

In France Anderson and Heap—together with Heap's ward Fritz Peters, who later became a homosexual novelist—became adherents of the mystic George Ivanovich Gurdjieff, who was then at the height of his influence. Anderson spent most of her later years in semi-seclusion in London, where she wrote her memoirs, which are an important source for the literary history of the period.

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ANDROGYNY

An androgynous individual is one who has the characteristics of both sexes. Ideally, this quality should be distinguished from **hermaphroditism** in the strict sense, whereby the fusion of male and female is anatomically expressed through the presence, or partial presence, of both sets of genital organs. There is a tendency to consider androgyny primarily psychic and constitutional, while hermaphroditism is anatomical. In this perspective most (psychic) androgynes are not strictly hermaphrodites in that anatomically they are no different from other men and women; some hermaphrodites may not be androgynous, that is to say, despite their surplus organ endowment, they behave in an essentially masculine or feminine way.

The term androgyne stems from the Greek *androgynos*, "man-woman." The famous myth recounted in Plato's *Symposium* presents three primordial double beings: the man-man, the woman-woman, and the man-woman. The first two are the archetypes of the male homosexual and lesbian respectively; the third, the *androgynos*, is—paradoxically from the modern point of view—the source of

what we would now call the heterosexual. Other ancient writers use the term to refer to an anatomical intermediate between the two genders, synonymous with *hermaphroditos*. From this practice stems the modern conflation of the meaning of the two terms, which is unlikely to disappear.

Basic Concepts. Modern languages use "androgynous" in a variety of senses. First, identifying it with the hermaphrodite category, it may denote a somatic intermediate. In fact, the pure type with fully developed genitals of both sexes is clinically so rare as to be virtually nonexistent in the human species. The individuals known as (pseudo-) hermaphrodites generally have *incompletely* formed genitals of one of their two sexes or both. That is to say, an individual may have a fully formed vagina together with a stunted, unfunctioning penis, or a well developed penis with a shallow, nonuterine vagina. Of course, in the plant and animal kingdoms there are many fully hermaphroditic species that are androgynous in this sense. Secondly, nineteenth-century writers extended the physiological concept to apply to those whose genitals are clearly of one sex but whose psychic orientation is experienced as primarily of the other: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' "female soul trapped in a male body." Since Ulrichs and others were primarily interested in same-sex behavior, the term often carries the connotation of "homosexual," even though such usage begs several questions. Thirdly, with reference to male human beings "androgynous" implies effeminacy. Logically, it should then mean "viraginous, masculinized" when applied to women, but this parallel is rarely drawn. Thus there is an unanalyzed tendency to regard androgynization as essentially a process of softening or mitigating maleness. Stereotypically, the androgyne is a half-man or incomplete male.

In addition to these relatively specific usages there is a kind of semantic halo effect, whereby androgyny is taken to

refer to a more all-encompassing realm. Significantly, in this broader, almost mystical sense the negative connotations fall away, and androgyny may even be a prized quality. For example the figures in the Renaissance paintings of **Botticelli** and **Leonardo** are sometimes admired for their androgynous beauty. It comes as no surprise that these aspects of the artists were first emphasized by homosexual art critics of the nineteenth century.

Permutations of the Androgynous Ideal. Cross-cultural material bearing on androgyny is very extensive, especially in the religious sphere. In Hinduism and some African religions there are male gods who have female manifestations or avatars. A strand of Jewish medieval interpretation of Genesis holds that Adam and Eve were androgynous before the Fall. If this be the case, God himself must be androgynous since he made man "in his own image." Working from different premises, medieval Christian mystics found that the compassion of Christ required that he be conceived of as a mother. Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), the German seer, held that all perfect beings, Christ as well as the angels, were androgynous. He foresaw that ultimately Christ's sacrifice would make possible a restoration of the primal androgyny. Contemporaneously, the occult discipline of alchemy presented androgyny as a basic cosmic feature.

After a period of neglect, interest in the theme resurfaced among the German romantics. Franz von Baader (1765–1841), who interpreted the sacrament of marriage as a symbolic restitution of angelic bisexuality, believed that primordial androgyny would return as the world neared its end. In France the eccentric Evadist (Eve & Adam) thinkers advocated the equality of man and woman; one of their leaders, Ganneau, styled himself Mapah. The occultist and decadent writer Josephin Péladan (1858–1918) was a tireless propagandist for androgyny; through his Rose + Croix society he had a consider-

able influence on Symbolism in the visual arts.

In the twentieth century the psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) was preoccupied with androgyny, which he illustrated through his ingenious, but eccentric interpretations of alchemical imagery. Some of his followers have suggested that androgyny is a way of overcoming dualism and regaining a primal unity; the half-beings of man and woman as we know them must yield to the complete man-woman. Thus androgyny points the way to a return to the Golden Age, an era of harmony unmarred by the conflict and dissension of today which are rooted in an unnatural polarization.

Contemporary Perspectives. In the field of academic psychology, the researches of Sandra L. Bem and others have sought to present empirical evidence that the androgynous individual enjoys better mental health and can function better socially. Significantly, it is usually "androgynous" women who score higher on such psychological tests than men. Thus these findings may be an artefact of the strategic situation in which a career-minded woman finds herself: to succeed in a male-defined professional world an ambitious woman will find it expedient to incorporate some male qualities.

The androgynous ideal had considerable appeal for feminist and homosexual thinkers in the 1970s. It was pointed out, no doubt correctly, that the straitjacket of the masculine role tended to keep men from expressing their feelings, as through kissing or crying. Men can practice a wider range of expressiveness, and therefore lead more satisfying lives, if they will discard the extreme polarization inherent in the traditional masculine role. Science fiction writings, notably the *Left Hand of Darkness* (1969) by Ursula LeGuin, explored what complete androgyny might mean. In popular culture there was a kind of "androgynous chic," as exemplified by such rock stars as David Bowie and Boy George.

As the initial enthusiasm cooled, however, it was perceived that, applied to present day society, the androgynous ideal might lead to a disregard of the inherent strengths of male and female, whether these be culturally or biologically determined. Thus some feminist thinkers today emphasize nurturing and cooperative behavior as distinctive and desirable female traits. Despite some exaggerations, recent discussions have had the merit of helping bring into question earlier popular negative dismissals of androgyny, promoting a more supple concept of the relation between sex roles and gender.

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ANDROPHILIA

This rarely used term serves to focus attention on those homosexuals who are exclusively interested in adult partners rather than adolescents and children. In our society such a focus would seem self-explanatory, inherent in the definition of homosexuality itself. Yet in other societies, such as ancient Greece, China, and Islam, and in many tribal groups, age-graded differences were or are the norm in same-sex conduct in contradistinction with androphilia, which is most familiar to us. Because of the prevalence of androphilia in modern Western culture, its assumptions are sometimes unwittingly or deliberately imported into other settings; some discussions of homosexual behavior in ancient Greece, for example, tend to

gloss over the fact that it was predominantly **pederastic** (though not **pedophile** in the narrow sense of attraction to prepubertal boys).

In the early years of the present century, the great German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld offered a three-fold classification of homosexuals: (1) **ephebophiles**, who prefer partners from puberty to the early twenties (in current usage, from about 17 to about 20); (2) **androphiles**, who love men from that age into the fifties; and (3) **gerontophiles**, who seek out old men.

Contemplating this scheme from the standpoint of an individual of, say, thirty years of age, it is evident that the first and third categories of sex object constitute differentiation, the second relative similarity.

The shift to dominance of androphilia, in which the two partners are of comparable age, occurs only with the rise of industrial society in Europe and North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; in **Mediterranean** countries the shift remains incomplete, and in much of the world has barely begun or has not occurred at all.

Attempts at explaining the new homosexual pattern include keying it to a change in heterosexual marriage, which led the way by becoming more companionate and less asymmetrical; to the rise of the democratic ideal; to demographic changes such as increased life expectancies; and to changes in the social treatment of **youth** which made the young less available as sexual partners. Nevertheless, the dynamics behind this fundamental transition remain historically mysterious, a major challenge to any attempt to draw up a reasonably comprehensive history of homosexuality.

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ANGLICANISM

Anglicanism, or Episcopalianism as it is also termed, is a worldwide Christian religious fellowship, stemming from