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Leroi-Gourhan, André

Didac Roman
Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Valencia, Valencia, Spain

Basic Biographical Information

André Leroi-Gourhan was one of the greatest prehistorians of the twentieth century. He is well known for his significant contributions to

archaeological method and theory and to the study of rock art. Born in 1911 in Paris, Leroi-Gourhan was orphaned very early and grew up with his maternal grandparents, who took him on frequent visits to the Natural History Museum in Paris. These visits awoke in him a fascination with the natural sciences. This fascination, along with the influence of his grandfather who was a member of the Naturalists' Association, converted Leroi-Gourhan into an ardent nature lover who soon came into contact with a range of prehistorians.

At first, Leroi-Gourhan was not a motivated student, and he left study when he was 14 years old to be apprenticed to a merchant. He soon changed jobs and met some of the people who would most influence him in the future. His godmother played an important role in his development by giving him the gift of a book by Marcellin Boule, *Les hommes fossiles*, and by introducing him to Paul Boyer, the administrator of the School of Oriental Languages, who would offer Leroi-Gourhan a post as assistant secretary and library helper. These positions allowed Leroi-Gourhan to continue his studies, and he finished a diploma course at the Sorbonne in Russian in 1931 and in Chinese in 1933.

Leroi-Gourhan embraced the study of ethnology, while working for the France Institute of London in the ethnography department of the British Museum. Two of Leroi-Gourhan's works were completed during this period: *Bestiaire du bronze chinois* (1936a) and *La civilisation du Renne* (1936b). That same year, he married Arlette Boyer, the daughter of Paul Boyer. As a research professor of CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) and the Collège de France, Leroi-Gourhan began working on two of the works that would become points of reference for the world of prehistory: *L'homme et la matière* (1943) and *Milieu et techniques* (1945). During the Second World War, Leroi-Gourhan was commissioned to watch over the security of some of the art objects evacuated from the Louvre Museum and that he took part in different activities with the French Resistance, which earned him several honorary decorations.

In 1946, while deputy director of the Museum of Man (Musée de l'Homme), Leroi-Gourhan was named Professor of Colonial Ethnology at the University of Lyon. This position allowed him to develop the teachings in comparative technology that would form the future foundations of his research and teaching in prehistoric ethnology. At this time, he completed his doctoral thesis, directed by Marcel Mauss and entitled *Archéologie du Pacifique nord et documents pour l'art comparé de l'Eurasie Septentrionale* (1945). Later, he completed a second doctoral thesis *Les tracés d'équilibre mécanique du crâne des vertébrés terrestres et etude des restes humains fossiles provenant des grottes d'Arcy-sur-Cure* (1954). In 1956, Leroi-Gourhan was appointed to the Chair of General Ethnology and Prehistory at the University of the Sorbonne, and later, between 1969 and 1982, he was the Chair of Prehistory at the Collège de France.

Leroi-Gourhan received numerous awards and prizes for his contributions. In 1973 he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in recognition of his outstanding contributions to archaeology, both nationally and internationally. In 1978 he received the Grande Prix of the national archaeology of the Ministry of Culture and in 1979 the Golden Medal of the Academy of Architecture, national prize of the Fissen fund, and the Legion of Honour. In 1980, he was elected in the Academy. Leroi-Gourhan died in 1986.

Major Accomplishments

Leroi-Gourhan's major accomplishments include a modernization of excavation methods in France, including the incorporation of multidisciplinary teams into archaeological investigation and the introduction of spatial studies, ethnographic concepts in Paleolithic studies, such as the *chaine operatoire* concept, and structural analysis in the study of prehistoric rock art.

Excavation Methods

Leroi-Gourhan was trained in a prehistoric archaeology that was more concerned with excavation to recover objects than in research for its own sake. However, possibly due to his

ethnographic training, he became aware that objects without their context only contributed part of the information. That is to say, they provided the relative chronologies without an understanding of the ways of life. For this reason he developed excavation methods which focused on the quality of documentation and the area excavation of sites, with the objective of enabling the reconstruction of all aspects of the population that had lived there thousands of years before.

This approach meant that all archaeological remains were recovered, no matter how small or fragmented, so they could later be studied by a group of specialists from diverse disciplines. An example of this excavation methodology was the Magdalenian site of Pincevent, where for over 20 years (from 1964), Leroi-Gourhan educated many prehistorians in his passion to reconstruct the past through a multidisciplinary spatial analysis, which would lay the foundations of prehistoric ethnology.

Paleo-Ethnology: Technique and Culture

Leroi-Gourhan's ethnographic education formed the basis for all his work and effort in studying prehistory. This is well exemplified in his most famous publications *L'homme et la matière* (1943), *Milieu et techniques* (1945), and *Le geste et la parole* (1964b). Within this ensemble of investigations, it is worth highlighting his adaptation of the ethnographic concept of the operative chain (*chaine opératoire*) to prehistory (Balfet 1991). This deals with a theoretical concept that attempts to understand archaeological occurrences, be they physical or artistic, in terms of the sequence of technical operations implied in all phases of their production. This concept, reformulated in the 1990s, has been the basis for the development of technological studies, both in rock art and in the analysis of lithic industries.

Prehistoric Art

Leroi-Gourhan transformed the study of prehistoric art. In particular, he is accepted as being the first scholar to introduce structuralism to the analysis of rock art. Using ethnographic comparisons, he treated prehistoric art as an expression of a religion, or magical aspects, during the Paleolithic. This approach is especially evident in his work *Les religions de la préhistoire* (1964a). However, his greatest contribution to this field was to propose a progressive evolution of diverse styles of Paleolithic art, from the simplest to the most complex, published in his work *Préhistoire de l'art occidental* (1965b).

During the twentieth century, methods for examining prehistoric art were completely reformed, thanks to Leroi-Gourhan's studies. His scrupulousness in the excavation process was translated to his analysis of painted walls, where the study of each figure in relation to its neighbors, and to the rest of the panel and the topography of the cavity, enabled him to develop the hypothesis that the panels were ordered in a relationship to the central figures and that in general a duality could be observed between man and woman in the images of bison and horses.

Leroi-Gourhan's proposal articulated the existence of four great stylist phases and became the model of reference in the field till the close of the twentieth century, when the direct dating of figures from diverse locations provoked a reconsideration of these hypotheses by some researchers, sparking off a widespread controversy that persists to this day (Alcolea and Balbin 2007).

Cross-References

- ▶ Europe: Prehistoric Rock Art
- ▶ European Upper Paleolithic Rock Art: Sacredness, Sanctity, and Symbolism
- ▶ Lithic Technology, Paleolithic
- ▶ Structural Archaeology
- ▶ Style: Its Role in the Archaeology of Art

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Lev, David N.

Nona A. Avanesova
Department of Archaeology, Samarkand State University, Samarkand, Uzbekistan

Basic Biographical Information

David Natanovich Lev (1905–1969) was the leading investigator of the Stone Age in Central Asia, and a professor at the University of Samarkand.

In 1931, he graduated from Leningrad State University with an archaeologist specialty. From 1931 to 1942, David Lev worked in the Department of Archaeology of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Leningrad as a researcher and then as head of the department. During this period, he published two guides on the Department of Archaeology and collections stored there relating mainly to the old mining. D.N. Lev had dedicated his Ph.D. dissertation (thesis) to the history of ancient mining. He graduated in 1945. He was a close disciple of P.P. Efimenko, and participated in Efimenko's excavations at Kostenki. At the same time, fate brought Lev together with another major archaeologist – V.A. Gorodtsov. Circumstances were that in the 1930s, when V.A. Gorodtsov was still full of strength and energy and seeking to organize large archaeological expeditions, only two of his young scientific friends were true, selfless helpers: D.A. Krainov and D.N. Lev, together with Gorodtsov, excavated the Elizabethan settlement in the Kuban and the Ilsk Paleolithic site.

From 1944 to 1969, David Lev was the head of the Department of General History in the History Department at the University of Samarkand, where he led the preparation of extensive field research on the Paleolithic of Uzbekistan.

Major Accomplishments

David Lev's studies provided excellent results, especially those concerning the systematically excavated cave of Aman-Kutan near Samarkand and Samarkand late Paleolithic site. Aman-Kutan was widely known among archaeologists in the Soviet Union and abroad, and now, following Teshik-Tash and Obirakhmat, is one of the richest expressions of Mousterian cave settlements of Central Asia.

The excavations of Samarkand site, from 1958 to 1968, were very fruitful. Materials of late Paleolithic settlements are unique, because in the huge territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, they discovered for the first time the bones of an old man of the modern physical type of *Homo sapiens sapiens*. Samarkand revealed three cultural layers, separated by a sterile layer at a depth of 1.70–6 m from the ground surface. The deposits included stone products (over 800 items), fossil fauna, the remains of dwellings, ochre, and objects of art. The materials of the Samarkand site, published in a number of papers by D.N. Lev, certainly helped to resolve many important issues of the Stone Age, not only in Central Asia but also in Iran, Pakistan, India, and other countries.

The great discoveries of archaeological sites of Paleolithic Time were added with Mesolithic and

Neolithic complexes so-called Sazagan culture in Samarkand region. The Sazagan antiquities were opened by O.I. Ibragimov, and investigated by D.N. Lev from 1966. These artifacts enabled identification of some features of the Neolithic inhabitants, and the evolution and continuity of the Stone Age cultures of Zarafshan.

David Lev is best known as the researcher of Paleolithic Uzbekistan (Mousterian cave site Aman-Kutan, Samarkand Upper Paleolithic), but his archaeological work was comprehensive and included analysis of the monuments of different archaeological periods. Lev surveyed and registered additional monuments almost every time he visited the Zarafshan Valley. His scientific publications are not very widely known among researchers, despite their undoubted importance. Most of the results of his research remained in his diaries, manuscripts, and archives of the Department of Archaeology in the History Faculty of Samarkand State University. Among these is a general report on his work, submitted for the degree of Doctor of Sciences on the theme: "*Research on the Paleolithic of Uzbekistan*" (1966).

The style of David Natanovich's scientific activity was the use excellent language and an absence of repetition. The abundance of empirical data, which he owned, provided material that would have allowed Lev to write much more than the number of his printed works (about 50 titles). Nevertheless, his materials on Paleolithic sites of Uzbekistan received world recognition.

Teaching activities have an important place in the biography of David Lev. The lectures of Lev had great success. He channeled all the passion of his inquisitive nature into his lectures. He sought to give the students not only large knowledge, but convey to them the thirst for investigation and joy of archaeological inspiration. He wanted not only to give his listeners certain information, but also to share his passion for archaeological research with them.

D.N. Lev was a founder of the Scientific Laboratory for the historical and archaeological study of settlement Afrasiab at Samarkand State University.

David N. Lev combined a deep knowledge on the Stone Age, mining, ethnography, and museum studies with teaching activity (1941–1969) at Samarkand State University. Unfortunately, the scientific and organizational creativity of D.N. Lev is still not widely appreciated in archaeological literature, but this publication goes some way toward redressing this.

Cross-References

- ▶ Central Asia: Paleolithic
- ▶ Gorodtsov, Vasily A.
- ▶ *Homo sapiens*
- ▶ Kostenki: Geography and Culture
- ▶ Lithic Technology, Paleolithic
- ▶ Mousterian Industry Tradition
- ▶ Okladnikov, Alexey P.

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Levallois Technology: Overview of Middle Paleolithic Technologies

Feng Li
Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing, China

Introduction

The Middle Paleolithic (MP), generally speaking, is the period characterized by the emergence

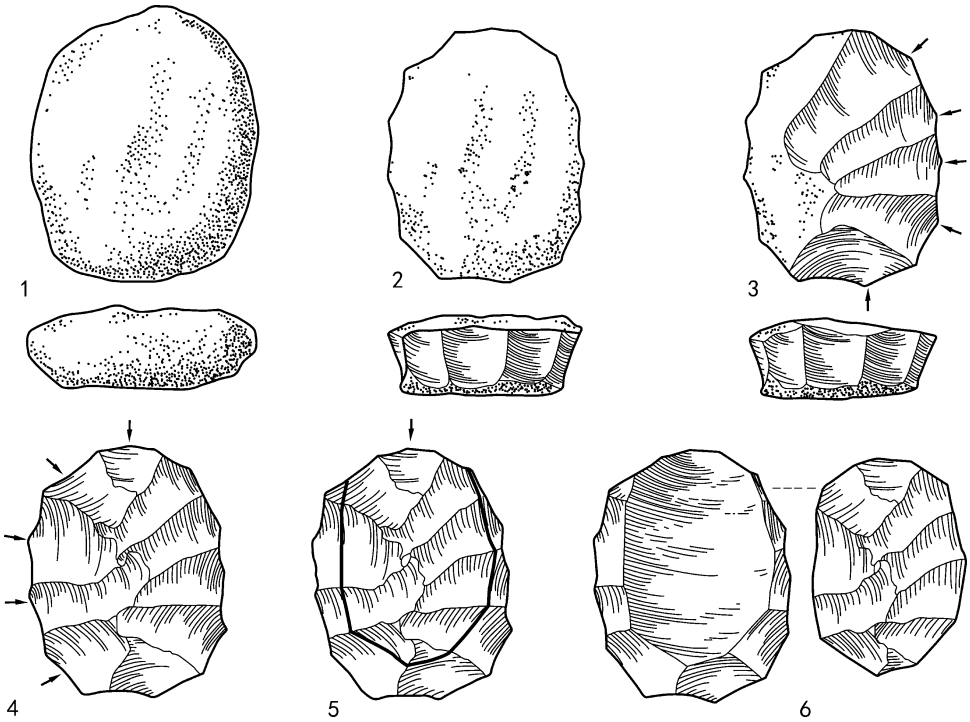
and spread of Levallois technology and various flake tools, spanning circa 250,000–300,000 to 40,000–50,000 years ago. The Levallois technology of Middle Paleolithic was associated with at least three hominin populations: late *Homo heidelbergensis*, *Homo neanderthalensis*, and *Homo sapiens*. As the Middle Paleolithic were replaced by the Upper Paleolithic associated with behaviorally and anatomically modern humans who migrated out of Africa around 40,000–50,000 years ago, this reasoning engenders big questions such as the disappearance of the Neanderthals and their cultures, the dispersal of modern humans, and their cultural and physical interactions with archaic hominin groups. Such unsolved problems have drawn a great deal of attention among both the prehistorians and the public. Levallois technology seems to have its origins in the Lower Paleolithic Acheulian (Adler et al. 2014; Rolland 1995); however, its use became much more prevalent in the Middle Paleolithic. As one of the most sophisticated lithic technologies, research relating to the Levallois method has dominated the Middle Paleolithic literature including topics such as the cognitive ability and depth of planning of archaic hominins, economy of lithic technology, diffusion and interaction of technology, and social learning of lithic technology.

Definition

Levallois, named after a stone quarry in the northern Paris suburb of Levallois-Perret, is a sophisticated core reduction method for producing relatively standardized flake and blade blanks. In general, Levallois flaking involves careful preparation of the core in such a way as to predetermine the shape of the intended blanks, which distinguishes it from other flaking methods. The first attempt to identify unique Levallois artifacts dates to 1867 (Schlanger 1996), yet the first formal definition of Levallois flakes was made much later by Reboux (quoted by Schlanger 1996) as being "they were prepared and trimmed on the core before being separated." Subsequently, little by little, additional criteria for the definition of Levallois were added which emphasized the end products of classic Levallois types, including facetted striking platforms, the angle between the platform and interior surface, a stable longitudinal and cross section, etc. In the mid-twentieth century, François Bordes (1961a, b), a French prehistorian, formulated his now-famous definition of Levallois blanks with technological criteria and presented a framework of the main Levallois types (Fig. 1). For Bordes, Levallois consists of the manufacture of a "flake of a form predetermined by special preparation of the core before removal of the flake" (Bordes 1961a: 14). Although prevalent for more than three decades, many "Levallois" assemblages which do not fit Bordes' definition have been identified by many scholars. Faced with this disparity, pioneering work in the 1980s and early 1990s done by Marks (Marks and Volkman 1983), Boëda (1986, 1995), Van Peer (1992), and others emphasizing refitting and experimental studies initialized a new era for research on Levallois technology. Following the French approach called *chaîne opératoire*, researchers emphasized the reduction sequence consisting of a dynamic process from raw material procurement to the discard of exhausted stone artifacts, instead of a handful of pristine end products representing a narrow typological range of variability. Thus, it has become increasingly apparent by the early 1990s that the definition of Levallois technology should focus on the underlying manufacturing processes rather than on the end products themselves (Dibble and Bar-Yosef 1995).

The most detailed studies of European Middle Paleolithic industries are those carried out by Eric Boëda (1986, 1995). Boëda has identified what he refers to as a basic "Levallois concept" with a volumetric reconstruction representing the unifying element behind all flaking techniques to which the term Levallois can be properly applied. Six technical criteria were used for defining a Levallois core (Fig. 2; Boëda 1986, 1995):

1. Two asymmetrical convex secant surfaces form the core volume, and the intersection of these surfaces defines a plane.
2. The two core surfaces are hierarchically related: one produces defined and varied blanks that are predetermined, and the other



Levallois Technology: Overview of Middle Paleolithic Technologies, Fig. 1 Stages of production of a classic Levallois core, according to Bordes 1961b

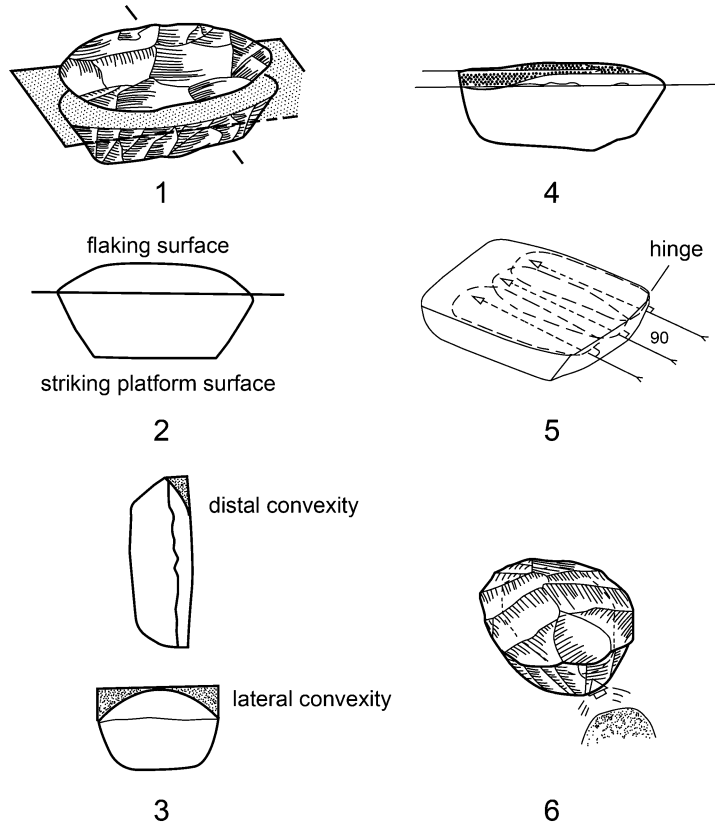
serves as a surface for striking platforms. The role of the two surfaces cannot be reversed in a single production sequence.

3. The flaking surface is prepared for predetermined products consisting of maintenance of the lateral and distal convexities.
4. The fracture plane of the predetermined blanks is parallel to the plane of intersection of the two core surfaces.
5. The striking platform is maintained depending on the method chosen for the detachment of predetermined blanks but always exhibits one characteristic – the surface of striking platforms is always oriented in a position that is perpendicular to the flaking axis of the predetermined blanks.
6. Only one technique of flaking is used in the Levallois operational scheme: direct hard hammer percussion.

Two large clusters of Levallois methods have been observed in the Paleolithic record: a preferential method designed to produce a single major blank as the goal from one prepared surface and a recurrent method intended to produce several blanks from a single flaking surface without any re-preparation during the reduction (Boëda 1995). The shape of predetermined Levallois products varies and can be oval or rectangular in outline (what are generally referred to as Levallois flakes), elongate and narrow (Levallois blades), and triangular (Levallois points). However, Levallois reduction also produces many generalized flakes and certain technical spalls including débordant and dos limité flakes during the rejuvenation and maintenance of the core platforms and flaking faces.

Key Issues/Current Debates/Future Directions

Opinions concerning the roots of Levallois technology vary although, generally, scholars agree that it originated in the Acheulian technocomplex of the Lower Paleolithic. As a prepared-core



Levallois Technology: Overview of Middle Paleolithic Technologies, Fig. 2 Boëda's technological criteria for identifying the Levallois method (drawings modified after Boëda 1995)

technology, the Victoria West (also called "proto-Levallois") core technology in South Africa, dating to approximately 1 Ma, was considered by many to be the antecedent of Levallois technology (Riet Lowe 1945). More recent work has led many authors to emphasize in situ evolution from handaxe technology (Adler et al. 2014; Rolland 1995). However, the timing of the transition from Acheulian to early Levallois assemblages in different regions is not simultaneous. The picture of continuity in Africa combined with the discontinuity and apparent lack of any proto-Levallois stage in Europe lends support to Foley and Lahr's (1997) "Mode 3" hypothesis that advocates an exclusive African genesis for prepared-core technology. On the contrary, others have proposed a multiregional origin of Levallois technology in geographically dispersed regions (Adler et al. 2014; Rolland 1995). Discoveries of the early synchronic use of bifacial and Levallois technology in the Southern Caucasus (Adler et al. 2014), Northwestern Europe (White and Ashton 2003), and Southwest Asia (Debono and Goran-Inbar 2001) all tend to suggest that the transition from Acheulian to Levallois occurred independently in geographically dispersed, technologically precocious hominin populations with a shared technological ancestry (i.e., technological convergence).

The spatial distribution of Levallois technology during the Middle Paleolithic includes Africa, Europe, West and Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, and, of course, variations among Middle Paleolithic Levallois assemblages are present in different regions. The presence of this technology in a vast area which encompasses many geographically and environmentally variable regions raises many interesting research questions. For example, some authors have suggested that the Levallois technology signals the dispersal of specific hominin population (s) across the Eurasia toward the East

(Bar-Yosef and Belger-Cohen 2013; Foley and Lahr 1997). Instead of a population dispersal model, shared knowledge of knapping methods may have been the major component in such dispersals through cultural transmission (Lycett and Norton 2010; Lycett et al. 2016). Scholars have also considered economic explanations (e.g., Brantingham and Kuhn 2001; Lycett and Eren 2013). Brantingham and Kuhn (2001) presented a geometric model that permits controlled manipulation of a few key parameters defining Levallois core morphology, concluding that mechanical and economic constraints are the main factors underlying the broad geographic distribution and temporal persistence of Levallois reduction technologies.

A number of authors have considered possible cognitive implications of the Levallois technology. As one of the most sophisticated lithic technologies for producing predetermined blanks, the Levallois approach involves strategic planning of knapping procedures, including deliberate preparation of the core platforms and detachment surfaces. Many argue that both the products and the procedure of these Paleolithic knapping methods were clearly predetermined in terms of overall size and shape which implies a level of cognitive ability (Boëda 1995; Schlanger 1996). Wynn and Coolidge (2004) have used Levallois to support arguments that Neanderthals were capable to possess a long-term working memory. Others have even used this sophisticated lithic technology to advocate the linguistic capacity of extinct hominins (Lieberman 1984). However, a small number of researchers demonstrated that the Levallois products are not necessarily statistically more standardized than non-Levallois products; thus their manufacture could not be linked to the presence of linguistic rules, structure, or categories (Dibble 1989). Recent morphometric comparison of experimental preferential Levallois flakes and debitage flakes shows statistically significant standardization among Levallois flakes (Eren and Lycett 2012). Eren and Lycett's results (2012) support the hypothesis that the lengthy, multiphase, and hierarchically organized process of Levallois reduction was a deliberate, engineered strategy orientated toward specific goals. In turn, their results suggested that Levallois knapping relied on a cognitive capacity for long-term working memory and may also imply that the cognitive capacity of Neanderthals and modern humans was not as sharp as some scholars have previously suggested (Eren and Lycett 2012).

The Middle Paleolithic includes a great deal of industrial variability represented by several named technocomplexes throughout the Old World. Therefore, inter- and intra-site and regional Middle Paleolithic industrial variability is a crucial issue, although it has tended to be neglected by paleoanthropologists. In addition to the Mousterian technocomplex which is commonly associated with Levallois technology in Western Europe, many other Middle Paleolithic industries are present in the Old World, including the pre-Mousterian, the Micoquian, the Tayacian, and the Taubachian, among others, from Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, the Levantine Yabrudian, and the Middle Stone Age of Africa (Dibble and Mellars 1992). In addition to the major knapping method – Levallois – many other flaking technologies were present in the Middle Paleolithic, including discoidal, "salami slice" (Quina), and blade technology, etc. A more striking phenomenon of the Middle Paleolithic variability is that contemporaneous lithic assemblages in East and Southeast Asia differ greatly from those of Western Eurasia and Africa in that they lack prepared-core technologies in general. Archaeologists have argued for a distinctive and continuous technological evolution of the East Asian Paleolithic since the Early Pleistocene (Gao 2013), while others suggested a demographic model that relatively smaller effective population sizes inhibited the in situ evolution of Levallois technology in East and Southeast Asia (Lycett and Norton 2010). Many of these questions have not been completely resolved to date. Nevertheless, the implications of the similarities and differences among lithic technologies in the Middle Paleolithic across the Old World – and in Levallois technology in particular – will continue to attract attention from archaeologists in terms of human dispersal and technology adaptation.

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Lévi-Strauss, Claude

Laurent Dissard
Penn Humanities Forum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA

Basic Biographical Information

Claude Lévi-Strauss was born on November 8, 1908, in Brussels and raised in Paris where his

father worked as a painter. His upbringing in a secular Jewish family passionate for art gave him access to books, museums, flea markets, art galleries, and operas. During his years at the *lycée*, Lévi-Strauss became fascinated by geology, read Freud as soon as his books were translated in French, and was introduced by a family friend to the socialist movement and the works of Marx. In these three early intellectual interests, he found rational explanations for the seemingly illogical phenomena underlying the earth, the mind, and society. Lévi-Strauss passed the *agrégation* of philosophy in 1931 and became a high school teacher in Mont-de-Marsan. But his desire to apply philosophical knowledge and thirst for new discoveries pushed him toward a career as an ethnologist.

In 1934, he was offered a position as a sociology professor on a French university mission to Brazil. Before embarking on the 20-day boat trip from Marseilles, he read, what would become standards for his own research, Robert Lowie, Franz Boas, and Alfred Kroeber. At the end of his first academic year in São Paulo in 1935, Lévi-Strauss set out on a 4-month expedition to the Caduveo and Bororo tribes. Three years later, a longer expedition sponsored by the *Musée de l'Homme* allowed him to spend almost an entire year in the Mato Grosso with the Nambikwara, Munde, and Tupi-Kawahib tribes. He returned to Paris with his ethnographic material in March 1939 but was immediately sent to the front at the start of World War II. Lévi-Strauss managed to escape to southern France before the invasion of the German army. However, after the Statute on Jews was adopted in October 1940, he lost his French citizenship and any chance of finding a teaching job. In addition, his request for a visa to return to Brazil was denied.

Promised to a brilliant career in his own country, Lévi-Strauss found refuge in the United States. With the help of Alfred Métraux, Robert Lowie, and his aunt Aline Caro-Delvaille in New York, the New School for Social Research (recently opened by the Rockefeller Foundation) invited him to teach a course on South America. He would stay from 1941 to 1947 bringing with him the notes and diaries, photographs, and maps collected in Brazil used to finish a classic ethnographic report and formal analysis of his earlier expeditions' results (1948). He also spent much time in the New York Public Library collecting information on kinship systems. While in the United States, he met American anthropologists such as Boas, Kroeber, Linton, Benedict, and Mead and became the friend and colleague of other exiled intellectuals like the Russian linguist Roman Jakobson, whose structural linguistics offered Lévi-Strauss the general inspiration for the analysis of his ethnographic data.

Major Accomplishments

It was in conversation with Roman Jakobson that Claude Lévi-Strauss developed the theoretical model for which he is now best known: structuralism. Lévi-Strauss' structuralism studies human and social phenomena as diverse as kinship, mythology, and rituals to discover the underlying structures by which meaning is produced within a culture. As Jakobson did with languages, in order to go beyond the simple accumulation of facts, Lévi-Strauss examined kinship as a set of relations. Having adopted this model, he completed his thesis in February 1947 and defended it a few months later upon his return to France. The results of his labor would be published as *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), which, if recognized by some as a reference work, was criticized, especially within French academia, as too ambitious. Lévi-Strauss' book did offer an encompassing methodology to scientifically examine family organization. Rather than focusing on the relationship between family members itself, he considered the logical structures underlying them. The methodological direction Lévi-Strauss embarked upon in the 1940s would lead, less than two decades later, to the publication of *Anthropologie structurale* (1958) – a collection of articles written in the 1950s investigating kinship, myths, magic, and art. Extending beyond the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology, this manifesto of structuralism would have a lasting influence in all fields within the social sciences and humanities during the second half of the twentieth century.

While considered by some as his least "scientific" work, *Tristes tropiques* (1955), a memoir of the anthropologist's travels combining personal recollections, ethnographic insights, and philosophical meditations, brought Lévi-Strauss the most public recognition. In this autobiographical account, he revealed a critique of western civilization and its associated destructive forces. In 1952, Lévi-Strauss was asked by the UNESCO to write *Race et histoire*. Here again, the author critically examined the supposed benefits of such taken-for-granted notions as social evolution, technological progress, and cultural diversity. The 1950s also marked a transition in Lévi-Strauss' teachings from kinship to mythology. He published the four-volume *Mythologiques*, which follows a single myth in all of its variations from South to North America. Again, rather than focusing on the content of the stories themselves, he examined the underlying structures and relations between their different elements starting with the opposition between raw and cooked (1964). In *La voie des masques* (1975), Lévi-Strauss adapted this structural framework to consider the stylistic differences among Native American masks made in the Pacific Northwest.

Among the many honors received during his lifetime, Lévi-Strauss was elected to the *Collège de France* in 1959 and entered the *Académie Française* in 1974. After retiring from the *Collège* on October 1, 1982 (50 years to the day after beginning his first job in Mont-de-Marsan), Lévi-Strauss remained active publishing *La potière jalouse* (1985), a critique of Freudian interpretations of myths, and *Histoire de lynx* (1991), deploring the human and environmental catastrophes brought on by western colonialism. He also spent time travelling and gave many interviews to journalists. In *De près et de loin*, a book based on a series of conversation between Didier Eribon and Lévi-Strauss, approaching his 80th birthday, the anthropologist reiterated the paradox behind some of his philosophical views – a pessimistic diagnosis of the destructive power of modern, western societies associated with an imperturbable faith in the totalizing power of science to understand cultural and natural phenomena. Claude Lévi-Strauss died in Paris on October 30, 2009, at the age of 101.

Cross-References

► Structural Archaeology

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Lewis-Williams, James David

Geoffrey Blundell
School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Basic Biographical Information

David Lewis-Williams was born in 1934 in Cape Town, South Africa. He undertook his undergraduate studies at the University of Cape Town, graduating in 1956. He began teaching English and