

tion graffiti may contain bits of malicious gossip about the sexual identity or the sexual life of a wellknown individual, who cannot retaliate because of the anonymity of the writers. This function of giving vent to repressed feelings recalls the grotesque marginalia 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Emilio Cantù, et al., *Il cesso degli angeli: Graffiti sessuali sui muri di una metropoli*, Milan: Cammali-bri, 1979; Ernest Ernest, *Sexe et graffiti*, Paris: Alain Moreau, 1979; Peter Kreuzer, *Das Graffiti-Lexikon*, Munich: Heyne, 1986.

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 *granadinos* 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 androgyny 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 Hita'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.

At the time of its conquest Granada was the most prosperous, cultured, and densely-populated part of Spain; its population and economy declined sharply after its conquest and did not recover. Contrary to misconception, its Moorish inhabitants were not expelled in 1492 (it was the Jews who were expelled that year); Islam was permitted in Granada until 1499 and Arabic language and dress until the 1560s, when their prohibition brought civil war, ending with the forced resettlement of the Moorish inhabitants elsewhere in Spain. They were finally expelled in 1609.

Into the seventeenth century, however, and from the mid-nineteenth century until the Spanish Civil War, the Alhambra and the legend of Moorish Granada it preserved have been an inspiration to dissidents and reformers. St. John of the Cross wrote some of his most famous works, taking the female role in a mystical union with God, in Granada. Poets of withdrawal, such as Espinosa and Soto de Rojas, dealt with Granada's gardens and rivers. In the nineteenth century Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Valera, Ganivet, and Salmerón (president of the first Spanish republic), are all associated with Granada. More important, the great Institución Libre de Enseñanza is also so linked, as Sanz del Río and Giner de los Ríos studied in Granada, and Giner's disciple and nephew Fernando de los Ríos made Granada his home in 1915 and was elected to represent it in the Republican legislature. Américo Castro, whose identifying the Semitic and especially Jewish elements in the Spanish nationality marks a watershed in Spanish intellectual history, was a graduate of the University of Granada. Both the influential Residencia de Estudiantes (Madrid), a descendent of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, and the Centro Artístico y Literario (Granada), opened buildings in the Alhambra style in 1915.

In the early twentieth century Granada had the most important homosexual subculture in Spain. One of the first

gay guidebooks in any language, Martínez Sierra's *Granada: Guía emocional*, with photos by "Garzón" ("an ephebe"), was published in 1911. With Manuel de Falla's relocation to Granada in 1919, the city reached international status. Falla said that he felt in Granada as if he were in Paris, "at the center of everything." In Granada homophiles had a sympathetic newspaper, *El defensor de Granada* (the name suggests sympathy with the Moorish heritage), a bar, El Polinario, built on the site of a former Moorish bath, and in the Centro Artístico a sympathetic organization. The peak was the internationally famous festival of Cante Jondo in 1922, whose program appeared under the imprint of the Uranian Press. Subsequently the leading figure was De los Ríos' protegé, Federico García Lorca, executed along with many others in 1936. What homosexual life remained in Granada after the Civil War went underground.

See also *Jews, Sephardic*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti, *The Moorish Novel*, Boston: Twayne, 1976; Emilio García-Gómez, "Ibn Zamrak, el poeta de la Alhambra," in *Cinco poetas musulmanes*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1945, pp. 171-271; idem, ed., *Poemas árabes en los muros y fuentes de La Alhambra*, Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1985; James Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974; José Mora Guarnido, "Granada, ciudad triste," in his *Federico García Lorca y su mundo*, Buenos Aires: Losada, 1958, pp. 35-49; Luis Rosales, "La Andalucía del llanto," *Cruz y Raya*, 14 (May 1934), 39-70.

Daniel Eisenberg

GRANT, DUNCAN (1885-1978)

English painter. In his youth Grant was the lover first of Lytton Strachey and then of John Maynard Keynes; all three were members of the Bloomsbury group of writers, artists, and intellectuals. After study in Italy and France, Grant participated in several English group exhibitions