In the United States, Walt Whitman was discharged on June 30, 1865, from a job in Washington after his supervisor discovered a book of immoral poems in his desk [Leaves of Grass]. The ensuing gilded age is largely an era of silence, though there are reports of cruising grounds in Washington, D.C. In 1918–21 the United States Navy was involved in the suppression of a complex scandal at Newport, Rhode Island. The New Deal saw such individuals as Sumner Welles, under secretary of state, and Senator David Walsh of Massachusetts implicated. Persistent rumors have circulated about the person of J. Edgar Hoover, who was the immensely powerful director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1924 to 1972. Although Hoover never married and had a life-long buddy relationship with his subordinate Clyde Tolson, it has not been possible to learn the true nature of his sexuality, and probably it never will be.

In 1950 Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin began a vociferous and unprincipled campaign against communists and homosexuals in government. A spurious legitimacy was lent to this by such cases as the Austrian double agent Alfred Redl before World War I and the recent Burgess-McLean-Blunt scandal in Britain. It was rarely pointed out—except by homophile activists—that the only reason that gay people in government service are subject to blackmail is the existence of archaic laws. In most advanced countries these laws have been eliminated, while (perhaps not coincidentally) the leading sex scandals in the diplomatic corps have been heterosexual. After McCarthyism had died down, another case made the headlines, that of an aide to President Johnson, Walter Jenkins, who had been arrested in a public restroom. No one knows how many civil servants accepted discharge in silence. However, Frank Kameny, a government astronomer, decided to fight back after his dismissal in 1957. Although Kameny never was reinstated, his experiences made him a gay activist, one of the most vocal and vigorous of those prominent in the 1960s.

**Openly Gay Office Holders.** The more militant phase of the gay movement (after 1969) with its demand “Out of the closets!” made possible the first openly lesbian and gay elected officials, Elaine Noble and Alan Spear, state representatives in Massachusetts and Minnesota, respectively. Somewhat later Wisconsin representative David Clarenbach was able to achieve both decriminalization and a gay rights bill in his state.

In San Francisco the 1978 homophobic murder of openly gay elected supervisor Harvey Milk, and Mayor George Moscone, together with the judicial treatment of their murderer, produced local riots and nationwide outrage. From this time forward, however, gay politics have been a central and irrepressible feature of the Bay City. In Southern California a newly incorporated City of West Hollywood seems to be largely, though not completely, gay.

In the 1980s a new frankness in the media regarding the sexual behavior of politicians has sometimes had unfortunate results, witness the 1987 Gary Hart affair. In the U.S. House of Representatives a closeted conservative Republican, Robert Bauman, was hounded out of office, but openly gay Democrats Gerry Studds and Barney Frank of Massachusetts seem secure in their districts.

In the British House of Commons Maureen Colquhoun and Chris Smith have both been open about their sexual orientation. In Norway the Conservative lawmaker Wenche Lowzow is lesbian. For understandable reasons, given the pressures of public office, most gay and lesbian lawmakers chose to remain in the closet everywhere, but anecdotal evidence suggests that they are numerous.

**Wayne R. Dynes**

**GRAFFITI**

Since classical antiquity, the art of writing has afforded the opportunity to
record one's sexual feelings, interests, desires, and experiences in the form of inscriptions, for the most part anonymous, that were left for all and sundry to read. A few of these have survived over many centuries to be recorded by modern archaeologists. The oldest known texts of a pederastic character are from the Dorian island of Thera; stemming from the sixth century B.C. and later, they seem a record of homosexual acts performed as rites of initiation. The ruins of Pompeii and the remains of ancient Rome furnish a considerable number of erotic graffiti duly recorded in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum; some relate sexual adventures, others are insults directed at the hapless passerby.

The word graffiti made its appearance in Italian toward the end of the sixteenth century. The study of homosexual graffiti in modern times began shortly after the beginning of this century. The first articles in which homosexual urinal inscriptions were published appeared in 1911 in Anthropophytea, the journal of sexual folklore edited by Friedrich S. Krauss. More recently whole volumes have been devoted to collections made in men's rooms from different parts of the world. Some of these locales were in effect homosexual rendezvous where the writer could expect an attentive—and responsive—public.

The graffiti may take either verbal or pictorial form, or both. The pictures are frequently obscene, often of the erect virile member or of two or more persons engaged in homosexual intercourse. Exceptionally, the texts may be narratives—diary entries as it were—of sexual encounters or experience, literally embellished by the writer's fantasy. Others are advertisements that until quite recently could not be published in any periodical and so had to be inscribed on the wall. These are requests for partners for sexual encounters, with the desired physical attributes, age and the like specified in detail, followed by instructions for making contact—time and place, telephone number, and the like. Presumably such texts were originally inspired by the more conventional personal advertisements that were printed in nineteenth-century newspapers. Then there are general comments on sexual mores, expressions of ridicule or hostility directed against classes of individuals disliked by the writer, or rhymes and sayings of an erotic nature. The significance of such graffiti is that they express notions that are taboo in the conventional media which, until quite recently, had to conform to all the restrictions imposed by society, attest the occurrence of socially condemned forms of sexual expression, and record non-literary and obscene words and phrases excluded from polite speech.

Sometimes, as during the 1968 uprising in Paris, graffiti emerge from their accustomed haunts in toilets and underpasses and appear prominently on the streets, where they make some political point. The prominence of graffiti—usually neither sexual or political—in New York City subways has prompted an effort to interpret them as an art form. However this may be, the gay artist Keith Haring, now internationally known, first attracted attention through his subway drawings, which were executed clandestinely in a deliberately simplified style.

The analysis of graffiti can yield evidence for linguistic forms unattested elsewhere, for sexual behavior not usually recorded by the participants, and for the attitudes, not just of those engaging in such behavior but also of outsiders. Thus homosexual graffiti may provoke dialogues with others so inclined, or abusive and hostile comments by heterosexuals, even threats of violence to the author of the homoerotic inscription. In the 1980s the spread of AIDS in the gay community became a frequent topic of comment. Clever puns, rimes, word plays and the like may reflect a moment of lewd inspiration on the part of the author. Others are banal pieces of doggerel. Within the walls of an institu-
tion graffiti may contain bits of malicious gossip about the sexual identity or the sexual life of a well-known individual, who cannot retaliate because of the anonymity of the writers. This function of giving vent to repressed feelings recalls the grotesque margina of medieval manuscripts that spill over into the crudely obscene. Political opinions and attitudes, especially ones excluded from the media by contemporary unofficial censorship, can find vivid expression in erotic graffiti that blend anger and satire, insult and defiance, reality and fantasy. Nearly all homosexual graffiti are by men; lesbian inscriptions are so far the rare exception.

Graffiti are thus in modern times, even with the freeing of the media from long-standing taboos, a precious document of the attitudes and mores of the culture that produces them and of the evolution of both homosexuals' own behavior and the attitudes of heterosexuals toward homosexual expression.


Warren Johanson

GRANADA

Granada is a small city, until 1492 capital of the last Islamic kingdom in Spain. Blessed by climate and geography, it is a striking example of the incorporation of running water into architecture and urban design. Much of the Moorish city has been lost, and visitors should be aware that for many present-day grana-"inos its Moorish heritage is only a source of tourist income. However, there remains the superlative palace the Alhambra, with a unique esthetic which has suggested homosexuality or androgyne to many, although the topic has yet to be given proper examination in print. There is also the most important survivor of the many pleasure-gar- dens of Andalucía, the Generalife. The city of Fez (Morocco) is said to resemble Moorish Granada.

When the Castilian armies conquered Córdoba and Seville in the thirteenth century, Granada, with its natural defenses, reached new prominence as a center for refugees. There are great gaps in our knowledge of Granadine culture, and basic source works, such as Ibn al-Khatib's Encyclopedia of Granadine History, remain untranslated. The last major poets whose works survive are the fourteenth-century Ibn al-Khatib, his disciple Ibn Zamrak, whose verses adorn the walls of the Alhambra, and the king Yusuf III. Five thousand manuscripts, which would presumably have much illuminated the fifteenth century, were publicly burned by Cardenal Cisneros shortly after the conquest of the city. The best-known and most-translated Spanish source is Ginés Pérez de Hit'a's Granadan Civil Wars; it and other sixteenth-century presentations of former Granadan life include much that is deliberate falsification.

What information we have suggests that homosexuality was widely practiced in Granada, as part of a broad tapestry of hedonistic indulgence. (Wine and hashish were also widely used.) As preserver of the spirit of Islam in Spain, anything else would be very surprising. Granada was "an example of worldly wisdom" in which "their quest in life was to impart beauty to every object, and joy to every hour." All the major Granadan poets are linked to homosexuality to a greater or lesser extent. Various of its rulers, apparently including the last king Boabdil, openly indulged. Castilian monarchs who were sympathetic to homosexuality (Juan II, Enrique IV) lived in relative peace with Granada. Isabella's expensive campaign against Granada was partly motivated by fear of a Granadine alliance with Turkey, which had recently conquered Constantinople; it may well have had as another motive the suppression of homosexuality in Castile.