

arship regarding an Indian “ethos” shaped by mythological traditions and a cohesive sense of shared cultural past. Although Paddayya himself is quick to critique the construction of this “ethos” for nationalist purposes (and indeed, many argue against the existence of such an “ethos” to begin with), his intent here is to provide an intellectual history of the idea, and notes at the end that the lecture is geared towards “younger workers” to encourage them to look more closely at different social perceptions of the past (188). This should be kept in mind by those who may object to the romantic view of cultural exceptionalism that is sometimes seen in such discussions.

Many of the above ideas are reiterated in the final chapter, which examines various scholarly views on the relevance of past studies for modern society. Ending with the plea to incorporate studies of ancient society into liberal education, Paddayya defends the field of Indian archaeology and navigates the current direction of theoretically driven scholarship towards a more meaningful relationship with the public, the inclusion of indigenous perspectives and an overall awareness of the applied potential of scholarly work.

Collectively, the scope and breadth of the academic scholarship and theory invoked and presented in these six chapters is truly an accomplishment, but perhaps more impressive is the way in which the clarity of the writing style allows the main points of the book to be grasped even by junior students or non-specialists. Though this book is primarily a review of scholarly work on various subjects that impinge on the archaeological study of the Indian past, Paddayya’s voice comes through very distinctly in his refreshingly straightforward prose. This is an excellent volume for students but would also be enjoyed by senior specialists interested in the multiple nature of past narratives and the implications this has for archaeological study in any region of the world.

Namita Sugandhi

**Palma Behnke, Marisol:** *Fotografías de Martin Gusinde en Tierra del Fuego (1919–1924). La imagen material y receptiva.* Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2014. 467 pp. ISBN 978-956-8421-67-0. Price: € 24.00

The second edition of “Fotografías de Martin Gusinde ...,” the book written by the Chilean anthropologist Marisol Palma Behnke, is an excellent addition to the ongoing discussion on the photographic heritage of Fr. Gusinde, the German missionary and ethnographer, whose latest phase was held in Ushuaia, in October 2015, on the occasion of launching the Spanish translation of the monumental “L’esprit des hommes de la Terre de Feu” prepared by Éditions Xavier Barral. Gusinde’s photographs provide insight into then rapidly disappearing cultures of the Yamana, the Selk’nam, and the Kawésqar Indians who by that time (1919–1924) had already been decimated by the reckless progress of “civilization.”

The book consists of five chapters and a conclusive section that contains author’s reflection on the visual content and significance of Gusinde’s work. In the first, de-

scriptive chapter, Palma Behnke discusses material aspects of the photographic collection of Martin Gusinde as well as its “social biography” – that is, its gradual transformation into a photographic “archive” – in the context of the institutional culture of the Steyler Missionaries, the Catholic order whose member Gusinde was. In chapter 2, the author brilliantly interprets selected images from Gusinde’s collection by placing her analysis in the context of fieldwork conducted by the missionary which she views, in the first place, as an intercultural encounter. “What kind of stories can be extracted from those photographs?” “Is it possible to reconstruct the relationships and negotiations between the photographer and the photographed persons?” are only some of the questions that she poses in this section of the book. One of those contexts was the initiation ceremony *Chiejaus* in which Gusinde was allowed to participate in his double role – namely, as an initiation candidate and as ethnographer (112f.). In the next step (chap. 3), Palma Behnke widens the perspective of her analysis by placing the work of Gusinde in the broader context of the ethnographic photography concerning Tierra del Fuego that was created at the peak of the Darwinian paradigm in cultural anthropology, and specifically during the period extending from 1880 to 1930. Obviously, the author does not aspire to a detailed analysis of that large and varied iconographic material. Rather, her purpose is to review the most representative components of that inventory as well as to identify and analyze the discursive strategies associated with them. Other questions addressed in chapter 3 concern the role of those inventories in the reproduction of the contemporary concepts of race, gender, indeed “human nature” that belonged to the conceptual inventory of scientific projects in that epoch. For instance, certain photographers of that time went hunting for their “objects” in the “Jardin zoologique d’acclimatation,” founded in Paris in 1860 and later (1877–1912) renamed into the “Jardin d’acclimatation anthropologique,” which was used for (in)famous colonial “human zoos” – exhibits of “living specimens” from the colonies. In chapter 4, Palma Behnke concentrates on those photographs of Gusinde’s that represent the ceremonial body painting, the most conspicuous cultural element of the Fuegians documented by that missionary-ethnographer. Indeed, about 200 photographs from his collection contain images of painted bodies – that is about 6.7% of all known photographs of indigenous body painting from South America – which gives Gusinde’s photographs a central place in the current theoretical reflection conducted within visual anthropology on this aspect of indigenous cultures of the continent. In chapter 5, the author addresses the topic of reception of Gusinde’s collection in South America, beginning with the 1970s – the time when they gradually received public attention and became an object of systematic inquiry. She identifies a number of channels through which the archive was reintroduced to the world, namely academia, museums, mass culture, and last but not least the indigenous communities of Tierra del Fuego some of whose members, descendants of those who had been photographed by Gusinde, “met” their ancestors “face to face.” In the con-

clusive chapter, Palma Behnke observes that the opinion about the Fuegians issued by Charles Darwin (who visited Tierra del Fuego on board of the “Beagle” in 1832), especially his (today) controversial statement: “I could not have believed how wide was the difference between savage and civilized man,” certainly influenced the scientific perception of that group of indigenous peoples of South America as “infrahuman savage” for decades. Nonetheless, through his photographic work Gusinde inverted that Darwinian image by giving it the opposite value of Rousseau’s “noble savage.” On the other hand, the way in which Gusinde arranged his models who posed for the photographs still points to the then dominant Darwinist categories present in his thinking, namely to the opposition between the “tall” and “handsome” Selk’nam and the “small” and “ugly” Yamana (425).

The book by Marisol Palma Behnke is more than a contribution to the ongoing discussion on the content, meaning, and importance of Gusinde’s photographic collection for our understanding of the vanished indigenous cultures of Tierra del Fuego, as well as on the way they were gazed at, described, and interpreted by European ethnographers formed within the evolutionist paradigm. In fact, the book is a veritable compendium of what so far has been said about that archive, including such diverse audiences as the academic world, mass culture consumers, and Native Americans themselves; and this is, I believe, what makes it particularly valuable. On the other hand, a more critical look reveals certain shortcomings, such as the highly specialized language that is perhaps too hermetic for those who are not well-versed in the field of visual anthropology, and the poor quality of the reproduced photographs – a drawback that could nevertheless be easily corrected on the occasion of the next edition of this work.

Darius J. Piwowarczyk

**Paul, Robert A.:** *Mixed Messages. Cultural and Genetic Inheritance in the Constitution of Human Society.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015. 353 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-24086-2. Price: \$ 30.00

The central thesis of this book is that individual development and social life are informed, or rather dictated, by two kinds of messages: “Any human society is composed ... of organisms that, unlike other organisms, are the product of the effects of two separate channels of information transmission, one cultural and one genetic, each necessary for the creation of the finished product, an adequately functioning human being. ... Therefore we may ask what sort of relationship exists between the two kinds of information, and we may further ask what impact this relationship might have on the way human socio-cultural systems are organized” (2). This is the essence of the “dual inheritance theory” advocated, developed, and explored by the author, through his discussion of theoretical works in anthropology, biology, and related fields. The twelve chapters of “Mixed Messages” outline the precursors and key contributors to dual inheritance theory, the differences between the two kinds of messages postulated, the extent to which they diverge or converge in specific

empirical contexts, and their combined impact on various aspects of social life, including social organization, ritual, symbolic reproduction, and gender relations.

This is a remarkable book in many ways. For one thing, it presents a clear take on a central issue in contemporary anthropology, the articulation of the biological and the social and its manifold implications for the practice of anthropology and the understanding of human life. Also, the author skillfully substantiates and qualifies his theoretical take through detailed and wide-ranging discussion of ethnographies (recent and classic) from different parts of the world. This, in itself, is quite an achievement. The analyses are meticulous and often convincing, and overall the discussion is plain, accessible, and readable. Trained in cultural anthropology, the author has set himself the task of “thickening” the standard description of genetics, sociobiology, and developmental psychology, by adding the layer of culture and symbols to that of genes, fitness, and natural selection. Few, if any, previous books manage to strike this balance as meaningfully and satisfactorily as “Mixed Messages,” combining gene talk, social theory, and ethnography. No doubt, the architects and practitioners of gene talk will welcome it. After all, it compliments gene talk rather than challenging it, making it more accessible and appealing to a broader audience.

The mixed-messages framework, however, is a mixed blessing. One of the flaws of the book relates to discussions of human uniqueness. Much of the argument hinges on classic assumption about the human-animal divide. Paul suggests, in his opening statement cited above and several other places, that humans “unlike other organisms” are the effects of two separate channels of information. He does qualify such statements at times through discussion of the sociality and communication of other primates, but he might have gone further, considering growing evidence of social learning and “theory of mind” in the lives of many other non-human animals. While “Mixed Messages” deepens the narratives of gene talk, providing new space for social and cultural analyses in studies of life itself, it is bound by the same limits that have troubled gene talk. Despite the second channel of message transmission, the dominant paradigm of the life sciences remains unshaken; its key assumptions as to how life is to be explored and understood remain intact.

In fact, the standard narrative of gene talk and its preoccupation with the transmission of genetic messages through copulation, a point repeatedly emphasized in “Mixed Messages,” is increasingly being contested. One important recent development in this context is the study of microbiomes. The microbes of our bodies (largely in our guts) are extremely important for development and well-being. In a fundamental sense, it is argued, they are “us” although their genes are typically acquired horizontally, not through copulation. If this is the case, Paul’s statement that “Identical genomes are shared only by identical twins” (78) does not make sense for no two people are identical in genomic terms. This evidence does not leave much space for dual inheritance. Even leaving aside the complications of the microbiome, our “human” genomes seem to be more unstable than previously thought,