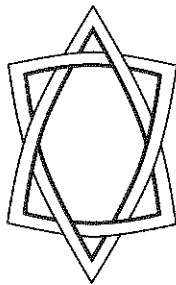


THE DANIEL E. KOSHLAND  
MEMORIAL LECTURE

Just What Is a “Golden Age” Anyway?  
(And Why Are So Many People Upset That  
One Would Call Medieval Spain One?)

Professor María Rosa Menocal

March 16, 2006



THE CONGREGATION EMANU-EL  
San Francisco

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I would like to begin with an important confession: I’m of the school that believes that there is no publicity that is bad publicity, especially if they spell your name right, and double that if they spell your book’s name right and identify your publisher; and it’s all golden if it’s well-placed in *The New York Times*. This explains why I was a little taken aback a couple of years ago at the number of incensed calls and e-mails I received from friends and colleagues right after the appearance of an article in the Saturday Arts section of the *Times* entitled “Was the Islam of Old Spain Truly Tolerant?” In it, Edward Rothstein, a regular cultural critic for the *Times*, pays all sorts of attention to my book — which at that point had been out well over a year, so the renewed notice was unexpected — but did so taking exception to what he claims is the misleadingly utopian vision of “Old Spain” that I am propagating, and that he suggests is now rampant, and thus in need of correction. Rothstein’s article was filled with a variety of distortions and misstatements that made many scholarly colleagues in the various fields that cover medieval Spain cringe, or worse. And a number of them expected, or at least hoped, that I would be the one to pen some sort of corrective, the classic incensed letter to the editor.

But the truth is that I had reacted to the article rather differently, in part because my distinct sense was that most readers of the *Times’* Arts section on any given Saturday are in fact far from being specialists, and chances are they had only the foggiest notion of the very existence of this “Old Spain” in the first place, and what it might or might not mean. They almost certainly would never have heard of Umayyads and Berbers, and so they would be unruffled by the fact that, for example, that Rothstein elided

the vital difference between the climate under the tenth century Umayyads and the twelfth century Berbers, which is a little as if a historian writing about American democracy at some distant future point glossed over the difference between civil rights in the early nineteenth and the early twenty-first centuries. And I was willing to bet, in fact, that most of these readers cared little for what to them may well have seemed — in the context of so short an article about so vast a topic — like pretty picayune, perhaps even academic, arguments. I should note, parenthetically, that I had sobering proof of this principle, of the obliviousness of the general reader to the quibbles that are the bread and butter of the reviewer, when a nasty review of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* volume on Islamic Spain I had helped edit appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* almost a half dozen years ago. I read it one afternoon in dismay and went off to a party that evening still in that state halfway between homicidal anger and suicidal depression I think all authors get into when we read these things. But at this party I ended up talking to a charming and cultured woman whose training was in art history, she worked in the Renaissance collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and when she asked me what I did I said I wrote about Islamic Spain — and then she said “oh, that’s amazing, just today, I read a review in the *TLS* of a wonderful new book about that, it sounds like something that would be right up your alley. Have you heard of it?”

I think she was far less surprised to discover it was my book than I was to realize how little this well-educated woman cared about the scholarly quarrels that were what the review was really all about — and how much she simply cared about the subject, how glad she was to have had the existence of the book brought to her attention. And I am sure this was true in spades for that *New York Times* article in question: most readers who find the topic of “Old Spain” in and of itself attractive (and the *Times* helpfully provided several rather lovely photographs of a few key monuments, such as the Alhambra ) or who find the general terms of the argument intriguing (the proposition that there was once a tolerant Islam) are likely to be more rather than less interested

in the matter, and thus in buying my book, especially so since Rothstein offered no other book as an alternative, a better read or a better vision. So, I said to more than one mystified friend, why in the world would I have wanted to write to *The Times*, or anyone else, to argue, let alone complain? I've waited my entire professional life for someone to misrepresent my work and take issue with it on the pages of *The New York Times*.

But, for better and worse, it is not just about my book. As improbable as such a turn of events might seem to those of us who long worked in what was a very marginal historical and philological field, the truth is that highly-charged and inevitably politicized discussions about the nature of medieval Spain have become even more prominent on the volatile world stage in the several years since that article appeared, and especially after the Madrid bombings of March 11, 2004 when, among other things, recordings made by Osama bin Laden surfaced claiming that this was, in effect, part of the struggle to reclaim “al-Andalus,” as Islamic Spain was, and is, called in Arabic. There are two vast issues here: first, what we assume medieval Spain was all about in the first place, as a historical matter, and as best we can reconstruct it. And, then, there is what we believe it tells us about our own present and future, although the more forthright way of putting this would be the other way around, since it is precisely that sense that this comparatively arcane historical moment can and does somehow speak to us about ourselves and our universe that has catapulted it into relatively broad public consciousness and international political discourse.

One of the many ironies here is that what long kept this marginalized as an academic field is by and large exactly what makes it seem so relevant today: the long-term, sometimes exhaustingly complex, always-changing entanglement among Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Iberian peninsula between (roughly) the beginning of the eighth and the end of the fifteenth centuries — which, by the way, is a longer stretch of time than the one that separates us from 1492. Especially within the current landscape of single-language specialists and departments of

national literatures, work on medieval Spain has more often than not been something of a no-man's land, not least of all because two of the three communities involved in the medieval mix were eventually expelled --and they are rarely "restored" to citizenship in the departments where "Spanish" literature and culture are studied in our own times. But it would be unfair and inaccurate to lay all the blame in the "Spanish" corner. It really has to do with the much more widespread problem of dealing with cultural identities that overflow the narrower categories we tend to work with, so in fact departments of Arabic or Hebrew — of Islamic or Jewish studies — end up with the same problems. Indeed, one of the criticisms in that TLS review of the Cambridge History of Arabic Literature I mentioned was that, in effect, our definition of what constitutes "Arabic literature" in al-Andalus was far too catholic, that the volume allots too much space to writers and art forms that fall too far outside the normative definition of "classical Arabic," with articles on the likes of the Jewish poet Judah Halevi and the Catalan Christian polemicist Ramon Llull, both of whom are indeed part of the broad landscape of Arabic letters, neither of whom is remotely a part of the conventional Arabic canon.

The exciting and yet hard-to-handle fact is that one kaleidoscope or another of people and their languages and religions and architectural styles — many of these in completely counterintuitive combinations, alliances and enmities — is likely to be characteristic of any given time and place of historical note in medieval Spain. At the moment, for example, I am working with an art historian to reconstruct the cultural landscape of Toledo in the century after 1085, which is the pivotal political moment when the Castilian Christians take over this first Islamic metropolis they have encountered. And what they do is make it into their new capital, absorbing into their Christian polity dozens of the features of the older Islamic order. Post-1085 Toledo is a characteristically cosmopolitan universe, and a far cry from the stereotype we have of the so-called "Reconquest" or "Crusade": here, for example, by far the most bitter disputes are between the newly-arrived Castilians and a group we call the Mozarabs, the

older Christian community which had for centuries lived under Muslim rule, and whose members were culturally completely Arabized; it is a place where the Castilians themselves will in vital ways “go native,” developing a distinct architectural style as they build new churches explicitly modeled after the mosques of the old city; and they even adopt the so-called *dhimma*, that Islamic provision establishing the legal parameters that apply to the other “Peoples of the Book,” allowing them to live within an Islamic polity.

And it is largely because of that adaptation — which was one that appalled and astonished Rome, since this in effect created a Christian state that recognized the legal standing of Jews and Muslims, something unimaginable in Latin Christendom — that this first Christian metropolis to really rival the Islamic city-states of the eleventh century becomes the great center of translations of the Arabic philosophical and scientific library that will begin to transform Christian thought, a movement that will, in effect, produce the *Summa* of Thomas of Aquinas two hundred years later. And it is also the case that the large local Jewish community became an indispensable part of that translation movement, a Jewish community so prosperous that Toledo was sometimes called, in the next several centuries, the “Jerusalem of the West.” And it was there, under Castilian rule, that were built the two beautiful and famous “Moorish”-style synagogues that survive into the modern era, known today — and known to many of you, no doubt — by their much-later “converso” names, Santa Maria la Blanca and the Transito.

All of this is but the tip of an iceberg — and a rather specific one at that, in one time and place, among many distinctive and different times and places — characterized by cultural mixes and acculturations of virtually every sort, all of them produced by what the great Spanish scholar Américo Castro long-ago called *convivencia*, which in Spanish means rather simply “living together.” But this, too, is a term, like “Golden Age,” that makes people upset, not because so many people are so invested now in the details of medieval Spain as such, but

because speaking about medieval Spain has become a way of speaking about the present and the future. What is palpable in articles like Rothstein's, is the translation of the complexities of centuries of historical experience in dozens of realms — from the literary and the architectural and the culinary to the legal and sociological and theological — into the necessarily simplified and highly charged contemporary political language used to speak about so many of the searing issues of recent times: the Middle East in general, Islam and its relationship with modernity and with terrorism, the fate of multiculturalism in Europe, Israel and its relations with its Arab neighbors, just to name a few of the most obvious; and it seems to me new possibilities are added virtually every week.

And those of us who were trained and long practiced in what was unambiguously a marginal academic area have found ourselves, basically since 9/11, in that flattering and yet risky and extremely challenging position of having our work read and quoted, and thus invariably misquoted and misrepresented, and all too often reduced to one-liners, in *The New York Times*, and beyond. I would be a wealthy woman if I had a dollar for every time my book has been described as depicting medieval Spain as an “interfaith utopia” or “paradise” — words and concepts I nowhere use and in fact explicitly contest. And, while I happily confess that I first reacted by being flattered by requests to be a “talking head” on specials being filmed for television I was soon enough appalled by the cutting of hours and hours of on-camera discussion, trying to emphasize mostly the great paradoxes of this cultural era, to a couple of minutes, sometimes literally seconds, of sound bytes. All too often these end up sounding like little more than those easy polarities, Muslims versus Christians, good guys versus bad guys, Crusade versus jihad, tolerance versus intolerance, that are precisely what my work has been dedicated to dismantling.

Nevertheless, I am not sure that to react to this by withdrawing altogether from public discourse is a morally viable alternative, although many academics believe it is indeed

a moral imperative for the scholar, since our job is precisely to resist the sort of simplifications and generalizations that are at the very core of journalism and politics. But it is not so simple. And however fraught, the translation of our work into the public sphere will likely happen whether we like it or not, and whether we are directly involved in it or not. So we may as well give it a shot. Which is of course why I am here, and why I am, in effect, using this opportunity to respond to all of those out there who take issue with the label of “Golden Age” for the Jewish experience in medieval Spain, who take me and others to task for what they judge this to be a harmful “romanticizing” of the period.

So...just what is Golden Age, anyway? The best, and perhaps frustrating answer, is that it in fact is not a political or social but rather an aesthetic judgment in the first place, and with few exceptions this is true for other “Golden Ages” as well, which in their original moments have to do with the triumphs of literature or philosophy or architecture or music or some combination of these. And these achievements may or may not take place in what we would consider anything like ideal social or political circumstances. Make a list of all your own personal favorites, those times and places that produced books we still read, buildings we imitate, ideals to which we aspire: Periclean Athens, Jeffersonian democracy, Renaissance Florence. And then ask yourself if the social realities of those moments are up to your own minimal standards, let alone utopian by our early twenty-first century measures. One of the sometimes-vexing things about great art is that it is sometimes made by terrible people, or under terrible or at least imperfect circumstances, especially by our own exacting standards, which all too often we tacitly assume always to have been universal ideals.

But what is curious is that the nature of the writing and interpretation of cultural history is such that we seem to be inescapably drawn to want to understand these achievements, those of individuals as well as of communities, in what are ultimately political and social terms, even when we really know



better, even when we appreciate the sometimes inscrutable relationship between societies and culture, between genius and morality. I am as vulnerable to this as anyone, but what I have come to realize is that the great virtue of aesthetic forms as historical evidence is how they complicate the picture that may otherwise be told only by partisans of a given cause, as the writers of more conventionally-read “historical” documents inevitably are. But things look rather different to me than they do to someone who works with church archives — no doubt because I begin with literature as the cornerstone of my historical edifice. And what first drew me to al-Andalus was its great poetic invention: a body of bilingual poetry in the eleventh century — poetry in which a man speaks in refined classical Arabic, or in the new Hebrew of the day, to a woman who responds in vulgar Romance. It is a body of highly refined and innovative poetry that is part of what some might say is a “purely aesthetic” Golden Age. But I do believe it says something pretty golden about the culture that is able to produce it as well, although of course there is more to social and political reality than what a body of poetry may suggest.

But at hand here is precisely the question of which kinds of historical documents and evidence we believe tell us the better or truer stories. Ask yourselves: is the history of interfaith relations more truly told in the fire-and-brimstone sermons of the clergy, or in the great poetry of the mystics of the period? Do laws written by religious authorities that condemn relations between men and women of the three faiths speak to the segregation that all three believe is necessary? Or in fact to something like the opposite: the extraordinary degree of miscegenation that was the natural consequence of that *convivencia*, or living together? This, by the way, meant also speaking the same languages, singing to the same music, worshipping in buildings that share distinctive styles.

Who do we believe — or “privilege” — when aesthetic forms tell us stories so different from ideological rhetoric? And what do we do when these contradictions emerge from

the same community, the same man, even? Who is the “real” Judah Halevi: the greatest poet of Arabized Hebrew poetry, or the anti-assimilationist ideologue? And what does his writing, his great poetic achievement, tell us about the culture in which he lived, the culture that made that great work possible — but which he eventually decried and abandoned? The problem with — no, the virtue of — cultural, and especially poetic evidence, is that it makes simplicity impossible, and paradox the order of the day. And that makes some people, especially journalists and politicians, upset.

As for my romanticizing things: It is widely known that the very concept of a Jewish “Golden Age” in medieval Spain was elaborated by the scholars of the nineteenth century Ashkenazi communities of Europe. The achievements of the Jews under Islamic rule, and especially so in Spain, provided the secularizing reformers of the Haskalah with what seemed an excellent model for their own times. At the heart and soul of this assessment lay not some political model of social equality, although it is of course the case that the fate of Jews in the Muslim polities contrasted favorably, and dramatically so, with that of Christian Europe, both medieval and nineteenth century. But the real measure, the proof-text, was not that it was some sort of “interfaith utopia” or “tolerant,” especially if we anachronistically define that in some sort of post *Brown v. Board of Education* late-twentieth-century terms, as some of today’s polemicists do. Instead, “goldenness” was explicitly a measure of the cultural achievements of the Jewish community, especially of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which means first under the Umayyads, and then in the Taifas, the city-states that emerged after the Caliphate was dismembered — an event which happened, bear in mind, because of terrible civil wars among Muslim factions, and not thanks to any Christian “Reconquest”. This was a Golden Age for the Jews because, among other things, they reinvented Hebrew as a language of secular poetry, and produced a spectacular body of poetry with that new language; and because they became a part of the philosophical mainstream, along with the Muslims who, in the ninth and tenth centuries read

Aristotle and studied advanced mathematics and other sciences; they were, together, part of an intellectual culture that thrived in Arabic and that, from an “enlightenment” point of view, was hundreds of years ahead of that of Christian Europe.

And the truth, make of it what we will, is that these were achievements profoundly embedded in the ambient culture of the Jews of al-Andalus, and the Jews were full participants, and then some, in Arabic literary and intellectual culture, which they considered their own. The Arabic cultural universe thoroughly informed all aspects of their own more narrowly Jewish experience, not least their development of Hebrew as an extra-liturgical language, and the widespread infiltration of Aristotelian concerns and arguments into the religious sphere. Both of these were so profound and widespread that by the middle of the twelfth century they had already provoked the sort of anti-assimilationist reaction we can see in Judah Halevi’s anti-philosophical *Kuzari*, as well as in his denunciations of the Arabic metrics of the Hebrew poetry of his day — the Arabic-accented poetry of which, ironically, he remains the undisputed master.

Access to that ambient culture was provided, or at least made possible, by the *dhimma*, also sometimes referred to as the Pact of ‘Umar, which, as I mentioned before, is that fundamental precept that grants a distinct status within Islamic societies to other monotheists, rather wonderfully called the “Peoples of the Book.” Recently the whole question of the *dhimma* has become arguably the most highly charged politically of all the discussions about the Jews of Islam, and perhaps some of you are familiar with the derogatory expression *dhimmitude* — defined as slavery — and perhaps even with a blog called “*Dhimmi-watch*,” where I am occasionally excoriated (although its hard to get too exercised about that either, since the views there are so extreme that even Bernard Lewis comes in for regular thrashings as insufficiently “anti-dhimmi.”) But in the context of the universe and the historical experiences of the Jews of nineteenth-century Germany, the truth remains — whether we like it or not

— that such status and protection seemed a vast improvement over anything either they or their ancestors had experienced in Christian Europe. And, in any case, the proof appeared to be in the pudding: several hundred years' worth of glorious cultural achievements, of which in some regards the most admired was precisely that relative "secularization" of the Andalusian Jews, which provided important symbolism in the intra-Jewish identity struggles of their day. The most visible, and in some ways the most eloquent, testimony to the "goldenness" of the Andalusian experience was the construction of a number of new Reform synagogues in the neo-Islamic or "Moorish-revival" style. Built both in the old German-speaking world — in Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin — as well as in the new English-speaking world — New York's Central Synagogue at 55th and Lexington is exemplary — these synagogues, startling and incongruous for so many people, with their explicit allusions to the monuments of Andalusian civilization — the Great Mosque of Cordoba and the Alhambra — speak very loudly indeed to that symbiosis of historical appreciation and contemporary aspirations of the progressive and secular German-Jewish community of that moment.

So it is, finally, just what we do make of cultural achievement in the broadest social terms — what we think it means not just about literature or philosophy or architecture themselves, but about the society that produces that literature and philosophy and builds those buildings, and not just what we think it says about the past but about the present — that transforms the relatively arcane and philological work of a scholar who works on the minutiae of poetic meters into the grist for the political mills of the day. And it is thus that the question of the several "Golden Ages" of medieval Spain — because of time, I have left out of this the closely intertwined question, perhaps even more fraught, of the memory of much-lamented al-Andalus among Arabs and Muslims — that the "Golden Age" has become so central a part of our contemporary political discussions. Now, of course, the inevitable reference points are very different from those of the nineteenth century, and that nineteenth century vision has itself come under attack, both by those who disagree

with its fundamental premise about the desirability of Jewish integration and secularization, as well as by those, sometimes more disingenuous, who take the morally self-righteous position that those who believe in the “Golden Age” vision are mere romantics who don’t want to acknowledge that dhimmi status is not real equality, and that for every good poet there were at least ten Jews massacred.

But I don’t think the scholars who first marveled at the poetry of Samuel the Nagid of eleventh century Granada, and who believed it spoke to a great moment in Jewish history were “romantics” in the bad sense of that word. They knew perfectly well that his son had been murdered in an anti-Jewish uprising shortly after his own death, and they aspired to a great deal more than second-class citizenship. But as scholars, and especially as admirers of a moment whose great virtue was precisely its many paradoxes and apparent contradictions, especially the idea that you could be a good Jew and an heir to the Enlightenment, a rabbi and the author of homoerotic verse — as the Nagid was — they were making an intellectually and morally complex historical judgment.

And complexity is not a bad thing, either for cultural identity or political and moral judgments. Today, the not-so-hidden agenda in discussions of the “Jewish Golden Age” are the political questions of our age, and how good you think it was for the Jews of an eleventh-century Muslim city in Spain has become a not-so-thinly-veiled way of talking rather simplistically about whether you think Arabs will ever really tolerate a Jewish state in the Middle East, or whether you think it is necessary to build a wall to separate Jews from Arabs, or whether you believe Islamic societies can ever achieve that separation of Church and State we believe to be so fundamental to modernity itself. And it is this that makes people so upset, although — to begin to circle back to where I began — at some level, I was not so upset with Rothstein’s criticism of my book in the New York Times precisely because it was transparent to me that it was really not at all about my book, my writing, or my scholarship, but

about what he assumed my political positions to be on all these contemporary subjects.

So the problem in the “Golden Age” discussion is that all too often it’s not really about the eleventh century, but about Jews and Arabs today. And here, of course, the traps and challenges of working in a remote historical and cultural field that, despite the increasing popularity of allusions to it, is largely unknown and susceptible to egregious misrepresentation, from all sides of the political spectrum. For Osama bin Laden, who more than once has alluded to “the tragedy of al-Andalus” as the historical template for his struggles and aspirations, medieval Spain is pretty much the same simple-minded, black-and-white, good-guys-and-bad-guys cartoon as it is for the dhimmitude people, except that for him its a good rather than a bad thing to imagine it as a moment of uncompromising Islamic hegemony. This is the same kind of polarized view that has long dominated the writings of those who view it all as the story of the single-minded Reconquest begun by the Christians, just a few days after the Muslim conquest of 711, and pursued relentlessly for seven centuries. Actually, it seems to me that the more damaging mythology is that the Middle Ages in general are not a utopia but a dystopia: medieval still means something dark and backwards (I know because the New York Times uses it that way all the time). And Spain in particular is still very widely perceived not as an interfaith Paradise but rather as the original clash of civilizations, the place where Christians and Moors spent 800 years at war, even the home of the original anti-Semitism, if you believe Netanyahu père.

At the end of the day, *les extremes se touchent*, and what I am left wondering is how such views can even begin to account for what is at the root of the “Golden Age” tag in the first place, the great poetry and buildings and philosophy and other intertwined and ideologically ambiguous forms, all of which belie any possibility of clear-cut religious identities, or essential polarities between and among religious communities who did live together — sometimes well, sometimes not — and thus, inevitably, shaped

each others' cultural universes, something the purists of every stripe, then and now, wish weren't true. The complex culture of al-Andalus — of Sefarad — was from the outset willing and able to override the perhaps-inevitable narrownesses of doctrine and ideology, it was in many ways exemplary in avoiding the traps of identity politics. Sometimes it came with something resembling religious tolerance and sometimes not, although it seems to me obvious that we should always be careful about judging such things in a historically contextualized way, but the whole point is that —thank God —aesthetic matters were, for hundreds of years, not understood to be coterminous with ideological ones.

We might say that it is a “Golden Age” precisely because it is so messy, so ambiguous, so poetic, so like poetry itself. “Andalus —” to quote Mahmoud Darwish, the Palestinian poet, who is sometimes harshly anti-Israeli, and just as often critical of the many failures of contemporary Arab states, “Andalus might be here or there, or anywhere/ a meeting place of strangers in the project of building human culture/ It is not only that there was a Jewish-Muslim co-existence, but that the fates of the two peoples were similar/ Al-Andalus for me is the realization of the dream of the poem.” And among the many poems realized that do make this a Golden Age there stands out perhaps the best poem ever written about the shapes of culture —the shapes of love, of poetry: the great Sufi, Ibn ‘Arabi of Murcia was a slightly younger contemporary of the two great 12th century Cordoban-born philosophers, Maimonides and Ibn Rushd, and one of his most famous poems is one where the line between erotic and spiritual love —like other presumed dichotomies —is not at all clear. It is thus a pleasure to give the final word this evening to a poet, and from the brilliant translation of Michael Sells I read the final verses of this great poem, the embodiment of so much of what I think this culture stood for, at its best:

A white blazed- gazelle  
Is an amazing sight,  
Red-dye signaling,  
eyelids hinting,

Pasture between breastbones  
And innards.  
Marvel,  
A garden among the flames!

My heart can take on  
Any form:  
Gazelles in a meadow,  
A cloister for monks,  
For the idols, sacred ground,  
Kaaba for the circling pilgrim,  
The tables of a Torah,  
The scrolls of the Qur'an

I profess the religion of love;  
Wherever its caravan turns  
Along the way, that is the belief,  
The faith I keep.

Suggestions for Further Reading:

Edward Rothstein's article, "Was the Islam of Old Spain Truly Tolerant," appeared in the *New York Times* on Sept. 37, 2003. More recently he wrote a column considering the time period known as the Golden Age of Spanish literature — well over 300 years later than the Golden Age of Spain's Jews and her Hebrew poetry — entitled "Regarding Cervantes, Multicultural Dreamer," which appeared in the *Times* on June 13, 2005.

David Nirenberg confronted the agenda betrayed in Rothstein's article, that of using medieval Spain simply as a lens through which to view the current conflicts in the Middle East, in a previous Koshland lecture (*What Can Medieval Spain Teach Us About Muslim-Jewish Relations?*, March 20, 2001) The question of the relative superiority of the condition of the Jews under Islam is masterfully addressed by Mark R. Cohen in his now canonical study *Under Crescent and Cross*. (Princeton, UP, 1994.)



If you wish to consider the question yourself, English translations of some primary texts may be found in the following: The poems of Shmuel ha-Nagid and Shlomo Ibn Gabirol have been translated by Peter Cole (Princeton, UP, 1996 and 2001, respectively); I am indebted to Cole for bringing to my attention the Mahmoud Darwish's Andalus poem, including the wonderful line "The Dream of the Poem," which he uses as the title for his magnificent new anthology of translations of the Hebrew poets of both Christian and Islamic Spain, just published by Princeton University Press.

Michael Sells has penned translations of the Sufi poetry of Ibn 'Arabi of Murcia, as well as the early Suras of the Qur'an (Jerusalem, Ibis Editions, 2000; and Ashland, White Cloud Press, 1999). General introductions to many of these texts, their authors and genres, are found in the Literature of Al-Andalus volume (2000; Menocal, Scheindlen and Sells, eds.) of the Cambridge History of Arabic literature series. Arabic rhymed prose in general, and the writings of Judah Alharizi in particular, are introduced and discussed in "Out of Andalusia," an article Commentary (116:2), by author and translator Hillel Halkin, whose father, A.S. Halkin, translated and studied the works of the Cordoban Jewish philosopher Maimonides (Jerusalem, 1979 and Philadelphia, 1985).

For questions of convivencia's architectural impact on synagogue building in the modern era readers will be especially interested to read Olga Bush's "The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue of New York," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (63:2), June 2004.

THE DANIEL E. KOSHLAND MEMORIAL LECTURE

- 1988 *"Jewish Historical Claims to the Land of Israel"*  
Amos Funkenstein, Koshland Professor of Jewish Culture and History,  
Stanford University
- 1989 *"'The Alien in Your Midst': Reflections on the Biblical Ger"*  
Jacob Milgrom, Professor of Biblical Studies, University of California at Berkeley
- 1990 *"The Extermination of the Jews of Europe in Present Historical Consciousness"*  
Saul Friedlander, Professor of History at UCLA and Professor of Modern European History at  
Tel Aviv University
- 1991 *"Underground Judaism: The Religion of the Marranos"*  
Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, Salo Wittmayer Baron Professor of Jewish History,  
Culture and Society, and Director of the Center for Israel and Jewish Studies,  
Columbia University
- 1992 *"The Jewish Intellectual and the Jews: The Case of Di Kliatshe" (The Mare)*  
by Mendele Mocher Sforim  
Ruth S. Wisse, Professor of Yiddish Literature and Comparative Literature at  
Harvard University
- 1993 *"The Role of the Jews in the Trial of Jesus: Modern Scholarship vs. Modern Theater"*  
Michael J. Cook, Sol and Arlene Bronstein Professor of Judaeo-Christian Studies at Hebrew  
Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati Campus
- 1994 *"Creation, Philosophy, and Spirituality: Aspects of Psalm 19"*  
Dr. Alan Cooper, Professor of Bible and Director of the School of Graduate Studies  
at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati
- 1995 *"The Mystery of Rabbi Martin Riesenburger of Berlin"*  
Rabbi Bernard M. Zlotowitz, Senior Scholar of the Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations
- 1996 *"Tales of Great Jewish Mystics"*  
Dr. Howard Schwartz, Professor of English at the University of Missouri-St. Louis
- 1997 *"Revealer of Secrets: The First Hebrew Novel"*  
Rabbi Dov Taylor, Senior Rabi of Congregation Solel, Highland Park, Illinois, and Translator and  
Commentator of the landmark publication *Revealer of Secrets: The First Hebrew Novel*
- 1998 *"Why Read Jewish History"*  
Steven J. Zipperstein, Daniel E. Koshland Professor and Taube Family Director of  
the Program in Jewish Studies at Stanford University
- 1999 *"Reform Judaism Confronts the 21st Century"*  
Rabbi H. Yoffie, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations
- 2000 *"The Intersection of Biotechnology and Religion"*  
Dr. Daniel E. Koshland, Jr., Professor of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology at  
the University of California, Berkeley, and former editor of the *Journal Science*

THE DANIEL E. KOSHLAND MEMORIAL LECTURE

- 2001 *"What can Medieval Spain Teach us About Muslim-Jewish Relations?"*  
David Nirenberg, Charlotte Bloomberg Professor of the Humanities, Department of History,  
The John Hopkins University
- 2002 *"Judaism and Muslim Religions Confront the Challenges of Modernity"*  
Dr. Jacob Lassner, Phillip and Ethel Klutznick Proffessor of Jewish Civilization,  
Director of Jewish Studies at Northwestern University, and Sackler professor in the  
Department of Middle East and African History at Tel Aviv University
- 2003 *"The Book of Genesis: The Birth of Humanity and the Emergence of the Human Order"*  
Dr. Tzvi Abusch, Rose B. and Joseph Cohen Professor of Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern  
Religion at Brandeis University
- 2004 *"From the East Side to the West Coast: The Past, Present, and Future of American Judaism"*  
Rabbi David Ellenson, President of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
- 2005 *"What's So Heroic About our Biblical Hero(in)es?"*  
Alan Cooper, Professor of Bible at The Jewish Theological Seminary and at the Union Theological  
Seminary
- 2006 *"Just What Is a 'Golden Age' Anyway? (And Why Are So Many People Upset That One Would  
Call Medieval Spain One?)"* Professor María Rosa Menocal, Sterling Professor of the  
Humanities at Yale University