegiance) in front of the caliph or *badal*. After that, they begin to carry out routine practices of *dhikr* below: 1) *Tawajuh muthlaq*⁴, done after five daily prayers; 2) *Talqin dhikr*⁵, done immediately after *Tawajuh muthlaq*; 3) *Wârid*, done every Sunday and Wednesday after completing the Maghrib prayer; carried out in congregation; 4) *Khatam*, done every year on 10

Muharram, 12 Rabiul Awal, 27 Rajab, Nishfu Sya'ban, 17 Ramadhan and 9 Dzulhijah; in the evening after the Isha prayer (Qurthubi, 1998a, 1998b).

Apart from these ritual practices, several norms must be adhered to by every Junaidiyah disciple, which is called *Wajib Tarekat*, namely: 1) *taslīm* (submission, obedience, to the guidance of the master); 2) *tafwīdl* (surrendering oneself completely under the guidance of the master); 3) *tabarri* (freeing oneself from the bonds of lust); *dhikr* (remembering Allah in various circumstances); *ihsān* (presenting Allah in the heart in every worship and good deeds); and *fi'l al-khairāt* (carrying out pious deeds) (Qurthubi, 1998a, 1998b).

There are also five prohibitions to be avoided by Junaidiyah students, which are called *Batal Tarekat*, namely: 1) *i'tirādil ilā asy-shaykh*: refuting or opposing the master; 2) *i'tirādil ilā 'ilmihī*: refuting what the master taught; 3) *ahāna al-muslimīn*: insulting or demeaning other fellow Muslims; 4) *jidāl*: arguing; and 5) *ma'shiyah al-kabāir*: committing major sins (Qurthubi, 1998a, 1998b).

After The Death Of Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi

Before he died in 1975, Guru Kaspul Anwar Firdaus handed over the leadership of the Junadiyah *tharīqah* to his main student, Muhammad Qurthubi. He faced various obstacles in leading the community in his hometown, so he moved to Palangka Raya. In this new city, he has made a lot of progress. Among other things, he was able to buy a relatively large plot of land in Marang village, around 21 KM from the city center. He dreamed of building an Islamic boarding school on that land and also wanted to be buried there when he died. He expressed this desire to his wife Norjanah and his students on many occasions (N.J., personal communication, 2023).

Another significant development was the increasingly widespread dissemination of this *tharīqah*. People came inside and outside the city to learn about the *tharīqah*. To accommodate the initiation of new disciples, he appointed nine *badals* in the city and 10 *badals* in various regions across Central, South, and East Kalimantan (Bilad, 2022; N.J., personal communication, 2023). Another significant milestone is that this *tharīqah* received the status of *mu'tabarrah* from the *Jam'iyah Ahluth Thariqah al-Mu'tabarrah an-Nahdliyyah* (JATMAN), an autonomous body of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) that

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encompasses the leaders of Sufi orders within NU. He was even appointed as a member of *Mustafad Idarah 'Aliyah* for the 2000-2005 period, a prestigious position in the organization filled by only nine senior clerics. These achievements were long sought after, especially in the face of various negative accusations against Shaikh Qurthubi and the Sufism teachings he promoted, which he had contended with since his time in Amuntai.

Shaikh Qurthubi passed away on Friday, July 16, 2002. At that time, his land in Marang was still forest and swamp with no proper road access, so his body could not be buried there as he had hoped. After deliberation between the family and his students, it was agreed to bury his body on land belonging to one of his students, where an Islamic boarding school had already been established.

After the death of Shaikh Qurthubi, the *tharîqah* experienced a leadership vacuum. Some students felt they no longer had a central role model and stopped attending actively, while others sought new spiritual teachers. One senior student even declared himself the next caliph and succeeded in influencing some of the Junaidiyah followers, although his movement later receded and disbanded. Meanwhile, the remaining students stayed loyal to the leading group under the coordination of A.S. and N.J.

Before his death, shaikh Qurthubi had advised A.S., one of his students, to protect the Junaidiyah *tharîqah* and his wife N.J. He delivered this message in front of the other students on one occasion. So, after some time following the Shaikh's passing, A.S. married N.J. (B.S., personal communication, 2023). Both later became central figures in the *tharîqah* during this period of leadership vacuum.

N.J. and A.S. coordinated the *tharîqah's* routine activities and the necessary physical and institutional developments. In 2008, the government paved the access road passing through Shaikh Qurthubi's land in Marang, and a ditch was constructed. Since then, the land has been developed, filled, and equipped with bridges, halls, and several other buildings, including a prayer room. Large events began to be held there, such as the khatam of 27 Rajab and the anniversary of the Shaikh's death.

Mystical Messages

With the land now managed, the main figures of the *tharîqah* began preparing to fulfill their master's dream of being buried there. "Our intention is to move the grave in line with existing developments. Important facilities on this land have been built," said N.J. in an interview. However, the plan was not solely based on the readiness of the location but also on Shaikh Qurthubi's own request. "So, next to the prayer room, prepare my grave; build the dome; when you're done, move me!" said the Shaikh's spirit to A.S. "It is time. It's time for me to be moved!" he said again (A.S., personal communication, 2023). Next to Shaikh Qurthubi's new grave, they also created a memorial for Tuan Guru Kaspul Anwar Firdaus. A.S. confessed that one day, his spirit came and asked him to make a memorial for him (A.S., personal communication, 2023).

Based on this mystical message, a burial area for Shaikh Qurthubi was built next to the prayer room. However, when they attempted to relocate the old grave in November 2021, some of the landowner's heirs objected. They even sought support from the local MUI to issue a fatwa prohibiting the dismantling of the tomb, which was issued in March 2022. This firm resistance ultimately led them to abandon their plan to dismantle the tomb.

Not long after that, Ramadan arrived. On the evening of the 17th, after Tarawih prayers, Junaidiyah's students held a khatam ritual. While reading the Quran together, two participants, B.S. and M.S., suddenly bowed down simultaneously. When they rose from prostration, their eyes were red and there were traces of tears. After the event, they told N.J. and A.S. that the Shaikh's spirit had just appeared to them. "While reading the Quran, suddenly the letters disappeared, were not visible, and my vision turned completely white. At that moment, his spirit appeared very clearly and conveyed the message, 'Tomorrow, take down my coffin, make a tombstone, I'll move myself!' After that, he disappeared, and my vision returned to normal," B.S. recounted (B.S., personal communication, 2023). Both B.S. and M.S. experienced this incident simultaneously, and afterward, they bowed down in gratitude simultaneously. Several other disciples nearby were shocked when the two suddenly bowed down. B.S. shared his experience (B.S., personal communication, 2023):

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"Since we had failed to displace our shaikh's body, we had been confused about what the next step was. If we continued dismantling the tomb, there would definitely be a commotion. The good name of our thariqah was at stake. But if we didn't continue, it meant we have failed to carry out his orders. That's why when his soul visited me that night, I was very happy that finally he himself gave us a way out. That's why as soon as he disappeared, I immediately prostrated myself in gratitude..."

B.S. and M.S. then shared their experience with A.S. and N.J. The next day, A.S. called several disciples to help complete the burial preparations for the earlier coffin to relocate the Shaikh's body from the old grave. The empty coffin was placed in the new grave filled, and the marble gravestone was installed.

For BS, the experience of being met by Father's spirit was real, not a fantasy or a dream. He experienced this when he was conscious. It's just that the meeting occurred in the inner dimension (B.S., personal communication, 2023).

"It wasn't the shaikh's body that came. His body was buried in the ground. What came was his soul. His soul came to meet my soul. So, this is a meeting between souls. That's why when it happened, it seemed like my eyes weren't working. The words of the Koran suddenly disappeared and looked bright white. It was as if I had entered another dimension of the world when his soul appeared. As soon as he disappeared, my eyesight returned to normal."

"For me personally, the experience of meeting my shaikh's soul was very memorable. This means that all this time he cared about the condition of his disciples, even though he has been in another world. He provided us the best solution so that the good name of the Junaidiyah thariqah and his students was maintained. By coming to me, he showed his affection for me. Because, I was the one who always accompanied him while he lived in Palangkaraya until he passed away."

The news of the ongoing construction of Shaikh Qurthubi's tomb without the relocation of his body was promptly disseminated to all Junaidiyah disciples worldwide via their social media platforms. Subsequently, a number of their representatives from other regions visited Palangkaraya to inquire about the chronology from A.S. and N.J. They then relayed the information to their compatriots in their respective towns. Since then, the Junaidiyah pilgrims have begun to visit the new grave of their shaikh. They no longer make pilgrimages or hold events at the location of his old grave. A.H.J, a student from Banjarmasin, admitted (A.H.J., personal communication, 2023):

“I heard the chronology from our colleague who returned from Palangkaraya. I believe 100% that Shaikh Qurthubi's spirit can meet his student. And I also believe his spirit can meet his students who make a pilgrimage to his new tomb, even though his body may remain in the old one. As Muslims, we are obliged to believe that a dead man only moves from this physical world. His body was buried, but his spirit lives on in the spiritual dimension. The prophets and Friends of Allah are not punished in their graves. They are free to carry out activities like when they lived in this world. Until now, Shaikh Qurtubi may still be assigned by Allah to guide Junaidiyah's students from the supernatural world. Even though it is difficult to accept by reason and cannot be proven by the senses, that is the reality in our tharîqah. We practice strengthening our mind's eye, so that we can feel experiences that cannot be seen by the eyes or other five senses, but can only be digested by the mind's eye.”

Internal Patterns Of Communication

The Junaidiyah group's communication pattern regarding relocating their Master's grave can be seen from two sides. On the one hand, they failed to build good communication with related parties in their effort to relocate Shaikh Qurthubi's grave. They couldn't anticipate strong resistance from the heirs, but particular research is needed to analyze the factors of this failure. On the other hand, the communication of the *tharîqah's* leaders with their members can be said to be successful. They succeeded in socializing the mystical reasons behind the relocation of Shaikh Qurthubi's grave to all the members so that none of them doubted or rejected it. This success is greatly supported by the communication patterns that have been developed internally within the community.

The communication pattern developed is greatly influenced by the role of the main actors in it, namely: First, **chalip** (*khalîfah*). The word "caliph" linguistically comes from the Arabic *khalîfah*, which means successor or successor. In Sufism, the term caliph is interpreted as a great teacher who leads a Sufi community like the Junaidiyah order. He occupies the highest position in the organizational hierarchy in terms of knowledge, authority, honor, managerial and so on. This peak status is not based on any physical standards such as appearance, appearance, age, wealth, position or others, but on his superior moral-spiritual qualities.

The caliph, Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi, was the most important actor in the Junaidiyah *tharîqah*. The students communicate with him using their best ethics as a form of respect and obedience (N.J., personal communication, 2023). In their eyes, he was a

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remarkable figure, full of charisma and character. Those who visited him were his students, public figures, officials or local people who just wanted to stay in touch or ask for prayers (B.S., personal communication, 2023).

After he passed away there was a hiatus as caliph for seventeen years. Only in 2019 did a successor to this position emerge, namely KH. Mahran Yasin in Banjarmasin, who was previously a *badal*. During this period of vacuum, the community was looked after by A.S and his wife N.J.

Second, **coordinator**. Some time before his death, Shaikh Qurthubi appointed A.S as caliph, but he refused, with a number of reasons. Nevertheless, he promised him that he would coordinate every activity and development effort of the *tharîqah*. So after the shaikh died, he carried out his promise accompanied by Norjanah who the shaikh had entrusted to him before he died. He called his position 'coordinator'.

At the beginning of 2023, A.S ordered his trusted colleagues to establish the Foundation of Dairuth Thariqoh Junaidi Al-Baghdadi. He and his wife hold the position of Coordinator of the Advisory Council. He has the highest authority in making decisions regarding the affairs of the disciples. Below him is the chairman of the foundation and its management.

In his role as coordinator, he became a central figure in the *tharîqah* alongside his wife Norjanah. He not only coordinated the activities and development of the community, but he also became a kind of "spokesperson" for the spirit of Shaikh Qurthubi. With his ability to communicate magically with his teacher's spirit, A.S often receives magical messages about important things to do, including the process of moving this tomb. He is also a figure who is always asked for advice and direction regarding the problems students face in preaching the *tharîqah* in the regions.

He and his wife visit Junaidiyah students in the regions every few months to provide refreshment, strengthening and guidance (N.J., personal communication, 2023). Even the new caliph still needs to consult with both of them, especially regarding teachings and spirituality (B.S., personal communication, 2023). A.S led the inauguration procession of the caliph himself in 2019 in Banjarmasin after he underwent his *riyadlah*.

Third, **badal**. The word '*badal*' is derived from the Arabic word '*badal*' which means 'substitute'. A student is given the authority to take allegiance (*bai'ah*) to

prospective new students. Currently, more than 18 Junaidiyah *badals* are spread across Palangka Raya, Pangkalan Bun, Sampit, Banjarmasin, and so on in Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan and East Kalimantan. In areas other than Palangka Raya, *badal* have a central role in the spread of the *tharîqah* and coaching the Junaidiyah students. They can directly give allegiance, then provide teaching and spiritual guidance to them. They are also usually the first channel for them to obtain the latest information from the main figures in Palangka Raya.

Fourth, **general chairman of the foundation**. The Dairuth Thariqah Junaidi Al Baghdadi Foundation was officially established on April 12, 2023. Its formation was in response to several developments in their community, such as the increasing number of followers, the building of infrastructure, plans to build an Islamic boarding school, and so on. So, the chairman and administrators of the foundation play an important role in the administrative and organizational affairs of the community, especially the general chairman of the foundation.

Of the four main actors, the central one is the caliph. However, since the death of Shaikh Qurthubi, it has shifted to A.S and N.J. Their central roles even continue to this day. So in the case of the relocation of Shaikh Qurtubi's grave, the communication channels are centered on the two figures. At first, A.S was the one who received a mystical message from Shaikh Qurthubi's spirit to prepare the grave transfer. Then he encouraged the disciples to work together to prepare the necessary things. The plans and reasons for moving their Shaikh's grave were conveyed to the caliph, *badal* and the disciples outside Palangka Raya. It was conveyed verbally when they came to visit Palangka Raya or through their Whatsapp groups (N.J., personal communication, 2023). Likewise, Marang's new tomb construction activities are also posted in WA groups. All the disciples knew that A.S initiated the activities, and none of them questioned the reasons and explanations (B.S., personal communication, 2023).

The centrality of A.S's character was clearly visible at the critical moment when they faced the masses refusing to dismantle the old grave. The Junaidiyah students and figures also present at the location, including the new caliph, were just waiting for his instruction. When he ordered them not to fight and return, they complied without any protest so that the incident would not lead to physical clashes.

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Even during the case on the 17th night of Ramadan, he was also the one who decided to move to implement the mystical message from Shaikh Qurthubi immediately. He immediately contacted nine male students to help. Without asking anything, the nine men immediately moved toward Marang. The news about completing their master's new grave also spread that day to all members in Kalimantan through their WA groups (B.S., personal communication, 2023).

There was no official announcement or statement from AS, N.J or other administrators regarding the resolution of the problem of relocating their master's grave. The disciples who wanted to know what was happening came to Palangka Raya to ask A.S and N.J directly. The answers obtained were then conveyed to their colleagues around. Among those who came were the caliph and his entourage from Banjarmasin (B.S., personal communication, 2023)

Within the Junaidiyah itself, the flow of communication regarding the case of the relocation went smoothly, without any obstacles. The centralized communication pattern developed so far has effectively maintained harmony between the actors and active members of the community. Trust has been built among the members, especially in the figure of coordinator, A.S, and his wife, N.J, even in matters that make no sense.

Analysis Of The Communication Patterns

It was mentioned above that *tharîqah* is an educational institution that teaches practical steps to get closer to God based on Sufism theories. A master and his students are the two main components of this spiritual community. Charles Horton Cooley, an American sociologist, classified human groups into two types: primary and secondary (Cooley, 1983). So, to identify which type of group a *tarekat* belongs to, it is necessary to look at the definition of Sufism itself as the basis for a tarekat community. Zakaria al-Ansari defines Sufism as "the science of cleansing the soul, softening morals and reconstructing human physical and spiritual conditions to achieve eternal happiness in the afterlife" (Îsâ, 2007).

This definition shows that Sufism is a science-rich in spiritual nuances and oriented towards the afterlife. It guides learners to develop superior inner qualities, and noble morals and align their lives with Islamic teachings, thereby promising a happy life

in the hereafter. Thus, it can be concluded that the *ṭarīqah* is a community not formed based on physical, financial, or other material interests; instead, it is established based on metaphysical, non-material interests.

Therefore, of Cooley's two types of groups, the *ṭharīqah* is more suitable to be categorized as a primary group. The reason for this is that the secondary group is an association that is established on the basis of shared material interests and goal-oriented purposes. The emotional bonds between its members are typically temporary, lasting only until the material goal is attained (Cooley, 1983). Meanwhile, a *ṭarīqah* is an association formed on the sincere intention of the followers to achieve spiritual happiness.

The attitude of *taslīm* shown by Junaidiyah's students towards their caliph clearly indicates that their orientation in joining the group was not material but spiritual and otherworldly (*ukhrawī*). *Taslīm* is the submission and obedience of a disciple to every order and direction from the shaikh. If he wants to be successful in achieving his spiritual goals, he must carry out *taslīm*. He must not hesitate, differ in opinion, let alone refute the shaikh's directions. This *taslīm* etiquette is contained in the *wirid*⁶ book distributed to each new student and begins to be conveyed after they take allegiance (Qurthubi, 1998a, 1998b; N.J., personal communication, 2023).

Therefore, Junaidiyah's disciples will voluntarily execute the shaikh's directives in accordance with the concept of *taslīm*. For example, they were instructed to attend a congregational *dhikr* ritual meeting every Wednesday evening, and they do so. Similarly, they participate in annual rituals. They also prepare a variety of equipment and facilities for these activities. As A.H.J admitted when interviewed:

"Yes. We, the disciples, prepare everything. We also clean it up. The dishes we eat are also from our voluntary donations. We also have several annual rituals usually held at our headquarters in Marang. And we all work together to handle it from start to finish. In fact, this annual ritual is attended by hundreds of disciples from various regions." (A.H.J., personal communication, 2023)

An further instance is the completion of an asphalt road construction via Shaikh Qurthubi's land in Marang. They further enhanced the land's condition, culminating in the construction of multiple buildings. All of these endeavors were carried out through their own efforts, in cooperation, and at their own expense, as voluntary joint ventures

(N.J., personal communication, 2023). This exemplifies the sincere adherence of Junaidiyah's disciples to the doctrine of *taslîm*. Their strong desire for safety in life, coupled with their perception of themselves as lacking in religious knowledge, leads them to rely on the guidance and prayers of their shaikh, whom they believe to be a friend of Allah (*waliyullâh*). B.S, one of the students, admitted:

"I used to be naughty. I was just busy playing and working. I was stupid; didn't understand much about religious rules. Thank God, since following him, I have been guided little by little. It's great, if there's anything, i can ask him directly. And when I was confused or complacent, he would reprimand and advise me." (B.S., personal communication, 2023).

From a psychological point of view, the teaching about *taslîm* when conveyed to the disciples, especially the new ones, can provide motive appeals. Motive is an internal force that influences human attitudes and behaviors, driving individuals to accomplish their objectives. Motives can be categorized into two types: biological motives, which pertain to physical needs such as sustenance, hydration, sexual activity, rest, recreation, and bodily comfort; and psychological motives, which relate to psychological needs such as curiosity, achievement, social engagement, and spirituality/transcendence (Maslow, 1954).

In this case, *taslîm* strengthens the transcendental-psychological motives of Junaidiyah's disciples. This means that they join the *tharîqah* because they are driven by their psychological need for guaranteed safety in the afterlife. Even though they are currently still living in this world, as religious people who believe in the existence of eternal life in the afterlife, they need a guarantee of safety and happiness after death. They are very aware that life in this world is only temporary and brief. Therefore, they make this transcendental goal their main priority and, when necessary, can voluntarily put aside their biological motives. They also provided the best service to Shaikh Qurthubi as their guide on the metaphysical journey to achieve salvation, whom they believe to be a Friend of God to guide his students.

The *tharîqah* members' leader is considered more than just an ordinary teacher; he is regarded as a spiritual parent. They refer to Shaikh Qurthubi as "father" and his wife, N.J., as "mother." The Junaidiyah *tharîqah* is perceived not merely as a community but as a ship sailing together through the sea of life towards the eternal hereafter. Members

treat one another as spiritual siblings, referring to each other as "brother." This creates a sense of a large family, united in this world and the afterlife. This sentiment is echoed by disciples such as M.R and M.W.

When someone registers as a member of the Tarekat Junaidiyah, they must undergo a *baiah* procession (oath of allegiance) witnessed by the old members. The procession of allegiance is not only a sacred moment to teach the procedures for *dhikrullâh* (remembrance of Allah) but also a moment to express one's determination to undertake a spiritual journey with the the father Qurthubi and his fellow students (N.J., personal communication, 2023). As previously discussed, the spiritual journey in a *thariqah* is lifelong. Their togetherness as master and disciples does not even end when death comes but continues into life after death in the hereafter. The master will accompany them when they die. In the realm of *barzakh*⁷, they will also be gathered with him and saved from the torment of the grave (A.H.J., personal communication, 2023).

This belief was formed through their intensive social interactions since they pledged allegiance and began participating in the *thariqah*'s ritual activities. According to Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory, a person's behavior can be influenced by their perception and understanding of norms and values. Within a group, an individual understands its norms and values through observation, discussion, and shared experiences (Bandura, 2001a, 2001b; Wood Jr., Hill, & Spilka, 2018). In the context of the Junaidiyah *thariqah*, disciples acquire collectively believed norms and values from their grand teacher, Shaikh Quthubi, or from A.S and N.J after his death, conveyed during regular meetings or particular conversations. They then internalize these norms and values through several stages. First, they engage in *observational learning* and *modeling* by observing the implementation of these norms in the personality and behavior of their master and senior colleagues and then imitating them (Wood Jr. et al., 2018). Interviews with informants suggest that they highly idolize Shaikh Quthubi and strive to keep alive the memory of his habits, struggles, and advice in their daily lives.

Next, they go through a process of *reinforcement* and *self-efficacy*. In reinforcement, their behavior is observed, controlled and directed by their master. When their development is by his guidance, their level of spiritual education is raised step by step, and at a certain level, some disciples may be given any strategic positions in the

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community, for example becoming *badal* (mentors) who can take the pledge of new students. At the same time, the disciples are also given motivation, advice and encouragement by their master and seniors so that they become confident in their abilities (*self-efficacy*) in reaching the spiritual levels of the *tharîqah*'s curriculum. A disciple may also experience a moral dilemma in his spiritual way. Hence, the master and seniors carry out *moral disengagement* by giving him a rationalization of what he has gone through so far so that he becomes more confident and self-confident to continue his spiritual struggle in the *tharîqah*.

This belief also forms the basis for them to build a communication pattern with their teacher and fellow students. They will obey all the instructions and directions of their teacher. As for their fellow students, they always maintain unity and solidarity, especially in difficult situations, as they demonstrated during the conflict over the relocation of Shaikh Qurthubi's grave. They were even ready to die or be injured if there were physical clashes with those opposing the relocation of Shaikh Quthubi's grave—although such physical clashes did not occur.

The communication pattern among fellow students is personal and intimate, as is typical in a primary group (Yanti & Amaliah, 2024). To be able to sympathize, offer guidance, and assist, they know one other's families, identify one another, and share personal issues. They make an effort to be close during every meeting. They keep their flaws from one another, which could weaken their brotherly ties. In the Junaidiyah norms known as *Haram Tarekat*, there is a prohibition against exposing each other's faults and cornering one another. This is because damaging brotherhood would hinder them in achieving their spiritual goals. According to Sendjaja (1993), a group has its system of norms and roles that regulate the flow of communication among its members. Such a pattern of internal communication within the *tharîqah*, which is close, compact, and solid, is woven based on norms such as *Wajib Tarekat*, *Batal Tarekat*, and *Haram Tarekat*. They genuinely use these norms as guidelines for daily behavior, especially with their fellow Junaidiyah students.

From this description, we can observe that the communication pattern within the Junaidiyah community tends to be one-way, especially concerning the teachings of the *tharîqah*. Students and *badals* do not have the authority to develop or revise these

teachings. Instead, they are required to practice *taslīm* (complete submission). This explains why, during the commotion regarding the relocation of their shaikh's grave, none of the students, *badals*, or even the new caliph raised any objections. They accepted every direction and decision from A.S, believing these directives to stem from supernatural instructions from the spirit of Shaikh Qurthubi. None of them doubted, let alone questioned, the mystical reasons behind the relocation. News about the relocation was spread by word of mouth or through posts in their WhatsApp group, and everyone immediately believed and obeyed, exemplifying *sami'nā wa atha'nā* (we hear and we obey). M.R, one of the disciples who is also a lecturer at a university in Palangkaraya, admitted:

"If you follow reason, it's hard to accept. Especially people like me as a lecturer. I'm used to thinking critically. But if we continue to use logic, we will never join the thariqah. So, when you join a thariqah, your logic must be saved first. Because here you will encounter many things that don't make sense. You are accustomed to accepting the limitations of your logic."

"Here we just have to trust our master completely. We come to him to ask for guidance. Our position is just like a sick person who comes to a doctor and entrusts the treatment process to him. So whatever he tells us to do, we will definitely do it. We want to recover, and we cannot treat ourselves as we want to. We need help with the expertise he has." (M.R., personal communication, 2023)

From this confession, we can conclude that they are actually aware that the mystical events are challenging to accept rationally, but they also find it difficult to reject them because the *taslīm* norm must bind them. They must be willing to put aside their rationality and prioritize their spiritual leader's decisions. They do not dare to differ in views with their spiritual leader because there is a severe risk of disrupting the achievement of transcendental-psychological motives.

In the perspective of Sufism, the relationship between a disciple and their spiritual teacher is likened to that between a patient and a doctor. The patient seeks the doctor for their illness, trusting the doctor's ability to cure them by following her advice and therapeutic steps. A Sufi leader is a spiritual doctor for the disciples, diagnosing their spiritual ailments and providing treatment and therapeutic guidance (Īsā, 2007; Vaughan-Lee, 2015). In the context of Thariqah Junaidiyah, the students approached Shaikh Qurthubi fully aware of their spiritual ailments, seeking his guidance with great

hope for inner healing. They understood that their only path to spiritual recovery was to trust him completely and follow his directives with utmost sincerity.

According to Max Weber's theory of Charismatic Authority, a person can possess power over others derived from charisma or extraordinary unique qualities she possesses, which are spiritual, magical, or prominent personality traits. With this charisma, people around her or within her group see her as a figure worthy of emulation or following her commands (Adair-Toteff, 2021; Bradley, 1998). The disciples of the Junaidiyah order greatly admire the personality and wisdom of the Father Qurthubi. They firmly believe in his ability to guide them closer to God and achieve their various spiritual visions. His authority as the leader of Junaidiyah is also clearly derived from the previous leaders of the *ṭarīqah* in an unbroken chain from generation to generation back to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, as recorded in the chain of knowledge (*sanad*) of the *ṭarīqah*. Therefore, obeying all his commands and advice becomes a necessary step for every disciple in their spiritual journey.

The disciples' obedience to the leader of the *ṭarīqah* also affirms their collective identity. According to Henry Tajfel and John Turner's Social Identity Theory, individuals tend to identify with a particular group by adhering to or behaving by the norms and teachings of that group. They adopt and internalize the group's collective identity, merging it with their personal identity (Brown & Capozza, 2020; Tajfel & Turner, 2001). As disciples of the Junaidiyah *ṭarīqah*, they strive to obey their master to strengthen their collective identity. Their obedience to him also represents their commitment to the pledge of allegiance during the initiation ceremony (*bai'ah*). Consequently, they are regarded by their peers as loyal and faithful members.

After Shaikh Qurthubi passed away, the leadership of the Sufi order was entrusted to his trusted disciple, A.S, but only as a coordinator, not as a caliph or leader. One of his charismatic qualities is the ability to communicate supernaturally with the spirit of their great master Shaikh Qurthubi and the spirits of other former Junaidiyah caliphs (A.S., personal communication, 2023; B.S., personal communication, 2023). He serves as a bridge between the great master in the spiritual realm and his disciples in the physical world, a role he still embodies today. Therefore, any guidance related to the teachings

or rituals of the Junaidiyah order is followed by the disciples, who believe that this guidance originates from the great master in the spiritual realm.

However, in matters outside the teachings and practices of the order, the communication turned out to be multidirectional. The caliph or coordinator invites the disciples to contribute ideas and thoughts. For example, regarding the development of the *tharîqah's da'wah* (propagation) strategy, one person was appointed as the chairman of the Dairuth Thariqah Juanaidi al-Baghdadi Foundation. He was given the authority to handle administrative needs and improve community management. Within the foundation, a management structure facilitates the exchange of thoughts, ideas, and creativity (M.R., personal communication, 2023).

During several observations at the *warid* ritual every Wednesday evening, we personally witnessed them using the opportunity after the ritual for discussions regarding technical matters and community development. The chairman chaired the discussion, and the audience actively provided opinions. A.S. and N.J., two main figures in the *tharîqah*, also participated in the discussion. We have also attended their meeting to establish the foundation's branch management and several other meetings. From this we conclude that MR, the foundation chief, actively led the meetings and formulated many new ideas, such as determining the *tharîqah's* logo and flag, the format for the inauguration of foundation administrators, processing waqf documents, and so on.

So, it can be concluded that there are two communication patterns within Junaidiyah: a one-way pattern in matters of the *tharîqah's* teachings and a multi-way pattern in administrative matters and community management. These two types of communication patterns occur quite intensively through several routine rituals. They meet at least once a week for the *wârid* ritual every Wednesday or Sunday night (according to the agreement of each group). Additionally, there are six annual *khotam* rituals, held on 10 Muharram, 12 Rabiul Awal, 27 Rajab, Nishfu Sya'ban, 17 Ramadhan and 9 Dzulhijah; and three *haul* rituals, namely the *haul* of Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi haul, Shaikh Kaspul Anwar Firdaus haul, and Imam Junaid al-Baghdadi.

According to Rothenbuhler (1998), group communication that occurs through rituals is oriented towards performances involving all group members, awakening a transcendental order in their respective souls. Rituals also foster each member's personal

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commitment to the community, build emotional ties, and create a collective awareness that they are part of a large family moving towards the same goals and ideals. The performances observed in the Junaidiyah rituals, such as the recitation of *wirid* (remembrances), praises to Allah, and prayers, involve the active participation of each attendee under the command of an imam. In the *khotam* ritual, the participants' seating positions are arranged so they sit cross-legged closely together, with everyone's knees touching to form a connected circle resembling prayer beads. If a male participant's knees are to connect with a female's, the connectors are male and female members who are *mahram* (unmarriageable kin) or husband and wife. Once the circuit of knees is connected, the recitation of *wirid* begins.

Such a ritual procedure is certainly not just about the physical connection between members; it holds a deeper meaning. Regardless of its actual significance, the practice of connecting knees in this ritual, like a string of prayer beads, serves as a symbol that can evoke certain impressions in the souls of the disciples, such as a sense of spiritual bonding, unity, solidarity, and togetherness. Additionally, it is conducted six times a year regularly. During this rite, members are also required to wear all white, which adds to the sacred atmosphere of the event.

The recitation of the *wirids* in both the *wârid* and *khatam* rituals is performed collectively and in unison, resembling a choir. In certain chants, such as the phrase *lâ ilâha illallâh*, the words *illallâh* and *Allâh* are accompanied by coordinated head movements up and down. The recitation of *wirid* always begins with *tawassul*⁸, which involves reading Al-Fâtihah, with the reward dedicated to the Prophet, his companions, and the scholars in the genealogical chain of the Junaidiyah order. This *tawassul* is believed to be a form of metaphysical communication between the students and the spirits of their deceased masters, all the way up to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. From this, it is evident that the performances in Junaidiyah rituals are imbued with words, movements, and symbols that impart a solemn and sacred impression to the participants, leaving them with a sense of spiritual fulfillment.

At this stage, it is evident that none of the routine meetings within the Junaidiyah *tharîqah* involve the verbal transmission of information or knowledge. Instead, they solely comprise reciting *wirids*, offering praises to Allah, and engaging in prayers

collectively by all present members. Surprisingly, this approach has proven effective in fostering emotional solid bonds among *tharîqah* members and cultivating a collective consciousness of kinship and spiritual brotherhood under the guidance of their spiritual leader, Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi. Concurrently, verbal information exchange and the sharing of ideas typically occur informally before or after ritual activities, as observed in various instances.

Our research is solely focused on observing the communication process among the members of the *tharîqah* and how their beliefs and norms contribute to shaping their intimate, cohesive, and robust communication, particularly concerning the relocation of Shaikh Qurthubi's grave. We do not delve into the theological doctrines that underpin their mystical beliefs regarding activities involving cross-dimensional communication. This transcendental communication is regarded as a typical experience to be shared among them.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

The Junaidiyah *tharîqah* is a community founded on spiritual objectives. Its members are acutely aware of this thus, they reside within the community with genuine spiritual dedication. They are even prepared to make physical and material sacrifices to realize their spiritual aspirations it. This practice renders the *tharîqah* apt for classification as a primary group and profoundly influences the communication dynamics cultivated within the community.

Regarding matters pertaining to the *tharîqah's* teachings, the communication pattern is unidirectional. Each disciple harbors transcendental psychological motivations concerning their future in the afterlife, and they join the *tharîqah* seeking spiritual guidance from its leader. Consequently, they strive to become obedient followers and refrain from dissenting or opposing him. They trust him entirely concerning all aspects related to rituals, teachings, or mystical experiences.

Conversely, in administrative and institutional matters, the communication pattern is multidirectional. As a primary group, this sufi order also fosters the development of personal, cohesive, intimate, and robust communication patterns among

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its members, particularly since they share a common transcendental-psychological motive of securing their well-being in this world and the hereafter. This cohesion facilitates smooth group communication, even in challenging circumstances such as Shaikh Qurthubi's grave relocation.

Suggestion

This intriguing topic still holds many facets that need to be explored in future research. One of these areas concerns the theological doctrine underlying the transcendental communication activities frequently experienced and recounted among Junaidiyah members. Several other aspects warrant further exploration, including power dynamics within the *tharîqah*, which may contribute to disciples readily accepting irrational justifications for the relocation of Shaikh Muhammad Qurtubi's grave; conflict resolution strategies employed by the *tharîqah* leadership in response to opposition against the demolition and relocation of Shaikh Muhammad Qurthubi's grave; and so forth.

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¹ *Tharîqah* (sufi order) is a religious association based on the teachings of Sufism from a figure and led by a murshid. A person usually pays allegiance to a murshid in order to be recognized within the *tharîqah* group (Hanieh, 2011; Nur & Abdurahman, 2017; Trimingham, 1973).

² *Sanad* is scientific genealogy and the chain of connection of dhikr. In the Sufi order, a collection of dhikr readings and knowledge is transmitted from the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, the companions of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, to subsequent generations, to the murshids and members of the Sufi order. In this way, the reading of dhikr and the sciences in the Sufi order can be accounted for (Badaruddin & Mahyuddin, 2021).

³ *Badal* is a substitute, recipient of authority, or a person who is entrusted with certain tasks by the murshid and must then be accountable to the murshid. *Badal* is tasked with assisting the murshid in guiding the followers of the Sufi order (Styawati, 2020).

⁴ *Tawajjuh muthlaq* is the practice of dhikr is taught during the oath of allegiance procession in the Junaidiyah order and must be carried out after every five daily prayers (Bilad, 2019; Qurthubi, 1998a, 1998b).

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- ⁵ *Talqin dhikr* is dhikr which is carried out after completing the five daily prayers which contains reading Al-Fatihah addressed to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, the four caliphs in Islam (Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali), the saints of Allah, the murshids, Imam Junaid Al-Baghdadi, and both parents. Apart from that, *talqin dhikr* also reads the *tahlil* sentence (*lā ilāha illallāh*) at least 33 times, reads *illallāh* at least 33 times, and reads Allah at least 33 times (Bilad, 2019; Qurthubi, 1998a, 1998b).
- ⁶ *Wirid* is a practice in the form of a collection of *dzikr* sentences and verses from the Al-Qur'an which is routinely carried out by followers of the Sufi order (Fajar, 2022).
- ⁷ *Barzakh* is the grave realm that divides the world and the afterlife.
- ⁸ *Tawassul* is sending gifts of Al-Fatihah readings and prayers to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, the founder of the Sufi order, and the murshids of the Sufi order, and praying through the goodness and glory of their position. Apart from being an intermediary for prayer, *tawassul* is also a means of getting closer to Allah SWT by remembering the Prophet Muhammad SAW and the Sufi order teachers (Khairunnisak, 2023; Millie, 2008; Shirazi, 2000).

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