

Religion GU4314: BHAKTI POETS

Jack Hawley. Spring, 2022. 4 credits

Thursdays 4:10-6:00

Office hours: Fridays 1:00-3:00 or by appointment

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Course description

In this course, students encounter English translations of a group of utterances that have become famous in the course of South Asian history. Bhakti, which is usually translated either “devotion” or “love” and appears in every major Indian vernacular language, designates what one might call the “heart religion” of Hinduism, and it is famous for being far more socially inclusive than might be suggested by that very familiar English-language rubric “the caste system.” Bhakti poets span all major spoken languages of India, and the poets come from both genders (perhaps more) and a variety of classes/castes. B. R. Ambedkar famously rejected

these poets—or at least most of them—for not having accomplished the work of reform he thought cried out for correction, but their remembered voices are among the most vivid in the language of protest over the long haul. Many other topics also find voice in bhakti poetry, and across many languages. Because so many of these poems are heartfelt and close-to-the-bone, they provide a remarkable resource for “reading India.” They reflect just about everything you can think of, and they are performed around us today. Whether these poets may rightly be understood as forming a single “movement” is one question we will ask, but it will be equally to hear these independent and interdependent voices for their individual emphases and sonorities. As a group they are understood to be exemplary—poet-saints—and the boundary between them and Muslim counterparts is porous. One major figure, Kabir, has a Muslim name.

Learning Outcomes

1. Students will have a direct encounter—as direct as translation makes possible—with one of the major strands in the literary and religious life of Hinduism and South Asia. These poets will ask you questions about some of the deep values in your own lives—where is God? how does music matter? what is the difference between poetry and prose? why does one religion prize poetry and another seem to slight it? what does poetry have to do with protest? If thinking through such questions is an outcome, then this is probably Outcome #1, right at the top of the list.

2. A knowledge of the poets we will read and hear contributes directly to what might be called global literacy, since the poets we will study are among the most famous and frequently quoted by Hindus around the world today. If you are Hindu—or have Hindu friends—you’ll be able to enter knowledgably into conversations you might not have had access to before.

3. The study of religion is a global enterprise. These poets are key elements of what Hindus value most about their heritage. You’ll learn, so to speak, to speak their language.

4. This is a course that involves weekly writing assignments. I will read those carefully and comment not just on “content” but on style and grammar. I hope that, as the weeks progress, you will feel even more confident about your abilities as an expository writer than you do now.

5. A culminating course paper is also involved. You’ll submit it first in draft and then as a final product. I’ll provide detailed comments on the draft especially, in the hopes that this will contribute to making the final product just what you would want. Here style, grammar, clear argumentation, and the use of evidence to make an argument are all in play. My hope is that this process will provide an experience that will be valuable for any later project of a similar nature.

Course Requirements

(a) *Reading and class participation.* Students are expected to attend all class sessions, and to participate vigorously in class discussion on the basis of a thoughtful reading (and sometimes seeing and hearing) of the assigned materials.

(b) *Weekly reading responses.* Short weekly postings in response to our common readings must be made to Courseworks in weeks 2-11. These are due at 5:00 p.m. each Wednesday on the discussion board as MSWord attachments—at least 500 words, no specific maximum. Please check spelling and syntax, paginate, and double-space. One weekly posting may be omitted.

(c) *Seminar project proposal.* A project proposal two or three pages in length, plus a draft bibliography, is due by midnight on Friday, February 25. Be sure to talk with me about your idea for a project by February 18, especially if you're unsure what you'd like to concentrate on. A great deal of the syllabus lies ahead. There could well be something beckoning from afar.

(d) *Seminar projects.* The course culminates in a seminar paper (15-20 pages), which can be a consideration of any issue relevant to the course—historical, literary, performance—or art-oriented or comparative. Translation projects are also welcome, provided that they include an analysis of the writer's own translation process. Draft papers must be posted to the discussion board of Courseworks by midnight on Monday April 18 or Monday April 25, depending on when your oral presentation will be (either April 19 or April 26). Final papers are due on Monday, May 2.

Evaluation

- (a) Weekly postings 50%
- (b) Class participation 10%
- (c) Seminar paper 30%
- (d) Oral presentation 10%

Please note: Except in case of serious medical or family emergencies, late work will be downgraded one-half letter grade per day (A > A-, and so forth).

Disabilities and Health Challenges

If you believe you may encounter barriers to the academic environment due to a documented disability or to emerging health challenges, please feel free to contact me and/or the Center for Accessibility Resources & Disability Services (CARDS). Any student with approved academic accommodations is encouraged to contact me during office hours or via email. If you have

questions regarding registering a disability or receiving accommodations for the semester, please contact CARDS at (212) 854-4634, cards@barnard.edu, or learn more at barnard.edu/disabilityservices. CARDS is located in 101 Altschul Hall. The Columbia counterpart is: <https://health.columbia.edu/content/disability-services>.

Stresses

If you find yourself falling behind in class—or think this may be the case—for any reason, please let me know as soon as possible. It's important to recognize and identify the various pressures, burdens, and stressors you may be facing. You're encouraged to make use of the following resources if you think they could be of help:

Barnard Furman Counseling Center: <https://barnard.edu/rosemary-furman-counseling-center>
Columbia Health Services: <https://health.columbia.edu/>
BC/CU Nightline: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/nightline/>

Course Readings—Texts

The following books are core reading for the course—surrounded by others, as the syllabus will show. They are all available electronically, but I continue to believe that there's something special about being able to carry around a print copy and, yes, write all over it. Book Culture is a great place to place an order, helping them stay alive so that someday before long we'll be able to walk in and browse, just as in the days of yore—a yore we lost less than a year ago. All are available through CLIO, and some sections through Courseworks as well.

A. K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (London: Penguin, 1973).

Archana Venkatesan, *The Secret Garland: Antal's Tiruppavai and Nacciyar Tirumoli* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Dilip Chitre, tr., *Says Tuka: Selected Poetry of Tukaram* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1991).

John Stratton Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1987]).

Purushottam Agrawal, *Kabir, Kabir* (Chennai: Westland Books, 2021).

John Stratton Hawley, *The Memory of Love: Surdas Sings to Krishna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Academic Integrity

Approved by the student body in 1912 and updated in 2016, the Barnard College Honor Code states:

We, the students of Barnard College, resolve to uphold the honor of the College by refraining from every form of dishonesty in our academic life. We consider it dishonest to ask for, give, or receive help in examinations or quizzes, to use any papers or books not authorized by the instructor in examinations, or to present oral work or written work which is not entirely our own, unless otherwise approved by the instructor. We consider it dishonest to remove without authorization, alter, or deface library and other academic materials. We pledge to do all that is in our power to create a spirit of honesty and honor for its own sake.

The complexities of technology and of our cognition sometimes make it difficult to determine what constitutes plagiarism (e.g., Did I come up with that idea myself or did I read it somewhere? Was that sentence something I cut and pasted from the internet and intended to reformulate later but never got around to?). Please feel free to consult me if you encounter ambiguous situations in the course of your work.

I gratefully acknowledge that I have plagiarized the paragraphs appearing immediately above from my colleague Beth Berkowitz, who composed them as a part of the syllabus for her course *Introduction to Talmud Text Study* (Spring, 2014).

COURSE SYLLABUS

Key: * Mandatory, available at Book Culture or online through CLIO or Courseworks: Files > Resources.

** Optional. Partially available on Courseworks > Files.

Week 1: 1/20 Introduction

Week 2: 1/27 Bhakti and the bhakti movement

* Andrew Schelling, ed., *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature* (Delhi: Oxford, 2011), pp. xiii-xxvii.

* Arundhathi Subramaniam, ed., *Eating God: A Book of Bhakti Poetry* (Gurgaon: Penguin Books, 2014), pp. ix-xxxv, 1-28.

* J. S. Hawley, Introduction, *A Storm of Songs: India and the Idea of the Bhakti Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 1-58.

* J. S. Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004 [first edition, 1987]), pp. 3-33, 175-182.

Week 3: 2/3 Kannada: Basavanna

Launch: Darian Gordon

* A. K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Siva* (London: Penguin, 1973), especially pp. 11-90.

* "Varieties of Bhakti," in Vinay Dharwadker et al., eds., *The Collected Essays of A. K. Ramanujan* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 324-331.

* Girish Karnad, *Tale-Danda* (Delhi: Ravi Dayal, 1993), entire (91 pp.).

Week 4: 2/10 Kannada: Mahadeviakka and Allama Prabhu

Launch: Kit Akinluyi

Special guest at 5:00: Gil Ben-Herut, University of South Florida

* A. K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Siva*, pp. 111-168 (on Mahadeviakka and Allama Prabhu)

* Gil Ben-Herut, *Siva's Saints: The Origins of Devotion in Kannada according to Harihara's Ragaḷeḷaḷu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), Introduction, pp. 1-39. [Courseworks]

* Gil Ben-Herut and R. V. S. Sundaram, "The Story of Lord Allama Prabhu: A Lover Turned Ascetic" (unpublished manuscript). [Courseworks]

Week 5: 2/17 Tamil: Antal (a.k.a. Andal)

Launch: Roshan Raghunandan

Special guest: Shiv Subramaniam, Columbia University

* Antal's *Tiruppavai* (and some *Nacciyar Tirumoli*) in the month of Margali:

(1) Anita Ratnam's introduction to her month-long program, 2021

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=218045969731206> (about 3-4 minutes long)

(2) One of the "evening" *Nacciyar Tirumoli* verses (NT 14.6, p. 187 in *The Sacred Garland*), danced in the Bharatanatyam style by Sharanya Chandran (about 7 minutes long):

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=312165026667324>

(3) Conversation between Anitya Ratnam and Vasudha Narayanan (49:30-59:27):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0CK6KKqUqno&feature=youtu.be>

<https://www.facebook.com/NARTHAKI/videos/898138391016364/>

* Archana Venkatesan, *The Secret Garland: Antal's Tiruppavai and Nacciyar Tirumoli* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 3-146 (the *Tiruppavai*).

Week 6: 2/24 No class: I have to be away from campus on this day. Instead work on your project proposals. These are due on the Courseworks discussion board by midnight, **Friday, February 25**, as MSWord attachments, double-spaced and paginated.

Week 7: 3/3 Tamil and Marathi: Tirrupan Alvar and Chokhamela

Launch: Yasna Vismale

* Eleanor Zelliott and Rohini Mokashi-Punekar, eds., *Untouchable Saints: An Indian Phenomenon* (Delhi: Manohar, 2005), pp. 1-82, 143-194. The treatment and translation of Tiruppan is by Vasudha Narayanan. Materials on Chokhamela are by Eleanor Zelliott and Rohini Mokashi-Punekar themselves.

* Rohini Mokashi-Punekar, *On the Threshold: Songs of Chokhamela* (Delhi: The Book Review Literary Trust, 2002), entire (71 pp.).

** Mahipati Tarahabadkar, *Bhaktavijaya*, translated by Justin E. Abbott and N. R Godbole as *Stories of Indian Saints* (Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1982 [originally 1933]), the life story of Chokha (vol. 1, pp. 377-384) and concluding words about the *Bhaktavijaya* itself (vol. 2, pp. 376-388).

** Jon Keune, *Shared Devotion, Shared Food: Equality and the Bhakti-Caste Question in Western India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

Week 8: 3/10 Hindi and Panjabi: Bhakti poets in general

Launch: Akshat Gautam

* John Stratton Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004 [first edition, 1987]), pp. 35-88, 119-173 and the notes that pertain to these (pp. 182-1294, 201-216).

[Spring Break, March 14-18. No class.]

Week 9: 3/24 Kabir then

Launch: Anushka Gupta

* Linda Hess and Shukdev Singh, *The Bījak of Kabir* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002 [1983]), entire (131 pp.).

* Irfan Habib, “Kabīr: The Historical Setting,” in Irfan Habib, ed., *Religion in Indian History* (Delhi: Tulika Books, 2007), 142-157.

Week 10: 3/31 Kabir now

Launch: Laura Durante

* Purushottam Agrawal, *Kabir, Kabir* (Chennai: Westland Books, 2021), all but chapter 3 (pp. 101-150). You may read *either* chapter 5 or chapter 6; be sure to show which as you write.

* Prateeti Ballal, Linda Hess, Shabnam Virmani, and Jack Hawley, “Who is Kabir, and Where Should We Look To Find Him?” Bangalore International Centre, July 24, 2020.

<https://bangaloreinternationalcentre.org/event/who-is-kabir-and-where-should-we-look-to->

[find-him/](#) I especially recommend Shabnam Virmani, for our purposes, who speaking about the process of singing—and sings. Her section is minute 39:30-1:13:40.

Week 11: 4/7 Mirabai

Launch: Alexandra Holguin, Beatrice Ibes Nedeljkovic

* Anjali Panjabi and the living Mira: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n2KRteZcWoE>

* Prashant Parvatneni and Shabnam Virmani, directors, *Meera Thaaare Kain Laage Gopal*,” issued March 6, 2022. <https://youtu.be/ogeNtuRsr3k>

* A. J. Alston, *The Devotional Poems of Mīrābāī* (Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass, 1980), entire (138 pp.). This volume is especially helpful in providing a relatively literal translation of Paraśurām Caturvedī’s widely used *Mīrābāī kī Padāvalī* (Allahabad: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1976), which I believe stands behind much of what we read in the Bly/Hirshfield and Schelling translations. This is the only Hindi entry in the bibliography of the book from which Schelling excerpts—his own *For Love of the Dark One: Songs of Mirabai* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993)—in his anthology. Bly and Hirschfield commit themselves to no original.

* Robert Bly and Jane Hirschfield, *Mirabai: Ecstatic Poems* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004): the afterword by J. S. Hawley, pp. 67-95.

NOTE: Your draft papers are due by 11:59 either on Monday 4/18 or Monday 4/25, depending on which of the two Presentation sessions pertains to you. Please deposit them as MS Word email attachments to Coursework > Discussions.

Week 12: 4/14 Surdas

Launch: Efran Ahmad

* John Stratton Hawley, *The Memory of Love: Surdas Sings to Krishna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), introduction, chapters 1-2, 4, 7-8, and relevant notes.

Week 13: 4/21 Student Presentations – 1

Readings: Other seminar papers than your own, available on Courseworks > Discussions. Presentations will consist of a 7-10 minute introduction to your paper project,

highlighting significant emphases and one or two issues you think we should not miss in our discussion of it. Then we have 10-13 minutes for discussion. Twenty each, total.

Darian	Basavanna
Roshan	Tiruppan
Akshat	Nanak
Alexandra	Kabir the rap artist
Anushka	Kathak

Week 14: 4/28 Student Presentations – 2

Laura	Lalded
Yasna	Ravidas
Kit	Kabir in performance
Efran	Tulsidas
Bea	Chaitanya and Mira

Week 15: Your final papers are due on Monday, May 2, at midnight. Please deposit them as email attachments to Coursework > Discussions.

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General Resources

Patton E. Burchett, *A Genealogy of Devotion: Bhakti, Tantra, Yoga, and Sufism in North India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

John Stratton Hawley, *Three Bhakti Voices: Mirabai, Surdas, and Kabir in Their Time and Ours* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2005]).

John Stratton Hawley, Christian Lee Novetzke, and Swapna Sharma, eds., *Bhakti & Power* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019).

Jon Keune, *Shared Devotion, Shared Food: Equality and the Bhakti-Caste Question in Western India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

Shabuddin Iraqi, *Bhakti Movement in Medieval India: Social and Political Perspectives* (Delhi: Manohar, 2009).

Sheldon Pollock, ed., *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

Karen Pechilis Prentiss (a.k.a. Karen Pechilis), *The Embodiment of Bhakti* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

M. Rajagopalachary and K. Damodar Rao, eds., *Bhakti Movement and Literature: Re-forming a Tradition* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2016).

Andrew Schelling, ed., *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature* (Delhi: Oxford, 2011).

Krishna Sharma, *Bhakti and the Bhakti Movement: A New Perspective* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987).

Hamsa Stainton, *Poetry as Prayer in the Sanskrit Hymns of Kashmir* (New York Oxford University Press, 2019).

Arundhathi Subramaniam, ed., *Eating God: A Book of Bhakti Poetry* (Gurgaon: Penguin Ananda, 2014).

Supplementary Readings

Kannada: the Virasaivas

** Julia Leslie, “Understanding Basava: History, Hagiography, and a Modern Kannada Drama,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61:2 (1998), pp. 228-261.

** Kamil Zvelebil, *The Lord of the Meeting Rivers: Devotional Poems of Basavaṇṇa* (Delhi: Motil Banarsidass and Paris: UNESCO, 1984), pp. 1-49: scan for comparisons.

** Sherry Simon, “A. K. Ramanujan: What Happened in the Library,” in Judy Wakabayashi, ed., *Decentering Translation Studies: India and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), pp. 161-174. <http://clio.columbia.edu/catalog/7748556?counter=1>.

** Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 173-184 (a section of the final chapter, called “Translation as Disruption: Post-Structuralism and the Post-Colonial Context”).

** Vinay Dharwadker, “A. K. Ramanujan’s Theory and Practice of Translation,” in Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds., *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 114-140.

** Gil Ben-Herut, *Śiva’s Saints: The Origins of Devotion in Kannada according to Harihara’s Ragaḷegaḷu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

** Gil Ben-Herut, “From Marginal to Canonical: The Afterlife of a Late Medieval Telugu Hagiography in a Kannada Translation” (*Translation Studies*, forthcoming) [Courseworks]

Tamil: the Alvars

** A. K. Ramanujan, *Hymns for the Drowning: Poems for Viṣṇu by Nammālvār* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), Afterword, pp. 103-169.

** Vidya Dehejia, *Antal and Her Path of Love: Poems of a Woman Saint from South India* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), pp. 43-71.

** P. S. Sundaram, *Andal: Piruppavai, Nachiyar Tirumozhi* (Bombay: Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, 1987). Contains in almost all instances the original, the original in transliteration, and an English translation.

** Archana Venkatesan, “A Different Kind of Āṅṅāḷ Story: The *Divyasūricaritam* of Garuḍavāhana Paṅḍita,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 6:3 (2013), pp. 243-296.

** Archana Venkatesan and Crispin Branfoot with Clare Arni, *In Andal’s Garden: Art, Ornament, and Devotion in Srivilliputtur* (Mumbai: The Marg Foundation, 2015).

** Whitney Cox, “Lovesick for a God,” *New York Review of Books*, May 27, 2021. (Review of *Nammālvār, translated from the Tamil by Archana Venkatesan, with a foreword by David Shulman.*)

Marathi: Tukaram

* Dilip Chitre, tr., *Says Tuka: Selected Poetry of Tukaram* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1991), introduction, pp. 1-112, 179-206.

* Arvind Mehrotra, ed., *Arun Kolatkar: Collected Poems in English* (Highgreen, Northumberland: Bloodaxe Books, 2010), pp. 304-326.

** Dilip Chitre et al., *Tukaram.com*. Electronic resource available through CLIO.

** Gail Omvedt and Bharat Patankar, trs., *The Revolutionary Abhangs of Tukaram* [in manuscript].

** Manuscripts relevant to Tukaram in the British Library’s “Endangered Archives” program (<http://eap.bl.uk/database/results.a4d?projID=EAP023>): [EAP023/1/1/249: Tukarama Gatha Abhang 77-996](http://eap.bl.uk/database/results.a4d?projID=EAP023/1/1/249), [EAP023/1/1/267: Abhangas of Tukaram](http://eap.bl.uk/database/results.a4d?projID=EAP023/1/1/267), [EAP023/1/1/27: Abhanga-Pade Ekanath Tukarami \[1931\]](http://eap.bl.uk/database/results.a4d?projID=EAP023/1/1/27), [EAP023/1/1/9: Bhaktalilamrita \(tukaram Charitra\) \[Sake 1768\]](http://eap.bl.uk/database/results.a4d?projID=EAP023/1/1/9).

North India: In general

** Tony K. Stewart, “In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim-Hindu Encounter through Translation Theory,” *History of Religions* 40:3 (2001), pp. 260-287. Also: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3176699>.

** Monika Horstmann, *Bhakti and Yoga: A Discourse in Seventeenth-Century Codices* (Delhi: Primus Books, 2021).

** Eleanor Zelliot and Rohini Mokashi-Punekar, eds., *Untouchable Saints: An Indian Phenomenon* (Delhi: Manohar, 2005), on Ravidas, pp. 197-264.

** Heidi R. M. Pauwels, *Mobilizing Krishna's World: The Writings of Prince Sāvant Sikngh of Kishangarh* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017).

** Rupert Snell, *Biharilal: Poems from the Satsai* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021). Single language edition--English only: Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022.

** Francesca Orsini, "Booklets and Sants: Religious Publics and Literary History," *South Asia* 38:3 (2015), pp. 435-449.

** Francesca Orsini, "How to do Multilingual History? Lessons from Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century North India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49:2 (2012), pp. 225-246. <http://ier.sagepub.com/>.

** J. S. Hawley, "Devotional Poetry of Medieval North India," in Barbara Stoler Miller, ed., *Masterpieces of Asian Literature in Comparative Perspective* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe), pp. 78-93.

** Philip Lutgendorf, *Tulsidas: The Epic of Ram*, vols. 1-5 and ongoing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016-2020).

Hindi: Kabir

** Shabnam Virmani, filmmaker, *Chalo Hamara Des (Come to my Country)*, at <http://www.kabirproject.org/the%20films/chalo%20hamara%20des>

** Linda Hess, "Translator of Poetry and Theorist of Translation: Can They Inhabit the Same Body?," paper delivered to the Association for Asian Studies, Philadelphia, March 27, 2010.

** Purushottam Agrawal, "'Something Will Ring...': Translating Kabir and his 'Life.'" in Maya Burger and Nicola Pozza, eds., *India in Translation through Hindi Literature: A Plurality of Voices* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 181-194.

** Linda Hess, *Singing Emptiness: Kumar Gandharva Performs the Poetry of Kabir* (London: Seagull Press, 2009).

** Linda Hess, *Bodies of Song: Kabir Oral Traditions and Performative Worlds in North India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

** Arvind Mehrotra, *Songs of Kabir* (New York: New York Review Books, 2011).

* Robert Bly, *Kabir: Ecstatic Poems* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), brief selections, and the afterword by J. S. Hawley, "Kabir and the Transcendental Bly."

** Andrew Schelling, ed., *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature* (Delhi: Oxford, 2011), pp. 106-115, 123-128 (translations by Ezra Pound and Robert Bly).

** Chandan Sinha, *The Vision of Wisdom: Kabir—Selected Sakhis* (Delhi: Rupa, 2020).

** Laetitia Zecchini, “Contemporary *Bhakti* Recastings: Recovering a Demotic Tradition, Challenging Nativism, Fashioning Modernism in Indian Poetry,” *Interventions* 16:2 (2014), 257-276. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/1369801X.2013.798128>.

** Rabindranath Tagore and Evelyn Underhill, *One Hundred Poems of Kabir* (London: India Society, 1914). <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000002328522&view=1up&seq=1>.

** Peter Friedlander, *A Fountain in Mid-Air* (unpublished manuscript, 2018).

** Kali Mohan Ghose and Ezra Pound, tr., “Certain Poems of Kabir,” *The Modern Review* 13:6 (1913), pp. 611-613.

Hindi: Mirabai

** Nancy M. Martin, *Mirabai: The Making of a Saint and Cultural Heroine* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

** Andrew Schelling, tr., “Mirabai,” in Schelling, ed., *The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature* (Delhi: Oxford, 2011), pp. 137-148.

** Jack Hawley, lecture on Mirabai for the Bangalore International Centre and the Kabir Project, draft version—before editing, January 18, 2021. (Copied into an email of March 18, 2021.)

** J. S. Hawley, *Three Bhakti Voices: Mirabai, Surdas, and Kabir in Their Time and Ours* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2005]), pp. 89-178.

** Madhav Hada, *Meera vs. Meera* (Delhi: Vani Prakashan, 2020), a translation of Pradeep Trikha’s Hindi book *Pacaraṅga Colā Pahara Sakhī Rī*.

Hindi: Surdas

** Rupert Snell and Aruna Kharod, *Sur Sorahi: Sixteen Padas from the Sursagar* (Austin: Hindi-Urdu Flagship, University of Texas, 2014). Accessible online at: <http://hindiurduflagship.org/resources/learning-teaching/sur-sorahi/>.

** Rupert Snell in conversation with Harish Trivedi at the Jaipur Literary Festival 2021 apropos of Snell’s *Biharilal: Poems from the Satsai*: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oyj8ejbqEmM>, 9:45-13:25 and 18:45-29:30.

** Kenneth E. Bryant and J. S. Hawley, *Sur's Ocean: Poems from the Early Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). This is a bilingual edition, in which the Bryant reconstructions of the early poems of Surdas appear.

** J. S. Hawley, *Into Sur's Ocean: Poetry, Context, and Commentary* (Harvard University Press, 2016).

** J. S. Hawley, *Sūrdās: Poet, Singer, Saint*, revised and enlarged edition (Delhi: Primus Books, 2018). The final chapter is entitled "An Afterlife in Art."

** J. S. Hawley, "A Raft on Sur's Ocean: In Memory of Aditya Behl," paper delivered to the Association for Asian Studies, Philadelphia, March 27, 2010.

** Krishna P. Bahadur, *The Poems of Suradasa* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1999).

** K. C. Sharma, K.C. Yadav, and Pushpendra Sharma, *Suradasa: A Critical Study of His Life and Work* (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1997).

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