The Performing Identity of the Canary Islands: Amazigh Heritage Influences in the Artistic Production

The use of indigenous symbolism in traditional pottery work and in the Taburiente musical discourse

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1. Introduction

1.1 The researcher at home

My initial interest to inquire into the indigenous imagination in the Canary Islands arises from my curiosity about the flourishing social movements around indigenous heritage that have been expressed, among other forms, through social media and which I have been following from abroad. It is important to clarify that even though I was born in Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands, I have not lived permanently there for more than ten years now. In 2004, I started my University studies in the mainland of Spain and later on, I moved to the Netherlands. Hence, from the exile as well as during my visits to the islands was how I started to be aware of such social phenomena.

The anthropologist Marta Kempny has reflected on being an anthropologist at home in her article Rethinking Native Anthropologist: migration and auto-ethnography in the post-accession Europe. She was a Polish endo-ethnographer doing research on Polish migrants in Belfast. In the article, she argues that both informants and researcher do not have a single status, but a status set since we all belong to different communities simultaneously (Merton, 1972:22). Consequently, the researcher's identity as well as the informants' identity constitutes "a multi-stranded and manifold entity" (Kempny, 2012:9). When ethnographer and interviewees share some spheres of identity it is possible to build trust with them and create positive relations which facilitate the research process (Kempny, 2012: 8).

Last April 2015, I went to Tenerife to start my fieldwork. My initial interest was reflecting on Canarian artistic production inspired by the indigenous legacy.

I observed that little attention was paid to the way in which the indigenous heritage business constituted the cornerstone to the artistic production of many individuals in the Canary Islands.

Such artistic discourses as well as the way in which those were experienced and practiced by their public seemed to be deeply influenced by wider societal processes that went further than the mere heritage commercialization. That angle of analysis brought me to the first point I wanted to research: Which were the reasons that stimulated the creative processes of the artists?

Apart from commercial profit, they were involved in moulding emotional states and ideas, as well as sometimes motivating their audience to take different types of social actions (Svašek, 2007:10). Therefore, a second question was: Why were people willing to buy art objects and listen to music based on the indigenous past of the Canaries? A last aspect to tackle was the social and cultural impact of such artistic processes on their publics.

Therefore, I immersed myself in socio-cultural worlds where the indigenous imagination was displayed at numerous domains such as museums, ethnographical and archaeological sites, craft markets where indigenous pottery was sold, seminars on the origins and settlements of the Canary Islands at local universities, conferences by Amazigh pro-independence Canarian associations, as well as concerts where indigenous claims and pro-independence slogans were used (see figure 1). To this respect, Kempny claims that having an insider status as a researcher can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, endo-ethnographers appear to have a good understanding of a macro-society and its daily routines, symbols and value system. On the other hand, that same cultural intimacy can play to the ethnographer's disadvantage. Often, insiders tend to take certain things for granted. Thus, the challenge of conducting research at home is how "to get out" in order to enable yourself to have an ethnographic gaze in familiar social environments (Van Ginkel, 1998:256-258).

Some of the advantages arising from the insider status suggested by her are: the cultural intimacy, an easier establishment of trust and a lesser tendency for people under study to impress an insider and to present a more positive portrait of themselves (Kempty, 2012:8).

Regarding the cultural intimacy, the fact that I am a native speaker of the Spanish language facilitated enormously the interaction with my informants, who often do not speak English well or do not speak it at all. The use of a common language also influenced the quality of the data gathered. Similarly, such shared cultural codes gave me the intuitive knowledge of "tacit rules" such as unspoken traditions, accepted social behaviours, corporal language, etc. All constituted meaningful information that guided me to interpret the data and conduct my study (Kempty, 2012:7-8). I could build bridges between my informants and me thanks to that easier establishment of trust. For instance, the informants of my case studies trusted me much more easily when I shared with them my particular interest in indigenous pottery and my knowledge of the musical repertoire of my second case study, the vocalist of a local musical band.

However, that was just during an initial stage of the research, only what regards to approach my informants. The process of knowledge production is much more complex of what is been described until now and it has been accompanied by lots of academic work. Additionally, I observed a clear disadvantage when telling them my status. That is a graduate female researcher coming from Leiden University and being an economic migrant in the Netherlands. The moment they knew it, they had a disappointment. Partly, because they made a co-relation between my situation of being a researcher abroad and the situation of financial crisis in Spain, translated to the educational sphere. Thus, in principle, they related my situation with the lack of research funding at the universities of the Canaries. And they insisted they would like me to make available the research in Spanish in order to be read by local audiences. Later, I had the opportunity to clarify them my reasons to conduct that research from a university from abroad, which were not directly connected to a matter of funding.

Lastly, in the light of Kempty's hypothesis I experienced as an advantage not to be fully familiar with the social-cultural milieu where the research was carried out. That circumstance was possible in my case thanks to my stay away from the Canary Islands during the last eleven years. In her opinion, that lack of familiarity to a certain extent endows a researcher with a certain degree of naivety which prevents him/her from taking-for-granted the observed reality. Consequently, such a partly naïve position may lead to more insightful and critical analyses of the phenomena analyzed (Kempty, 2012:12).

Figure 1: Indigenous imagination in a political poster (D. García: 2015)

1.2 The study: initial research questions

There is an important presence of elements from the indigenous heritage in practically all domains in the Canary Islands. The ideological discourses from moderated nationalism to pro-independence postures justify "the honourable indigenous past". A consequence is that political discourses appropriate the protection of traditional costumes and celebrations while turning the indigenous past into museums and ethnographic parks.

Consequently, anthropological and historical scientific discourses, frequently intertwined with political processes, argue against the indigenous heritage commercialization and its consumption by tourists and locals, as if such processes could undermine its intrinsic value. Even though the museum management and the cultural patrimony are not the main focus of my research, I would like to briefly approach them due to the crucial importance to the creation of an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) where Canarian citizens share a glorious indigenous past and should be proud of it. Moreover, the patrimony management is, at the same time, an important political and economical tool to re-create, regulate and conserve certain patrimonial elements of a culture to the detriment of others. The view of experts is in most of the cases the filter through which some items of material cultural patrimony are interpreted and saved as valuable, while others are not. In a global context, the protection of the historical patrimony can be understood as resistance against the homogenization of social behaviours and consumption. Conversely, such a historical, cultural patrimony is essentially consumed by tourists and less by locals. Hence, it can be said that it has actually been created to satisfy the tourists' demands (Estévez, 2004:16).

In that respect, I have decided to include the study of the Guatimac, an archaeological figurine which constitutes a great example of cultural imagination. Briefly, I can say that the Guatimac is an archaeological figurine found in a natural cave next to the Herques ravine, in the south of Tenerife. According to several archaeologists, there is no scientific evidences to consider that figurine as an idol due to the lack of scientific evidences. However, the Guatimac figurine has been displayed and interpreted as a religious idol at the Archaeological Museum in Puerto de la Cruz (Tenerife). During the museum visit, even a didactic activity about the figurine (presented as a Guanche idol) for kids is offered by the institution. Directly related to this, I found a potter in a celebratory craft market at the occasion of the Spanish national celebration of the Book Day. She took part in a surprising performing act, dressing up herself as an indigenous woman, selling replicas of indigenous ceramics, utilitarian objects and items of ritual and symbolic value, that were recently re-created as the Guatimac figurine which has became one of the most symbolically affective emblems of Agael's artistic work and business.

I was surprised to find such a display at her stand with informative panels including the picture of the figurine and its description (interestingly written in English), that literally said: "replica of small protective idol used by the Guanches, natives of the island of Tenerife, found in the late nineteenth century (1885) in a cave and wrapped in furs in the Herques ravine, in the Fasnia-Güímar municipality". Agael's work became one of my case studies and I will further describe my observations from the meetings with her in chapter 3.

I have observed that little attention has been paid to the way in which the indigenous heritage business constitutes the cornerstone to the artistic production of many individuals in the Canary Islands. The research aims to account that such existing expressive forms based on a primitive past should be considered as relevant anthropological phenomena, which deserves to be studied scientifically, and not only be described as a mere way of commercialization. In that respect, I have decided to base my fieldwork on two case studies: Agael, the artist mentioned previously, who reproduces indigenous pottery and figurines, and

the Taburiente band composer and vocalist, Luis Morera, who makes allusion to the indigenous past in his lyrics, set within a pro-independence framework.

Therefore, both artistic discourses as well as the way in which those are experienced and practiced by their public seem to be deeply influenced by wider societal processes that go further than the mere indigenous heritage commercialization. This is the first point I would like to research: Which are the reasons that stimulate the creative process of these artists?

Apart from commercial profit, these artists are involved in moulding emotional states and ideas, as well as sometimes motivating their audience to take different types of social action (Svasek, 10:200). Hence, a second question is: Why are people willing to buy art objects and listen to the music based on the indigenous heritage? By approaching two concrete case studies using qualitative research methods, I will be able to analyze the multi-layered discourse that is actually affecting the artistic production. The two case studies will be described in chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

Lastly, an analysis on the social and cultural impact of the indigenous enchantment in the audiences is conducted on point 2.5.2 of chapter 2.

1.3 Interdisciplinary Approach: an overview of the chapters

The approach taken in this paper is highly interdisciplinary, drawing from previous works in history (historiographical sources, history of archaeology), anthropology, archaeology, linguistics as well as art and cultural studies. Thus, engaging with each of these fields of research requires juggling with varying theories, traditions and even concepts, such as identity or community, which are quite relevant here. However, the broader theoretical position taken in this paper goes right to the centre of the human condition. That is the multi-stranded human behaviour as it concerns the relationship between top-down, global, structural forces and bottom-up, local and creative initiatives as the traditional pottery and music messages based on the indigenous heritage of the Canary Islands.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Chapter 2 is a brief approach to the studies on the history of the origins and settlement of the Canary Islands. It is highly interdisciplinary since I attempted to analyse the “creation” of the indigenous imagination from different disciplines. It will be further developed in next point under the analytical framework. Chapter 3 is based on my first case study: the traditional pottery inspired by the indigenous heritage of the Canary Islands. Lastly, Chapter 4 is dedicated to the analysis of the use of indigenous symbology in the musical discourse of my second case study, Luis Morera, vocalist and main figure of Taburiente Band. The conclusion actively summarizes and elaborates on the appearing complexities posed in the research. Questions and inspiration for future research are also launched in this section. Lastly, the selection of pictures gives a visual insight of the use of the indigenous imagination related to identity processes in the context of the Canary Islands.

1.4 The analytical framework

1.4.1 Background1:context

The indigenous legacy in the Canary Islands is directly connected to historiographical sources that have provided an account of the native inhabitants and have helped to construct the social image of the guanches in the archipelago. Historically, the most relevant testimonies could be dated from the eighteenth century. Ideas of race and nation were interiorized by the European bourgeois society and were exported to the whole world during the colonization period. In that respect, the Canary Islands were one of the first territories to be occupied. The local elites assumed the ideological imperatives of the European nationalistic ideology and its civil society patron. Thus, the representation of the origins became important. The pre-colonial past and the modern values of freedom, democracy and

progress were standardized in the chronicles. (Estévez, 2011:149-153; 2008: 139-158; Gil H. 2011: 177).

The racialist approach indicated that the indigenous physiognomy and character would have been reproduced generation by generation in the Canarian population after their colonization. Very soon, the image of the Canarian peasant was strategically described as the ideal emblem of the indigenous heritage. Consequently, the most popular ideas that have remained in the collective imaginary over time are the idea of the indigenous inhabitant personified in the Canarian peasant and the African-Berber component in the historical origins. The archaeological, historiographical and anthropological indigenous context is analysed in points 2, 2.1 and 2.3 of chapter 2.

Additionally, a renaissance of identity elements in the Canarian cultural discourse is also observed from the 1960´s. Some painters tried back then to find new sources of inspiration in the indigenous ceramic, symbols, mummification rituals or cave painting. (Rodríguez Doreste, 1976; Santana, 976). In Linguistics, a great attempt was also made to compile the indigenous lexis (see on-line version of the ínsuloamaziq dictionary available at http://insuloamaziq.blogspot.com). I find a similar attempt in the musical discourse, represented by Taburiente band (1972), as they tried to include Guanche terminology in many of their lyrics, popularizing pro-independence slogans under Franco's regime, following a flourishing pro-independence political discourse observed in that period. Such ideas will be discussed in point 2.2 and 2.2.1 of chapter 2.

It is important to contextualize these indigenous heritage claims in the prelude of the fall of Franco's military dictatorship in 1975, when the anti-regime discourses became more and more extended especially in the artistic spheres. The socio-political context of such claims will be further analysed in the next chapters.

In the context of the Canary Islands, there is a population sector who establishes a parallelism between the African colonial past and the archipelago, as a Spanish colony, and bases their argumentation on the Libyco-Berber thesis about the islands´ African origins. As a result, the indigenous heritage constitutes a symbolic discourse to create the illusion of a common African-primitive past which defines the Canarian population as society and justify, as a last resort, its independence from the Spanish Government. The relevance of this matter to the question that is researched lies in the way in which such discourses, created in the political sphere, permeate the collective imaginary and self-perceptions.

Similarly, the moderate nationalism in the Canary Islands has become the main political force in the archipelago during the recent history of Spanish democracy. The nationalistic party Coalición Canaria has based its political discourse on, what Estévez has called the indigenous patrimonization. That is the emotional legitimization of identity ideas that I will discuss in next sections.

1.4.2 Background2:Thetheoreticalframe

I start my analysis with the review of two of the most important books published in the archipelago, which have been written with the eagerness to "disseminate the scientific value of the Canarian studies to the general audience", as it is also stated in the prologue of Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) published in 1978. The second book Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria (The symbols of the Canarian Identity) was edited by the Canarian Centre of Popular Culture in 1992. Both books were written with an encyclopaedic perspective aiming to gather as much data as possible, accomplishing at the same time a pedagogic mission in the transmission of the local culture. Hence, the books have also been used as guidelines in school curriculums.

In the first one, Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias two main aspects have been object of analysis. These subjects are: (a) the racialist postulates on the Guanches and their

supposed survival in the contemporary society, according to the German anthropologist Ilse Schwidetzy's works (see Schwidetzky 1963, La Población prehispánica de las Islas Canarias, Museo Arqueológico, Tenerife); and (b) the categorization, made by Hernández, of the Canarian psychology inspired by the indigenous inhabitants descriptions in the documents from chronicles and historians. In the latter, the author makes what he calls a psychological profile of the Canarian inhabitant. In there he describes common characteristics of the Canarian population, which he refers to as having an inferiority complex in respect to outsiders, experiencing difficulties in oral expression in comparison with the Spanish mainland, and having a passive temper partly as result of the colonial period. (Hernández et al 1978: 434-437).

The second book, Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria constitutes of a selection of 75 symbols. The volume includes symbols related to the archaeological indigenous remains, examples of peasant lives, local food as potatoes or fish, traditional trades, elements from the nature as the Atlantic Ocean and volcanoes, the touristic phenomena and sculptures of virgins, among others.

In the prologue, concepts of culture/identity/ancestral origins are intertwined and presented as part of the same reality. Thus, these aspects are taken as whole to define the elements of the Canarian identity. The main argument used in this part is the correlation between population and territory to define an identity symbol. In the same line of consideration, is also the relevance of delimiting a Canarian ethnic individuality. Around the 1990s, when the book was published, the identity claims had experienced an important revivalism due to the continuous process of globalization and cultural homogenization. The two most relevant symbols to the research question are included in the analysis: the Aborigine and the Canarian Ceramist.

The discussion on the soundness of the books Natura y Cultura de Las Islas Canarias and Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria in this research is developed in point 2.1 of the second chapter.

Consequently, the works by Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities and Anthropology, Art and Cultural Production by Maruska Svašek constitute the two main theoretical works to approach both the two case studies. The diffusion of pro-independence musical messages will be analyzed under Anderson's perspective to point out the soundness of concepts as neo-nationalism in relation to social construction of identity discourses within a region. My fieldwork includes: an interview with the composer, the transcription, translation and anthropological analysis of two of his most popular lyrics, the attendance at one of his concert performances and the band press report analysis. All these elements will help me to achieve accurate conclusions.

Svašek's work facilitates me the study of art/music producers as economic actors, and so concerned about potential buyers and profitability of their products; as well as individuals influenced by ideological, political, identity and aesthetical processes. The ceramist's case study will help me to explore the cultural biography of the indigenous figurine named Guatimac. That is, its presence at Agael's studio, its perception as a piece of souvenir, its display at the Archaeological museum as an indigenous idol and its profound emotional legitimacy to the artisan, concerning her-self perception and expressed to me during interviews.

To complete the analysis from a postcolonial approach, I will discuss to what extent the political and economic forces play a role on the appropriation of the Guatimac for its economical-touristic commercialization. Related to that, authors as Farrujia de la Rosa and Estévez reflect on the current function of museums and social uses of patrimony (see Farrujia de la Rosa, 2015: 275-319 pp.; Estévez, 2003: 13-15 pp.). The Guatimac's biography is discussed in point 2.4.1.

The indigenous elements, pottery works or discursive elements in the case of musical expressions, have often been negatively connoted in the academic works consulted, in which is merely highlighted the capitalization of indigenous products as piece of souvenir.

However, it is important to consider how the changing market forces are actually influencing the ways people perceive and value artistic productions and shape its social acceptation which can be expressed through consumption patterns. In the light of this argumentation, Ascanio Sánchez, in Género, Tradición e Identidades (Gender, Tradition and Identity) helped me to understand how cultural identity processes are inherent in the production and consumption of handcrafted objects.

Besides political powers and market forces, audiences make also use of the indigenous "enchantment" to promote certain ideas in the public opinion. There are numerous social groups in the archipelago who make use of the information and communication technologies (ICTs) to appeal for social attention in matters that they present as the real culture of the islands and are based on the indigenous heritage. The study of those groups, mainly via Facebook, and their impact on the audiences well deserve a whole dissertation. However, due to space limitations I have brief mentioned them in this paper because of their important presence in the social media as well as their relevant contribution to the ongoing identity processes in the current social fabric of the Canaries. Such a grassroots movement is discussed in point 2.5.2.

Moreover, Appadurai in The work of the imagination gives insights into returning the human dimension of expression forms as the Guatimac figurine and Taburiente music, which also appeal to man's feelings. A more detailed analysis on the theoretical frame can be read in chapter 2, sections 2.4-2.5.1

1.5 Fieldwork

I conducted fieldwork in the Canary Islands from April until July 2015. More precisely, my research was limited to the islands of Tenerife, Gran Canaria and La Palma. During that time, I had the opportunity to gather different type of data from sources of diverse nature: oral, visual and written material. Firstly, I collected all kind of pictures, postcards, posters, slogans, short films, etc., that were inspired by the indigenous heritage in the Canary Islands. I have incorporated in the text pictures of several recent uses of the indigenous symbolism in political campaigns, in the advertisement of activities based on the Amazigh legacy, giving name to local bars and restaurants, as part of the street furniture with indigenous statues, in urban graffiti with pro-independence slogans as well as in antique postcards from European travellers during the early 20th century who portrayed the rural life of the islands and their peasant inhabitants, considered by many of them as directly inherited of the indigenous first settlers.

I also accessed to online press articles, interviews, blogs and Facebook groups in which the indigenous heritage was a common factor. The Taburiente discography and video clips constituted also a crucial tool to the research. Lastly, diverse bibliography was consulted with the aim to reach an interdisciplinary approach, as it mentioned previously.

During that period, I have been also immersed in a process of participatory observation which has continued during the redaction process of this paper since, as we all know, social phenomena are rooted in constant developing and re-defining processes. Such a participatory observation has mainly been based on my participation in different activities, courses, conferences, etc., around the topic as well as my personal interaction with formal and informal informants related to my research questions. Thus, I have combined fieldwork with scientific readings and methodological literature.

I will continue describing in chronological order the events that have been mentioned.

April

18th: Exhibition: The Guanche Woman. Invisible Strength at Museum of Nature and Man, Santa Cruz de Tenerife. It consisted on an approach to the Guanche woman and tasks related to her in opposition to the men jobs. The exhibition was based on the interpretation of historical chronicles and archaeological remains. It was relevant to the research topic since it constitutes a great example of the social construction of the past and its representation at museums.

21st- 22nd: Conference: Social and Cultural Anthropology, Global youth, alternative visions? La Laguna University (Tenerife). Even though, the conferences were not very relevant to my research question, I decided to attend them because it was the way to approach the University anthropologists. After the conferences, I had the opportunity to have lunch with the prologue writer of the book Los símbolos de la identidad Canaria (1992) (Symbols of the Canarian Identity), Professor José Alberto Galván Tudela, a social anthropologist. I analyse the social impact of that book together with Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (1978) (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) in chapter 2.

22nd: Exhibition: Written on Stones. Cave paintings of the Canary Islands organized by the foundation of a local bank (CajaCanarias). Here it is an extract of the information provided in the leaflet of the exhibition: "The cave paintings are abstract, geometric, figurative and alphabetic representations, engraved on rocky surfaces by the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands, who are related genetically and culturally speaking, to the North African Amazigh world, from where they come from" (…).

From the above the Amazigh thesis about the Canarian origins can be considered as the most popular and largely accepted among the population and directed connected to identity processes.

May

1st: Visit to a craft market in Santa Cruz (Tenerife) to the occasion of the Spanish national celebration of the Book Day. I had the chance to talk to different artisans who gave me their impressions about the current situation of traditional craftsmanship in the Canaries. I also met there Agael, a potter who became one of the case studies of my research.

8th: Conference: The Canary Islands. Identity enigma, Growth and Scar. Organized by Inekaren, a pro-independent youth organization created in 2008. Professor Pedro Hernández Hernández, from the Department of Psychology at La Laguna University was the first lecturer. The title of his lecture was "who we are, how we are, from where we come from and to where the Canarian go". Hernández was co-author of the book Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (1978) (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) which is also analysed in chapter 2.

8th: Concert of Taburiente Band. La Laguna, Tenerife. The data gathered during the concert is further analyzed under the second case study in chapter 4.

Jun

e

23rd: Visit to the Museum of Nature and Man, Santa Cruz de Tenerife

26th: Visit to the History and Anthropology Museum. La Laguna, Tenerife.

29th: Visit to the Archaeological Museum in Puerto de la Cruz. Guatimac Figurine

July

3rd: Visit to the traditional oven for baking ceramics, "La Guisada". La Guancha, Tenerife. Informal interviews with local potters were conducted, taking part of the baking ritual.

5th: Visit to a craft market in Garachico, Tenerife.

8th: Visit to Agael's studio to conduct an interview. El Escobonal, Tenerife.

13-15th: Three days course on Canarian origins and settlement at the Summer University of Maspalomas, Gran Canaria. It was based on a multidisciplinary approach to the subject from

different disciplines as archaeology, anthropology, philology and historiography. The conferences were compiled in a book which has been consulted in the paper.
14 th: Visit to Cañadas de Los Gatos archaeological park, Gran Canaria.
15th: Visit to the Museo Canario (Canarian Museum) and museum and archaeological park Cueva Pintada, Gran Canaria.
16th: Visit to Guayadeque Ravine and its interpretational centre. There were archaeological data from the indigenous settlement in the ravine and ethnographical information about the re-use of indigenous caves by later local generations.
26th: Visit to the archaeological park Cueva Belmaco, La Palma.
27th: Conducted interview with Luis Morera, Taburiente Band. Santa Cruz de la Palma.

Lastly, I have conducted informal and formal interviews during the time of fieldwork described above from April 2015 till July 2015. All the material has been recorded and is available upon request.

In the same line, the interviews with my two case studies have been based on qualitative methods following their life story. They both clearly stated that they would like to have their name unchanged in the research. In the case of Luis Morera, vocalist of Taburient Band, he is a famous name from the musical sphere of the Canaries.

2. A Brief Approach to the Studies on the History of the Origins and Settlement of the Canary Islands

The Canary Islands started to be settled during the First Millennium B.C. by Northern-African Imazighen. The settlers developed cultural and magic-religious practices in their new habitat. Such postulates are based on archaeological remains between the archipelago and areas of the Sahara, Moroccan Atlas, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya. By settling in the archipelago, the Imazighen became isolated from the African continent as well as from other Amazigh ethnic groups. The rugged orography of the islands forced them to their new environment in isolated conditions. Hence, the archaeological indigenous heritage can be considered as an extraordinary and marginal example of Amazigh culture, almost unclassifiable (Farrujia de la Rosa, 2015:135-136). Ethnographically, the culture of the Canarian indigenous seems to be related to the cultural practices of the Imazighen that existed around 3,000 years ago.

Despite the evidence from archaeological remains (i.e. based on rock art and ceramic work) as well as linguistics and genetic studies (e.g. DNA studies) supporting the previously mentioned hypothesis, the circumstances of the arrival are still a matter of inquiry.

The geographical origin of the first inhabitants of the Canaries remains debatable on the academic level. Considering the disparity of opinion on the subject, the question of the origins remains complicated to tackle. Adding to these conceptual differences is the lack of current systematic archaeological projects in the Archipelago and Northern-Africa, which would assist in unfolding facts about the origins and settlement of the archipelago (Farrujia de la Rosa, 2011:315-316).

On the other hand, the advancements in DNA studies, based on Biological Anthropology[1] have been offering new elements to reflect on the complex theorization of the Canarian origins. At the end of 20th century, the racialist[2] approaches were replaced by new questions

[1] Known as well as Physical Anthropology

[2] The Racialist Anthropology pointed the survival of the guanche race, indicating that the indigenous physiognomy and character had been reproduced by generations in the Canarian population after being colonized. Consequently, the image of the Canarian peasant was strategically described as the ideal emblem of the indigenous heritage. In 18th century, the author Berthelot participated in the scientific discussion about the origin of the Guanche race. He adopted the thesis that the guanches were directly descended from the North-

based on the indigenous diet, nutrition, osseous lesions and activity marks, which have been analyzed using human remains (Velasco Vázquez, 2015:25-26). Based on comparative paleontological-genetic studies among Amazigh groups from central Morocco and Saharan populations, the results could confirm the sub-Saharan component in the Canarian indigenous inhabitants and its genetic permanence in the current islander population (Velasco Vázquez, 2015:32).

The genetic data regarding the first settlers show that they could have arrived from North-west Africa and have first settled on the nearest islands (i.e. Lanzarote and Fuerteventura) and later moved towards the ones located further from the African continent (i.e. Gran Canaria, Tenerife, La Gomera, La Palma and El Hierro). Neither the number of settlers nor the way they arrived is known. But what is widely accepted is the fact that they arrived to settle in there, as they brought with them animals and seeds. Scarcity of data makes it difficult to establish whether they moved simultaneously or at different time periods. However, according to the biological anthropologist analysis, both the inhabitants and the resources they brought derive from a common origin. That is, Northern Africa. The settlers seem to have introduced in the archipelago the same economic systems practiced in their region(s) of origin, which was based on the crop farming of cereals, leguminous plants, figs as well as small stock such as goats, pigs and sheep. These practices are also present in the archaeological sites of the islands, having constituted the basis of the various economic systems in Northern-African for centuries. At the same time of their settlement, local products from fishing and shellfishing were also incorporated to the diet (Velasco Vázquez, 2015:42-43).

The academic disagreement extends to the discussion about the nautical skills of the first inhabitants of the islands. However, historiographical sources do not refer to the matter. An exception of this is the reported expedition of Leonardo Torriani, who states the following:

> "También hacían barcos del árbol drago, que cavaban entero, y después le ponían lastre de piedra, y navegaban con remos y vela de palma alrededor de las costas de la isla; y también tenían por costumbre pasar a Tenerife y a Fuerteventura y robar".[3]
>
> ("They also made boats out of wood from a tree that they called drago, they dug it entirely, and then put a ballast of stones, they sailed with paddles and palm sail around the coasts of the island; they also used to get in Tenerife and Fuerteventura and steal").

However, there is no definitive archaeological evidence that proves the knowledge of navigation of the settlers. Remains of handcrafts created from palm leaves as well as samples of ropes and sails could be considered as possible elements related to the settlers' nautical skills. These assumptions lead to further disparity of though. The Biological Anthropology perspective provides limited knowledge of the issue. Although research conducted in the islands of Gran Canaria and Fuerteventura conducted point at the settlers' regular exposure to cold water based on osseous studies of the ear canal. Hence, that can be interpreted as a supporting evidence of the fishing and shellfishing practices incorporated by the first inhabitants of the islands. Considering these indirect evidences, it remains difficult to determine whether the first inhabitants were able to navigate and further studies must be conducted (Velasco Vázquez, 2015:53-55).

African Berbers (Farrujia de La Rosa, 2015:155-169; 2007:307-313; see also, Merolla, 2006:29-30). The contemporary studies on Racialist Anthropology in the Canaries can be consulted in Schwidetzy 1963, La Población prehispánica de las Islas Canarias, Museo Arqueológico, Tenerife. The anthropological approach to the indigenous imagination will be developed in section 2.3 of this chapter.

[3] See Torriani (1978), Descripción de las Islas Canarias,Goya Editions, Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

Thanks to disciplines such as the Biological Anthropology, Archaeology, History and Historiography we have access to information about the lifestyle of the islands' first settlers, colloquially known as guanches.[4]

The testimony of official chroniclers and adventurers has been supported by studies on archaeological remains in natural caves and ravines, which are considered as preferred places for settlement. Genetic analysis has been conducted in such places as well as funeral sites where several mummies have been found.

The first settlers of the archipelago lived relatively incommunicado from other cultures due to the insular orography, left in a situation of isolation within a Neolithic context. They used rough-hewn stones to build millstones and obsidian knifes, modelled in clay to obtain vessels and bowls called gánigos. They made awls and needles out of bones, and wooden canes, among other objects. Their life system was based on cattle breeding and the cultivation of wheat and barley, which would be roasted and grinded to obtain flour called gofio, still present in the Canarian staple diet. Thus, the alimentation was based on goat meet, milk, gofio, fish and molluscs, wild fruits and honey (Hernández et al 1978:163).

Natural caves and huts were the places to settle and their clothes were made out of fur. Despite the differences in regard to the social organization in the islands, there seems to be an agreement about the existence of a chief, called mencey (Tenerife) or guanarteme (Gran Canaria) and communal use of the land (Hernández et al 1978:143).

Regarding magical-religious practices, both the historiographical and archaeological sources confirm such practices, which are illustrated by the mummification rituals present in several islands (i.e. Tenerife, Gran Canaria). The museum of Nature and Man in Tenerife does not provide the original sources of the information displayed about magical-religious practices to the own interpretation of the visitors. On the contrary, the institution approaches the topic by making a generalization about the indigenous religious practises which have been contrasted for Gran Canaria, but yet required of being object of further study in Tenerife. Therefore, data about indigenous religious practices that have been proved in the Gran Canarian archaeological context, it has been transferred to the indigenous past of Tenerife, without scientific evidence. The displayed information indicates that:

> "La religión guanche era animista. Creían en la existencia de un dios supremo al que llamaban el grande, el que todo lo sustenta, y en genios malignos que se manifestaban a través de las fuerzas de la naturaleza. Para aplacarlos o conseguir sus favores, usaban diferentes ritos: ofrendas de leche, sacrificios, etc.".
>
> ("The guanche religion was animistic. They believed in a supreme God, which they called the big God, who maintains all, and in harmful genies which used to appear to them through the forces of Nature. In order to calm them down or get their favours, they used different rituals such offerings with milk or sacrifices").

2.1 The formation of the indigenous identity claims. First bibliographic sources

The following review is based on two of the most important books published in the archipelago, which have been written with the eagerness to "disseminate the scientific value of the Canarian studies to the general audience", as it is also stated in the prologue of Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) published in 1978. The second book Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria (The symbols of the Canarian Identity) was edited by the Canarian Centre of Popular Culture in 1992. Both books were written with an encyclopaedic perspective aiming to gather as much data as possible,

[4] The term guanche is a generic concept to refer the indigenous inhabitants of The Canary Islands before the conquest. As mentioned, it is a generic name popularized by the chroniclers but it is the name of the first inhabitants of Tenerife, existing different denominations for each island. In this work, it is used the term indigenous inhabitants to refer the first settlers of the Canaries.

accomplishing at the same time a pedagogic mission in the transmission of the local culture. Hence, the books have also been used as guidelines in school curricula.

CCPC was founded in 1977 in La Laguna, (Tenerife) within the fall of Franco's Regime. It was created with the aim to protect and disseminate the Canarian cultural heritage within the archipelago and in the rest of Spain as well as in Latin America. Since it was opened, the centre has published around 600 books. In addition, CCPC is involved in the organization of cultural events and it runs its own project of folk music production with 200-recorded discs. The organization receives public funds in support of its cultural activity.

Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria constitutes of a selection of 75 symbols. The method of selection was based on a survey conducted by the municipalities of the archipelago, which were asked to choose the three most typical symbols of their own island representing the natural landscape, religious patrimony and a sample of architecture. As result, the volume includes symbols related to the archaeological indigenous remains, examples of peasant lives, local food as potatoes or fish, traditional trades, elements from the nature as the Atlantic Ocean and volcanoes, the touristic phenomena and sculptures of virgins, among others.

The fact that each symbol has been described and interpreted from different disciplines such as History, Geography, Archaeology, etc., makes it difficult to understand the anthropological value of such samples in the Canarian identity discourses. From the most experienced reader's perspective there is a lack of anthropological foundation in the presentation of each symbol, while for other readers the total Canarian identity has been condensed in the tome.

In the prologue, concepts of culture/identity/ancestral origins are intertwined and presented as part of the same reality. Thus, these aspects are taken as whole to define the elements of the Canarian identity. The main argument used in this part is the correlation between population and territory to define an identity symbol. In that way, the writers of the prologue define the book as an approximation to the Canarian symbolic universe, which intends to collect the main characteristics of the ethnic identities, based on the territory where culture is shared (Estévez, Galván Tudela et al, 1992:23). In the same line of consideration, is also the relevance of delimiting a Canarian ethnic individuality. Around the 1990s, when the book was published, the identity claims had experienced an important revivalism due to the continuous process of globalization and cultural homogenization. I would like to briefly mention the two most relevant symbols included in Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria to my research question. These are: the aborigine[5] and the Canarian ceramist. The study of the Aborigine symbol is presented as a complex arena of political constraints and scientific debates, which I find to be still applicable for current discourses. The rest of the text is mostly based on the racialist theories of the 1960s German Anthropologist I. Schwidetzky, who is critically discussed by contemporary authors whose theories will be considered further.

The chapter on Canarian Ceramist focuses on the similarities between the ceramic work of the indigenous inhabitants and the traditional ceramic trade in the archipelago. According to the author, both ceramic works share a similar basis of production technique. None of the groups uses a potter's wheel, and the methods of decoration and preparation of clay are the same. Under this light, one can assume that the Canarian traditional ceramist is the ideal information ground to help bind the indigenous past with more recent identity claims.

[5] I am using the term aborigine as it is used in the original text, even though I will use the word indigenous, to refer to the first Canarian inhabitants. Etymologically, ab-origine refers to those who have no origin. However, the origin of the first Canarian inhabitants is widely accepted by the scientific community to be located in North-Africa. Thus, it is more precise to adjust the terminology in that case.

The book Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias is the most sold and re-edited book in the Canary Islands. The latest edition was published in 2003 and counts more than 200.000 copies sold. In order to understand its relevance it is important to consider the political-historical context during which the book was written, although much of the content has been critically discussed. During a recent interview[6] Pedro Hernández, the coordinator of the book, talked about the difficulties encountered when the book was first published. During the last years of Franco's regime, a new Educational policy was approved. For the first time during the dictatorial period, the curriculum could actually be adapted to the characteristics of the different provinces in Spain. Until then, children at school were learning for instance about the geography of the Iberian Peninsula rather than the local geographical phenomena of the archipelago. Additionally, in the Canary Islands there were no books written on Canarian topics. Thus, Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias became the encyclopedia of the islands, accomplishing a pedagogic mission in the transmission of the local culture, being used as guideline by teachers. Those teachers had to deal with the abandonment of the local culture as well as a high illiteracy rate in the classrooms. From the beginning, the local government was sceptic about the publication of the volume, which was rejected in Tenerife. The book finally received its seal of approval by the Gran Canarian government, but with direct censure of two chapters on Spanishness and Canarian identity. In the book, Hernández makes mention of the fact that the pro-independence political movement in the Archipelago was flourishing at that time, which coincided with similar nationalistic claims arising in other regions such as the Basque Country, Catalonia or Galicia.

More recently, in 2007, an online version of the book was created. The virtual encyclopaedia of the Canary Islands became available on www.gevic.es.

However, little attention has been paid to the need for an update of the content. There are two points which could be subjected to revision as a result of the state of the studies and the ongoing social-political changing dynamics in the archipelago that affect all domains. These subjects are: (a) the racialist postulates on the Guanches and their supposed survival in the contemporary society, according to the German anthropologist Ilse Schwidetzy's works (see Schwidetzky 1963, La Población prehispánica de las Islas Canarias, Museo Arqueológico, Tenerife); and (b) the categorization, made by Hernández, of the Canarian psychology inspired by the indigenous inhabitants descriptions in the documents from chronicles and historians. In the latter, the author makes what he calls a psychological profile of the Canarian inhabitant. In there he describes common characteristics of the Canarian population, which he refers to as having an inferiority complex in respect to outsiders, experiencing difficulties in oral expression in comparison with the Spanish mainland, and having a passive temper partly as result of the colonial period. (Hernández et al 1978: 434-437).

There is no denying of the role of both books in reviving the Canarian identity discourses from the period of the fall of Franco's military dictatorship in 1975 to the first years of Democracy, which led to the consolidation of the moderate nationalism discourse. Coalición Canaria (CC) is the political party that represents these ideological ideas and has been more than 20 years in power (1993-2016).

In conclusion, the genetic survival of the indigenous in the contemporary Canarian inhabitants as described by racialist theories, the origin of traditional ceramic work being related to the indigenous, and the attempt to make a psychological profile of the Canarian inhabitant in the colonial past, all constitute clear examples of the social interest to describe

[6] See http://blogs.diariodeavisos.com/blogdecarmelorivero/2015/06/21/la-entrevista-del-domingo-de-diario-de-avisos-pedro-hernandez-guanir-escritor-y-psicologo-los-canarios-llevamos-dentro-un-hacha-autodestructiva/

the Canarian identity as a whole. The perspectives of the Canarian scientific community regarding this homogenizing discourse will be discussed in the further sections.

2.2. The renaissance of identity elements in the Canarian cultural discourse (1960s)

Since the 1960´s there is a renaissance of identity elements to be observed in the Canarian cultural discourse. Back then, some painters tried to find new sources of inspiration in the indigenous ceramic, symbols, mummification rituals, or cave painting. In Linguistics, attempts were also made to compile the indigenous lexis. There is a large representation of academic work which focusing on the spoken language of the first settlers of the Canaries. Even though the written testimonies are not prominent, they still constitute a great source of phrases and expressions brought together by chronicles and historians. They also made ground for comparative linguistic studies with Tamazight languages in order to reconstruct the original phonetic and linguistic structure. In many cases, such written samples also include a Spanish translation, which facilitate the analysis. Other largely studied linguistic evidences, that represent the similarities between the Tamazight and the Indigenous insular languages, are found in cave paintings and toponymy where prefixes and suffixes from the Berber Linguistic morphology are still present. In regard to this topic, Gerhard Böhm makes mention of what he calls the "insular Berber":

La lengua de un grupo de gente Bereber sin influencia islámica, árabe lingüística o cultural notable, que vivía en las islas en el momento de la conquista (Böhm, 2006:10).

(The language of a group of Berbers, who were not influenced by Islam, Arab language or culture, and who lived in the islands at the moment of the conquest).

One of the main contributions to the study of the indigenous linguistic heritage in the archipelago has been brought by Ignacio Reyes García, a historian and philologist who has published several scientific works about the lexicography in the Canaries and its relation to Imazighen groups. His dictionary ínsuloamaziq can be found online. With the term ínsuloamaziq, Reyes García refers to the indigenous inhabitant of the Canary Islands and the forms of the Tamazight language spoken in the Canary Islands before the European settlement, which became extinct between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although not without important geographical adaptations, in general terms the ínsuloamaziq is composed of two dialect forms of an ancient Afro-Asiatic language: (a) from a heterogeneous northern range with special representation of the languages in central Morocco and the Algerian Kabyle; and (b) from a major southern flow, which constitutes a dialect (tămâjəq) developed by populations established today in the Niger-Mali region (Azăwagh).[7]

A similar hereditary awareness is also to be found in music, as for instance represented by the Taburiente band (1972 that includes guanche terminology in many of their lyrics. Their
songs have assisted in the popularization of pro-independence slogans under Franco's regime, carried by participants of the flourishing pro-independence political discourse observed in that period.

[7] In http://insuloamaziq.blogspot.com
For further information on this topic can be consulted: Reyes García (2014), Balance de lingüística ínsuloamaziq. Consideraciones heurísticas, metodológicas y dialectales (available online), Fondo de Cultura Ínsuloamaziq; Reyes García (2013), La madre del cielo. Estudio de filología ínsuloamazighe. Le Canarien, La Orotava, Tenerife; Álvarez Delgado (1964), Las inscripciones líbicas de Canarias; Springer Bunk (2001), La escritura líbico-bereber en Canarias, Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria Böhm (2006), Monumentos de la lengua canaria e inscripciones líbicas, Occasional Paper,Department of African Studies, University of Viena.

2.2.1 Indigenous elements found in the Canarian art

For many centuries, the existence of the indigenous inhabitants in the archipelago went unnoticed. It only started being uncovered by European travellers and explorers with scientific interest and eagerness for collecting archaeological traces in the Canarian islands and elsewhere. As result of these explorative missions and due to the connivance of local administrations, many important documents from official archives as well as archaeological sites including mummies, ended up in several European countries out of its original context.

However, from the 1850s onwards a new trend started taking place. The Canarian political class criticized the central Government in Spain, which in their opinion had established a political and administrative system based on a colonial structure. The insular government stimulated then a regionalist claim that lead to the creation of a cultural publication called La Revista de Canarias (1878-1882) and the Canarian Museum in 1879. The latter was founded by Dr. Gregorio Chil (1831-1901), who took special interest in the Racialist Anthropology, a new popular discipline in that period. The collection of skulls still being displayed in one of the museum's rooms, illustrates the importance given to archaeological heritage of the islands by Racialist Anthropology.

Moreover, the museum's collection of archaeological remains such as ceramics, idols, figurines, palm fabrics and utility items made out of stones and bones, established a crucial basis for the re-construction of the indigenous way of living.

The insular cultural revival additionally led to the creation of a regionalist literary school, Escuela de La Laguna, which was coordinated by poets like Nicolás Estévanez (1838-1914) and Tabares Barlett (1850-1921). In general, their approach to the historical indigenous past was based on Rousseau's ideas of noble savage. As opposed to the facts found in historical sources, these ideas yielded an idealisation and reinvention of the original stories of heroes and anti-heroes of the conquest. Based on the same concepts, an artistic school, La Escuela de Luján Pérez, was opened in 1917 by the Canarian writer Domingo Dorestes. To a great extent, the disciples that were taught paid attention to the vanguards of the European Art which described the so-called "primitive arts" from Africa and Oceania from simply an exotic point of view. Therefore, the archaeological remains exhibited in the Canarian museum were seen a source of inspiration for many local artists. The criticism of these artists was based on the perception that they were not interested in the historical-archaeological contexts of the objects, but instead viewed them from a pure esthetical perspective based on primitivist clichés.

One of the artists, who used the forms and decorative elements of the Canarian primitive art in his pieces, was the sculptor Plácido Fleitas. He gave a contemporary value to the ornamental figures, creating in this way a new artistic traditional model.

Another artist, who transferred his interest in Canarian archaeology to his artistic performance, was Manolo Millares (1926-1972). In 1949 he created the abstract series "Aborigen" and "Pictografías Canarias", in which elements from cave painting were used. However, by giving to these historical forms of art an exoteric value, they were decontextualized from their original functions. In Millares' work, influences from Klee and Miró are also observed. Conversely, his main widely accepted artistic contribution seems to be his works on hessian. The indigenous mummies wrapped up in goat fur and palm mats inspired him to find a new form of artistic expression through the organic matter. Thus, from being explicitly associated to the indigenous, the remains of stump-mummified matter started serving as a metaphor of maimed identity characteristic to colonized regions (Santana, 1976:50).

On another account, the African statutory and the spiral forms, present as ornamental elements in the indigenous expressive forms, are also the most representative elements on Martín Chirino's artistic work. His intention was to use his art to re-connect the Africanist

origin of the cultural heritage in the islands. Among others, Chirino's work is illustrated in the series of iron sculptures known as "Reinas Negras" (1950s) (Black Queens), in which influences from both cubism and African art are to be observed. In 1976, Chirino organized the exhibition and the document called Afrocan[8], where explicit references to a pre-colonial past and African heritage were made. Chirino also contributed by editing the Manifesto El Hierro and was supported by his colleague Tony Gallardo, who was a main contributor to the text[9].

An artist who experienced a deep identity connection with the indigenous universe was Antonio Padrón. His focus was on one of the rare indigenous idols founded in a ravine in Gran Canaria, which is known as Tara's idol and is a fired clay figure in a sitting position. Padrón used such features to create his own artistic patterns. His affinity to the Canarian rural life as well as with the oral tradition is what shapes his artistic contribution. In his last work, a manifestation of religious unction is presented as a representation of the indigenous universe. (Santana, 1976:52)

In conclusion, the fact that contemporary artists like Picasso and Braque, used African and Oceanic expressive forms as an inspiration to develop the cubist movement at the beginning of 20th century, based on African and Oceanic expressive forms, contributed to a

[8] For more information see www.martinchirino.com

[9] Manifiesto de El Hierro
"Nosotros, artistas, poetas e intelectuales canarios, formulamos inicialmente los siguientes principios de una toma de conciencia de nuestra realidad":
1º. La pintadera y la grafía canaria son signos representativos de nuestra identidad. Afirmamos que han sido un símbolo permanente para el arte canario. Reclamamos el origen autóctono de nuestra cultura.
2º. Nunca podrá ser destruida la huella de nuestros orígenes. Ni la conquista, ni la colonización, ni el centralismo, han logrado desterrar la certidumbre de esta cultura viva. No negamos los lazos que nos unen a los pueblos de España, pero reivindicamos nuestra propia personalidad.
3º. En el proceso histórico hemos asimilado aquellos elementos que han servido para conformar nuestra peculiaridad, y rechazado los que no se acomodaron a ella. Nuestra universalidad se asienta en nuestro primitivismo.
4º. Contra el tópico del intimismo, nuestra vocación universal. Contra la pretensión de cosmopolitismo, nuestra raíz popular. Contra la acusación de aislamiento, nuestra solidaridad continental.
5º. Canarias está a cien kilómetros de África. La existencia del canario-americano es un hecho histórico de gran significación. La presencia de África y América en Canarias es evidente.
6º. Nos pronunciamos por una cultura regional, frente a la disgregación y la división fomentadas por el centralismo. Ante las demás nacionalidades y pueblos de España, reclamamos nuestra presencia de igualdad fraternal.
7º. Nos declaramos plenamente solidarios con las reivindicaciones de las masas canarias. No creemos en una cultura al margen de las luchas sociales del pueblo. Autonomía, democratización de la cultura, libertad de creación y protagonismo popular son las herramientas con las que haremos nuestra propia revolución cultural.
Manifesto of El Hierro
Isla de El Hierro, 5 de septiembre de 1976
(Manifesto of El Hierro
"We, Canarian artists, poets and intellectuals formulated the following principles for an awareness of our reality":
1st The Canarian pintadera and grafía are representative signs of our identity. We affirm that they are a permanent symbol for Canarian art. We demand the autochthonous origin of our culture.
2nd. Never it may be destroyed the inheritance of our origins. Neither the conquest or colonization or centralism have succeeded in banishing this living culture. We do not deny the ties that bind us to the people of Spain, but we claim our own personality.
3rd. In the historical process we have assimilated the elements that have helped to shape our peculiarity, and rejected those that did not comply with it. Our universality is based on our primitivism.
4th. Against the topic of intimacy, our universal vocation. It claims against cosmopolitanism, our popular root. Against the isolation accusation, our continental solidarity.
5th. Canary is a hundred kilometers from Africa. The existence of the canary-American is a historic event of great significance. The presence of Africa and America in the Canaries is evident.
6. We stand for a regional culture, against disintegration and division promoted by centralism. To other nationalities and peoples of Spain, we claim our fraternal presence of equality.
7. We declare full solidarity with the demands of the Canarian masses. We do not believe in a culture apart from the social struggles of the people. Autonomy, democratization of culture, creative freedom and popular activism are the tools with which we will make our own cultural revolution.
Manifesto of El Hierro
El Hierro, September 5, 1976)

great extent in inspiring the local Canarian artists to follow in the same steps. Taking into account that geographically the islands are in Africa, one could argue that the Africanist-primitive aspirations of the Canarian artist are legitimized. Most evidently, the motive of these artists derived from the connection with their past. They defined themselves through a "common indigenous past" that made them different from others, and so they were able to connect with any human consciences without local limitations. In their works, the self-determination takes the role of a surviving principle as a way to contest other imposed cultures, within the context of deeper political constraints (Santana, 1976:53).

2.3 An anthropological and archaeological approach to the guanche re-creation

The Spanish democratic transition in 1978 resulted in the unavoidable need to identify the distinctive features of being Canarian in all domains. By this time, the identity discourses in the Canary Islands had been deeply influenced by the impact of the Racialist Anthropology in the archipelago. The disciplines of Archaeology and Anthropology were rooted on the search of the origins and on the definition of the Canarian identity, as if such a notion could be defined as a whole. Additionally, both disciplines were intertwined with political demands (Mederos, 2005:15-16).

According to Estévez, the notion of cultural identity constitutes an arena of interaction between indigenous images (i.e. Canarian peasant imaginary, considered as directly inherited by the indigenous), locals, tourists and migrants, who altogether co-participate in the creation and re-creation of identities. Estévez refers to Mary Loise Pratt to introduce the notion of contact zones to the processes of identity creation[10]. The contact zones correspond to the places and situations where images, archetypes and stereotypes of the indigenous were created as a result of the contact between locals and foreigners in colonial and post-colonial periods (Estévez, 2011:146). It is only when we bring all these factors together that we can analyze them as interdependent categories in the identity construction processes. Estévez argues that the lineal conception of time can be confusing, if we think in terms of "first were the guanches, then the peasants, later on the tourists and lastly the immigrants". These groups have been interacting with one another from the very beginning. Culturally, the Canarian society is the result of the interconnection between all of these groups (i.e. the locals, the visitors, the migrants) who have created their own sense of Canarian identity.

Starting from the 16th century, the traceable remains from the indigenous past became the focus of interesting to a minor social sector. There are historiographical evidences that suggest the existence of excursions organized at guanches necropolis in that period. Social elites were particularly interested in the searching of ancient civilizations. Additionally, most of the locals were already aware of the existence of such archaeological sites. Some avoided talking about them because they were emotionally attached to these places and considered the mummies as their ancestors. Others did not experience such personal ties, but did not desire to visit such places due to fear or respect towards death. With the time, some peasants started accepting the idea to show the necropolis to travellers and locals who were of a higher social position. The historiography provides several testimonies regarding the first expeditions to necropolis. For instance, the British trader Thomas Nichols (1963[1583]:116) who visited natural caves in Tenerife, stated to have seen 300 mummies. Another testimony provided by Fructuoso Gaspar (1964[1590]) described how visitors could see the white of the human bones in the caves from the distance of the road (Mederos, 2005:20-21). That was the documented beginning of the fascination with the indigenous mummies, still present in the Canarian society.

[10] See Pratt, Mary Louise (1991), Arts of the Contact Zone, Profession pp. 33-40

During the Enlightenment period, the excursions to archaeological sites became even more popular. By then, the plundering of the mummies had started and they were being sold to the Scientific Cabinets in Europe or the market of curiosities. Such practices continued until the 20th century (Mederos, 2005:22).

In the period of Romanticism, the knowledge of the indigenous acquired a philosophical dimension deeply influenced by wider ideological, political and social processes. The discipline of archaeology was then presented as a scientific warranty in proving the importance of the archaeological patrimony and its relevance to the identity discourses. Within the colonial expansion, European nationalistic ideas were incorporated to the occupied territories, where the question about the origins remained central. Nations were lead to combine their pre-colonial pasts with the modern values of freedom, democracy and progress (Mederos, 2005:24).

Accordingly, the indigenous imagination in the Canary Islands was directly connected to historiographical sources that have provided an account of the native inhabitants and have helped to construct the social image of the guanches. Historically, the most relevant testimonies date back to the 18th century. Ideas of race and nation were integral to the European bourgeois society and were spread globally during the colonization period. In that respect, the Canaries were one of the first territories to be occupied. The local elites assumed the ideological imperatives of the European nationalistic ideology and its social patterns. Thus, pre-colonial past and the modern values of freedom, democracy and progress became standardized in the chronicles of the islands (Estévez, 2011:149-153; 2008: 139-158; Gil H. 2011: 177).

The first main figure in the Canarian historiography is Viera y Clavijo, who published "Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas Canarias" in 1776. The indigenous, as described by Viera, could be viewed under the Enlightenment idea of the good savage that he describes as (Estévez, 152:2004):

> "Esta recomendable nación de hombres aborígenes, valientes, generosos, fieros y celosos de su libertad natural y de la independencia de su patria (…). El estado de los antiguos canarios era la verdadera juventud de la especie humana. Mientras fueron bárbaros vivieron libres" ("This recommendable nation of aborigine men, brave, generous, fierce and jealous of their natural freedom and the independence of their nation (…). The condition of the ancient Canarian was the truly youth of the human being. While they were savage, they lived in freedom").

However, Viera y Clavijo's opened critique to the conquest represents only one side of the enlightened moral, as Estévez claims. The other side is the "civilization of the savages" through the evangelization process and the superior knowledge of the "true religion and evangelic moral" (Estévez, 2011:154). It is important to stress that Viera y Clavijo was aware that the discourse that took place in the 18th century was created from a European perspective: for a European audience and Canarian people of that period, but no longer for the indigenous themselves (Estévez, 2011:156).

Another author with significant contribution in the field is Berthelot, who built his guanche portrait under premises completely opposite to the enlightenment theory. According to him, the indigenous population had not been exterminated as assumed by Viera. On the contrary, the guanche would have survived through the colonization process, despite having been forced to acquire Spanish language and culture. His theory was based on the racialist principles proposed by W. F. Edwards (Estévez, 159:2004):

"Los principales caracteres físicos de un pueblo pueden conservarse a través de una larga serie de siglos en una gran parte de la población, a pesar de la influencia del clima, de la mezcla de razas, de las invasiones extranjeras y de los progresos de la civilización".

("The main physical characteristics of the people can survive through the centuries in a part of the population, despite of the climate, the mix of races, the foreign invasions and the progresses of civilizations").

This approach indicates that the indigenous physiognomy and character would have been preserved through generations of the Canarian population, even after their colonization. Soon after, the image of the Canarian peasant would also be strategically presented as the ideal emblem of the indigenous heritage. Thus, according to this theory, the peasants were the ones who could provide the knowledge in regard to the indigenous. Berthelot's contributions lead the Canarian anthropology to focus on racial taxonomy and the "aborigine race", as stated here by Estévez (Estévez, 2011:158-159):

"Ya viva en la aldea, ya permanezca aislado en su cueva o en la montaña, el campesino Canario es afable, obsequioso, humilde, astuto, reservado, hospitalario con los extranjeros, respetuoso de la vejez (…) que son otras tantas cualidades que muestran su antiguo origen, o en otros términos, las virtudes hereditarias que los guanches han legado a sus nietos".

("Either living in the village, or isolated in his cave or in the mountains, the Canarian peasant is affable, generous, humble, astute, reserved, welcoming with tourists, respectful with the elders (…) all qualities that show their ancient origin, in other words, the inherited virtues bequeathed to their grandchildren from the guanches").

During the 19th century the interest for the indigenous heritage showed an increase in both local as well as foreign communities, especially British and French. Private and institutional collections of archaeological items became popular during that period. Such an example was the private collection of Chil y Naranjo which constituted an important part of the Museo Canario situated in Gran Canaria (Mederos, 2005:26-27).

Between 1877 and 1881, the formation of three scientific societies took place in the archipelago: the Gabinete Científico (Tenerife), the Museo Canario (Gran Canaria) and La Cosmológica (La Palma). The common aim of these societies was the conservation, the research and the dissemination of the patrimony, while protecting it from being plundered. Additionally, these institutions provided the scientific knowledge to introduce the "historical past" of the islands (Mederos, 2005:28).

The racialist anthropology linked the indigenous with the Cro-Magnon race, the first European ancestor. Later on, it was also related to the Mediterranean races, based on similarities in the lineage line (Mederos, 2005:29).

The racialist views of the guanches and their supposed survival in the contemporary society are described in the works of the German racialist anthropologist Ilse Schwidetzy[11]. She considered the Canary Islands as the "refuge of the European races". Thus, the reason to support the racialist studies in The Canaries was based on the assumed analogies between the ancient indigenous skulls and the Cro-Magnon race (Estévez, 2011:159). Schwidetzy's racialist studies provided the "scientific validation" to the survival of the guanche race, widely explained in the previously discussed popular book Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (1978). A series of pictures of local people and their racialist characteristics are included in the book.

"La mayoría de los científicos abogan por la pervivencia de la raza prehispánica en la actual población canaria. La mejor prueba es la investigación antropológica que la Dra. Ilse Schwidetzy ha realizado sobre la población actual y prehispánica, en la que se demuestra la continuidad del tipo cromañoide y mediterranoide en las islas" (Hernández, et al 1978:147).

10 See Schwidetzy (1963), La Población prehispánica de las Islas Canarias, Museo Arqueológico, Tenerife

("Most of the Scientifics defend the survival of the pre-Hispanic race in the Canarian current population. The best proof is the anthropologist research lead by Professor Ilse Schwidetzy regarding the current and pre-Hispanic population, in which the continuity of Cro-Magnon race and early Mediterranean types in the islands is showed").

These theories have penetrated the social imaginary due to the popularity of the book. The racialist hypotheses were widely accepted by the archaeological discipline, which used the concepts to explain the origins of the first inhabitants. The same ideology was adopted by nationalistic political discourses and popular culture sectors. The indigenous history and culture were just as important, but their race was taken as the main argument (Estévez, 2011:160).

During Franco's regime (1939-1975), the promotion of the Comisaría Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas (The national office for archaeological excavations) took place. Consequently, the population was exposed to a large number of archaeological publications that put special emphasis on the origins. As mentioned previously, from the 1950s the indigenous symbols became popular among opponents of the regime. Certain social sectors started to claim the use of indigenous names from the local toponym. An increased interest in the market of archaeological pieces and the plundering of archaeological sites was to be observed during the dictatorial period (Mederos, 2005:31).

In this period, the Linguistics, Anthropology and Archaeology stated a confirmation of the origins of the first inhabitants of the archipelago being related to North-African Berbers[12]. The theory was shared among supporters of the pro-independence movement as well as artists and intellectuals. Here we find the origin of the indigenous symbolism, widely spread in the islands. Such ideas were captured also in the previously discussed Manifesto El Hierro (see point 2.2.1 of this section). Since the beginning, the Amazigh claims in the particular case of the Canary Islands were represented by certain European intellectuals from left wing sectors that constituted a resistance movement. Conversely, the Imazighen acquired and modified colonial knowledge to pursue their own strategies based on the recreation of new cultural identity. They were seen as a representation of "the colonized" being against "the colonizer" and managed to maintain their cultural identity by staying politically independent from Romans, Arabs, French and Spanish; but also to show their resistance to loose their cultural identity (Mederos, 2005:33).

During the democratic transition (1978), the constitution of the Estado de las Autonomías (the Estate of Autonomous Regions) gave permission to the formulation of iconographies or other distinguishing features in order to promote identity discourses in every region. In the case of the Canary Islands, the Africanist element was the one established in the identity discourse.

[12] This is a main point in the Canarian contemporary Anthropology and the social construction of the indigenous identity discourse. There are authors who observe a correlation between the wide accepted Libyco-Berber thesis and the French anthropological theories during the beginning of 18th century, which maintained the supremacy of the Berbers against the Arabic race. In this respect, to the French colonization context, the existence of Berbers who resisted to the Arabic domination was crucial to its supremacy. By the same period, the physical anthropology determined that those north-African Berbers described as white, blond, and with blue eyes were Caucasian and originated from Europe. To summarize, the Berbers and the guanches, as descendents from the first ones, shared ancestry with Europeans. In consequence, some Canarian researchers have started to discuss such thesis or, at least, put them in appropriated political and ideological perspective. Moreover, present research on "Berbers" denies the European origin and affirms the African origin of Berber population. For further information on this topic see Encyclopèdie Berbére 1984:16; Farrujia de la Rosa (2014), Archaeology of the margins. Colonialism, Amazighity and Heritage Management in the Canary Islands; (2007) Arqueología y Franquismo en Canarias. Política, Poblamiento e Identidad (1939-69). Museo Arqueológico de Tenerife.

A consequence of these changes was the popularization of indigenous-Amazigh symbolisms by pseudo-scientific publications and associations that were in support of the socialist ideology and the anti-capitalist system[13]. Another element, such as the rock art, was used as an aesthetic claim and was decontextualized in many cases. Indigenous ceramics and their artistic reproduction gained popularity by the same period. In short, the elements of the indigenous heritage were well accepted and used in several contexts. They offered a source of inspiration for designing clothes or logos, serving as a nationalistic slogan (figure 1) and giving rise to names of local shops and bars. In this period, the Taburiente band made use of this ideological spiral to position their music as the main exponent of "the Canarian identity music" with the motto of "returning to nature and our origins." The use of the symbolism in their lyrics will be analyzed in chapter 4, under the analysis of my case studies.

In the recent years, new archaeological hypotheses have been posed in regard to the origin of the first inhabitants of the islands. These theories indicate the Mediterranean origin of the population, based on the existence of a prior Phoenician-Punic settlement in the islands.[14] Mederos suggests that these assumptions are an ideological manipulation of the nationalistic government, which intends to strategically step back from the Berber origins and the involvement with the Saharawi cause in the Canaries. This political shift corresponds with the interest of being closer to hypothetical Mediterranean origins, Europe and Europeanism, and the consequent economic support of the EU in the islands (Mederos, 2005:40).

All in all, no research has been conducted in the Mediterranean regions where such hypotheses place the "new origins" of the first settlers of the Canary Islands.

The European concepts of race and nation were integrated by the Canarian local elites in order to re-create pre-modern ancestors of the "Canarian nation". On the other hand, since their foundation, the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology have been used as ideological tools in processes involved in the identity legitimization during nationalistic discourses. The situation has remained similar in the post-colonial times. Some pro-independence supporters in the archipelago base their discourses precisely on racialist theories (and the survival of the indigenous "race"), which contradictorily were created under the dictatorial regime.

With the revitalization of the indigenous heritage, the Canarian peasant was simultaneously placed as an archetype of the Canarian identity (see figures 2, 3 and 4).

This topic has been widely studied by anthropologists and ethnographers due to its social relevance in the Canarian collective imaginary (for future reference can be consulted note 14). The idealization of the rural life and local peasants has been present as a collective belief among Canarian citizens (2011:166-167). In this respect, Estévez argues that the "forced" dichotomy proposed by Fabian (1983, Time and the other) tradition/modernity is still present in the Canarian rural life.

[13] The most well known imazighen association in the Canaries is Inekaren. For further details about Inekaren Association see http://www.inekaren.com

[14] In the light of this theory, the Carthaginian would have brought to the archipelago a Lybico-Phoenisian population in the first half of the first millennium. For more information on the topic see www.laprovincia.es/gran-canaria/2014/01/05/experto-cuestiona-origen-bereber-canarios/581642.html.

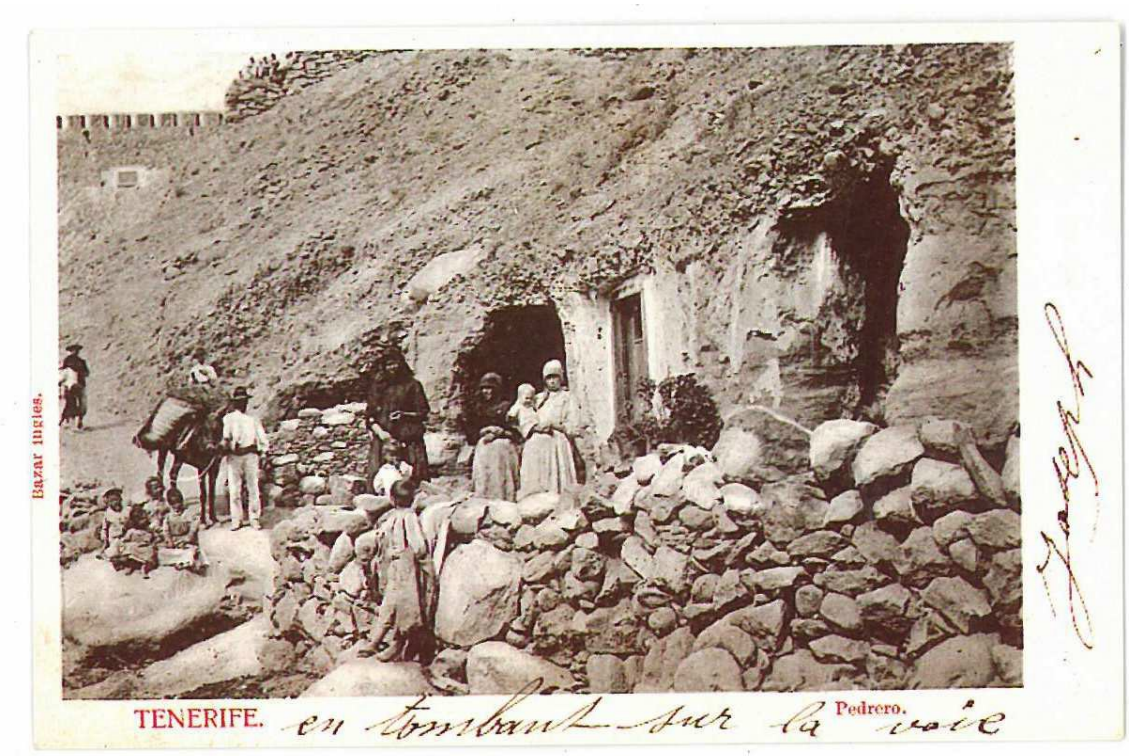
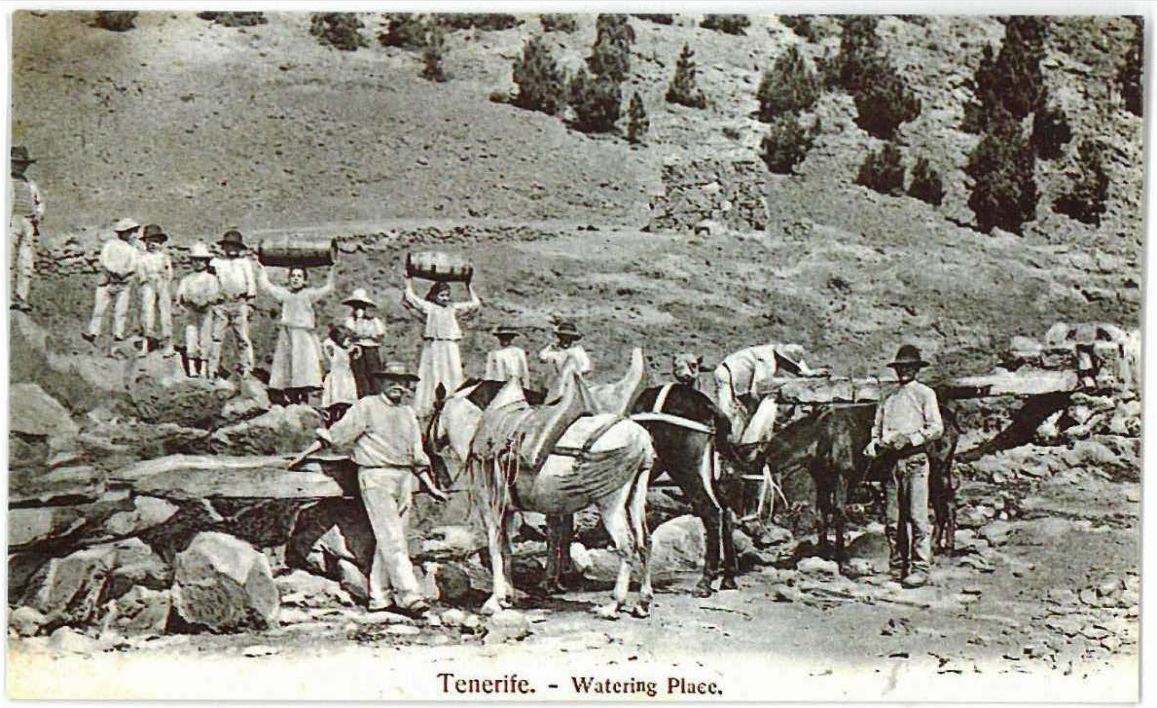


Figure 2: Antique postcard from local people of the Canary Islands made by travellers. 20th century (La Opinión. Particular collector: n.d)

Estévez claims that according to our aesthetic criteria, there is a tendency to idealize the rural life as an element of the islands' identity. By asking the elder to repeatedly recount their memories about life, customs and traditions, they are being denied their right to live in the present.[15]

[15] For further information, see Camacho (2013), The Mysterious People of the Canary Islands. Canary Islands: Ed. Weston; Estévez (2005), "La invención del Guanche. Clasificaciones imperiales y correlatos identitarios de la raciología en Canarias", La Laguna University Edition Services; Estévez (2011) "Guanches, magos, turistas e inmigrantes: canarios en la jaula identitaria", in Revista Atlántida, Vol. 3 (2011) pp. 145-172; Estévez (2015) "El guanche como fantasma moderno. O cómo la historia de los orígenes nunca se termina de escribir", in Orígenes. Enfoques interdisciplinares sobre el doblamiento indígena de Canarias. Tenerife: Idea editions, 187-218 pp; Galván Tudela et al (1997) Los Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria. Tenerife, Centre of Canarian Popular Culture; Gil Hernández (2011) "Viaje a lo Alocrónico. La ruralidad canaria, un todo-incluido que nos excluye", in Revista Atlántida, Vol. 3 (2011), pp. 173-192.



Figures 3, 4: Samples of idealization of rural life (La Opinión, particular collector: n. d)

To conclude, it is important to point out the fact that present Canarian researchers continue to base their work on the old co-relation concept of "race-nation". This concept supports the "colonial scientific methodology" in the study of origins and settlement of the first inhabitants of the Canaries. The perception of the indigenous has been re-created and used for commercial and touristic purposes, which came partly as a result of the globalization processes and as a response to the thread of cultural homogenization. Similarly, the disciplines of Archaeology and Anthropology have played an important role in the stimulation of identity discourses, often intertwined with political views. Considering all this, it seems necessary to redefine the social function of these disciplines as well as their possible use as analytical tools to approach the past and the origins, deliberately chosen by the Canarian citizens through the course of the History, rather than being used to delimitate the problematic of the origins.

Lastly, in terms of the global world, identities (see Anderson, 1983; Barth, 1969) are viewed as fragmentary, hybrid and diasporic. Identities are viewed as immersed in creolisation processes. Thus, it is unrealistic to make use of the identity notion as a political slogan. Conversely, it might be interesting to reflect on mobility, hybrid identities and the elimination of boundaries as new ways of political interferences worldwide (Estévez 2003:171).

2.4 The indigenous imagination in the museum management

As previously discussed, the presence of indigenous heritage elements in all the various domains is a hardly avoidable fact in the Canary Islands. The ideological discourses from moderated nationalism to pro-independence perspectives, justify the attention towards "the noble indigenous past". These political discourses help preserve traditional customs and celebrations in a process referred to as "folklorization". This is mainly accomplished by turning the indigenous past into museums and ethnographic parks.

The Canarian moderate nationalism has become the main political force in the archipelago in the recent history of the Spanish democracy. While being for over 20 years in power, the nationalistic party Coalición Canaria has been able to build an identity discourse based on what Estévez called the indigenous patrimonization. The government has been offering funds to support the scientific research, the patrimony management and the encyclopaedic volumes on "Canarian themes" with didactic purposes, all of which have elicited an emotional legitimacy of the above-mentioned concepts.

The patrimony management could also be considered as an important political and economic tool used to the re-creation, regulation and conservation of certain patrimonial elements of a culture that often occurs to the detriment of others. The experts' view serves mostly as a filter through which material items of cultural patrimony are interpreted and regarded as valuable, while others are not. From the perspective of globalization, the protection of the historical patrimony can be interpreted as a resistance against the homogenization of social behaviors and consumption. However, tourists rather than the locals are the biggest consumers of this historical cultural patrimony. Thus, one could argue that it could have been created with the intention to satisfy the tourists' demands (Estévez, 2004:16).

On the one hand, a large part of the scientific community takes a stance against the indigenous heritage commercialization and its consumption by tourists and locals, based on the idea that such processes could undermine the intrinsic value of the indigenous heritage. On the other hand, the artists and their audiences continue to appreciate the value that is to be found in the indigenous imagination, as expressed in social situations when the audiences enjoy music and pottery inspired by the primal cultures of the first inhabitants of the Canaries.

The concept of "folklorization" is tightly related to the general social interest of giving to the past a decisive role in the population's destiny. This tendency provides the Canarian citizens a sense of feeling members of the same community/family and helps sculpt personality. In regard to the past generations, one can only use their remains to draw assumptions about the way they lived, but it is impossible to know exactly how they were and felt. In that sense, the museums assist in re-constructing the history according to scientific, political and ideological assumptions depending on the given historical period (Estévez, 2004:13).

A consensual concern seems to exist in regard to preserving the traditions and conserving the cultural patrimony of the Canaries. However, the patrimony is selected through today's lens. Hence, its preservation is linked to the current demands and uses of such cultural patrimony. In many cases, Estévez argues, the measures applied to classify what could be defined as patrimony, correspond to cost related and opportunistic criteria rather than scientific ones.

Indeed there are many instances in the Canary Islands where the archaeology and patrimony management were interrelated with political purposes. In the present, a museum is meant to play a social function based on grounds of cultural democratization. Therefore, while visiting a museum, one expects a reflective and interactive exchange of contrasted scientific information provided to the public to draw their personal conclusions. However, when the explanations provided are too simple, obsolete or ideologically manipulated, the visitors are left with a feeling of confusion.

This leads us to the argumentation that the proliferation of archaeological and ethnographical sites across the archipelago has not always been based on historical and archaeological motives, aiming to acquire a better understanding of the indigenous heritage of the Canaries. On the contrary, in most cases such proliferation has been based on economic profits, with tourists and also locals consuming their own patrimony at the cost of falsifying the history[16] (Navarro, et al. 2005:35-37).

For a better understanding of the patrimony management, it is important to consider the creation and evolution of the patrimony legislation.

The period after the Spanish conquest of the islands, between the 15th century and the 19th century, is defined as proto-tourism by Farrujia de La Rosa. During that period, thanks to the proliferation of travelling literature, traders introduced the Canarian indigenous universe to Europe. As a consequence of the Europeanization of the Canarian indigenous, discussed previously more in-depth, the plundering and trading of the mummies found in local necropolis started taking place. As a result, the archaeological institutions recreated the perception of the indigenous inhabitants based on the European colonial vision. Later on, during the Franco's dictatorship, the archaeological management was centralized by the regime and the touristic industry was focused on the "sun and beach" advertisements rather than the patrimony. As a collective inheritance that should be conserved, the patrimony acquired an administrative and juridical status in Europe during the early 20th century. Its legal status helped not only to consolidate the intrinsic value of the patrimony in the society, but also to secure its symbolic and economic significance amplified by the political power. In this respect, it can be argued that the notion of patrimony has been intertwined with political

[16] For further information on this matter see, Aparicio (2005), Las pirámides de Güímar: mito y realidad. Another example is the Chillida's project on the Tindaya mountain in Fuerteventura, where are located one of the most important examples of rock art in the Canaries. The projected scultoric intervention of Eduardo Chillida in such environment will cause irreparable damages on the archaeological legacy of the area. For further information on this topic see Giráldez Macía (2007), Tindaya: el poder contra el mito; Perera Betancourt (1996), La montaña de Tindaya: valor natural, valor cultural. Análisis legal. VII Jornadas de estudios sobre Fuerteventura y Lanzarote. Cabildos of Fuerteventura and Lanzarote.

forces since its creation, due to its role in the identification and legitimization of governments (Farrujia de la Rosa, 2015:284-285).

In the Canarian context, since the democratic Spanish Constitution in 1978, the responsibility of culture and patrimony management was transferred to the regional government However, Farrujia de la Rosa claims that, as in many other colonial contexts, the colonial European discourse on archaeology has also been present in the Canaries, despite of the fact that the object of the study, the indigenous, are no longer present in the insular society. According to Farrujia de la Rosa, postmodern states do not have colonies, but strong structures of knowledge-power. When it comes to archaeology and patrimony management, the Canary Islands still have projects legitimizing colonial practices led by the Spanish government. Spain is seen as a distant country, which has geographical and political control over The Canaries, an overseas territory in the African continent[17] (Farrujia de La Rosa, 2015:292-294).

Another important point is the internationalization of the patrimony management since the UNESCO Mundial Patrimony Convention in 1972. The convention requires the patrimony management to be considered as an international responsibility, which is based on international criteria of conservation for all the countries. Europe and United States led the academic patrimonial approaches. The single-model of patrimony conservation has resulted into a problematic situation in the context of the Canary Islands, where colonial-elitist patrimony, based on monumental cities, state buildings, cathedrals, etc., has been privileged over the indigenous heritage. Despite the emerging local politics in support of the local indigenous sites, the designated historical cities (e.g. La Laguna, in Tenerife) and the ethnographical centers have a priority to receive funds, leading to the detriment of the archaeological cultures of the Canaries that are subjected to lower funds.

During my fieldwork I visited three of the existent archaeological sites in the islands with the aim of observing the display of the indigenous heritage in the patrimony management. The first two places, both situated in Gran Canaria, were Cueva Pintada and Cañada de Los Gatos, which represented a comprehensive approach to the indigenous heritage by integrating aspects of the culture, funeral rituals, habitat, etc. The third place, located in La Palma, was Cueva Belmaco, where the information was mostly focused on the rock art. A common aesthetic tendency could be observed between this archaeological site and the work of local ceramists, who reproduce and spread the spiral rock art and its "artistic" aesthetic value in the society, even though such archaeological evidences are not specifically artistic expressions.

On the other hand, the question of the Canarian origins was not tackled in the information panels displayed in the sites, and neither was the Amazigh heritage mentioned on the interpretation of the indigenous culture of the islands. That is an issue of significant sensitivity when the Amazigh movement is interpreted as an alternative to Islamist political trends (Farrujia de la Rosa, 2015:314).

Lastly, the inexistence of joint polices on culture and tourism, the politicized use of the patrimony and the tendency to isolate and create separated local archaeologies in each island, combined with the historical intentions and the legal framework, represented in the UNESCO statements, all of these aspects together do not help with the consolidation of an indigenous culture in the archipelago (Farrujia de La Rosa, 2015:316).

[17] For a better understanding of the geo-strategic position of the Canaries, see Farrujia de la Rosa (2003), The Canary Islands under Franco´s dictatorship: archaeology, national unity and African aspirations. Journal of Iberian Archaeology, 5, pp.209-222. For a further discussion on the European colonial archaeologist discourse see Farrujia de la Rosa (2005), Imperialist archaeology in the Canary Islands. French and German studies on prehistoric colonization at the end of the 19th century. British Archaeological Reports. International series, 1333. Archaeopress. Oxford.

2.4.1 Objects' biographies: the case of the Guatimac figurine displayed at the archaeological museum of Tenerife

In this section an analysis of the indigenous imagination among locals and tourists will be presented, based on what Appadurai (1998: 3-24) denominates the social life of the Guatimac figurine. This statuette is reproduced by the ceramist Agael and is largely promoted in the local museums. However, the scientific community in the archipelago contests the presentation of it as a true indigenous idol, since in their views there are not enough historical or archaeological evidences to prove this concept.

The Guatimac is an archaeological figurine found in a natural cave next to the Herques ravine, in the south of Tenerife. According to some archaeologists[18], due to the lack of data there are not scientific evidences to consider it as an idol. However, the figurine has been subjected to several researches aiming to prove that it is indeed the first religious idol found in Tenerife[19]. At the moment, the original figurine is located at the Archaeological museum of Tenerife, where the information displayed indicates its religious meaning and the statuette is used as the logotype of the institution (see figure 5).

In my first encounter with Agael, she was a participant potter in the craft fair organized in the occasion of the celebration of the Book Day in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, capital city of Tenerife island. I was surprised by the performing act at her stand. She had dressed up herself as an indigenous woman and was selling replicas of indigenous ceramics, utilitarian objects and items of ritual and symbolic value, which had been recently re-created. Among these objects, the Guatimac figurine had become one of the most symbolically affective emblems of her artistic work and business. The information panels included the picture of the figurine and its description written in English, which literally said: "replica of small protective idol used by the Guanches, natives of the island of Tenerife, found in the late nineteenth century (1885) in a cave and wrapped in furs in the Herques ravine, in the Fasnia-Güímar municipality" (see figure 6). Agael was wearing the idol in a necklace and was also selling it in small boxes as a piece of jewelry. Later on, in her studio there were more replicas of the Guatimac to be found together with the consulted documentation to mold the figurine.

In my various encounters with the Guatimac figurine I could count: (a) The original figurine displayed at the Archaeological museum of Tenerife; (b) the figurines on Agael's stand, being sold as certified archaeological replicas[20] of the first indigenous idol found in Tenerife; and (c) a replica in the museum of Nature and Man, where the figurine is also defined as a guanche idol and part of the mummification ritual. Additionally, Agael's statuette as well as others made by different potters can be found in many of the touristic shops and information offices as a souvenir-archaeological replica (see figure 7).

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[18] See Montesdeoca, "La religión de arena: la idolatría guanche y la historia", in I-dentidad Canaria, Los Antiguos. Tenerife: Artemisa Editions, 229-272 pp.; Mederos Martín (2002), Los Aborígenes y la Prehistoria de Canarias. Tenerife, Centre of Canarian Popular Culture; Mederos Navarro (2005), Los Aborígenes. Tenerife, Centre of Canarian Popular Culture; Álvarez Delgado (1945), Teide, ensayo de filología tinerfeña. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto de Estudios Canarios, La Laguna, Tenerife pp. 39.

[19] The archaeological remains of religious practices have mainly been founded in Gran Canaria, Lanzarote or Fuerteventura, being practically inexistent in others, such as Tenerife. Due to the isolation between islands and the no existent sign of knowledge of navigation practices by the first inhabitants, the indigenous cultures appeared fragmentary, and evolved in different ways on every island. For more information see Cuenca (1981), "Aproximación a la problemática de los ídolos canarios", in Revista Arguayo No. 136 (sep-oct 1981); Tejera Gaspar (2010), La religión de los Guanches. Ritos, mitos y leyendas. Idea eds., Tenerife. pp 44.

[20] The Canarian government issues Artisan cards to accredit ceramists to participate in certain fairs organized by the local administration. This issue will be analyzed in more detail in chapter 3.

Figure 5: Guatimac, the logotype of the Archaeological Museum. (D. García: 2015)

Figure 6: Information Panel at Agael's stand. (D. García: 2015)

Why such interest in presenting the Guatimac as a guanche deity? Estévez argues that:

"El turismo es el principal consumidor de lugares históricos y patrimoniales, que son creados, recreados e inventados para satisfacer sus demandas. Creemos tener un patrimonio que mostramos al turismo; pero, de hecho, es el turismo el que nos empuja a construir el patrimonio. Así, el patrimonio utilizado como recurso turístico no consiste tanto en dar a conocer a los turistas los rasgos identitarios locales como en adaptarlos a sus expectativas (Estévez, 2004:16)".

("Tourism is the main consumer of historical and patrimonial places, which are created, re-created and invented to satisfy the tourist's demands. We think we do have a patrimony to show to the tourists, but in fact, it is the tourism that makes us create the patrimony. Thus, the patrimony is used as a touristic reclaim; it does not have to do with making accessible the local identity elements to the tourists, but adapting the actual patrimony to their prospects").

This approach is in the same line to what is proposed by Miriam Montesedoca's article on the Guatimac, La religion de arena: la "idolatría guanche" y la Historia (The sand religion: the "guanche idolatry and the History). In this work she argues that introducing the Guatimac as an indigenous idol is considered a historical distortion. Montesdeoca views the Canarian identity as a lucrative business, where the institutions responsible for the patrimony management base their activities on the display of a merchandised identity. Such practices are promoted by nationalistic political powers in their "interest" to retrieve what is "authentically Canarian". In Montesdeoca's view, the case of the Guatimac can be defined as an imposition of the "fossil culture", used by the local administration to improve the domestic economy through the tourism industry (Montesdeoca, 2005). From the scientific perspective, she states that:

"A la luz de las fuentes históricas analizadas, no puede afirmarse que el Guatimac sea una representación religiosa (…). Sino sólo una pieza descontextualizada, cuyos datos sobre su hallazgo son más que cuestionables (…) y cuyas características formales no remiten a nada de lo conocido arqueológicamente en Tenerife (…). Si fuera realmente un vestigio arqueológico, se podría apuntar con timidez que los guanches fabricaron alguna vez figurillas de este tipo, pero su funcionalidad social no podría extraerse (…) por falta de datos (…). La falta de pruebas lleva a plantear otras cuestiones (…) ¿Perteneció realmente el Guatimac a la historia antigua de Tenerife? (…) ¿el objeto fue realizado por un guanche? (…) El Guatimac se expone ahora en un museo (…) como elemento clave del universo religioso de los guanches (…) Pero [como] un ídolo mediático, un símbolo identitario más, sustentado en los resultados de la investigación histórica. A la elección de cada cual queda optar por especulación o realidad, pero un historiador debe decidirse siempre por la segunda alternativa, por una realidad que se fundamente en informaciones claramente contrastadas" (Montesdeoca, 2005: 267-268).

("Regarding the analyzed historical sources, it cannot be affirmed that the Guatimac is a religious representation (…) but just a decontextualized piece, which offers more than questionable data regarding its finding (…) and its formal characteristics does not relate to what is known archaeologically in Tenerife. (…) If it would be an archaeological finding, timidly it could point out that the guanches made once those types of figurines, but its social function would be yet missed (…) due to lack of data. (…) The lack of data allows to arise other questions (…) Did the Guatimac really belong to the ancient history of Tenerife? (...) Was the object made by a guanche? (…) The Guatimac is now displayed in a museum (…) as a crucial element to the religious universe of the guanches (…) but [as] a mediatic idol, another identity symbol, supported by the results of historic research. To the election of everyone who is choosing speculation or reality, but a historian should always choose the latter, a reality founded on widely contrasted information").

Yet, locals and foreigners continue being enchanted by the figurine. The latter, the experience is consistent with that of real exotic holiday where indigenous cultures are

present. For the locals, the enchantment derives from relates a cultural imagination of a glorious indigenous past, also present in the collective imaginary, but historically decontextualized.

To deal with this reality, Estévez talks about the need to transcend old schemes of "tradition-modernity" and "authentic-false traditions". In order to achieve this, it is important to abandon the idea of exoticism, the nostalgia for a glorious indigenous past, and our own judgment on contemporary popular culture expressions. The cultural patrimony is a peculiar arena of interaction between locals and tourists, a genuine contact zone where the cultural identities are constantly negotiated (Estévez, 2004: 166-167).

2.5 The indigenous inheritance: Beyond its commercialization

Little attention has been paid to the way in which the indigenous heritage discourse constitutes the cornerstone of the artistic production to many individuals in the Canaries. In my opinion, the current expressive forms based on a pre-colonial past should be considered as relevant anthropological phenomena. Hence, my fieldwork will be based on two case studies: (1) Agael, the artist who reproduces indigenous ceramics and figurines, (2) and the Taburiente band composer and vocalist, Luis Morera, who makes allusion to the indigenous past on his lyrics, which are set within a pro-independence framework.

Both artistic phenomena, as well as the way in which those are experienced and practiced by their public, seem to be deeply influenced by societal processes going further than the mere indigenous heritage commercialization. This is the first point of my research: "What are the elements that stimulate the creative process of these two artists?" Apart from the commercial profit, these artists influence the shaping of emotional states and ideas, and sometimes even motivate their audience to take certain types of social action (Svašek, 2007:10). This leads to my second question: "Why people want to buy art objects and listen to the music that derives from indigenous heritage?" By considering the two concrete case studies, based on qualitative research method, an analysis of the multi-layered discourse affecting the artistic production will be provided. Additionally, a last inquiry could be added to the research: "Understanding the social and cultural impact of such artistic processes on their public, by analysing their presence in the social media (i.e. Facebook)". These questions will be considered in detail in next chapters.

The main theoretical frame to approach the two case studies will be based on Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities and Maruška Svašek's Anthropology, Art and Cultural Production. The diffusion of pro-independence musical messages will be analyzed under Anderson's perspective to understand the soundness of concepts as neo-nationalism in relation to social construction of identity discourses within a region. My fieldwork includes: an interview with the composer, the transcription, translation and anthropological analysis of two of his most popular lyrics; the attendance at one of his concert performances; and the band's press report analysis. The combination of these elements will help provide an eclectic analysis of the case. Additionally, Svašek's work offer the basis to consider the study of art/music producers by viewing them as economic actors concerned about potential buyers and the profits of their products, as well as individuals influenced by ideological, political, identity and aesthetical processes. Analysed mainly under Svašek's perspective, the ceramist's case study has provided an exploration of the cultural biography of the indigenous Guatimac figurine: its presence at Agael's studio, its perception as a piece of souvenir, its display at the Archaeological museum as an indigenous idol and its profound emotional legitimacy to the artisan, concerning her self-perception which was expressed to me during interviews.

The indigenous elements (e.g. Agael's ceramics or figurines, and discursive elements in the case of musical expressions) have been viewed under a negative light by academics, due

to being considered as part of commercial exploitation. However, it is of importance to consider how the changing market forces influence the ways in which people perceive and value artistic productions. Such forces shape social acceptance, which can be expressed through various consumption patterns. In this respect, Ascanio Sánchez's lecture Género, Tradición e Identidades, provides an understanding of how cultural identity processes are inherent in the production and consumption of handcrafted objects. Moreover, in The Work of the Imagination Appadurai gives insight into the returning of the human dimension of expressive forms such as the Guatimac figurine and Taburiente music, which also carry an emotional significance.

2.5.1 The performing identity: identity processes involved in the artistic production(for artists and audiences)

Svašek approaches questions about the definition of art and artistic behaviour, by introducing a wider conceptualization of art and its processual nature. She refuses the artistic notion as a universal category, where all societies produce artifacts that can be considered as valuable, even though those objects might be different from each other. If all these artifacts have been created by a common human motivation that exists in all societies, art could be used as an analytical tool to explore similar types of behaviour involved in the production, usage, and consumption of objects and artifacts in different parts of the world. However, Svašek argues that the limitation of this perspective is that it takes art out of its social and historical setting in order to analyze and explain other social or cultural habits. This can only be done under the presupposition that definitions of art are somehow timeless and free from preconceived ideas (Svašek, 2007:3). To answer the question on what is art, she proposes to take a look at the many factors that influence the ways in which people experience and understand art, in relation to the specific socio-historical period. Thus, art is defined here more as a process rather than a category itself (Svašek, 2007:4).

Svašek distinguishes between two concepts within the artistic process: the transit and transition of the objects of art. The transit refers to the change of location of the artifacts over time and across social and geographical boundaries. The transition indicates the status, the value of the objects, and how people might change their perception of the objects during the process. Artifacts can be simultaneously valued in artistic, cultural, religious, political and/or financial terms. Therefore, it is important to understand artistic practices and experiences from a wider social, political and economical perspective, in which artifacts and audiences are inexorably rooted (Svašek, 2007:5). In terms of the case studies presented in this paper, it is comprehensible that, for instance, the Guatimac figurine, found initially in a ravine, became valued as an ethnographical finding once it was displayed at the Archaeological Museum of Tenerife. The political discourse led to a promotional campaign funding researches about the statuette and offering didactical workshops to disseminate the knowledge in the population. At this time, Agael started the reproduction of the figurine and its commercialization as the first indigenous idol found in Tenerife. Both local and foreigner public became interested in the figurine, which was appreciated for its intrinsic artistic value. Out of this context, it will be unlikely that the Guatimac statuette would have gained its current attractiveness. Similarly, Taburiente's lyrics are deeply rooted in the political context of the preceding years of the fall of Franco's regime and in the identity claims against the oppressiveness of any alternative cultural practice that could criticize the abuses of the dictatorship.

Art is not a descriptive category of objects with inherent qualities that can be isolated and objectively compared. Instead, Svašek argues, the artistic expressive forms have what Igor

Kopytoff[21] calls "cultural biographies and are shaped by economical, political and social factors. This approach, called "processual relativism", aims to explain how all these factors intervene in our perception of art. The social and political contexts of the case studies presented in this paper are crucial to understanding the soundness of their message. In both cases the indigenous aesthetic principle is used to promote and justify the existence of a pre-Hispanic past. Moreover, they could also be described as a reaction towards unequal power structures as both informants showed an open critique against the dominant nationalistic discourse, which according to them is not interested in promoting the indigenous legacy. For Luis Morera, Spain is seen as a former colony and his lyrics contain pro-independence and pan-Africanist claims.

It is also important to take into consideration that artists are not isolated creators, but are deeply influenced by their context, network and influences of power. Svašek points out the role of the anthropologists and ethnographers in our perception of art. Eventually, they are the ones who collect and categorize what should be considered as a piece of art (Svašek, 2007:9). In the continuous definition and re-definition of art, the author also makes use of the term "aestheticisation" to define the process involved in the interpretation of particular sensorial experiences as valuable and worthwhile. According to Svašek, the aesthetic experience is often influenced by additional knowledge about the artistic forms, their reported status, and by the spatial settings in which they are used or displayed. Aesthetic experiences are also applicable to religion, music, and even during political campaigns. People's involvement with artifacts and lyrics based on an indigenous heritage is experienced both physical and mental. Such practices become rooted into the social and cultural consciousness by being exposed in concerts or handcraft fairs. Through the aestheticisation, the expressive forms are granted a special status based on individual's experiences, perceptions and interpretations (Svašek, 2007:11).

Additionally, Svašek refers to Gell's[22] notion of object agency. This concept describes the impact of a work of art upon a viewer, in terms of evoking certain emotional states and ideas, and sometimes even motivating the audiences to take different types of social action (Svašek, 2007:12). For instance, people in the Canaries who like to listen to Taburiente music and/or feel enchanted with the artistic objects that represent the indigenous past, attribute values to these expressive forms. These values can be translated into political claims, in the case of the pro-independence mottos in Taburiente lyrics, but can also provide a feeling of identity and belonging based on an ancient Canarian origin, placed in Northern-Africa (i.e. not necessary intertwined with political independent positions). Such an impact on the audiences empowers the creators and influences social movements, like the ones I have been following in the social media and will be mentioned in the next section.

However, these artists also take on the role of economic actors, being immersed in the market forces and in constant connection with the profits of their artistic products and potential buyers. The socio-economic positions of the creators as producers and the audiences as consumers influence the signification processes of the artistic expressive forms (Svašek, 2007:88).

Svašek defines artists as economic actors, arguing that many art producers perceive themselves as creative genius whose artistic works have timeless creative value and power. Hence, they refuse to accept the fact that they are actually engaged in an economic activity. This anti-commercial position is rooted in the 19th century European conception of l'art and

Kopytoff (1986), "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process", pp 64-91 in Appadurai (ed) The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective. Cambridge University Press.

[22] Gell (1992) "The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology". pp. 40-63 in Coote J. and Shelton A. (eds.) Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics. Oxford: Clarendoon Press.

in the practice of the art patronage. Ironically, it is evident that with the course of the time market forces became crucial influences on the artistic production worldwide.

Similarly, Svašek indicates how the audience's interest for primitive objects does not occur in a historical vacuum. On the contrary, it occurred in the context of colonialism, when the people became interested in "far away" objects. Since the 1950s, the souvenir industry experienced a rapid growth due to the improvement of transportation and more leisure time that has allowed people to start travelling. From the insular perspective, where the tourist industry plays an essential role in the domestic economy, it is easy to understand the interest of local artists to approach the tourist buyers by displaying an intricate marketing strategy in anticipation of the tourist experience. The ceramist, Agael, reacts to her clients' preferences by wearing what are supposedly considered indigenous clothes in order to attract both locals and tourists and sell archaeological relics from a splendid exotic past. The notion of authenticity and verisimilitude of the archaeological reproductions, displayed in museums, became just as important for the marketing strategies and consumption patterns. As mentioned by Svašek, the authentic status is an important principle in the marketing of indigenous expressive forms.

Figure 7: Identity Merchandising at Information Office. (D. García: 2015)

Similarly, the vocalist of Taburiente band, Luis Morera, has based his musical creations on defense of what he calls the "authentic" origins of the Canarian folklore, which is rooted, according to him, in the Tamazight music. His lyrics are well received by local audiences, who consider his work as genius and appreciate his sincere commitment in making the Canaries the leitmotiv of his artistic work for more than 40 years.

A last inquiry to tackle would be to understand the extent to which these artists depend on the market's demands and whether they are able to maintain some intellectual and creative independence. This question will be considered in following sections, when analyzing the gathered fieldwork data.

To approach the question of nationalism in the artistic production of the Canaries, I will start by providing the definition of a nation, as given by B. Anderson in his work: Imagined Communities (1983). From an anthropological perspective, he describes nation as "an imagined political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". He argues that a nation is an imagined community, because the members of even the smallest nation will never know, meet, or even hear of most of their fellow's members. The author makes also use of Gellner's conception of nationalism, not as the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, but as the actually invention of those nations which never existed before (Anderson, [1983]1991:6).

Anderson points out the fact that since World War II, every successful revolution has defined itself in national terms. In doing so, a territorial and social space will be defended as inherited from a prerevolutionary past. Similarly nowadays, "consolidated nations" find themselves challenged by sub-nationalisms within their borders (Anderson, [1983]1991:2-3). This is currently applicable also to the Spanish nation, which is dealing with nationalistic claims from regions such as the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, and the Canary Islands. In the context of the archipelago, my case studies tend to represent the creative activist sector that openly critiques the moderate nationalistic party in power. The vocalist, Luis Morera, goes even further in his claims by suggesting the independence of the archipelago from Spain.

Anderson introduces the concept of nation-ness to define the most universally legitimated value in the current political sphere. He highlights the profound emotional legitimacy of the concept expressed by part of the population, and in the Canarian context by both the potter and the musician. In understanding the "invention" or "fabrication" of nations, we should also consider the historical context in which those were created, how their social meaning has changed over the time, and why nations still carry a deep value in certain spheres of the population (Anderson, [1983]1991:2-3).

According to Anderson, the notion of the past in the construction of nations is seen to a certain extent as a cultural sham. In Svašek, on the other hand, the past is a decisive element to the construction of the future and identities. Whereas, Appadurai relates the notion of "invention" to imagination and imaginative creation, as a tool to place ourselves in this world. The images and the imagination are new social practices inherent to global cultural processes: no longer mere fantasy (i.e. "opium for the masses" whose real work is somewhere else); no longer simple escape (i.e. from a world defined principally by more concrete purposes and structures); no longer elite pastime (i.e. thus not relevant to the lives of ordinary people); and no longer mere contemplation (i.e. irrelevant for new forms of desire and subjectivity). The imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practices, and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility. It is in itself a social fact that the imagination is now central to all forms of agency and is the key component of the new global order (Appadurai, 2000:5-11).

Appadurai explains how the imagination works as a social force in today's world. A world electronically mediated, where our self-representation circulates through the social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.), bringing new possibilities for identity discourses, beyond the nation-state. It is through this information circulation, through the social media, where people value concrete symbols and activities inspired by the indigenous heritage. Such practices give also value to the social relations taking place in the Facebook

groups. In the next section several examples of such practices in the context of the indigenous identity discourse in the Canaries will be presented.

By looking at the Guatimac figurine as if it has a real social life, it is observed how the concept of value has been externalized from the object itself and instead, is being given to its re-creators (e.g. ceramists, museum, etc.) and the underlying social and political forces influencing its appreciation as an archaeological finding (Appadurai, 1998: 3-24).

In referente to Ascanio, in her work "Género, Tradición e Identidad. Estrategias de creación de valor en la alfarería de La Atalaya, Gran Canaria" ("Gender, Tradition and Identity. Value strategies in La Atalaya's pottery, Gran Canaria") Ascanio, referring to Anderson, argues that it is difficult to analyse the expressive forms that come from an oral tradition, which is the case for most of the folkloristic practices in the archipelago. In that sense, she suggests that we must always accept the fact that those traditions are invented. Thus, the intention is not to categorize them into real traditions or invented traditions. Instead, we must pay attention to the way such traditional practices produce social meaning and the mode to repeat, invent and re-create what we call tradition (Ascanio, 2007:394). In this sense, the Canarian pottery and the Taburiente's lyrics inspired by the indigenous heritage, should be analyzed as a representation strategies created by all local, institutional and patrimonial agents, as well as the artists themselves (Ascanio, 2007:241). Music expressions and ceramist reproductions are also considered as a "capital", since they have a social value. At this point, it seems pertinent to add the definition of culture of Appadurai as quoted by Ascanio. Anthropologically, culture is defined as the intended sphere for the mobility of cultural differences, which comes in service of concrete groups, ideologies, politics and nationalisms (Ascanio, 2007:11).

In the postmodern era, social collectives intend to differentiate themselves from others (e.g. in the next section in the analysis of Facebook groups calling themselves "What is ours. Our ancestor's legacy"). However, as Appadurai and Ascanio argue, even while dwelling in the same territory, sharing spaces and boundaries, social collectives live and imagine themselves in multiple spaces and times, thanks, to a great extent, the new media or what Appadurai calls the mediascape[23].

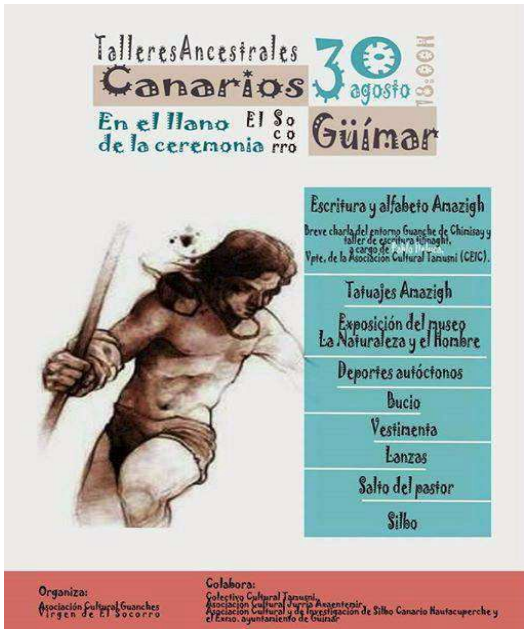

Figure 8: Information Panel about "Amazigh activities". (Guanche Association: 2015)

[23] In Modernity at Large (1996), Appadurai defines mediascape as the use of media that shape the way we understand our imagined world.

2.5.1 Indigenous enchantment. Social and cultural impact on the audiences: an analysis of the grass-root movement in the Social Media (Facebook)

Aside from the political powers and market forces, also audiences make use of the indigenous "enchantment" to promote certain ideas in the public opinion. There are numerous social groups in the archipelago making use of the information and communication technologies (ICTs) in order to appeal for social attention in matters they present as the real culture of the islands and are based on the indigenous heritage. The study of those groups, mainly via Facebook, and their impact on the audiences would deserve a whole dissertation. Here, a brief reflection on the matter will be presented in honour of their important presence in the social media, and their relevant contribution to the ongoing identity processes in the current social situation in the Canaries.

From all the flourishing active groups in the Facebook social network, there were four chosen, corresponding also to direct informants in different moments of my fieldwork. These four groups constitute good examples of social activism through the social media. All of them count a large number of followers and play an active (i.e. almost daily) role in the page, while promoting forums and exchanging information about activities on indigenous topics.

One of these Facebook group is Lo nuestro. El legado de nuestros ancestros (What is ours. Our ancestor's legacy). The group has 535 followers and posts on daily basis information about conferences, exhibitions, and book presentations (see figure 8). Cultural civic associations also use the page to advertise their activities including conferences, exhibitions on indigenous topics, trekking activities, as well as traditional ceramic and folklore activities. An specially interesting activity is what they call tagoror[24], also advertised through the Facebook space, where they organize a group activity to perform a supposed indigenous ritual. People are taken to areas where archaeologists have found evidences of indigenous presence and, once there, they listen to an amateur telling about indigenous legends. Following these rituals, there would be folk music with chácaras (i.e. type of castanet), drums, and Gomeran whistle.[25]

The next Facebook group is called Inicitaiva Bilenio (Bilenio's initiative) and is focused on the current pedagogical approach of the indigenous heritage in schools. They also work as a publishing house specialized in local topics. Having 476 followers, one of their main activities is the organization of guided tours, for both scholars and adults interested in visiting and learning about places of historical significance in both natural and urban areas.[26]

Whereas Arqueología Extrema (Extreme Archaeology), is a group counting 2385 followers and is based on interviews with archaeologists, as well as the advertisement of guided tours to archaeological sites in the Archipelago.[27]

The last Facebook page to be considered, is the profile of José Farrujia de la Rosa, known as an archaeologist and as an author cited previously in this paper. He is one of the main academic figures focusing his work on the dissemination of the archaeological patrimony and the indigenous heritage of the Canary Islands, within the archipelago and abroad. De la Rosa makes use of the digital space to promote his activities on Canarian indigenous patrimony.

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[24] Tagoror is an indigenous toponymy. In the insuloamaziq dictionary: "from tagurust, circular wall. Circular enclosure to celebrate meetings.

[25] To follow the group's activities see https://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/505601092785135/?fref=ts.

[26] To follow the group's activities see https://www.facebook.com/#!/iniciativa.bilenio?fref=ts For further details on publications see http://www.bileniopublicaciones.com

[27] To follow the group's activities see https://www.facebook.com/#!/arqueoextrema?fref=ts Also the website http://extremaarqueologia.wix.com/arqueo-blog-es

The last two posts were presentations from his last book, which he co-wrote, on Canarian origins and settlement; and the exhibition Escrito en Piedra (Written in Stone) in which pictures of rock art and explanative panels were displayed across the islands. A special attention deserves the use of his Facebook profile to influence the public opinion against the mentioned architectural project planned in the Tindaya Mountain (Fuerteventura), which is widely criticized by archaeologist and ecologist groups due to the enormous archaeological, historical, cultural and ecological value of the space.[28]

To sum up, there is a clear social impact of the above-mentioned Facebook groups, as definitive tools for the empowerment and visibility of civic activists. A detailed further study could better conclude, but the social media presents elements from the indigenous culture and the folklore, and does so by inviting their followers to step in and lead a social transformation. Particularly active in the social media is the pan-Berber movement from Siwa to the Canary Islands.

Lastly, the recent creation of a series of comics illustrating fictional indigenous epic episodes that has received a lot of attention is the Guanche Collection. Apart from the evident commercial interest and the dubious historical rigor, these caricatures are of interest from an anthropological point of view due to their representation of a contemporary re-creation of the indigenous: a Media product in the era of the globalization[29]. See picture below:

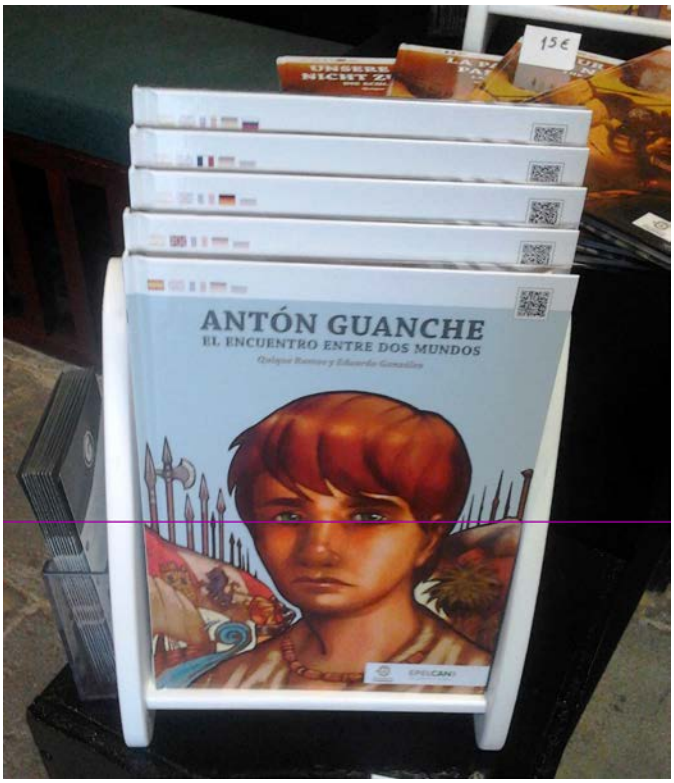

Figure 9: Indigenous comic. Identity Merchandising (D. García: 2015)

[28] To follow his profile page see https://www.facebook.com/#!/afarruji?fref=ts . For further information on Tindaya's mountain project see https://www.facebook.com/#!/Tindaya-en-contra-del-proyecto-Chillida-123139591087439/?fref=ts
See Giráldez Macía (2007), Tindaya: el poder contra el mito. Libre Ando Ed. Málaga, Spain; Perera Betancourt (1996), La montaña de Tindaya: valor natural, valor cultural. Análisis legal. VII Jornadas de estudio sobre Fuerteventura y Lanzarote. Cabildo of Fuerteventura and Lanzarote.

[29] See http://candelariacomics.com/es/

3. Artistic Production in the Canary Islands Inspired by the Indigenous Heritage: Ancestral Cultures in Ethnic Markets

3.1 Performing identity: Agael's story

My first encounter with Agael was during a local handcraft fair in Tenerife, in May 2015. The fair was organized by the municipality of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, capital city of Tenerife island, in honour of the national Spanish celebration of the Book Day. Surprised to meet her at the fair, I saw a lady in her fifties, wearing a leather costume, which was the recreation of the indigenous clothes. At her stand, she was selling various sorts of replicas of indigenous ceramics[30] and domestic utensils. Two big panels were hanging on the wall. The biggest one was a picture of her, wearing a recreation of indigenous clothes, while decorating a piece of ceramic sitting down inside of a cave. The cave had also been decorated with objects such as potteries, medicinal plants, and goat fur. The following message accompanied the image: "Aboriginal Pottery. The memory of our ancestors". The second informational panel was a picture of the Guatimac figurine, described and represented by the artist as a true indigenous idol (see 2.4.1 in chapter 2). Interestingly, the information next to the figurine was written in English: "replica of small protective idol used by the Guanches, natives of the island of Tenerife, found in the late 19th century in a cave and wrapped in furs in the Herques ravine, in the Fasnia-Güímar municipality". Agael was wearing the idol in a necklace, which was also sold in small boxes as a piece of jewelry.

The complete scene delighted me because of the anthropological interest of such as performing act. I decided that Agael would be the perfect person to interview due to her central role as a re-producer of the indigenous heritage. She constitutes a great example of how the indigenous discourse promoted from different sectors, and in particular by the political sphere, has had a profound impact on her. Below, a picture of her:

Figure 10: Agael wearing indigenous clothes at her stand. (D. García: 2015)

[30] Despite that the pottery activity may slightly differ from the ceramist activity, I make use of both concepts ceramic/pottery and ceramist/potter indistinctively, to refer both Agael's profession and the objects produced by her.

Both the pro-independence and the moderated nationalistic political discourses have influenced a Canarian identity based on the indigenous past. Depending on the observer, the different interpretations of the process of colonization can be perceived either as a triumph of the rationalism or a genocide, a notion that obviously exists in the collective imaginary. Moreover, Agael's decision to reproduce a figurine that has been recently discovered as an idol, leads towards another angle of analysis. On the one hand, several authors have questioned the scientific accuracy of this assumption, but the figurine is still being displayed at the museum as an indigenous idol. On the other hand, the fact that Agael has decided to make the figurine a commercial product is clearly a result of wider societal processes.

Agael is a good representation of the formal discourse of the museum. Indirectly, she is contributing to the popularization of the real existence of an indigenous idol in Tenerife. As discussed in previous sections, this archaeological finding is economically profitable, despite receiving doubtful credibility from the side of Canarian academics. This means Agael is also part of an economic process and she is an economic actor by "being the only one who makes replicas of the Guatimac", - as she admitted. The English written information panels, strategically placed at her stand and her clothes constitute the perfect advertisement targeting potential tourist clients. At the same time, for the locals, her work becomes an easy way to discover "their history", "consume identity" and perhaps to pay a visit to the museum and admire the Guatimac.

However, to reflect on her position as an artist, Agael carries a personal history and individual purposes influencing her artistic activity. She might be selling in a craft market, but her true concern goes further than that: she produces objects "not to lose (her) identity, the sacred value of such a tradition". She frankly admits her indigenous heritage and she clings to that belief, which justifies her vocation. My fieldwork in Agael's case includes: a visit to her studio for an interview, a visit to the cave where the Guatimac is related to; and a visit to the traditional oven where she bakes her pieces along with other local artists, who also told me about the ceramist job.

That day at her stand, there were various replicas of indigenous ceramic from different islands. It was obvious that she was interested in the creative process of making ceramics out of clay, but introducing indigenous elements such as spirals from rock art, as ornamental motifs. While at her stand, many local people approached the ceramics and asked her about the origin of the pieces. It was easy to see how glad she felt responding to the people, while giving them her explanation about the origin of the Guatimac figurine as the first "idol" found in Tenerife.

After noticing the enthusiasm and determination that she expresses about her work, I expressed my interest by asking her to be part of my fieldwork, taking place from May to July, as part of my study of the indigenous heritage element in the artistic production of the Canaries. Seeing her, made me interested to get to know her work and her motivations, and present her art as one of the case studies of my research. Agael accepted immediately, providing me the opportunity to have consecutive meetings with her, both at her house and studio, as well as visiting special places that inspire her job. Together, we visited several handcraft fairs and she also put me in contact with other potters during the ritual of baking ceramics, called "la guisada", in a traditional oven. Several meetings took place, in which we talked not only about her job as a ceramist but about her life, her dreams, and her political concerns. In this context, I have decided to make use of the qualitative method of interviewing combined with direct observations, which allowed me to get a deeper understanding of the artist's values and identity, as well as understanding the complex processes involved in the commercialization of the indigenous heritage in the Canary Islands. Her openness and insights have facilitated the analysis and interpretation of the gathered data during the time shared with her.

The handcraft fair context, where the encounter with the artist occurred, constitutes a great example of what Estévez refers to as the contact zones. Cultural identities are constructed and re-created in these contact zones during social interactions between the locals and the foreigners. These fairs are public events, organized by the local government. Their creation corresponds to a political interest in conserving and promoting the traditional trades in the archipelago (e.g. the traditional ceramic). The fairs' space provides tourists and locals the opportunity to experience the enchantment with the indigenous objects. It is in these spaces that artists, such as Agael, perform the Canarian indigenous identity. Additionally, indigenous artifacts are advertised in the craft-markets as ethnic art. This is a concept proposed by B. Burt in his book: World Art. An Introduction to the Art in Artifacts. Ethnic art is based on the aestheticisation of primal cultures that certify the validity and authenticity of artistic ceramic reproductions. Conversely, such objects that were originally created to fulfill a role in the social life have now come to be seen as commodities. Agael's artistic work represents a particular identity, which is consumed by both locals and tourists. From this point of view, Agael represents in a way the "guardian" of the primal culture of the first settlers in the Canaries, while continuing to give a meaningful expression of the local cosmological values through the reproduction of the indigenous ceramics (Philips and Steiner, 1999:196).

3.2 Agael: the ceramist and the trade

Before she became a potter, Agael had started her work by making handcrafts from recycled materials. She was following a spare time monitor course when she discovered the traditional ceramic. She has worked as a ceramist for 10 years. Having learned to work with the material through and an autodidactic process, she goes regularly to libraries to gather information about the indigenous ceramics. Agael reproduces indigenous ceramics, but also works with the traditional pottery and introduces her own innovations in part of her creations.

The book Símbolos de la Identidad Canaria, analyzed in chapter 2 of this paper, widely describes the similarities between the ceramic made by the indigenous inhabitants and the traditional ceramic trade in the archipelago. Both ceramics seem to share the basis of the production technique. None of them use potter's wheel, and the methods of decorating and preparing the clay are the same. To certain extent, based on the views expressed in the book, the Canarian traditional ceramics can be interpreted as a way to re-connect the indigenous past with more recent identity claims.

Despite the fact that none of the ceramics (i.e. the indigenous and the traditional) have no longer a domestic use, the local government have promoted a politic of conservation and promotion of traditional trades in the Canaries (e.g. such as the traditional pottery), under nationalistic slogans. Regional political powers some years ago, have taken concrete initiatives towards achieving these goals. For instance, they started organizing courses to regulate the pottery profession by issuing professional licenses that allow the participants to attend the handcraft fairs organized by the insular government of each island, called Cabildos Insulares.

On the last 3rd July, Agael and her husband invited me to visit a traditional oven for baking ceramics (see figure 11). The oven was situated in the Northern part of Tenerife, in a village called La Guancha. During this visit I could participate in the baking ritual called "la guisada". In there I also met David (35), another potter, and his wife. During our informal meeting, they discussed about the work of the ceramist and the professional difficulties they experience. Talking about the different initiatives applied by nationalistic regional governments to "conserve" their vocation, and specifically referring to the work-license, they all agreed that such a professional card "has no real utility in the development of their ceramic activity".

The insular government institution of each island, called Cabildo, carries competences on traditional craftsmanship, as recognized by the Self-government Statute in 1982. The institution is responsible for the promotion and diffusion of these activities. The concrete actions executed include: the organization of craft markets in the archipelago; the arrangement of periodical courses aimed at helping artisans in the development of their activities; and the issuing of craft-worker licenses after attending the required examination offered by the institution. The test is developed by other accredited artisans, which are named by the insular government. Licenses are renewable every 4 years. When asked about the examination, both artisans described their experiences as being quite different from each other. To Agael "it was mainly a practical test", in which she was meant to make a piece of ceramic in front of the examiner who visited her studio. In David's opinion, the test was "a very theoretical test in which (he) was asked for the name and origin of several indigenous ceramic pieces". To him "it is pointless to know by heart the appearance and origin of the indigenous ceramics, while the important part is the knowledge of the technique". During my attempt to find the existence of a sample exam in the website of the insular government (Cabildo) of Tenerife, there seemed to be no to consensus about the evaluation criteria of issuing the craft-worker license. The information about the exam appears vaguely concrete:[31] (1) Theoretical test to respond to a questionnaire that will be provided by the tribunal; (2) a practical test consisting in kneading a piece of clay, making a vessel based on a model proposed by the tribunal and baking it in a traditional oven.

Yet, artisans need to get this accreditation in order to be able to participate in craft markets and sell their products under the signature of guaranteed craftwork. From the institutions' side, these requirements also constitute a way of trade promoting the trade of traditional ceramics.

Moreover, the license is also needed in order to attend ceramic courses organized by the Cabildo. Regarding the seminars, both artisans agreed on the lack of interest in the course content. Agael argued that, in many occasions, the traditional techniques of decoration and preparation of the clay are left out of the course programme. Additionally, the clay used by the instructors is imported and not from the islands. Furthermore, she claims that the uniqueness of the Canarian ceramic based on the absent of potter's wheel, is eliminated from the learning process.

In the recent years (2008-2011), the regional government initiated a political strategy, called Plan Insular de Artesanía (Insular Plan of Craftsmanship), aiming to promote the artisan commercial activity due to "its economical and ethnographical value". During this campaign, they also encouraged the artisans to become self-employed workers and start paying their taxes according to their new fiscal situation. From my informants' testimony, this seems to be the most problematic aspect of their commercial activity. They both stand clearly against the possibility of a regulation obliging them to become self-employed workers, as a prerequisite to participate in the craft markets organized by the regional institutions. In their opinion, "this could signalize the end of the traditional craftsmanship in the archipelago."

On the website of the Cabildo of Tenerife, under the section dedicated to traditional craftsmanship, there is a clear message inviting the artisans "to regulate" their fiscal situation:

[31] See,
http://www.tenerife.es/wps/portal/!ut/p/c0/04_SB8K8xLLM9MSSzPy8xBz9CP0os_hgzxDHEG93QwN_k1BDA0_HwMAAN29vA4MgI_2CbEdFAIpYuSk!/;
For the ministerial decree (7/11/2006) with the procedure to obtain the craft-worker license see,
http://www.gobiernodecanarias.org/boc/2006/223/003.html

"El carné artesano sólo permite acreditar ante la Administración Pública de Canarias que la actividad empresarial realizada se corresponde con un oficio incluido en el Repertorio de Oficios Artesanos de Canarias. Para ejercer cualquier actividad de forma empresarial es imprescindible darse de alta (…) en el Régimen Especial de Trabajadores autónomos".[32]

("The craft-worker license is valid only to accredited individuals from the Public Administration of the Canary Islands and that the commercial activity executed is a trade included in the Repertory of Traditional Trades in the Canary Islands. In order to carry out any activity in a commercial way it is absolutely necessary to register with the Special Regime of Self-employed Workers").

Both informants confirm the impossibility of paying the taxes as a self-employed worker and still have an income from the selling of the ceramics. In this respect, they doubt the effectiveness of such governmental initiatives and their "attempt" to promote the craft-work. Contrary, the potters openly acknowledge that such institutions are actually dis-encouraging the continuation of the activity. They argue that craft markets are yet far from being well organized. Sometimes, even the transportation costs are higher than profits from the selling. Additionally, in some occasions they are asked to financially contribute to the craft-market organization in order to be able to participate. The lack of solidarity among potters is another disadvantage. They complain about the tense and competitive climate that surrounds the profession. When it comes to commercializing their products in the Museums' shops, Agael claims that the work of certain ceramists is made more visible than that of others. Another issue not helping with the survival of the ceramic activity is the difficulty of obtaining raw materials, such as clay and pine needles, which are used during the baking.

During our conversation, David admits that he considers the pottery activity as "a hobby" activity, which he can combine with a normal job during the week. "During the weekend I go to the market and try to sell my pieces. I learnt the trade from my grandmother. She was a rural woman who practiced the bartering of vessels for food. We have come back to the same practice. Many times, when I do not get to sell them, I change my pieces for goat cheese or honey in the market".

Figure 11: Ritual of the ceramics' baking. (D. García: 2015)

[32] See http://www.teneriferteartesania.es/portal/preguntas-artesania/#/6-el-carne-autoriza-para-desarrollar-empresarialmente-un-oficio-artesano

In Agael's case, she dedicates herself fully to the pottery activity. She defines it as an autodidactic activity, gathering data from the public libraries and from other potters as ways to inspire her creations. However, she admits that sometimes the traditional potters are not the best source to go. They have gained recognition from the local authorities for being the "guardians of the tradition" and have transmitted their knowledge of the pottery technique orally, generation after generation. However, she argues that sometimes they are not the most suitable guardians. In her opinion, the traditional potters did not have enough historical and archaeological knowledge to reproduce indigenous ceramics. Their activity has been given an enormous ethnographical and cultural value, by being considered a continuation of the indigenous ceramic. Their work has been well received by travelers and foreigners, and the traditional potters were aware of that. Thus, they often produced pieces with the intention to be sold to visitors, but without giving them the necessary finish. The initial domestic use of the traditional pottery was then gradually substituted by its ornamental and ethnographic value. Traditional potters omitted the correct baking and finishing techniques of the pieces, because their buyers would not be able to realize that. According to Agael, in so doing, many of the traditional potters were unable to transmit the correct knowledge to future artisans.

At this point, it seems necessary to put the pottery trade in perspective and view it in a wider context. Based on the informants' inputs, it can be stated that the commercial activity of the traditional trade is intertwined with nationalistic discourses, as well as the political aim to protect and disseminate traditional trades, such as the indigenous pottery of the Canaries. Similarly, the previous political strategy corresponds to an economical context, in which the pottery was considered a potential commercial activity as a representation of the touristic and cultural industries, with locals and tourists as potential buyers. Moreover, the indigenous ceramics, which are part of the indigenous heritage of the islands, are commercially profitable for the "patrimony industry". Interestingly, the patrimony management is guided by local governments but, at the same time, follows the guidelines of International Organizations such as UNESCO. As indicated in section 2.4 of the previous chapter, these organisms are not always focused on protecting the minor indigenous cultures. The main interest of the patrimony management seems to be the monumental patrimony resulting after colonial period, which is the case of many cities in the Canary Islands (e.g. La Laguna in Tenerife) having recently been declared as Humanity Patrimony by the world organization.

The political powers combined with the market forces, play a crucial and contradictory role in the value and development of the indigenous pottery trade in the Canaries, especially when it comes to the management of the local culture and traditions. The recent proliferation of archaeological and ethnographical sites across the archipelago has been analyzed in section 2.4 of the previous chapter. It is of interest to remind that, these situations of proliferation have not always been based on historical and archaeological motives, aiming to help with the acquisition of a better understanding of the indigenous. On the contrary, in many cases they have been based on economic profits from both tourists and locals, consuming the patrimony at the cost of falsifying the history (Navarro, et al. 2005:35-37).

Moreover, the patrimony management should be considered as an important political and economic tool serving to re-create, regulate, and conserve certain patrimonial elements of a culture in detriment of others. In a global context, the protection of the historical patrimony can be described as a resistance towards the homogenization of consumption and social behaviour. However, the historical cultural patrimony is mostly consumed by tourists and less by locals. Hence, it could be argued that it has actually been created to satisfy the demands of tourists (Estévez, 2004:16), and that the local governments are aware of this fact.

My fieldwork in Gran Canaria led me to pay a visit to the Guayadeque ravine, in July 2015. Archaeologically, the ravine constitutes quite an important source of data of the

indigenous legacy in the island. An information centre has been opened in the base of the ravine, providing archaeological details of the indigenous settlement in the ravine, as well as ethnographical information about the re-utilization of indigenous caves by later generations inhabiting those spaces. There were a few people still living there, despite the deep transformation that was taking place in the area due to its exploitation as a touristic attraction. From being an isolated place, rarely transited in the past and having a subsistent economy based on agriculture and minor cattle, the area started receiving thousands of tourists. Pictures of the locals are constantly being taken, as if they constituted the contemporary recreation of the indigenous people living in the ravine. Doubtless, due to the political support to convert the area into a touristic attraction, the locals' way of living has deeply been transformed by the touristic phenomena.

However, the people accompanying me during the ravine visit, who were originally from Gran Canaria, considered the space as an important archaeological vestige, somehow still present and inherited by the contemporary peasants living in the ravine. Paraphrasing Ascanio, "all traditions are always invented" (Ascanio, 2007:394), the indigenous heritage of the Canary Islands can be considered as a reproductive strategy presented by the institutions through the creation of ethnographic centers, as for instance the one in the Guayadeque ravine. Reproduced by the locals and artists too, the indigenous heritage elicits a feeling of being involved in identity and aesthetic processes when visiting and/or getting inspired by the indigenous patrimony. Such social practices trigger quite an important anthropological interest, in regard to the collective meaning of the indigenous heritage in the formation of identity discourses. Social collectives are able to imagine their selves in multiple spaces and times (Ascanio, 2007:241).

3.3 Re-creating indigenous pottery "not to lose my identity"

Agael is involved in "moulding" emotional states and ideas during her artistic activity, exhibition, and the selling of her products at craft markets (Svašek, 2007:10). Those emotional states are valued by locals and tourists, who have different expectations during their interaction with the artifacts. As Svašek points out, art constitutes a process rather than a category, and the ways both artists and their audiences reproduce and value the artifacts are shaped by economic, political, and social factors.

Agael's artistic activity will be analyzed under these contextual elements. The concept of transit is applicable to the change of locations of artifacts and how that change affects the audience's perception. Such is the case of the Guatimac figurine, for instance.

"When I first dressed myself with supposedly indigenous clothes in order to sell my ceramics in Las Cañadas (at the Teide National Park), I found out that it could help attract the attention of locals and tourists. It is surprising how many people think that I am dressed as a Latin-American indigenous and cannot relate it to their guanche ancestors. Personally, I see it as a symbolic act to express the Canarian identity. Even when we celebrate the Canary Islands' Day at craft markets or in hotels, several artisans wear regional costumes from the post conquest period, but I prefer to dress myself as an indigenous woman. I love it (…). For instance, thanks to the fact that I have dressed myself with the indigenous clothes, I have been able to promote the Guatimac figurine and now local people have started to recognize it. Sometimes, even from the municipality ask me to get them a number of those recreations to give them as presents to well-known public figures of the archipelago. Through such public acts, the idol gains more popularity".

Based on Agael's words, it is clear that her activity is rooted in an emotional process of identity search but, at the same time, she seems to be aware of the economical dimension of her activity and reacts to the tourist clients by wearing indigenous clothes while selling "archaeological relics." The idea of a splendorous exotic past (see here pp. 14-24)

corresponds perfectly to the expectations of tourists and locals, searching for the indigenous primal cultures. Agael also indicates how the fact that her Guatimac reproductions are used to pay homage to politicians, among other public personages, is crucial aspect to the "aestheticisation" of the indigenous relics, influencing the audiences start to interpret her artistic production as aesthetically valuable and as an element that carries a strong emotional-identity association.

However, when asked whether her artistic activity receives support by the institutional organizations, she responds: "I do this job because I like it and I do believe that man cannot move forward without facing himself with his roots. And I feel responsible for the diffusion of our roots. But the institutional support is non-existent because, for instance, most of potters now are allowed to work with imported clays. They do not know the original process of extraction and preparation of the clay in the islands. Thus, the ancestral procedure to obtain the raw material has been adulterated".

Agael also mentions the lack of interest in the indigenous heritage of the Canaries, and believes that a greater presence of these topics in the academic curriculum is still needed: "I am 50 years old and we did not learn anything on Canarian indigenous culture, either on the environment. We learnt by heart the name of the rivers in the Iberian Peninsula. Even though, the Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) is obsolete in many of its contents nowadays, the truth is that when it was published (in 1978) constituted the book that allowed us to reconnect with our identity". As for many people of her generation, the encyclopaedic volume was the first important academic work on local topics and, to certain extent, it can be suggested that it has played a role in shaping her "imagination" of the first indigenous inhabitants of the Canary Islands.

Agael claims to have found the space to search for her own identity through the pottery activity. The identity element on her job has invited certain audiences with pro-independence ideals to approach her in order to get her political involvement. However, she argues that: "the moment they have tried to politicize a cultural activity, it cannot work out". But as an individual, she is also influenced by ideological and political processes in her artistic expression, as Svašek argues. Hence, my informant presents herself as part of the artistic activist sector in the Canaries, which openly critiques the moderate nationalistic party in power.

Anderson's concept of nation-ness defines the profound emotional legitimacy that the archipelagic territory and its indigenous past evoke in parts of the Canarian population, who identify themselves with Agael's work, as well as the artist herself. Taking into account "the invention" of the Canarian nation, the historical context in which it was created should also be considered. In the Canaries context, it was a dictatorial regime that survived for 35 years, before a democratic transition brought the denominated Estate of Autonomous Regions. From the beginning, the Spanish nation dealt with nationalistic claims from regions such as the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia or the Canary Islands.

At the same time, the social meaning of such "Canarian nation" has changed over the time. Although not always having been recognized as the survivor of the Guanche "race", there is still a deep appreciation of the indigenous heritage among certain population spheres, legitimising the notion of Canarian nation (Anderson, [1983]1991:2-3).

"Will you continue dressing yourself with the indigenous clothes?"- I asked Agael. "Yes, always. And I want to be cremated with the Guanche clothes". - replied, she. This affirmation, made by Agael during one of our interviews, represents clearly appeals the emotional relation that she has with her works of art. The indigenous imagination is to her a very strong component of her self-perception, to the extent of choosing the indigenous clothes as identity markers during her life and death.

Figure 12: Information Panel at Agael's stand. (D. García: 2015)

Figure 13: Agael's Performing Act. (Ch.R, 2015)

3.4 Marketing strategies in her artistic production

Agael can also be placed as an economic actor, immersed in the market forces and connected with potential buyers and the profits of her artistic products. Svašek stresses the tendency among art producers to perceive themselves as creative geniuses, whose artistic works have timeless creative value and power. Hence, they refuse to admit that they are actually engaged in an economic activity. This anti-commercial position is rooted in the 19th century European conception of art and the patronage. She argues that the audiences' interest for primitive objects does not occur in a historical vacuum. On the contrary, it occurred in the context of colonialism, when the people became interested in "far away" objects. Since the 1950s, the souvenir industry experienced a rapid growth due to the improvement of transportation and more leisure time that allowed people to start travelling. Thus, the socio-economic context positioning the creators as producers and the audiences as consumers influences the significance of the processes involved in the expressive forms of art (Svašek, 2007:88).

From the insular perspective, where the tourist industry plays an essential role in the domestic economy, it is comprehensible that Agael approaches the buyers, for instance, by wearing supposedly indigenous clothes in order to attract the attention of both locals and tourists and sell her archaeological relics from a pre-Hispanic past (see pictures12, 13). Additionally, she has incorporated marketing strategies in anticipation of the tourist experience, for instance, by displaying at her stand informational panels written in English. The notions of authenticity and verisimilitude, in relation to her archaeological reproductions, are also relevant factors to her marketing strategies and consumption patterns. As Svašek states, the authentic status is an important principle in the marketing strategies of the indigenous expressive forms. Agael's participation in craft fairs, her craft-worker license, and the hallmark of Canarian Craft issued by the regional government, are all elements that constitute the authenticity of her products.

When asked about the future of the Canarian pottery it is clear to her that, in order to continue her artistic activity, some room to innovation is also needed: "If the indigenous inhabitants of the islands would have still been alive, they could not continue doing the same ceramic. I respect the ancestral methods of extraction and elaboration of the clay, but trying to give expression to my feelings. For instance, I named my last exhibition Nativity since it was made during the Christmas period. The central theme was the concept of family, but I had to find a name that could attract people to visit it during Christmas time".

Her testimony illustrates the need she experiences to adapt her work based on the market demands. Yet, she still finds space to maintain an intellectual and creative independence in her activity. To her, the best way to preserve such a traditional trade from its disappearance is to combine the traditional technique in obtaining the clay with the introduction of new creative elements in the pottery making.

"In my last creation, I have introduced the openwork technique, to reproduce an indigenous vessel called gánigo, and it has gotten a splendid reception in the public". It is obvious that her creative process is not constrained by the market forces, although she will always be taking into account the profitable commercialization of her artwork.

At the same time, it is interesting to observe how the consumption patterns of handcrafted objects are inherent to identity processes, even though sometimes people respond only to theiraesthetic/ornamental aspect, or in the case of "authentic primal culture" in the ethnic market during their holidays.

The diagram below synthesizes Agael's various social positions involved in her artistic activity:

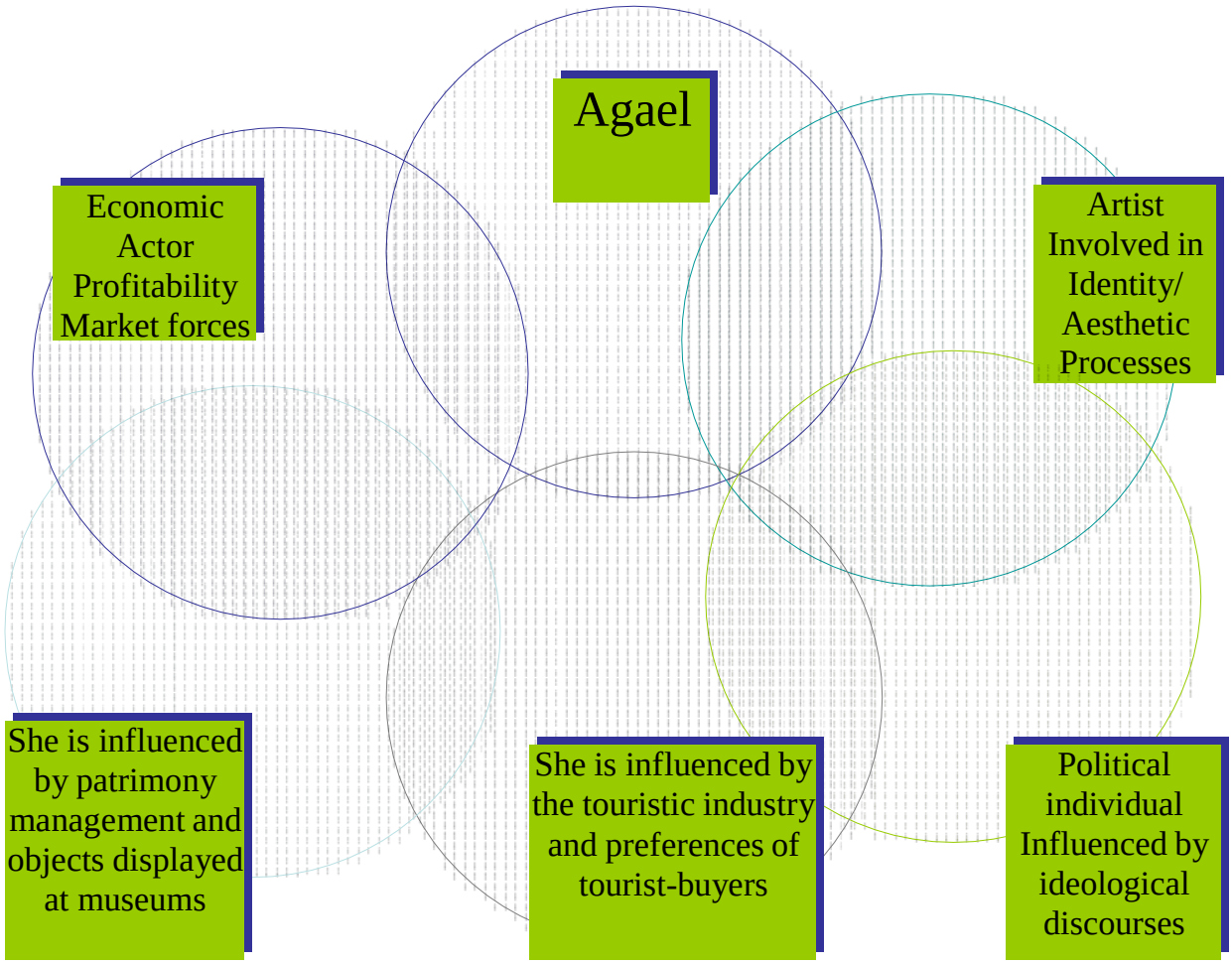

Figure 14: Social positions involving her artistic activity [Diagram]

4. Taburiente Band and the Canarian Identity: The Discourse of Pro- Independence and the Practice of Integration

4.1 The search for identity: an analysis of Taburiente's musical message

My first contact with the Taburiente music was during the 1990s, when I was attending primary school. At that time, I had my first experience as a "journalist" by presenting a radio programme from the school's improvised broadcasting station. My teacher had brought a couple of discs to choose from for the piped music programme. One of the discs was from

Taburiente, which turned into my music of choice because I thought they sounded "different". Now, after 40 years from the creation of the band, almost every Canarian citizen has had his/her particular encounter with their music, which has become part of the collective imaginary of the Canary Islands.[33]

In September 2015, the vocalist and main musical figure of Taburiente band, Luis Morera, was honored with a prize for his contribution to the "Canarian culture and identity". The ceremony of awarding the prize was framed within the celebration of the 125-year anniversary of the insular newspaper Diario de Avisos. During the ceremony, various personages from politics, culture, and science domains were also announced as award winners.

The analysis and reflection on the significance of Taburiente's expressive forms in relation to the identity discourses, in the context of the Canary Islands, would deserve a whole dissertation. In their 40 years of being active as a band, they have been musically present mainly in the archipelago, even though they have received some attention as a band in the Iberian Peninsula too. However, my interest lies particularly in analyzing their present musical elements that are related to the indigenous heritage in the Canaries. Some of the questions I will be referring to are: Does Luis Morera make use of certain indigenous symbols in his lyrics? What reasons stimulate his creative process? And what is the social and cultural impact of such a musical language on his audiences?

In many of their lyrics, the band has included guanche terminology, which popularised pro-independence slogans under Franco's regime, thus bringing the flourishing pro-independence political discourses observed during that period all over the country. It is important to give a context to the indigenous heritage claims in the prelude of the fall of Franco's military dictatorship in 1975, when the anti-regime discourses extended to the artistic spheres. But neither the pro-independence movement, nor the moderated nationalist Canarian discourses were exceptional. Historically, certain regions (e.g. the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia), where people speak their vernacular languages, maintained vivid nationalistic claims during the regime, while also producing rich creative works in all artistic disciplines that were widely inspired by the unique characteristics of the regions.

The Democratic transition in 1978, allowed the establishment of what was called "Régimen de Autonomías" (Estate of Autonomous Regions). This brought about the consolidation of nationalistic political parties in provinces. The current nationalistic discourses in Spain vary from moderate (i.e. those who consider themselves as Spanish citizens) to pro-independence. In the case of the Canary Islands, part of the population sympathizes with the latter ideology. In this respect, the pro-independence supporters establish a parallelism between the African colonial past and the past of the archipelago, as a Spanish colony (see figure15). Their argument is based on the Libyco-Berber thesis of the islands´ African origins. Consequently, the indigenous legacy constitutes a symbolic discourse that is used to create the narrative of a common African-primitive past, which defines the Canarian population as a united society and justifies its independence from the Spanish Government. The relevance of this matter to the research question lies in the way in which such discourses, created in the political sphere, permeate the collective imaginary and self-perceptions.

Simultaneously, the moderate nationalism has become the main political force in the Canaries during the recent history of the Spanish democracy. After more than 20 years being permanently in power, the nationalistic party, Coalición Canaria has taken the opportunity to

[33] Taburiente band has incorporated new components during the 40 years it has been active. Even though members and musical themes have changed over time, I focus my research on the most stable and main figure of the band, the vocalist Luis Morera. I have taken his testimony as a tool to analyze the musical message of the band.

engage in a "pseudo-political" discourse appealing to identity feelings. Estévez has called it the indigenous patrimonization. Thus, in order to spread their political ideas and emotional value in the population, they have offered funds for the development of scientific researches, ethnographical parks, and encyclopaedic volumes about "Canarian themes". Such actions have been openly criticized from part of the artistic sectors, of which Luis Morera is an example.

4.2 "My homeland has to show its own DNA to the world"

The claim "my homeland has to show its own DNA to the world" provides a summary of one of the leitmotivs of Morera's artistic production, in all domains. He is a multifaceted artist who, aside from being a musician, is also a painter and a designer of public spaces. The capturing of "the Canarian Identity" is manifested throughout his works: in his lyrics, paintings, and architectural interventions in public squares and gardens of his place of birth, the Canarian island of La Palma. My fieldwork in this case includes: an interview with the composer; the transcription, translation and anthropological analysis of two of his most popular lyrics; and the attendance of one of his concert performances, along with the analysis of the band's press report.

The interview was conducted based on qualitative methods and it includes a biographical testimony, plenty of personal images, anecdotes revealing the reasons because of why Morera became involved with the idea of independence of the Canary Islands, and his endless energy to claim what he considers the "authentic Canarian identity" in his artistic work. Morera had difficulty remembering dates. However, during the conversations he provided a vivid repertoire of images, which helped me identify several factors influencing his artistic production as well as the way his audiences experience and understand his lyrics. Morera's case brings me back to Svašek's notion of art, defined as a process influenced by the socio-historical context rather than being a category itself. Hence, it is of crucial importance to analyse the socio-historical period in which Luis Morera created his pro-independence songs, and how the public perceived his performance during the beginnings of the band. Another interesting inquiry is finding out how his artistic message has developed over the years in relation to the political climate of the region, and how such circumstances have affected the perception of his music by the younger generation.

In the 1970s, Luis Morera and the two other initial members of the band, Miguel Pérez and Manolo Pérez, started by playing in pubs and restaurants just like many other musicians at that time. They did versions of contemporary popular soul hits to the entertainment of tourists and locals. During a performance in a Pub in Barcelona, where they usually did versions of the Argentinean music, the band was asked to play some piece from the Canarian repertoire. In there, they obtained a great support from the public, which encouraged them to continue searching in the folklore of the archipelago to find inspiration. The band's first album, still not known as Taburiente, was a compilation of musically innovated songs from the Canarian folklore. This was a period in which the vocalist recognized himself "as sponge, absorbing all the cultural influences around [him] and defining [himself] as well as [his] artistic leitmotiv". Later on, he remembers the moment they decided the name they would give to the band, based on the wide acceptation of their work by producers and audiences. He states: "The moment we decided Taburiente[34] as the name of the band, we started to be more conscious about our activist position in the defense of the Canarian identity and started researching the Canarian folklore". Eventually, in 1976 they published

[34] The National Park of La Caldera de Taburiente is a protected natural area in the Canarian island of La Palma. There is an important presence of water resources in the area. It was declared protected area in 1954. Recently, La Palma Island has been declared Biosphere Reserve by the UNESCO.

Nuevo Cauce (New Course) in which their defense of the political independence of the Canaries was already palpable. This work spirit is especially observable in the lyric La raza vive (the race is still alive):

"Mi tierra siempre parió nobleza	(My home land always gave birth to noble people
donde moraba achamán[35]	where achamán dwelt
donde la raza fue fuerza	where the race was strength
la raza no se extinguió,	the race was not wiped out,
aún vive en la nueva juventud	is still alive among our youngsters
en los pueblitos ocultos	in the hidden little villages
donde no llegó el progreso"	where the progress did not arrive)

Several terms in the song deserve a further consideration. Firstly, in this context the word "noble", in relation to the "rural romanticism" created by the vocalist, refers to the "magnanimous temper" of the local people rather than their aristocratic origins as it can be interpreted from the word's direct translation. In next verses, the song asserts that the "real" race/nation/local people were not wiped out, but are nowadays to be found in the isolated villages. There is a parallel drawn between the rural people/peasants, who represent the Canarian ancestors (i.e. indigenous), and their "true" lifestyle. The return to the origins and the unchanged cultures, create the space to re-connect with the Canarian identity in Morera's musical discourse. Lastly, the meaning of "raza", as given by the main institution of the Spanish language (RAE), is: From ancient Latin radia. Caste or quality of origin or linage". The word "raza" is used in the song to refer, once again, to the direct connection of the peasants with the first indigenous inhabitants. This view could also be related to the racialist ideas popularized over the period, which maintained that physiognomic characteristic of the indigenous inhabitants would still be present in the contemporary Canarian citizens. The idealization of the peasants and their supposed limited exposure to the Spanish culture, are also meanings that can be subtracted from the text. In this way, the Canarian peasant is converted into the "guardian" of the true origins/identity of the islanders.

Additionally, the mentioned male deity of "achamán" can be interpreted as an allusion to the primal past of the Canary Islands. The name "achamán" is well known in the Canarian collective imaginary and is easily recognizable by audiences as an indigenous term. Moreover, the terminology can be perceived as an identity claim, evoking feelings of belonging, in pro-independence groups or those who are more familiar with the indigenous literature.

The 1970s and 1980s were an important period in terms of artistic production, which was influenced by the hectic political context of Spain, in the prelude of the fall of Franco's regime. A consequence of the chaotic situation was the censorship experienced by all the anti- establishment cultural movements, including the musical industry. During the 1970s, Luis Morera stayed with his band in the Iberian Peninsula, where they connected with those censored artists that inspired them and often came back to the islands to perform. In that period, the bitter censorship of the regime was experienced by any opposite manifestation. Artists were not allowed to meet and talk in public spaces, so they would sometimes hide in sacristies of churches to organize their meetings. Morera recognizes that the cultural meetings organized by the Communist Party in Spain, still illegal at that time, were a source of inspiration and made a deep impact on his music. They would follow the party all around the country to meet other artistic voices opposing the regime. Although at that time they were

[35] Achamán is an indigenous toponymy. In the insuloamaziq dictionary: "from *assaman > aššaman, Twinkling, celestial. Male deity.

not politically positioned, he admits to having enjoyed the freedom of such an environment. Morera describes that period as: "Freedom of expression. At that time and age, the rebel spirit, the freedom, was the greatest feeling".

At the same time, different political groups were formed in the Canary Islands, sharing communist, nationalist, and pro-independence ideas[36]. The vocalist has memories about his stay in Madrid and how he went to the heights of the city in order to tune to the clandestine station La Voz de Canarias Libre (The free Canarian voice), established by the pro-independence leader Antonio de León Cubillo[37], who was exiled in Algiers.

Figure 15: Inekaren graffiti. "The Canaries are not Spain" (D. García: 2015)

[36] The main political force was UPC (Canarian People Union) formed in 1979 and dissolved in 1986. It constituted a coalition of parties, which shared communist, left wing nationalistic and pro-independence ideas.

[37] Antonio Cubillo was the founder of MPAIAC, the movement to the self-determination and independence of the Canarian archipelago in 1964 in Algiers. Initially, this movement was supported by the Algerian government. Their political slogans were based on the exaltation of the Canarian indigenous and their Africanist origins. Algerian intelligence services facilitated the access to Algiers Radio to the MPAIAC. Thus, Cubillo started the emission of La Voz de Canarias Libre (the Canarian free voice) which was emitted from 1975 to 1978. Politically, the Algerian government strategy was to contribute the situation of political destabilization experienced by Spain and Western Sahara at that time to its own geopolitical interests. The MPAIAC initiated its terrorist activity in 1976 and made use of explosive materials in public spaces. Finally, in 1979 the MPAIAC stopped the armed conflict and Cubillo was expulsed from the group. A year before, he suffered an attempt of murdering in Algeria when was stabbed. As consequence of that, he was left in a situation of physical disable and The Spanish National Audience recognized that police services were in charge for his assassinate. Finally, in the 1990s he received an economical compensation on the basis of the Spanish law of solidarity with terrorism victims. See Algueró Cuervo (2003), El conflicto del Sahara Occidental, desde una perspectiva Canaria, La Diáspora Collection (13), pp. 301. In press: La segunda vida de Cubillo. A sus 77 años sigue en la brecha el líder independentista canario, que sobrevivió de milagro a un atentado en Argel en 1978 (in El País, 18/05/2008)
In 2007 he published in a local newspaper the draft of Constitution of the Canarian Federal Republic. Among others initiatives, in this supposed Constitution the Tamazight language would be an official language. For more details can be consulted www.eldia.es/criterios/2007-09-02/31-Proyecto-Constitucion-Republica-Federal-Canaria.html.

The political scientist Aït-Kaki (2004:256), gives the following interpretation of the Canarian Berberism, which is also quoted by Pouessel in her article “Une Culture Mediterranneene Fragmentee: La Revendication Amazighe entre Local(ite) et Transnationalite(ite) “ (Pouessel, 2010:12-13).

“Loin d’être des berbéristes obstinés, les nationalistes guanches jouent, en fait, la carte du berbérisme pour donner à leur combat des contours universels et échapper à toutes éventuelles présomptions de sectarisme. En réalité, ils se disent plus volontiers africanistes. Aussi, l’option berbériste est une sorte de palliatif tactique et stratégique permettant de faire face à l’absence de culture guanche vivante. Elle procure aux nationalistes la touche d’authenticité qui leur fait défaut”, (Aït-Kaki, 2004, p.256).
("Far from being obstinate Berberists, the guanche nationalist play, in fact, Berberism to give universal contours to their struggle and to escape allegations of sectarianism. In reality, they rather define themselves as Africanists. The Berberist option is for them a kind of palliative tactics and strategy to cope with the absence of living Guanche culture. It gives the nationalist the authentic touch that they miss").

“That authentic touch” is specifically evident in Cubillo’s political pro-independence discourse and has been widely spread in the Canarian collective imaginary over the time. Below, a pro-independence demonstration led by the Canarian Amazigh association Inekaren:

Figure 16: Pro-independence demonstration. (Inekaren: 2015)

Figure 17: Amazigh flag and merchandising at Inekaren conference. (D. García: 2015)

4.3 "Taburiente, profaners of the Canarian music temple"

The affirmation that Taburiente are the profaners of the Canarian music temple was a headline, which the journalist J. Armas Marcelo used to describe the profound transformation that Taburiente music presented to the Canarian traditional music from the 1970s. As Morera admits: "We composed that music because the Canaries were starving for owning something, for having an identity". That coincided with the period when the book Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) was for the first time published. Back then, the nonexistence of Canarian literary topics increased Morera's interest to search for the origins of the islands. He possesses a large number of images that illustrate his motivation and inspiration to create music based on the Canarian identity and its political independence. When asked about the inspiring elements, Morera's immediate reaction was to sing a song from the folk singer Valentina la de Sabinosa, who is the main figure of the folk music in El Hierro Island. Her music is widely considered as one of the most ancient samples of the Canarian folklore. While singing, she would be accompanied only by the chácaras[38] and drums. In regards to this, Morera says: "I was used to sing in English (…) when I first listened to her. [Referring to Valentina] I thought how right she is (…) and when I listened to her singing the arrorró[39] unaccompanied, I compared her with a nomad from the desert".

In 1978, Taburiente band published a new album. The indigenous heritage of the Canary Islands and the pro-independence messages, were the main inspiration sources for the lyrics of that album. They chose, what was considered, an indigenous term for the title of the

[38] Chácaras is a musical instrument used in the Canarian folklore. They are similar to the Spanish castanets but of a bigger size.

[39] Arroró is an indigenous toponym. In the insuloamaziq dictionary: arrawraw, newborn baby. It is a lullaby that due to its intonation could be related to the Northern African chants.

album, which was called Ach Guañac[40] . The term has been translated as "what belongs to everybody", and carried a hidden political message with the idea of Republic (i.e. the Canarian republic).

Morera recalls how he was disappointed when the pro-independence leader Cubillo, referred to the band as guanche patriots from his radio station in Algiers. Politically, there was a prevailing state of unrest in the country. He remembers the presence of the ETA terrorist group, who claimed the independence of the Basque Country behind an intense terrorist activity. In December 1973, the terrorist group assassinated Luis Carrero Blanco, who had been named Prime Minister of Spain and made a top deputy to Franco in that same year. The climate of violence was evident at that time and Morera was afraid that his music would be censored, or that he would be suffering serious reprisals at the hands of the regime.

"The other two fellow members of the band were involved in music. From all of them, I was the one who became more politicized. Especially, it was the rebelliousness that I felt when reading the chronicles of the conquest of the islands by the Spaniards. Our lyrics endangered the notion of Spanishness. (…) The rebelliousness constituted a natural quality in me. I was never aware of being considered a musical activist and, even today, I am not completely sure about it. I am not really interested in knowing it, either. I just follow my instincts, not assessing what I have done or what that has meant for the islands. In the end, in doing so brings you in an armchair. (…) But I still have so much to say and I feel we are yet in the commencement".

During my fieldwork, in May 2015, I attended a live performance of Taburiente, during the concert tour organized by the band in the archipelago, in celebration of the 40 years of their musical career. It was a free entrance event organized in a public square. An enthusiastic crowd gathered at the square, where a group of around 5 people waved the alternative Canarian flag that was created as a political symbol of the Islands' independence. Mottoes like "viva Canarias libre", "Canarias libre" (long life free Canaries) and "long life Cubillo" were chorused by the audience and by the vocalist, Luis Morera, during the show. Most 1970s popular songs were played. The metaphors contained in the lyrics made allusions to the political independence of the islands and their situation of being a colonized region. Following, there will be a translation and analysis of two of the most popular lyrics.

A few cultural manifestations in the audience created a cross-dialogue between them and the musicians:

- Gomeran whistles to applaud or accompany songs.
- Blowing the bucio, a seashell which produces a peculiar sound and it has been traditionally related to the indigenous and used in popular celebrations.
- Saharan sound produced with the tongue, easily recognizable in the Saharan music. In that context it was used as a pan-African symbol of self-recognition with the African people as the ancestors of the Canarian citizens.
- Morera gave slogans about the independence as being "a long path, but possible in a near future". He also claimed "the need of reaching again our truly identity, looking at the African continent where we find our identity and cultural origins".

Presented here are two of the most popular songs:

Canto a la Tierra (Chant to Earth)
(1977. Music and lyric by Luis Morera)

Nace el Nuevo sol (The new sun is born

[40] I could not find the term in the insuloamaziq dictionary. The used interpretation is given in an article of the album review in the website http://elguanche.org

y la tierra sigue	and the earth continues
manando amor.	flowing love.
Y sus brazos de paz	And its arms of peace
hacen Patria	make the Fatherland
en cada hogar.	in each home.
Canarias se hace luz	The Canaries turn into light
cuando nace la flor	when the flowers grow
en la tierra fecunda.	in the fecund Earth.
Cuando el niño es feliz	When the child is happy
y los hombres caminan libres.	and men walk freely.
Y tu canto de amor brotará en el mar	And your chant of love will emerge from the sea
hermanando a los pueblos del mundo.	uniting the people from all around the world.
Levanta tu símbolo al sol	Raise your symbol to the sun
que nació en la lucha	which was born in the fight
de los que te aman.	of those who love you.
Todos juntos seremos	We will be all together
la fuerza capaz	the force capable
de sentir nuestra nación.	of feeling our nation.
Y tu canto de amor brotará en el mar	And your chant of love will emerge from the sea
hermanando a los pueblos del mundo.	uniting the people from all around the world.)

Ach Guañac
(1978. Music and lyric by Luis Morera)

Cuando amanece se despiertan	(At dawn wake up

todas las aguas de Atlántico.	all the waters of the Atlantic.
Entre sus senos hay un pueblo,	There is people in its bosom,
que nació libre y hoy espera,	who were born free and wait today,
reconstruir sobre la herida	to rebuild over the wound
la nueva era de las islas,	the new era of the islands,
sacar las cercas del paisaje	remove the fences from the landscape
y verlo libre como antes.	and see it free as before.
Que el campesino siembre su propio pan,	That the peasant sows his own bread,
y el pescador pueda trabajar sus redes.	and the fisherman can work his own nets.
Un mar azul que brille,	A blue sea that would shine,
con siete estrellas verdes,	with seven green stars,
el amarillo en sus trigales	the yellow in its wheat fields
y el blanco en tus rompientes (bis)	and white in its breakers
traed a todo aquel hermano	bring that brother
que por amarte hoy está lejos.	that because of loving you is far away from here.
Unirnos todos al futuro	Be all united in this future
para que juntos seamos libres,	to get all free together,
y en los lugares donde hay sed	and in the places where there is thirst
reverdecer y darte el trigo,	re-green it and give it the wheat,
y en los caminos que forjamos	and in the ways we forge
ver crecer a nuestros hijos.	see our children grow up.
Que el campesino siembre su propio pan	That the peasant sows his own bread,
y el pescador pueda trabajar sus redes.	and the fisherman can work his own nets.
Un mar azul que brille,	A blue sea that would shine
con siete estrellas verdes,	with seven green stars,

el amarillo en sus trigales	the yellow in its wheat fields
y el blanco en tus rompientes (bis)	and white in its breakers)

My analysis of these lyrics is based on the theoretical approach of the notion of nation and considers the political position of the band.

Local newspapers, such as El Día, covered the information about the above mentioned concert tour of the musical band. Morera made the following statement in one of the published articles: "This concert tour has been planned to excite the audiences, with our lyrics (…) It is hard to accept that during the dictatorial regime the band was making claims about things that are still current. (…) It is our mission to survive in an archipelago where the local artists are not recognized and foreign cultures are much more appreciated (…) We have been honoured with the gold medal of the Canarian Government for constituting a cultural institution and reference to the Canaries. However, the institutions do not count on us when it comes to promoting the musical discourse of the islands (…) There is not cultural foundation in the archipelago and the Canarian citizens are loosing their real identity, incorporating foreign cultures from South-America, as for example rhythms from bachata or batucada. (…) Canarian people still have a colonized temper (…) and cannot find themselves. (…) We claim that the Canaries can turn into a respected country. (…) The islands have such a great potential that we would like them to be protected by international institutions, even from the Canarian people themselves. We would like to become universal islands, protected islands, such as the Galapagos" (interview published in El Día 24/4/15). The preceding statements prove the ideological position of Taburiente band and how that circumstance has a clear impact on their musical messages and on their audiences' perception.

For the analysis of the notion of nationalism in Taburiente lyrics, Anderson's definition will be used, as it has been presented in his work Imagined Communities (1983). From an anthropological perspective, Anderson describes a nation as an imaginary political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. He refers to it as an imagined community, because even the members belonging to the smallest nation will never know, meet, or even hear of most of their fellow-members. Anderson also makes reference to Gellner's conception of nationalism, which is defined not as the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, but as the actual invention of those nations which never existed before (Anderson, B. [1983]1991:6).

The presence of the awakening of such a "call" to self-consciousness of the Canarian nation is also to be noticed in Morera's translated lyrics. He achieves that by making use of vivid metaphors, which possess evocative and mobilizing powers for the creation of cultural identities (Ascanio, 2007:416). The metaphorical figure is based on the principle of similarity, where a mental comparison between two concepts is made. For instance, Morera's lyrics state that "the Canaries turn into light" instead of "the Canaries get politically independent from Spain". In the second song, "a blue sea that would shine with seven green stars" can be interpreted as "a sovereign country of seven islands." This verse can also be associated to the unofficial flag designed by the pro-independence groups. Here, Morera makes use of another literary figure, known as metonymy, which refers to an object by mentioning the name of another that is somehow related to the first. Based on this concept, the "seven green stars" refer to the mentioned unofficial flag.

In the verse, "rebuild over the wound the new era of the islands", Morera uses the word wound to make reference to the Castilian conquest of the Canary Islands. The title song, Ach Guañac meaning "what belongs to everybody"= from the Latin voice Res Publica=Republic,

makes an allusion to the potential conformation of the federal republic of the Canary Islands. Many other allusions to the imagined Canarian community or nation are present in the lyrics. Some examples are: "feeling our nation", "to get free all together", "remove the fences from the landscape and see it free as before", "raise your symbol to the sun which was born in the fight." These examples offer an affirmation of the range of emotions evoked by Morera's imagined Canarian nation. When he says "remove the fences from the landscape and see it free as before", a possible reference could be made to a previous political state of the islands, which goes back to the centuries before the Castilian conquest took place. However, the truth is that we do not know what this previous situation was or how it looked like. The present Canarian citizens have never met the first indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago to know about their social/political organization. The only testimony that has managed to reach recent generations comes from the historiographical sources that, on the other hand, have been ideologically intervened in most cases. Hence, there is only the tool of imagination left to help re-create a better destiny of the previous/future era of the archipelago.

Additionally, in the verse "raise your symbol to the sun which was born in the fight", the word symbol can refer to the alternative Canarian flag proposed by pro-independence sectors of the islands. The flag, constituting a powerful element on Taburiente performance, deserves a further analysis. In the 1960s, the Movement for the Self-determination and Independence of the Canary Islands (MPAIAC) designed the flag known as "the seven green stars flag". It was designed with 3 vertical stripes of the same size: white, blue and yellow and 7 green stars, representing the 7 Canarian islands. Based on the lyrics of Morera, the green colour of the stars is a symbol of solidarity with the African continent, while the white represents the sea and the yellow refers to the agricultural fields of the islands. As mentioned before, the flag is waved as an identity symbol in their concerts. See picture below:

Figure 18: Luis Morera and the seven green stars flag. (Luis Morera: n.d)

Metaphorically, the ensign, interpreted as the "symbol" that "was born in the fight", could be making reference to the resistance of the indigenous inhabitants to avoid the colonization of the islands by the Castilian conquerers.

Despite not being the official flag of the Canarian region, over the years, it has gained popularity not only as a pro-independence symbol but also as a cultural symbol, being present in many of the cultural, sports and festive celebrations. At the craft market, the flag was to be found at Agael´s stand.

Aside from being the lyricist of the band, Morera also created many of the covers of their albums. In 1977 he painted El Drago, which was the cover of the album Ach Guañac launched in 1978 (see figure 19). His painting is an allegory of the Canarian nation, in which three elements are the most significant: (a) a big endemic tree called drago, (b) human figures filling in the tree space; and (c) a human figure standing on the right of the painting holding the green stars flag. A millenary tree, like the Canarian drago, represents the political independence of his imagined Canarian nation.

Other elements in Morera's lyrics are the beauties of nature that are presented as benevolent forces. From the beginnings of the band and through the evolution of their musical message with the time, the Canarian nature has been a constant element of inspiration to the vocalist. The motto of returning to nature in Morera's work, relates to the Enlightenment idea of "the good savage" initiated by Viera y Clavijo, as discussed in the present paper in part 2.3. Viera y Clavijo portrayed the indigenous inhabitants of the Canaries as "brave men, jealous of their natural freedom and the independence of their nation". They could keep living in freedom as far as they were savage. The main idea of this argument seems to be the defence of a primal state, pre-existent to the civilization and more connected to the environment. Indeed, an archaic and idyllic imagination of life.

The main literature and song traditions, of reference to Morera can be synthesized as following:

(a) Music:

- The Canarian folklore, especially rhythms considered as the most ancient. Valentina la de Sabinosa as first reference.
- Argentinean musical gender of singing poetry (poesía cantada). Musicians as Facundo Cabral, Alberto Cortez.
- Northern African music

(b) Literature:

- Authors of Canarian nation-ness, 19th Century. One of the greatest exponents was Nicolás Estévanez, Mi patria es una roca (My fatherland is a rock)

Phrases such as "the earth flowing love", "the fecund earth" or "your chant of love will emerge from the sea" produce an image of idealization of the territory based on the predominance of natural elements thanks to the orography of the archipelago. It is this sort of idealization of the Canarian territory that allows Morera's lyrics to evoke in his audiences feelings of belonging and attachment to the land, which are necessary elements in the creation of a nation, like the Canarian Islands in this case. However, elements such as the situation of isolation, difficulties in the communications access, or the tough nature of the farm work, are considered as less attractive and therefore expelled from the idea of returning to nature in Morera's songs.

Anderson's concept of nation-ness explains the profound emotional legitimacy that this notion carries for the musician and his audiences. However, it is important to consider that the public can feel attracted by different aesthetic values presented in his lyrics and not necessarily related to pro- independence ideals. The nation-ness theory is also applicable to the current political sphere in Spain and, in particular, in The Canary Islands. As a result, there is a flourishing presence of nationalistic parties all over the territory, such as the recent self-determination referendum held in Catalonia, and the role of regional institutions in the promotion of museums and ethnographical centres. The latter's interest in "recuperating" the

traditions is visible in the increasing number of requests asking UNESCO to protect their intangible patrimony. Yet, both locals and foreigners will consume the patrimony, since the tourism industry is one of the main pillars of the damaged domestic Spanish economy.

Anderson argues that while considering the "invention" or "fabrication" of nations, we should also take into account the historical context in which those were created, how their social meaning have changed over the time, and why nations still carry a deep value among certain layers of the population (Anderson, B. [1983]1991:2-3). In the case of Taburiente, based on the testimonies gathered during this research, it is obvious that their most popular lyrics are deeply rooted in the political context of the last years preceding the fall of Franco's regime. It is only within this context that Taburiente's lyrics can be analyzed and interpreted.

As Svašek points out, artistic creations do not occur within a historical vacuum. On the contrary, they are deeply influenced by the historical and social contexts in which they were created. An example would be the obvious parallelism between the content of Morera's lyrics and some theories presented in the volume Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (Nature and Culture of the Canary Islands) published in 1978, the same year that Taburiente's album Ach Guañac was released. It is important to mention that the local government was sceptic about the publication of the book, which was rejected in Tenerife. Finally the book received approval of the Gran Canarian government, but the two chapters on Spanishness and Canarian identity were censured.

In his musical discourse, partly inspired by the book, Morera makes reference to the hypothetical "survival of the guanche race" as well as the "colonized temper" of the Canarian people. Another angle of analysis is the notion of object agency proposed by Gell[41] and mentioned in Svašek's work. The object agency describes the different ways in which Taburiente music is able to impact their public, in terms of evoking certain emotional state and ideas, such us the feeling of attachment with the territory. However, the term also refers to the extent in which his music is capable to motivate audiences to take different types of social actions; such as the case of Morera in the name of independence. (Svašek, 2007:12). People who like to listen to Taburiente music, which is partly based on the indigenous heritage, attribute values to these songs. These values can stem from political claims but can also be related to feelings of belonging and an identity based on the Canaries' ancient Northern-Africa origin.

People relate to the lyrics both physically and mentally. This relationship is sustained by attending various social and cultural practices, such as going to concerts. Audiences are immersed in what Svašek calls a process of "aestheticisation", through which they interpret particular sensorial experiences as valuable and worthwhile. Thus, the Taburiente music is considered as valuable as long as it maintains a special status, which is based on the experiences, perceptions and interpretations of the audience (Svašek, 2007:11).

Lastly, there is a political dimension in the lyrics of Taburiente, which is openly accepted by the vocalist. He has been sympathizer of the pro-independence political group Unión del Pueblo Canario (United Canarian People), which was previously briefly described. The musician, as an individual, is widely influenced by societal processes and political ideologies. Such circumstances can be found in the content of many of his lyrics. The artist is viewed as a social actor, thus implicated in the improvement of social conditions. In this respect, there is a noticeable political involvement of his musical message, used by the political sectors and the media that share closely related ideological positions. Simultaneously, from the exposure in the media and the political sphere, the band has benefits in terms of marketing strategies.

[41] Gell (1992), "The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology". pp. 40-63 in Coote J. and Shelton A. (eds.) Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics. Oxford: Clarendoon Press.

Figure 19: El Drago [painting]. (Luis Morera, 1977)

4.4 "There is always a reason to live for, to fight for"

The verse "there is always a reason to live for, to fight for" comes from a well-known song of the Spanish singer, Julio Iglesias. The verse brings back emotional memories to Morera, because it reminds him the time he listened to the Saharawi children in Tindouf singing that song on their way to school. He believes that they probably did not know the meaning of the lyric, but he remembered it as one of those clear-sighted moments of his life and work. The Sahara desert and their people, where he has placed the Canarian folklore origins, have constituted a source of inspiration for Morera. The Saharawi represent an interesting cultural case here, as they speak mostly Arabic (except for a few groups that speak Berber) but all share many cultural traits with the Tuareg Berbers. They also constitute a culturally mixed group, fighting for their national recognition, which is perceived by the band as culturally "pure" and "untouched".

Many of Taburiente musical projects have been searching the musical connection between the Canaries and the neighbouring continent, some of which will be briefly analyzed in this section. There is a constant presence of sounds, metaphors, and references to Africa as "the place of our true origins" in Taburiente's repertoire. The leitmotivs in Morera's work are: the authenticity, the origins and the roots. There is a clear relation he makes between "the authentic" and "the Canarian identity".

"We were searching for the purest folkloric music. (…) That is why the presence of Taburiente as a band is even more necessary nowadays. (…) We have been awarded for our cultural work by governmental institutions. However, those did not afford us any opportunity to become the Canarian musical identity abroad. The idea that they export about the Canaries is merely anecdotic, the tropical islands, meaningless contents".

Svašek defines the notions of authenticity and verisimilitude, as two important elements involved in the marketing strategies and consumption patterns. Morera gives to his lyrics an authentic status, which he justifies as a defence of what he calls the authentic origins of the

Canarian folklore, which has its roots in the Tamazight music. It is worthwhile to remind that Morera's creative activity is immersed in an economical logic, on the basis of which it is important to have a defined marketing strategy to commercialize his musical products. Morera is also an economic actor, immersed in the market forces and connected with the profitability of his music and potential audiences (Svašek, 2007:88).

In the case of Taburiente, the analysis of the main elements involved in the band's marketing strategy includes aspects such as the pro-independence attitude, the indigenous past exaltation, the benevolent nature of the islands, and the authentic status that they give to their lyrics.

Another interesting inquiry would be to observe how the market demands and Morera's creative independence coexist together in his artistic production. The vocalist mentioned two of his last musical projects where he sings solo or in collaboration with different musicians. The first project, called En busca de Valentina (in search of Valentina), was created with the idea to bring the new generations closer to Valentina La de Sabinosa's folkloristic music. In Morera's opinion, her musical legacy constitutes one of the main symbols of the Canarian identity. Luis Morera produced this musical show together with Olga Cerpa, vocalist of another local group called Mestisay. The most innovative part of the project was the realisation of an audiovisual project, with the participation of several vocalists and musicians from all around the archipelago, who were included in the main song dedicated to Valentina. Such an initiative was clearly undertaken as a marketing strategy to approach the younger generations.

The second project, called Africandalusí (Africa-Andalusia), was inspired by the interconnections between the African musical rhythms and its influence in other regional music genres, such as the Flamenco or the Canarian folklore. Morera talked about this project during an interview for a local newspaper: "(…) the Canaries have Berber origins. When Valentina sang the arroró, she reminded me of those nomadic' women that sing with no accompaniment. They both have an extraordinary and ancestral voice that I love so much. (…) the Canarian musicians should start digging up in these rhythms to look for inspiration and meet again our identity in the right place".

(Retrieved http://canarieando.blogspot.com.es/2012/01/entrevista-luis-morera-problema-de.html)

In contrast of the idea of "true origins" expressed by Morera, while paraphrasing Anderson, Ascanio argues that it is difficult to analyze the expressive forms originating from oral tradition (e.g. the folklore music in the islands). In that respect, she claims that we must accept that these traditions are always invented. Thus, the intention is not to categorize them into real or invented/no authentic traditions, but to pay attention to the way such traditional practices produce a social meaning. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Taburiente band has repeated, invented, and re-created the Canarian folkloristic music over the time (Ascanio, 2007:394).

The inclusion of the musical elements originated in the indigenous past of the Canaries, can be regarded as a positive aspect as long as the band provides some historical background to their audiences through their songs. Despite the fact that these elements of origins may appear decontextualized in the musical message, they still represent the symbols of a social cohesion and are, to certain extent, identity icons to a part of their publics.

In the postmodern era, social collectives aim to differentiate themselves from others with the intention to avoid a cultural homogenization. This tendency is also evident in Morera's attempt to return to the Canarian origins. However, as Appadurai and Ascanio argue, even when living in the same territory, while sharing the same spaces and boundaries, people still live and imagine themselves in multiple spaces and times, due to a great extent, to the new

media or what Appadurai calls the mediascape[42]. Through the circulation of information in the media, people value concrete symbols and activities inspired by the indigenous heritage. Such practices also give value to the social relations taking place in the Facebook groups. This aspect has been further analyzed in section 2.5.2 of the paper.

Finally, Morera's artistic process should be framed within the definition of culture given by Appadurai, as quoted by Ascanio. Anthropologically, culture is defined as the arena for cultural differences, which comes to the service of concrete groups, ideologies, politics and nationalisms (Ascanio, 2007:11). According to this approach, due to its social value, Taburiente music can be considered as a "capital"[43]. Similarly, the use of pro-independence and indigenous elements in their lyrics should be viewed as a representation strategy created by artists, but also by local, institutional and patrimonial agents (Ascanio, 2007:241).

Conclusions

It is now six months since I conducted my fieldwork in the Canary Islands. I have finished writing this paper being back in Tenerife. I still have contact with my informants and I continue following the activity of Facebook groups around the indigenous symbolism in the Canaries. It is very insightful to observe how they are immersed in a continuous flexible creative process which depends on the ongoing processes of social change.

The prominent presence of indigenous elements in practically all domains in the Canary Islands constitutes a social phenomenon of great anthropological and other academic interest to researchers. During my fieldwork, I have witnessed the people's inherited liking for indigenous toponymy and ornamental motifs in several restaurants, shops, postcards, television slogans, etc. The street furniture of the islands is also a sample of this. Indigenous statues occupy several avenues and roundabouts all over the Canarian territory. Traditional potters seem to play an important role in the conservation of "the Canarian traditional craftsmanship" at fairs and craft markets. Additionally, part of the local musical discourse makes also use of the indigenous imagination, based on which they claim a pre-Hispanic past and a returning to nature. Emerging groups in Facebook who are interested in the indigenous heritage of the islands have created an "imagined community" which exists through the Social Media as an extension of a community grounded in physical space. The net allows them to give visibility to their claims as well as to the activities that organize and take meaning through these specific online interactions.

Academically, great attempts to tackle indigenous topics have been also conducted in the Archipelago. In chapter 2, I analyze the renaissance of identity elements observed in the Canarian cultural discourse since the 1960s. Back then, some painters tried to find new sources of inspiration in the indigenous ceramic, symbols, mummification rituals, or cave painting. Similarly, the online version of the ínsuloamaziq dictionary is also considered in the chapter. The philologist Reyes García uses the term ínsuloamaziq to refer to the indigenous inhabitant of the Canaries and the forms of the Tamazight language spoken there before the European settlement, which became extinct between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Moreover, in chapter 2 it is indicated how such cultural revival was also confirmed by the creation of regionalist literary schools. Hence, their historical approach to the indigenous past was based on Rousseau's ideas of noble savage, idealizing and even inventing the original versions of the heroes and anti-heroes of the conquest in the historiographical sources.

Since the 1960s, one of the main artists of that period, Martín Chirino made use of the African statutory and spiral forms to re-connect the Canaries with their Africanist origin.

[42] In Modernity at Large (1996), he defines mediascape as the use of media that shape the way we understand our imagined world.

[43] Bourdieaus's notion of "social capital" can be consulted in Bourdieau (1986), The forms of Capital.

In the same line of argument, the artistic Manifesto El Hierro was written to defend the African heritage of the Canaries. In both works, the self-determination was observed as a surviving principle, contesting other imposed cultures, within a context of deeper political constraints as it was the beginning of the fall of Franco's regime (Santana, 1976:53).

More recently, the creation of a series of comics, Guanche Collection, which illustrate fictional indigenous epic episodes, is also observed. Apart from the evident commercial interest and the dubious historical rigor, these caricatures are interesting enough because represent the contemporary re-creation of the indigenous: a Media product in the era of the globalization. As Appadurai claims, the imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order (2000:5-11).

Moreover, audiences also make use of the indigenous "enchantment" to promote certain ideas in the public opinion. There are numerous social groups in the archipelago who make use of the information and communication technologies (ICTs) to appeal for social attention in matters that they present as the real culture of the islands and that are based on the indigenous heritage. In that respect, they are crucial to the ongoing identity processes in the current social fabric of the Canaries. The analysis of these Facebook groups might be an interesting suggestion for future research.

Academically, there is also an increasing interest in the indigenous legacy. Concrete examples of this are: (a) the conference The Canary Islands. Identity enigma, Growth and Scar at the University of La Laguna (Tenerife) and which was organized by Inekaren, an Amazigh pro-independence youth organization created in 2008. Professor Hernández, from the Department of Psychology at La Laguna University, was the first lecturer. The title of his lecture was "who we are, how we are, from where we come from and to where the Canarian go". He was also co-author of the book Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias (1978) which has been analysed in chapter 2. (b) Another example was the three days course on Canarian origins and settlement at the Summer University of Maspalomas (Gran Canaria) which received an important number of participants.

Similarly, political discourses from moderated nationalism to pro-independence positions also appropriate the protection of traditional costumes and celebrations while turning the indigenous past into museums and ethnographic parks, in a process of increasing "folklorization". As discussed in chapter 2 and mentioned over the whole argument, ideas of nation, common indigenous past, Canarian identity, etc., legitimize the idea of "defence of Canarian origins". The Guatimac figurine displayed at the Archaeological Museum, the ethnographic park Las Pirámides de Güímar (Tenerife) or the interpretation centre in the Guayadeque's ravine in Gran Canaria, constitute examples of the governmental interest for what Estévez calls indigenous patrimonization.

With more than 20 years in power, the nationalistic party Coalición Canaria has funded scientific research, ethnographical museums, encyclopaedic volumes on "Canarian themes", etc, which have produced an emotional legitimacy of their political ideas.

In a global context, the protection of the historical patrimony can be understood as a resistance against the homogenization of social behaviours and consumption patterns. However, such a historical cultural patrimony is essentially consumed by the tourists and less by the locals. Thus, it could be said that it has been created to satisfy the tourists' demands (Estévez, 2004:16). Hence, globalization is expressed here through the form of resistance to it.

On the one hand, a large part of the scientific community would argue against the indigenous heritage commercialization and its consumption by tourists and locals, as if such processes could undermine its intrinsic value. On the other hand, the artists and their audiences continue appreciating the true value that they find in the indigenous imagination

during their social interaction, expressed by the audiences when they actually consume music and pottery works inspired by the primal cultures of the first inhabitants of the Canaries.

An important sector of the Canarian academic works [See Montesdeoca (2005); Estévez (2005,2008,2011); Gil(2011)] on this matter argue that the recent proliferation of archaeological and ethnographical sites across the archipelago has not always been based on historical and archaeological reasons that pursue to acquire a better understanding of the indigenous heritage of the Canaries. On the contrary, they claim that in most cases such proliferation is based on economic profits, with tourists and also locals consuming their own patrimony at museums and ethnic markets at the cost of falsifying the history.

My research aimed to search for the hidden motivations that artists/audiences have when dealing with the indigenous enchantment. In that respect, some of the findings point out the wider societal processes involved in the indigenous value creation among producers and publics. Consequently, such interaction between indigenous elements/artists or indigenous elements/audiences cannot merely occur as a commercial exchange, guided by certain consumption patterns.

In this conclusion, I would like to address how the data from my case studies in sum speaks up with respect to the intimate reasons that have guided both Agael and Luis to make the indigenous legacy the leitmotiv of their artistic work. In principle, the motivations explained to me during interviews have nothing to do with mere commercial profits.

In Agael's case, she claims that she makes pottery works "not to lose [her] identity". She frankly admits her indigenous heritage and she clings to that belief, which justifies her vocation. The indigenous imagination is to her a very strong component of her self-perception to the extent of choosing the indigenous clothes as identity markers for life and death. Similarly, Morera's case appeals to the notion of "musical activism" as one of his main motivations. Doubtless, he has been deeply influenced by the historical period of the last years of Franco's regime and the consecutive Spanish democratic transition in 1978, when the Taburiente band was created. His lyrics have a political dimension, openly accepted by the vocalist since he has been sympathizer of the pro-independence political group Unión del Pueblo Canario (United Canarian People).

During the 1970s, Luis Morera and his band stayed in the Iberian Peninsula and related to all the censored artists, gaining inspiration from them. Musically, that circumstance was translated into the way they transgressed the traditional Canarian folklore music to adapt it to their own musical style. The band included guanche terminology in many of their lyrics to popularize pro-independence slogans during the dictatorial period. Such slogans flourished in those years all over the country. The searches of the Canarian identity, primal cultures, as well as the beauties of Canarian nature have been the main motivations in his music.

In both cases the indigenous aesthetic principle is used to promote and justify the knowledge of a pre-Hispanic past. In that way, they could also be considered as a reflection of unequal power structures. Both informants show an open critique against the dominant nationalistic discourse, which according to them is not interested in promoting the indigenous legacy.

However, such motivations in my case studies are also integrated in their marketing strategies and market forces since, as artists, they are also economic actors. Illustrative examples of such circumstances come out from their testimony. The use of a craftwork licence issued by the regional government, the information panels at Agael's stand written in English, and her performing act of wearing indigenous clothes, prove her awareness of being immersed in a commercial activity.

Similarly, Luis Morera has also followed certain marketing strategies to approach potential audiences during his activity in the musical industry.

One of his last musical projects was called En busca de Valentina (in search of Valentina) and had the aim to approach the Valentina's La de Sabinosa folkloristic music to

younger generations. In Morera's opinion, her musical legacy constitutes one of the main symbols of the Canarian identity. The innovative part was the making of a video clip, in which several vocalists and musicians from all around the archipelago participated, to show the main song of the project dedicated to Valentina. This initiative was a clearly undertaken as a marketing strategy to approach younger generations.

Another example was Africandalusí (Africa-Andalusia) which was inspired by the interconnections between the African musical rhythms and its influence in musical genres, such as the Flamenco or the Canarian folklore. Morera talked about this project during an interview for a local newspaper: (…) "the Canaries have Berber origins. When Valentina sang the arroró reminded to those nomadic women that sing with no accompaniment. To him, it is there where the Canarian origins should be found. Being "guarantors" of the "authentic" Canarian musical origins has become a reclaim in their commercial activity. As we see, artists are not isolated creators, but are deeply influenced by their context, network and power relations.

At the same time, it is observed how the changing market forces influence the ways in which people perceive and value artistic productions. Such forces shape social acceptation that can be expressed through consumption patterns.

Additionally, based on the testimony of my informants, the political powers together with market forces seem to play a crucial and contradictory role in the value and development of the Canarian artistic expressive forms based on the indigenous heritage. That is especially visible, according to them, when it comes to the management of traditions and local culture.

In a next level, the ideological machinery behind the indigenous imagination has been further analysed in chapter 2 of this paper. Notions such asorigins, nation, collective identity or traditions should be put in perspective when studying them.

Ascanio, referring to Anderson, argues that it is difficult to analyse the expressive forms that come from an oral tradition, which is the case for most of the folkloristic practices in the archipelago. In that respect, she claims it must be accepted that those traditions are always invented. Thus, the intention is not to categorize them into real traditions or invented ones. Conversely, which is more relevant here is the way in which such traditional practices produce social meaning as well as the mode within which they repeat, invent and re-create what we call tradition (Ascanio, 2007:394). The Canarian pottery and the Taburiente's lyrics based on the indigenous heritage should be analyzed as a representation strategy created by all: local, institutional and patrimonial agents and the artists themselves (Ascanio, 2007:241).

Agael, Luis Morera and their potential publics, are involved in identity and aesthetic processes when visiting or getting inspired by the indigenous patrimony. Such social practices trigger quite an important anthropological interest. This is the collective meaning of such a heritage in the formation of identity discourses. Social collectives are able to imagine themselves in multiple spaces and times (Ascanio, 2007:241).

We have seen in chapter 2 how the testimonies of archaeology, historiographical and patrimonial sources, have very often been biased. Consequently, the image and value of the indigenous heritage has been adapted to the main currents of opinion over time. Artists, as individuals, have also been influenced by such changing trends. Only by having in mind such circumstances, we will be able to do justice to the indigenous legacy.

The indigenous imagination has been re-created to its commercialization in the patrimony and tourism industries, partly as a result of the globalization processes and in response to the cultural homogenization threat. However, such patrimony is selected through today's lens, and so, its preservation will be definitely linked to the current demands and uses of such cultural patrimony. In many cases, Estévez argues that the measures applied to classify what is patrimony and what not, respond to cost and opportunistic criteria rather than scientific ones. Similarly, the archaeology and anthropology disciplines have played an important role

in the creation of identity discourses often intertwined by political forces and deeply influenced by the impact of the racialist anthropology in the archipelago.

Taking into account the latter ideas, it seems necessary to rethink the social function of such disciplines and their "possible use" as analytical tools to approach the past and the origins that the Canarian citizens have deliberately chosen in the course of the History, rather of using them to delimitate their problematic origins.

Additionally, in our global world, identities appear fragmentary, as hybrids and diasporic. Identities are always immersed in creolisation processes. Thus, it does not seem very realistic to use the identity notion as a political slogan. Conversely, we can also reflect on such mobility, hybrid identities, elimination of boundaries, etc., as precisely new ways of political interferences in a worldwide order.

Culturally, the Canarian society is the result of the interconnection between locals, visitors, and migrants who create their own idea of Canarian identity. Such interconnections or contact zones refer to the arenas and situations where images, archetypes and stereotypes of the indigenous have been created as a result of the contact between locals and foreigners in colonial and post-colonial contexts (Estévez, 2011:146). It is only when we bring all these actors together, when we can analyze them as interdependent categories in the processes of identity construction.

With such an outlook regarding to the Canarian imagined community and its indigenous legacy, it seems neccesary to transcend old dichotomies such as tradition/modernity or authentic tradition/ no authentic tradition to place the Canarian identity debate right in the present. In that respect, this research aims to give some space to identity negotiation by providing a detailed discussion on the complex ideological machinery behind the indigenous imagination of the Canaries. Hence, the analysis of the two case studies has taken into account the socio-cultural frame. Having a broader perspective of the indigenous legacy, allows individuals to abandon the exoticism, the nostalgia for primal cultures. At the same time, it can facilitate them to acquire a formed opinion when making values judgments about the contemporary popular cultural expressions.

The anthropological relevance to the research questions is based on the analysis of the narratives of repetition, invention and construction on what is being called the Canarian imagined community.

Lastly, the present research raises even more questions such as the role of the museum institutions in the Canarian identity discourses. In this respect, the vision of a museum is related to its social function on cultural democratization. When anybody pays a visit to a museum he or she expects a reflective and interactive exchange, in which contrasted scientific information is provided to the public's own conclusions. Conversely, the recent emergence of ethnographical museums in the Canaries seems to respond to a particular interest in the conservation of traditions. For instance, the idealization of the rural life and local peasants has been a very common social belief among Canarian citizens. Estévez claims that according to our aesthetic criteria, many times we tend to idealize the rural life as an element of our identity, asking the elders about their memories, costumes, etc., denying them their right to live also their present, and obliging them to remember uncountable times their memories, which eventually are turned into ethnographical museums.

That circumstance is producing a "folklorization", or general social interest of giving to the past a decisive role in our destiny as well as making the Canarian citizens feel as members of a community, of a family and sculpt their personality. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know exactly how past generations were and how they felt. We only have their remains. In that sense, the museums contribute to re-construct the history according to scientific, political and ideological assumptions depending on the given historical period (Estévez, 2003:13). In this line of argument, museums are considered as a cultural drill in which objects are valued

aesthetically, but decontextualised of their place of origin (Estévez, 2003: 14). A last consideration can be approached when questioning that "obsession" for recuperating the past as a limiting strategy to change and improve the future.

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