

Isabel Bredenbröker

HERMANN VON HELMHOLTZ-ZENTRUM FÜR KULTURTECHNIK /
CENTRE FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON MUSEUMS AND HERITAGE
[CARMAH] HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN
ORCID: 0000-0002-9610-8918

Queering Alfred Gell's Art Nexus: Conceptualising Non-normative Relations and Queer Methods in the Art and Ethnological Museum Context¹

Abstract

Ethnographic collections and museums displaying them are currently facing a crisis of representation which is deeply political. Negotiations mainly take place on a national and institutional level. Yet, in order to deal with conflicts and problems that arise around ethnographic collections in a way that allows for and affirms new relationships being formed outside the realm of representational power, new perspectives and methodological tools from a grassroots level are needed. Intersectional approaches and a renewed attention to relations around ethnographic objects, especially a rethinking of the categories “artwork” versus “ethnographica”, offer a promising route for engaging with heritage as a common ground. As such, they may enable relational politics outside the centres of power. A “queering” of anthropologist Alfred Gell's art nexus model can be instrumental for the study of queer (non-normative) relations around artworks, including so-called ethnographic objects. The paper proposes an understanding of queerness as a method in the art and museum context, informed by the anthropology of art and kinship, queer studies, and museum studies. This methodology-in-the-making should be part of a toolkit with which researchers and arts practitioners will be able to understand and actively co-create queer relations around objects in ethnographic collections and beyond.

Keywords: anthropology, queer theory, relations, Alfred Gell, ethnographic, museum, time, futures, contemporary art, curating

¹ This paper was written and edited in the course of a Walter Benjamin postdoctoral grant by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

Introduction

The director of Berlin's Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, portrays German ethnological museums as choking on their colonial heritage. He calls for a "queering of the museum" as a means to decolonise ethnographic collections.² Writing in 2018, Ndikung envisions this activity of "queering" as a radical rethinking of the museum, particularly considering intersectional positions such as women, people of colour, the working class and the LGBTQI+ community.³ He hereby understands queer in an intersectional sense of the word. To become queer in that sense means to move away from the norm which is defined by the marginalisation and submission of some. Ndikung's manifesto-like text ends with this call for queering the museum. But what can this actually mean, and which possibilities open up? There seem to be a million possible answers to this question, according to voices from a discourse that is beginning to form in response to the idea of queering in an art and museum context. Heeding Ndikung's call, this paper seeks to contribute to this conversation and lay out the foundations for a novel theoretical approach by asking if and how the activity of "queering" can be understood as a method rather than a representational function. Specifically, I will refer to Alfred Gell's art nexus model from the anthropology of art and propose a way to "queer it", that is, read it against the grain, in conjunction with queer theory and theories of temporality. I am choosing to engage with Gell here as his theory, which came before what I will call the most recent 'decolonial turn' in anthropology and the arts, offers a couple of responses to questions and struggles that currently mark the discourse around identity, representation and healing, whilst not having been conceived of at a time when these issues had the same public visibility that they have today. I therefore think of it as an interesting and hopefully fruitful thought exper-

2 B. S. B. Ndikung, *Those Who are Dead are Not Ever Gone. On the Maintenance of Supremacy, the Ethnological Museum and the Intricacies of the Humboldt Forum*, Berlin, 2018.

3 Ndikung's own curatorial practice has offered a critical position which stands in implicit opposition to curatorial practices in ethnographic museums, as per his critique of the Berlin Ethnological Museum. Ndikung established the community-based arts and exhibitions space SAVVY Contemporary in Berlin but was also curatorially involved in the programs of several larger and smaller art world institutions, such as documenta 14 in 2017 or Sonsbeek 20 in the Netherlands and, beyond Europe, the Dak'art biennale or the 13th Bamako Encounters 2022. A central concept of his curatorial approach is that of pidginization, which may be somewhat comparable to the called-for queering of the museum despite being practiced in different contexts. As a "process of counternormativity" (2023: 17), he translates the blending of languages with its quality of subverting dominant claims to power into curatorial practice. In response to capitalist and colonial influences past and present on the state of the world, as well as racist and right-wing provocations, Ndikung calls for "reaching out to artists, scholars, musicians, philosophers, storytellers, poets, scientists, and people from other walks of life to deliberate not only cognitively but also phenomenologically and spatially on concepts, spaces and cultures of pidginization" (43). See: B. S. B. Ndikung, *Pidginization as Curatorial Method: Messing with Languages and Praxes of Curating*, London, 2023.

iment to update this theory in the light of recent debates whilst carrying on some of the main achievements that the art nexus model offers, from an anthropological perspective. The results of this experiment are ideas for a queer methodology which can help to study and create non-normative relations around artworks, collapsing the difference between the categories of the ethnographic object and the artwork. I hope to instigate a discussion among practitioners in the arts and museum field in dialogue with anthropologists, art historians, queer and gender theorists, decolonial scholars and activists.

Why “queer” the museum? A problematisation

These days, European nations and cultural institutions find themselves at a crucial moment in time which amplifies public calls for reconsidering the colonial encounter. Ethnological museums are at the forefront of a battle over political acknowledgment of colonial crimes, which are sought to be rectified in the present. In current decolonial re-considerations of history, an engagement with the past takes place via ethnographic collections and artworks, turning the realm of art, material culture and museums into a battleground for political struggle.⁴ Politics around ethnographic museums and their collections are seen to hold the potential for making up for harm inflicted on people in the past and for recognising these wrongdoings retrospectively. Looking to the future, engaging with museum objects may help to affirm new relationships with the descendants of those who were harmed but also more generally across different lines of division. Albeit relating to history, this struggle very much concerns problems of our present time, such as neo-colonial political and economic relations, narratives of liberalism and modernity or the limitation of migration flows. Therefore, the decolonial struggle of negotiating history has an urgency beyond the realm of art and collections as currently seen in social movements such as Black Lives Matter. However, art and exhibition contexts are implicitly connected to the political status and wellbeing of living human bodies today. This makes them potent sites for negotiating power relations, as shown by recent debates about restitution and ownership of ethnographic objects. Natalie Bayer, Belinda Kazeem-Kamiński and Nora Sternfeld, acknowledge this potential of museums and curational practice when they speak of curating as an anti-racist practice.⁵

In search for a response to the emotionally and politically heated debates taking place around Western ethnographic collections, it appears to be highly desirable to

4 See: F. Sarr, B. Savoy, *Restituer Le Patrimoine Africain*, Paris, 2018; A. Procter, *The Whole Picture: The Colonial Story of the Art in Our Museums & Why We Need to Talk About It*, London, 2020; D. Hicks, *The British Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*, London, 2020; H. P. Hahn, P. Ivanov, H. Groschwitz, T. Laely, *Ethnologie und Weltkulturenmuseum: Positionen für eine offene Weltsicht*, Berlin, 2017; C. Deliss, *The Metabolic Museum*, Berlin, 2020.

5 N. Bayer, B. Kazeem-Kamiński, Nora Sternfeld, *Kuratieren als antirassistische Praxis*, Berlin, 2017.

create relations and methods that allow all involved parties to step outside of the “straitjacket” realm of identity and memory politics. Europe as a historical agent,⁶ a cultural and multi-national sphere and a narrative construct has multiple obligations when it comes to identity and memory politics: looking at itself and looking at its relations on a global scale. In the museum context, memory and identity are brought into concrete focus, such as discussed in the work of Sharon Macdonald or Paul Basu and Wayne Modest, among others.⁷ The dynamics of aggressive-defensive positions in the struggle for a more diverse, more just and more equal present, such as seen in the restitution debate, are achieving real change in this field right now. Yet, whilst they are necessary to represent marginalised interests and gain the attention of a broader public, they also come to stand in the way of finding new ways to relate which go beyond the grand public political gesture, achieving this more fully and sustainably. A focus on queer kinds of relating and existing queer relations is therefore, as I would like to propose, in agreement with recent literature from the field of art and queer studies, a promising avenue towards engaging with heritage around European-held ethnographic collections in a micropolitical, productive and future-oriented way.

Identity politics and the re-contextualisations of what this term means stand at the core of discourses around ethnological museums today. Writing at the beginning of the new millennium, anthropologist James Clifford traces the use of identity politics as a term across different theoretical and political discourses and muses about ensuing implications for ethnographic research in the service of a re-configured anthropology that is cautioned by the words “Not so fast! What else is there?”. Clifford diagnoses that “the political right sees only a divisive assault on civilizational (read national) traditions, while a chorus on the Left laments the twilight of common dreams, the fragmentation of any cumulative politics of resistance”.⁸ A good decade later, Razmig Keucheyan defines identity politics, coming from a US American context, as “policies – governmental or otherwise – aimed at promoting the interest, or combatting the stigmatisation, of some particular

6 In the face of at times generalising uses of categories depending on situated inside/outside perspectives, it is somewhat important, especially when dealing with broad categories such as “Europe”, to point out that Europe is a diverse space with different histories and lines of division that have, among other spatio-cultural categories, produced those of Eastern, Central and Western Europe. Histories of empire and imperial reign, colonialism and capitalism are distributed differently and mean different things in those contexts. They may also be reframed in ways that invert their original meaning, as becomes evident with the (ab)use of the term decolonization and anti-fascism in the current framing of the Russian government. See: E. Degot, D. Riff, J. Sowa, *Perverse Decolonization?*, Berlin, 2021.

7 See: S. Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*, New York, 2009; S. Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, New York, 2013; B. Meyer, M. de van Port, *Sense and Essence: Heritage and the Cultural Production of the Real*, New York, 2018; P. Basu, W. Modest, *Museums, Heritage and International Development*, New York, 2015.

8 J. Clifford, “Taking Identity Politics Seriously: ‘The Contradictory, Stony Ground . . .’”, in: *Without Guarantees. In Honour of Stuart Hall*, ed. P. Gilroy, London, 2000, p.94.

category of the population".⁹ He points out two major characteristics of identity politics, namely that it involves "minorities who recognise themselves as such" without aiming to render their identities generalizable, and secondly that "identity, thus conceived, is not a uniquely economic instance" but "contains a decisive cultural element". Recently, this originally emancipatory meaning of identity politics has seen a conservative turn that seeks to protect normalised and normative identities against perceived challenges by minorities. A product of the Trump era, this logic is also embraced by right-wing and conservative positions in Europe. Aiming to find an approach that is not stuck in such struggles of identity politics (in the conservative sense of the term), but which yet seeks to include political struggle, new intersectional techniques of political agency and future-making seem to be needed. Conservative identity politics are here understood in the negative sense of the term, as a process of creating binary codes of differentiation that serve to exclude, something which, I argue, should instead be returned to its roots in the queer black feminist tradition of the 1970s as formulated by the Combahee River collective. Their usage of the term identity politics was taken up by other artistic and activist groups later on before experiencing a change of meaning.¹⁰ In order to arrive at a methodological suggestion which can be applied in curatorial work and research in museum contexts, there are a couple of guiding questions which one can ask. What alternative and productive contributions can a synthesis of anthropological theory and queer theory provide in response to the current crisis of ethnographic collections and museums? What can a "queering" of the museum mean beyond the inclusion of LGBTQI+ voices? And finally, how can such a broader understanding help to open up positions different to those currently employed in the struggle over representation?

Based on these questions, I want to give impulses for a theoretical approach from within the anthropology of art and kinship, queer studies and museum studies in order to understand and co-create queer (non-normative) relations around ethnographic museum objects. A comprehensive answer to all questions posed here will go beyond the scope of this paper, as it mainly engages with the matter in relation to theory and aims at formulating ideas that may inform a new queer methodology for the art and museum context. However, this should not be seen as an impediment, but rather as an invitation to test, apply and augment the methodological proposal as a sort of toolkit, which can help to finetune this approach and use it in museum and arts contexts – and be finetuned by using it and feeding the experience back into concepts. One of the concepts that can help to inform such work and transform through it is Alfred Gell's art nexus model.

9 R. Keucheyan, *The Left Hemisphere: Mapping Critical Theory Today*, London, 2013.

10 The Combahee River Collective. *The Combahee River Collective Statement*, 1977, in: Library of Congress, Women's and Gender Studies Web Archive, 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwaN0028151/>.

“Queering” Alfred Gell’s art nexus model

Theoretical approaches from material culture studies and beyond, such as New Materialism,¹¹ the Ontological Turn,¹² or Latour’s Actor-Network-Theory,¹³ have paved the way for considering things as enmeshed in a network of relations, a perspective also taken in Alfred Gell’s posthumously published work “Art and Agency”.¹⁴ Gell provides theories for interpreting both time and art as relational, the former of which will be addressed in the second half of this paper.¹⁵ Gell’s work, although considered important within anthropological discussions of art and the term agency, has retained a degree of mysteriousness due to the author’s writing process having been a race against time. While drafting his manuscript, Gell faced a certain untimely death and never lived to see the publication of *Art and Agency*. Therefore, his theory has left people with open questions which received different and sometimes contradictory answers. It has also earned the status of a standalone approach, a relatively idiosyncratic model with its own quirks and ideas that are very much the Gellian universe of thought. Gell’s work has recently gained renewed attention within the anthropological community, such as in a book by Susanne Kuchler and Timothy Carroll.¹⁶ Kuchler and Carroll developed Gell’s art nexus model further and stressed the kin-like aspects which these relations entail.

In *Art and Agency*, Gell describes agency-possessing material things, which he terms artworks. These artworks embody diverse human intentions as an index within a nexus of relations. Here he develops the US logician Charles Sanders Peirce’s semiotic theory by focussing specifically on the index, a kind of sign. One can imagine the index as the imprint of an intention or reading invested into an object or body. Indexical objects stand in an *agent-patient-prototype* relationship to each other and through these relationships are in some way always themselves agents – they express and appropriate intentions. This gives them social agency, through which they can also experience person status or stand as agents and addressees on a level with human actors. Let me give a concrete example from my fieldwork in Ghana in which I researched the political economy that unfolds around practices of commemorating the dead. Here, I found that the bodies and personal elements of the dead became indices of various intentions of community members which were invested in them, by means of engaging with their materiality and transformations. They were also indexed with qualities of apparent durability which were trans-

11 See: C. Åsberg, R. Braidotti, *A Feminist Companion to the Posthumanities*, Utrecht, 2018; D. H. Coole, S. Frost, *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*, Durham, 2010.

12 See: M. Holbraad, M. A. Pedersen, *The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition*, Cambridge, 2017.

13 See: B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford, 2005;

A. Blok, I. Fariás, C. Roberts, *The Routledge Companion to Actor-Network Theory*, London, 2020.

14 See: A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford, 1998.

15 See: A. Gell, *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*, Oxford, 1992; *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, eds. A. Gell, E. Hirsch, London, 1999.

16 See: S. Kuchler, T. Carroll, *A Return to the Object: Alfred Gell, Art, and Social Theory*, London, 2020.

posed onto them from other materials that were used in commemorative processes, preferably synthetic materials. A related example from the anthropological canon which Küchler and Carroll refer to is from Annette Weiner's ethnographic work on the Trobriand Island's famous Kula exchange, in which banana leaf bundles "as impermanent objects [. . .] are able to index persons by explicating in their material capacity the inherent mobility of women who leave their matriclan in marriage".¹⁷

Küchler and Carroll add a new interpretation to the discussion of the role of intentionality within the art nexus by pointing out that, true to the importance of relations that Gell's model is based on, intentionality may not predominantly rely on intention invested in artwork by its maker, but that "instead there is good reason to put the emphasis on the assumption – or specifically the abduction – of agency".¹⁸ The main point of their reassessment of the art nexus model is that pre-material ideas and intentions, the *prototype* (which one may loosely translate as a social imaginary) in art objects are based on social relations and can, as such, be mapped: "The prototype is not the object, or indeed a singular concept, but rather the abstract and motile nexus of relations that unfolds itself in very predictable, even canonical and formulaic ways".¹⁹ Conclusively, they find that the anthropology of art can, in many ways, be "studied objectively as a system of relations, much as kinship".²⁰ The study of kinship represents a core focus within the anthropological canon. However, there are also re-evaluations of this field which instead focus on relationality as kinship's essential function, as shown in the work of postcolonial scholar Édouard Glissant or most recently in the account of anthropologist Marilyn Strathern.²¹ So, if relations around ethnographic objects, too, can potentially be studied in the same way as kin relations, how then, can this re-reading of Gell's art nexus model be made productive if applied to relations that qualify as 'queer', as existing outside normative expectations, on the underbelly of the social imaginary? And how do these come to manifest around so-called ethnographic collections and objects? I would like to suggest that an analytic and methodological lens which intentionally seeks for such kinds of relations, and also seeks to create those in engaging with these objects, can offer a novel tool for productively bringing conflicting positions in dialogue within the discourse around ethnographic museums.

In a struggle for acknowledgment of historic wrongdoings, the categories of artworks versus ethnographic objects are important tools, resulting in demands for restituting objects from ethnographic collections and rethinking the concept of the Western museum. Thus, categorisation has become a currency, a tool for bargaining with cultural identity in order to strengthen property claims and achieve recognition – or to deny those things. Museum objects are things in limbo, displaced and

17 Ibid., p. 39. See also: A. Weiner, *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange*, Austin, 1976.

18 Ibid., p. 21.

19 S. Küchler, T. Carroll, op. cit., p. 224.

20 Ibid., p. 225.

21 See: É. Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, Ann Arbor, 1997; M. Strathern, *Relations: An Anthropological Account*, Durham, 2020.

contested, poisoned by preservative chemicals, and fought over with regard to categorisation, and rights to interpret their meaning(s). They can no longer represent cultures, be considered rightful possessions, and serve as symbolic informants to visitors. The important innovative potential in Gell's work here is that a Western bias on valuing art objects against the cultural other's "ethnographic" objects can be done away with, in favour of an anthropological equivalent to the formulation of a global art history. Being a theory of art, Gell's model of the art nexus opens up the possibility of thinking about artworks in a broader sense outside differential categories, for example, art versus ethnographic object. Instead, Gell proposes to define them via their agency and the relations that they exist in and which they co-produce. His work unpacks the indexicality of different relations within works of art. He terms these relations around the artwork the art nexus and gets rid of the distinction between the categories of the ethnographic and art, leaving behind the limitations of a perspective which sees artworks as either defined as belonging to a Western art context or as excluded from it. The art nexus model thus attributes the same potentiality of value and efficacy to ethnographic objects, on the one hand, and things considered art in the Western context, on the other hand. Gell, in response to the work of anthropologist curator Susan Vogel, discusses this in relation to her exhibition ART/ARTIFACT which was on show at the Centre for African Art in New York in 1988. Here, Vogel placed a rolled-up Zande hunting net in a white cube, claiming to be a piece of contemporary sculpture and blurring the boundaries between the "ethnographic" and the "artistic".²²

Gell's approach provides a new perspective on what art is, who makes it, what it can look like, and what it can do. This conceptual perspective on relations rather than fixed categories speaks to the diverse concept of identities and relations as represented in queer theory. Yet, in *Art and Agency*, Gell has missed the chance to address the colonial heritage of museum collections, as Dan Hicks criticizes by attesting the book as a "lack of politics".²³ As a critical way of engaging with Gell's model before a decolonial background in the arts, Gell's model should therefore be "queered". Instead of looking at the "formulaic" relations that objects entail, it should help to look at those that escape these expectations and help to actively invite unruly kinds of engagement. That way, the model can help to formulate positions which contribute to a queering, that is de-normalising, of conservative appropriations of identity politics and their urge to categorise, whilst actively participating in the struggle for decoloniality and intersectionality. With its focus on relations and its refusal to categorise, the art nexus model, in its "queered", is then a powerful theoretical basis for creating and highlighting queer relations around artworks, relations which equally exist beyond established categories.

22 A. Gell, "Vogel's Net: Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps", in: A. Gell, E. Hirsch, op. cit., pp. 187–214.

23 D. Hicks, op. cit., p. 27.

Queerness as a method in the museum and art context

Much related research probing into decolonial, and intersectional approaches is currently being initiated around ethnographic collections and their policies, such as within the Dutch "Pressing Matter" project situated across several Dutch universities and museums, or in the project "Re-connecting Objects: Epistemic Plurality and Transformative Practices in and beyond Museums" which is funded by the Volkswagen Stiftung and situated at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, as well as in Berlin, Senegal, Cameroon and South Africa. However, so far queer approaches to museums in these contexts primarily focus on placing queer subjects and identities at the centre of these institutions while methodologically changing work in the museum by including a diverse range of actors. The German Network *Museen Queeren Berlin* for example states that:

"Queering for us means a specific practice that challenges heteronormative and binary posits. This is not only about a better representation of the diversity of gender and sexuality in the collections and exhibitions, but also about how they are reached, and by whom. This means questioning conventional work processes, rethinking exhibition, collection, mediation and staffing policies, and setting new thematic priorities. As a network, we want to empower groups of people who have so far been marginalised in the museum and memorial landscape. We understand queer intersectionally and want to incorporate this into our practice as a network".²⁴

The Pitt Rivers also recently launched a research and exhibition project with a focus on queering museums, labelled "Beyond the Binary: Queering and Questioning Collections and Displays at the Pitt Rivers Museum". In the project statement, the museum, like *Museen Queeren Berlin*, also aims for queer visibility and self-representation with a heightened critical awareness of queerness as explicitly not a Western concept.²⁵ But while this endeavour mainly aims at integrating questions related to queer genders and sexualities in the museum, my paper proposes to take a different angle, one which is yet largely missing in contemporary discourse and research.

24 <https://www.museen-queeren.de/uumlber-uns.html>, [14/11/2021].

25 "The Pitt Rivers Museum is committed to standing as an ally with LGBTIAQ+ communities and creating space for self-representation. This project puts LGBTIAQ+ stories told by LGBTIAQ+ people at the heart of the museum – from its public galleries, to its digital databases. We celebrate the strength and agency of LGBTQIA+ communities and support individuals and groups in challenging societal binaries around gender, sexuality and power dynamics. *Beyond the Binary* contests, any notion that LGBTIAQ+ lives are a 'Western' invention, a 'new trend' or that queer people do not have history. The museum's collections have been made available to communities with LGBTIAQ+ lived-experiences to help them uncover and narrate their own stories, challenging the erasure of queer voices. The project set out to reflect on material from across the globe and from many historical periods that were already part of the collection. The project also set out to commission and where appropriate, collect new material to add contemporary queer perspectives." <https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/beyond-the-binary>, [accessed 14/11/2021].

In addition to such engaged and practical calls for visibility, I propose that queer can also be read as all kinds and types of non-normative relations and identities which do not necessarily have to fit into fixed categories or are explicitly related to gender, following Kuchler and Carroll's reading of Gell's art nexus model. In this context, the question of what is normative and who claims authority over defining these norms becomes essential. Queerness in the museum context may therefore also potentially and productively be conceived of as a methodology in which non-normative relations around objects may be studied and invited. Hereby, in the sense of the emerging and still very much unfinished work that seeks to make LGBTQIA+ histories visible in the museum context, marginalised positions that include other intersectional traits and possibly often relate to (post)colonial histories can be amplified through queer methodology, giving voice to them via relations to ethnographic objects. Such a methodology would then have to look at intersectional backgrounds and qualities of the objects themselves and of agents that relate to them. A "queered" version of Gell's art nexus model therefore aims to foster a conversation around the terms of queer museums and intersectional practice. Intersectional is here understood as looking at the intersection of defined categories of marginalisation such as race, class, gender, economic positions and ableist conceptions of bodies and mental functions. To that avail, the concept of intersectionality and the idea of queering museums, two relatively new approaches, would further profit from an interdisciplinary conversation informed by anthropological theory in dialogue with artistic and curatorial practice.

The gendered body and sexual orientations that transgress the norm lie at the heart of queer theory. They have also been central to a kind of motif and art production concerned with non-normative sexuality and identities, which has recently been subsumed under the tentative label "queer" art. In the preface to the comprehensive volume *"Art & Queer Culture"*, Catherine Lord and Richard Meyer explain their choice of term in a way that fits well with the openness to relations and methodology that my re-reading of Gell and queerness as a method proposes: "We have chosen the term 'queer' in the knowledge that no single word can accommodate the sheer expanse of cultural practices that oppose normative heterosexuality. In its shifting connotation from everyday parlance to phobic epithet to defiant self-identification, 'queer' offers more generous rewards than any simple inventory of sexual practices or erotic object choices. It makes more sumptuous the space between best fantasy and worst fear".²⁶

How then can the term queer be made productive to refer to relations, not just identities, that qualify as outside the norm? This question seems to be implied because queer positions essentially always exist in relations. As Lord and Meyer emphasise, they are embedded in social practice and produced by means of visibility and performance. Since queerness in its original sense is already a marginal position, it lends itself to work that aims to locate itself in an intersectional perspective. Queer transgressions of norms, be they relationship forms or gender norms, and

26 C. Lord, R. Meyer, *Art & Queer Culture*, London, 2020.

their resulting revolutions can also be found and expressed in other aspects of social life, such as political participation and representation. In fact, activist queer struggles for recognition have shown the highly political entanglement of queer concerns within the context of social organisation at large. Relating these thoughts back to the discussion about ownership and purpose of objects in ethnographic collections, how can queerness and queering then be understood as something that seeks to subvert categorisation and instrumentalisation? There is a fine line between becoming engaged in a struggle operating on the level of identity politics in the original sense of the term (as comes to show in the potent use of queerness as an identity, for example in the gay rights movement) and the intention of moving away from conservative identity politics, or to create new categories to be added to the norm. The project of finding a method aimed at queer relations in the museum context, therefore, seeks to reflect on the relation between struggles that operate with categories of conservative identity politics, and the potentially surprising alternatives of identity politics in its original sense that exist beyond them. Approaches from queer theory are still in the early stages of being developed into such a methodology which considers this broader understanding of queerness and relates to issues incorporating and going beyond the core concerns of gender and sexuality.²⁷ How then, can such a queer methodology be developed and used within a museum and art context?

Since work on queering the museum has so far primarily focused on introducing representations of queer gender and sexuality, a more general critique of normative power relations that become evident in museums and configurations of knowledge mediated through them is yet to be formulated. I seek to strengthen the latter kind of critique. Nikki Sullivan and Craig Middleton propose a definition for queering as a practice in the museum context: "The queering of museums is, as we understand it, a process without end and, perhaps more importantly, without a definitive goal (for example social inclusion) that is presumed to be universally beneficial and achievable by following a particular path. Queering the Museum, then, should be viewed not as a blueprint, a game plan for a brave new (queer) world of museums and museological practice, but rather as a (necessarily incomplete) toolbox that can be used, expanded and adapted in ways that are, perhaps, currently unimaginable".²⁸ Similarly, Hannes Hacke, one of the founding members of *Museen Queeren Berlin*, states in a conversation about the network's strategies that "queering" needs to be understood as an open and ongoing process, something that is constantly being negotiated.²⁹ Following these implications, an understanding of relations

27 See: *Queer Methods and Methodologies: Intersecting Queer Theories and Social Science Research*, eds. K. Browne, C. Nash, Farnham, 2010, *Re/Orienting Writing Studies: Queer Methods, Queer Projects*, eds. W. P. Banks, M. B. Cox, C. Dadas, Logan, 2019; M. Weiss, "Always After: Desiring Queerness, Desiring Anthropology", *Cultural Anthropology*, 2016, 31, no. 4, pp. 627–38; S. Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, London, 2006.

28 N. Sullivan, C. Middleton, *Queering the Museum*, New York, 2020, p. 6.

29 <https://www.lab-bode-pool.de/de/t/museum-bewegen/diskriminierungskritisch-arbeiten/queering-collections-warum-und-wie-ueber-gender-und-sexuelle-vielfalt-im-museum-sprech->

around artworks in ethnographic collections as queer relations may help to achieve not only a new outlook onto these collections but also contribute to expanding and adapting the toolbox that Sullivan and Middleton speak of. So, what is or can queer be, in the end, and for this particular purpose? In his volume of journalistic essays, Paul B. Preciado states: “I will go so far as to say that it is processes of transition that best allow us to understand the political shift with which we are confronted worldwide. Sex change and migration and legal architecture of patriarchal colonialism, of sexual difference and racial hierarchy, of family and nation-state, place a living human body inside the limits of citizenship, even of what we understand by ‘humanity’”.³⁰

Following Preciado, I therefore suggest locating the answers to this question in an intersectional realm. The platform and exhibition “This House is Not a Home” at the kunsthalle Lothringer¹³ in Munich may serve an example from my own collaborative artistic-curatorial practice. The event, which was at the same time a format of encounter and sharing knowledge as it was an exhibition in constant transformation, was produced by the a-disciplinary platform “K”, of which I was an organising member. Over the period of three months, a group of about 50 participants from the fields of contemporary art, music and academia met to exchange and engage with each other’s practice in a space which was literally furnished with artworks that had been contributed or made there. These works in themselves served as a nexus of relations as they became subjects to “activations”: applied ways of using them and interacting with them in workshop formats, performances, and collectively shared moments, such as dinners.³¹ Yet, these relations were highly experimental and depended on experiencing encounters in a shared space and time without an imposed set of rules or plans (but some constantly changing COVID-19 regulations). This leads me to discuss the importance of temporality and embodied experience from a queer point of view.

Anthropology of time and queer futurity

On a theoretical level, theories of embodiment and materiality are central for gaining a new perspective on artworks in relation to human bodies and identities, particularly informed by queer theory. Queer relations and decolonial efforts have the power to uproot hegemonic structures. This is as much true for either of the two individually, as much as for them combined. Significant social change has been achieved by activist struggle in both fields, such as by the ACT UP Movement

en/ζmaterial=die-bedeutung-von-queeren-muss-immer-wieder-neu-verhandelt-werden-strategien-des-netzwerks-museen-queeren-berlin, [accessed 14/11/2021].

30 P. B. Preciado, C. Mandell, *An Apartment on Uranus*, London, 2020, p. 41.

31 See: I. Bredenbröker, A. Stiegler, L. Boyd Schürmann, “This House Is Not a Home: Producing Encounter-based Collective Formats in the Time of Covid19”, *The Garage Journal: Studies in Art, Museums & Culture*, 2021, 02, pp. 132–151.

fighting for the recognition of queer lives and health, or by the #rhodesmustfall movement that aims to remove colonial statues in public space, to name just two examples. In addition to political change which activist engagement brings into the institutions, there is also a temporal aspect to queer and decolonial work which can enable or cancel out differential categories that are used to reproduce hegemonic structures, for example around art. Considering this temporal aspect is therefore crucial for a rethinking of queerness as a methodology in the museum context. Contemporary art, for example, conveys an acute sense of anticipation towards possible futures or a retrospective vision onto the contemporary moment from the position of an imagined future. Yet, whilst implying temporality, there is an excluding property to the term contemporary as a category. Peter Osborne illustrates this by analysing how contemporary art itself becomes a differential category that is not marked by its currentness of production only but rather a social and discursive practice of differentiation, possibly as opposed to other (art historical) categories.³² The ethnographic, however, is thought of as located in "other" space and time, having acquired a sense of the historical past and a representative function for non-Western "traditions" and "cultures".³³ The temporal attribution of the contemporary versus the historical is largely created via contexts and discourses. The history of Modernism is shaped by influences taken from non-Western contexts, as the work of Robert F. Thompson or most recently Sela Kojo Adjei has outlined.³⁴ Only by integrating foreign aesthetic features could a sense of futurity be created in Modernist art and, closing the circle, could something like for example a notion of "African art" begin to exist to the Western eye. Works may easily and superficially be grouped into categories when certain styles, aesthetics and materials become synonymous with Western art historic periods. But these qualities may also serve as identification markers associated with the non-Western "ethnographic past", or, as Achille Mbembe frames it, a mythological present tense of the Other which lacks the power to create its own future.³⁵ However, contemporary artistic practice and the activity of future-making is by no means limited to the West. So how can these narratives be changed, agency taken by those excluded and futures be created via queer relations?

Gell's anthropology of time, which is taken up and applied to artworks in his late work *Art and Agency*, considers how agency over temporal relations can be controlled by mapping time, mediated by the material world. It can serve as an analytical tool for understanding how temporalities may be controlled, mapped, and manipulated via the movements and narratives around bodies and objects.³⁶

32 P. Osborne, *Anywhere or Not at All: Philosophy of Contemporary Art*, London, 2013.

33 See: J. Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, New York, 1983.

34 R. F. Thompson, *African Art in Motion: Icon and Art*, 1974, Los Angeles; S. K. Adjei, "Abstraction and the Sublime in Art: Bridging the Gap Between 'Modern Art' and Ewe Vodun Aesthetics", in: *The Garage Journal: Studies in Art, Museums & Culture*, 2020, 01. See also: A. C. Danto, *Art: African Art in Anthropology Collections*, New York, 1988; C. B. Steiner, *African Art in Transit*, Cambridge, 2004.

35 A. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, Berkeley, 2001.

36 A. Gell, *The Anthropology of Time...*, op. cit.

In his conclusion to *Art and Agency*, Gell draws out how there is always a given relation between the artwork as index and its relation to space and time: “I am arguing that the ‘indexes of agency’ which exist and circulate in the external social work create, so to speak, an inter-indexical space-time field which bears an analogous structure, that is to say that it, too, consists of a series of transformations of contents (images) over time”. Hence, temporality and relationality are intrinsically connected, revealing in the end what Gell terms the *extended mind*: “Through the study of these artifacts, we are able to grasp ‘mind’ as an external (and eternal) disposition of public acts of objectification”.³⁷ In response to the theme of temporality and the question of how futures can be created via queer relations around artworks, it therefore seems fruitful to consider Gell’s anthropological model of time alongside queer concepts of futurity, such as those proposed by Jose Esteban Muñoz, Elizabeth Freeman and Kara Keeling or implied in Afrofuturist work.³⁸ Muñoz work on queer futurity poses a queer counterpart to Gell, opening up the perspective to utopian ways of creating relations outside of the norm that are always to be aspired to as a future state of being. Before this background, I propose that work related to queer methods and relations in the museum context should outline normative temporalities and their queer counterparts as these become manifest or manipulatable via art objects and relations built around them. These relations can be virtually and temporally mapped with the help of the art nexus model, methodologically allowing for a productive co-creation of relations around objects in ethnographic collections.

Queer methods as a toolkit-toykit for the art and museum context

The thoughts that I have laid out so far are sought to add to the toolkit which Sullivan and Middleton refer to as an integral part of “queering the museum” and with the help of which it will then be possible not only to study, but also to co-create, queer relations around ethnographic and art objects – relations that subvert established categories and create intersectional conversations. The result may offer an alternative transfer-format in the light of highly politicised questions around ethnographic collections. Following Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, this toolkit can be used more like a toykit, a set of things that invite playful interaction and the invention of new approaches rather than serving to “fix” a broken state or achieve a particular intended outcome.³⁹

37 A. Gell, *Art and Agency*..., op. cit., p. 258.

38 See: J. E. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, New York, 2019; E. Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*, Durham, 2010; K. Keeling, *Queer Times, Black Futures*, New York, 2019.

39 S. Harney, F. Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study*, Wivenhoe, 2013.

One element of this “toy-toolkit” can consist of in-depth engagement with theories to develop a new methodological approach. This is what my “queering” of Gell’s art nexus model has set out to do, in the form of theoretical impulses. As highlighted in the introduction, the themes of art, temporality, kinship and queerness may productively stand at the centre of this engagement with theories. As a guiding question for the theoretical part, the paper has asked how the making of queer relations around art objects (developing the sense of the art nexus as used by Gell) in ethnographic collections can be understood through a conversation with interdisciplinary theoretical positions. Going forward, it seeks to invite scholars and practitioners to unpack how such kinds of relations can be traced and actively invited. By looking at the intersection of different categories of marginalised identity rather than identity as a fixed representational category, this approach offers an alternative perspective to the sharp conflict that many Western ethnographic museums and collections currently find themselves in, due to being stuck in inflexible positions of representation and identity politics.

Another element of the toolkit can consist of observation and practice as a combined way of doing research and creating artworks/exhibitions. Feeding back into the methodology, outcomes of such research endeavours will help to develop this second element of the toolkit further and offer guidelines for exhibition-making. In line with a current shift away from clear-cut roles in research, participant observation as the classic anthropological method is augmented by collaborative participation and observation with curatorial and artistic practitioners. Practices from the field of contemporary art, curation, and interdisciplinary exchange, such as filmmaking or the conception of practice-based projects that are based on direct exchange can be used and tested in this context. One example from the art context, which actively created new relations around an object from the collection of the Berlin Ethnological Museum is “Return of a Goddess” (2018) by K. A. U. & Wdowik, bringing a replica of a Mexican fertility goddess on a journey across Mexico and producing a film and performative piece out of this research journey.⁴⁰ Similarly, in this part of the toolkit, traditional participant observation should be replaced by collaborative observation and collaborative participation. But who will be collaborating and found or brought in relation to the studied objects? In practice, Gell’s understanding of agency means that queer kinds of relations in and around artworks will, for example, create or trace unexpected ties between an ethnographic object/artwork, its history and properties, a person or community with historical connection to it, a refugee/person in a similar situation of displacement or with cultural connection to the object, an artist, an anthropologist, historian or the likes, a curator, lawmakers, politicians and persons as well as objects having similar qualities to the central object. Different from provenance research, relations that are made and researched are not just oriented towards an imagined origin and past but

40 K. A. U. & Wdowik, *Return of a Goddess* (2018), <https://www.tanzforumberlin.de/produktion/return-of-a-goddess/> [accessed 14/11/2021].

may be actively shaped in the present and include (odd)kin which would usually not play a role in provenance research.

Additionally, current academic work around museums and art contexts, as well as in the broader anthropological discourse, formulates the aim of including “communities by implication”.⁴¹ This term broadens the scope of those who may be in relation with museum objects beyond the so-called “communities of origin”, implying that temporally and spatially linear relations of origination are a misconception of what is going on. Rather, there is a multiplicity of actors and institutions that can claim to share a present, future, lineage or history with these objects, in the locations where they originated from as much as globally. This already implies a diversity of relations prone to escape normativity or at least reconfigure norms. Furthermore, relevant discourse around museums discusses ethics and comments on new curatorial and artistic methods. However, academic and curatorial work across disciplines has not been sufficiently informed by the anthropology of art and kinship in conjunction. While curators of ethnological will usually have anthropological training and are aware of ethnography-based theory within the discipline, political demands, practical concerns and questions of communication still take centre stage. Only after these concerns have been addressed are practitioners able to consider objects as person-like entities, following Gell’s idea of distributed personhood and his concept of agency which unfolds around objects in the art nexus. Conceived in that way, objects imply their own set of kin relations and potential agencies, with kinship being most neglected in research so far. Therefore, these two fields of anthropological theory are yet to be made more productive in the museum context.

Looking ahead: The queer futures of ethnographic museums

Taking an approach that combines theoretical reflection from anthropology with artistic and curatorial practice, this paper has discussed Alfred Gell’s art nexus model and its applicability to the study of kin relations around objects, calling for the development of a queer methodology that informs and instructs the analysis and creation of new relations around artworks and “ethnographic” objects. Queer has here been understood in the sense of non-normative kinds of and identities that are of vital importance for decolonisation in the arts and the museum.

Queering Alfred Gell’s art nexus, towards an invitation of queer relations around “ethnographic” collections, offers an alternative position of mediation and thinking outside the box in the light of highly politicised questions. This new approach can be achieved by focussing on intersectionally marginalised positions and considering

41 E. Lehrer, “Material Kin: ‘Communities of Implication’” in Post-Colonial, Post-Holocaust Polish Ethnographic Collections”, in: *Across Anthropology: Troubling Colonial Legacies, Museums, and the Curatorial*, eds. M. von Oswald, J. Tinius, Leuven, 2020, pp. 288–323.

how these, in their respective situatedness, all come to challenge normative orders and can possibly execute political power towards a shared goal. Thus, the paper hopes to have given theoretical impulses for practice around museum collections which offer a way out of the epistemic bind that stems from having to rely on rigid positions and identity politics in a struggle for recognition. In this context, the so-called “ethnographic objects” serve as material signifiers in relation to these claims. Yet, on a political level, relations that exist around objects in European-held ethnographic collections do have very real political implications. How come European nations are willing to engage with, for example, African ethnographic objects and to host them in prestigious museums, but are at the same time unwilling to take in refugees from non-European countries and provide them with means to create a life here, let alone engage with countries from the Global South as partners on eye-level? These implications are urgent and implied when studying the kinds of relations that ethnographic objects are enmeshed within and when looking at who defines the norms that these relations are supposed to follow.



Image 1: Not quite queering the museum but a step towards it. Installation view of the temporary exhibition *The Dead Live Longer* curated by Isabel Bredenbröker in collaboration with Mareike Späth at the Hanover State Museum. In this display, which had to follow many regulations and norms set by the museum such as disinfestation of objects displayed, presentation with explanatory signs and in vitrines, it still managed to focus on synthetic materials and their regional perception in South-East Ghana, something that is rarely an issue in ethnographic collections and museums. Photo: Kerstin Schmidt. Photo credits: Landesmuseum Hannover.

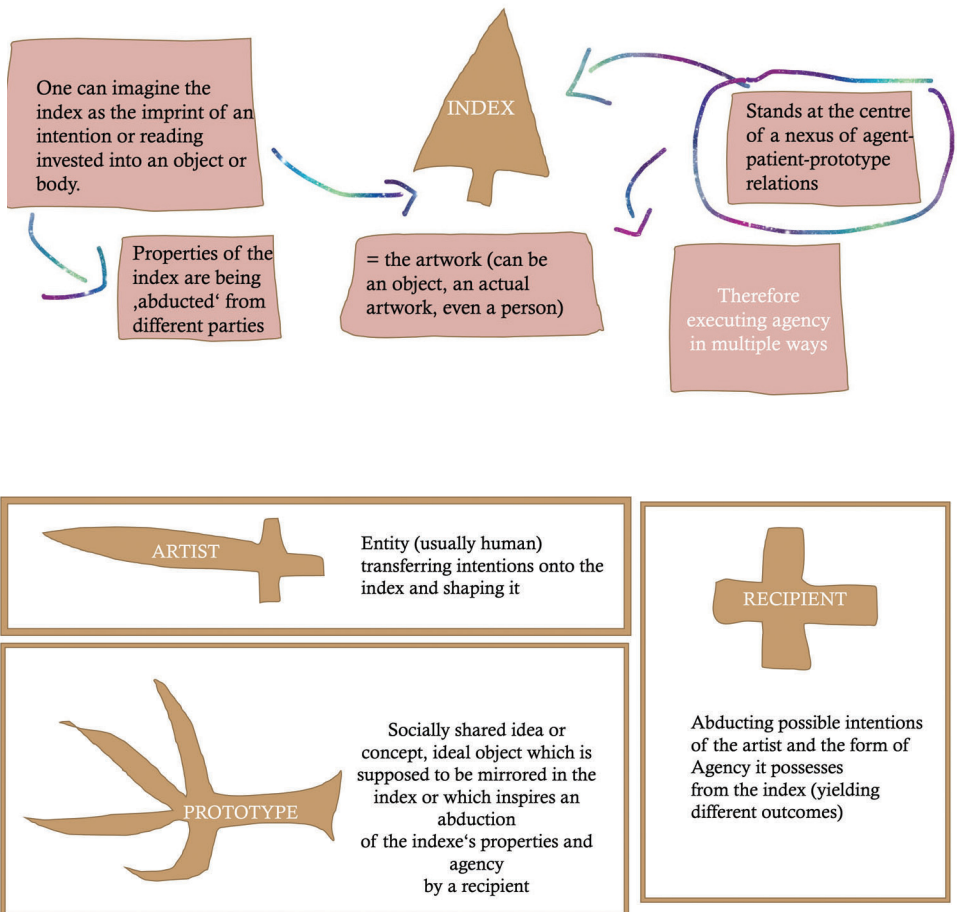


Image 2: Illustration of the art nexus and its constituting parts, an attempt to break this quite complicated model down into digestible bits. Image: Isabel Bredenbröker.



Image 3: Installation photograph showing the Zande hunting net alongside a Kuba woman's wrapper and Kasai metal currency at the ART/artifact exhibition at the Centre for African Art, New York City in 1988. Photo: Jerry L. Thompson. Courtesy of the Museum for African Art/Africa Center.



Image 4: A "Japanese dildo set" from the collection of Markus Hirschfeld is shown as part of the exhibition *To Be Seen – Queer Lives 1099–1950* at the nsdoku Munich Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism. This object that hovers between the categories of artwork and ethnographic object is part of an exhibition about queer lives during the NS time. Photo: Isabel Bredenbröcker.



Image 5: Participants of the platform exhibition/gathering *The House is Not a Home* organised by K at Lothringer13 in Munich gather in the exhibition space and use its facilities in multiple ways: cooking, eating, producing a radio show. Photo: Constanza Meléndez.

References

- Adjei, S. K., "Abstraction and the Sublime in Art: Bridging the Gap Between 'Modern Art' and Ewe Vodú Aesthetics", *The Garage Journal: Studies in Art, Museums & Culture*, 2020, 01, pp. 162–187.
- Ahmed, S., *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, London, 2006.
- Åsberg, C., Braidotti, R., *A Feminist Companion to the Posthumanities*, Utrecht, 2018.
- Banks, W. P., Cox, M. B., Dadas C. (eds), *Re/Orienting Writing Studies: Queer Methods, Queer Projects*, Logan, 2019.
- Basu, P., Modest, W., *Museums, Heritage and International Development*, New York, 2015.
- Bayer, N., Kazeem-Kamiński, B., Sternfeld, N., *Kuratieren als antirassistische Praxis*, Berlin, 2017.
- Blok, A., Fariás, I., Roberts, C., *The Routledge Companion to Actor-network Theory*, London, 2020.
- Bredenbröker, I., Stiegler, A., Boyd Schürmann, L., "This House Is Not a Home: Producing Encounter-based Collective Formats in the Time of Covid19", *The Garage Journal: Studies in Art, Museums & Culture*, 2021, 02, pp. 132–151.
- Browne, K., Nash, C. eds., *Queer Methods and Methodologies: Intersecting Queer Theories and Social Science Research*, Farnham, 2010.
- Clifford, J., "Taking Identity Politics Seriously: 'The Contradictory, Stony Ground...'", in: *Without Guarantees. In Honour of Stuart Hall*, ed. P. Gilroy, London, 2000, pp. 94–112.
- Coole, D. H., Frost, S., *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*, Durham, 2010.
- Danto, A., C., *Art: African Art in Anthropology Collections*, New York, 1988.
- Deliss, C., *The Metabolic Museum*, Berlin, 2020.
- Degot, E., Riff, D., Sowa, J., *Perverse Decolonization?*, Berlin, 2021.

- Fabian, J., *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, New York, 1983.
- Freeman, E., *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*, Durham, 2010.
- Gell, A., *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford, 1998.
- Gell, A., *The Anthropology of Time. Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*, Oxford, 1992.
- Gell, A., Hirsch, E., eds., *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, London, 1999.
- Glissant, É., *Poetics of Relation*, Ann Arbor, 1997.
- Hahn, H. P., Ivanov, P., Groschwitz, H., Laely, T., *Ethnologie und Weltkulturenmuseum: Positionen für eine offene Weltsicht*, Berlin, 2017.
- Harney, S., Moten, F., *The Undercommons. Fugitive Planning & Black Study*, Wivenhoe, 2013.
- Hicks, D., *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution*, London, 2020.
- Holbraad, M., Pedersen, M. A., *The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition*, Cambridge, 2017.
- K. A. U. & Widowik, *Return of a Goddess (2018)*, <https://www.tanzforumberlin.de/produktion/return-of-a-goddess/> [accessed 14/11/2021].
- Keeling, K., *Queer Times, Black Futures*, New York, 2019.
- Keucheyan, R., *The Left Hemisphere. Mapping Critical Theory Today*, London, 2013.
- Küchler, S., Carroll, T., *A Return to the Object: Alfred Gell, Art, and Social Theory*, London, 2020.
- Latour, B., *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford, 2005.
- Lehrer, E., "Material Kin: 'Communities of Implication'" in *Post-Colonial, Post-Holocaust Polish Ethnographic Collections*, in: *Across Anthropology: Troubling Colonial Legacies, Museums, and the Curatorial*, eds. M. von Oswald, J. Tinius, Leuven, 2020, pp. 288–323.
- Lord, C., Meyer, R., *Art & Queer Culture*, London, 2020.
- Macdonald, S., *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*, New York, 2009.
- Macdonald, S., *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, New York, 2013.
- Mbembe, A., *On the Postcolony*, Berkeley, 2001.
- Meyer, B., de van Port, M., *Sense and Essence: Heritage and the Cultural Production of the Real*, New York, 2018.
- Muñoz, J. E., *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, New York, 2019.
- Museen Queeren Berlin. <https://www.museen-queeren.de/uumlber-uns.html>, [accessed 14/11/2021].
- Ndikung, B. S. B., *Those Who are Dead are Not Ever Gone: On the Maintenance of Supremacy, the Ethnological Museum and the Intricacies of the Humboldt Forum*, Berlin, 2018.
- Ndikung, B. S. B., *Pidginization as Curatorial Method: Messing with Languages and Praxes of Curating*, Berlin, 2023.
- Osborne, P., *Anywhere or Not at All: Philosophy of Contemporary Art*, London, 2013.
- The Combahee River Collective. *The Combahee River Collective Statement*, 1977, in: Library of Congress, Women's And Gender Studies Web Archive, 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwaN0028151/>.
- The Pitt Rivers Museum, *Beyond the Binary*, <https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/beyond-the-binary>, [accessed 14/11/2021].
- Preciado, P. B., Mandell, C., *An Apartment on Uranus*, London, 2020.
- Procter, A., *The Whole Picture: The Colonial Story of the Art in Our Museums & Why We Need to Talk About It*, London, 2020.
- Sarr, F., Savoy, B., *Restituer Le Patrimoine Africain*, Paris, 2018.
- Steiner, C. B., *African Art in Transit*, Cambridge, 2004.

- Strathern, M., *Relations: An Anthropological Account*, Durham, 2020.
- Sullivan, N., Middleton, C., *Queering the Museum*, New York, 2020.
- Thompson, R. F., *African Art in Motion: Icon and Art*, 1974, Los Angeles.
- Weiner, A., *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange*, Austin, 1976.
- Weiss, M., "Always After: Desiring Queerness, Desiring Anthropology", *Cultural Anthropology*, 2016, 31, no. 4, pp. 627–638.