and the kinds of things that happen around art, as agents capable of creating affects, whereas Bourriaud is exploring the widespread concern for artworks that work on or through social relations – either altering them in some way of using them directly as the artist's 'material'.

RELATIONAL ART PRACTICE: THE WORK OF TERESA PEREDA

Recoleción/Restitución (*Recollection/Restitution*), a recent work by Argentine artist Teresa Pereda, shows how sensuous qualities of materials can be used for relational practices of appropriation. In *Recolección/Restitución*, Pereda goes beyond the mere *post facto* 'return' acknowledgements and appreciation of collaboration characteristic of her previous projects involving fieldwork.[27] Here, she brings earth samples in advance from other parts of Argentina to the new field sites to give to people, an anticipated and dislocated return, linking in a web, or meshwork, different people across different parts of Latin America. As the artist explains:

> In every journey I carry out a number of specific actions. I inform myself with the concept of process and directly lived experience, I solicit and I give earth samples and I convert myself in a nexus between regions, between the descendants of immigrants and the sons of the earth, between the old and the new continent, between zones of anonymity.[28]

Giant woollen clews (with wool brought by Pereda from Patagonia) become both the social medium and symbol for her engagement with people, as well as an element of restitution, in that the wool is donated and left to the community after the performance. In the 2008 performance *Flores para un desierto* (*Flowers for a Desert*), with the help of local people, she braids the thick wool threads into plaits, which can be rolled up and unrolled as large clews. The underlying idea is not simply to give the woollen clews in return for earth samples (much of Teresa Pereda's earlier work has been in this direction), and to collect stories, but also let the wool intervene and be appropriated in a relational manner in local life and the relations between artist-ethnographer and the people she is working with. The clew is then adorned with the colourful ribbons (Plate 4), which are used to mark llamas on 20 January in, what in Spanish is called the *floreo* (flowering) and in Aymara *wayñu*, and sometimes metaphorically referred to as a 'wedding' between animals to increase their fertility and number of future offspring.[29] The ceremony begins at 10.00 a.m. and first offerings (*ofrendas*) to the Pachamama are made (Plate 5). Pereda is invited by Erasmo and Eduardo Quispe (who are leading the ceremony), to participate, integrating the clew and the earth samples she brought from other parts of Argentina, as well as the shovel and the bag with which she will take earth samples from here. A white male llama is also sacrificed (Figure 1.1). Not only is the clew used to relate to the local people, and it is given to them as a gift, but it also has a transformative aspect in that it incorporates the work of appropriation, interferes in the cultural and natural landscapes, and connects both the artists, the people and their stories and materials, such as

Figure 1.1. Teresa Pereda, *Offering – sacrifice* II photo-performance, 2008. From *Collecting in the Salt Pan: An appointment in Jaruma* series (2008) Salar de Uyuni, Bolivia, as part of the project *Gathering/Restitution: Appointments around America* (*Recolección/Restitución: Citas por América*). Courtesy of the artist.

Figure 1.2. Teresa Pereda, *Weaving*, photo-performance, 2007. *Collecting in the Forest: An appointment in Yatana* series (2007) Bienal del Fin del Mundo, Tierra del Fuego, Argentina, as part of the project *Gathering/Restitution: Appointments around America* (*Recolección/Restitución: Citas por América*). Courtesy of the artist.

earth and wool. It is at once medium to and symbol of an exchange relationship and a more widely spun web of social and cultural relations. This idea of the web of social relations, as a textile or fabric, is also well captured in Pereda's performance 'Tejido' in Tierra del Fuego, the woollen clew is rolled through the forest and participants are invited to make a fabric or meshwork out of it, linking people and trees (Figure 1.2).[30] Such work then, while not directly referencing it, can be strongly linked to ideas of relational practice (Bourriaud), connected lines as meshwork (Ingold), and appropriation (Schneider).

In fact, we might also think of anthropological fieldwork, by comparison, as a kind of massively extended performance where a web of temporary social relations is spun between anthropologists and research subjects.

EXPERIMENTS WITH FIELDWORK

Experimentation is a key issue that runs throughout much of the discussion above, not just in terms of the kinds of literal experimentation that results in new forms of work and knowledge, but in the sense – perhaps literally the senses – that anthropology and contemporary art both move forward through experimentation. This is clearly somewhat problematic for anthropology in the way that, on the one hand, 'experiment' implies (certainly falsely in relation to fieldwork) a controlled laboratory