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26. The notion of the liminal is a classical term extensively discussed by anthropologists (Turner 1967; Van Gennep 1961). See Paul Stoller (2008) and Vincent Crapanzano (2003) who engaged with the Akbarian notion of the *barzakh* in Sufi discourse to discuss the liminality and power of “between” in anthropological theory. See Amira Mittermaier (2011) for a more recent discussion of the Akbarian *barzakh* as an “in-between space” (2011, 30) akin to the poetic notion of “Zwischenwelt/In-between world” (Anamika 2023) that I discussed in chapter 4. While the *barzakh* or “in-between space” relates to the Elsewhere, the notion of Zwischenwelt or “in-between world” relates to the here and now, in between multiple worlds.
27. Sufi practices in the South Asian context have the collective memory of a long history of engagement with the Islamic tradition and Sufi modes of expression. In Sufi-Berlin, such collective memory is neither stable nor uniform but dispersed in an assortment of practices, persons, and traditions. The sense of a coherent symbolic cultural self is not evident in Berlin, but the deployment of symbolic and multisensorial imaginaries is at play when Sufism is enacted in practice. What James Newell perceived in the South Asian context as the “symbolic, unseen reality” (2007, 655), however, resonates with the Real in my research context.
28. William Sax and Helene Basu (2015) argued how the interventions of the modern, secular states are invested in discouraging, eliminating, and often criminalizing ritual healing practices. Ritual healing continues because these practices respond to human needs, be it in East and South Asia, the African Continent, or a postsecular city like Berlin. Here, it is not only biomedicine that is systematized but complementary and alternative medicines as well. Sufi practices inhabit and exceed such rigid systematization, navigating ritual healing across the religious/spiritual, aesthetic, and therapeutic fields.
29. See Vincanne Adams, Mona Schrempf, and Sienna Craig (2013) for the entanglements and translation processes between science and religion in Tibetan medicine. See Dorothea Lüddeckens and Monika Schrimpf (2018) for the constitution of medical discourses and practices beyond the Tibetan context.