Archaeology Archetype and Symbol: a Jungian psychological perspective on the Neolithic archaeology of the British Isles

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ABSTRACT

While the advent of modern technologies has increased our understanding of the physicality of prehistoric artefacts for instance their place and method of manufacture and has helped to establish more precise chronologies, the actual meanings tend to elude us. It is in this connection that the insights derived from the work of C. G, Jung could help to shed light on the significance of some of these objects and the practices with which they are associated. One worthwhile line of enquiry entails a more personal approach based on some psychological perspectives from the work of C.G. Jung. It was Jung who emphasised that the scientific rationalist perspective of modernity is just another paradigm and by no means the only way of understanding the world. Another of his important insights was to search for meaning in all human behaviour no matter how bizarre or senseless it might appear. As well as being a modern discipline, Jung’s work can I believe be extrapolated back to the past as he himself stated that some of his insights could be usefully applied to past objects and situations (Jung 1986:5).

The problems involved in attempting an analysis of meaning from a period from which no literary evidence survives was one rejected as impossible, (Renfrew & Zubrow 2000) but this problem can be redressed by the application of Jung’s collective unconscious a concept concerned with recurrent patterns in human behaviour. In his view, studies based on an isolated individual are inadequate. Moreover, with regard to the Neolithic period where no written records are extant, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct such detailed information at this level. The following quotation underlines the importance Jung attached to this interpretation:-

"Therapy stands or falls with the question. “What sort of world does our patient come from and to what sort of world does he have to adapt? The world is a supra-personal fact, which only deals with the personal element in man. Man is also a part of the world, inextricably involved, he carried the world in himself, something at the same time, impersonal and supra-personal (Jung 1946:30)."
DECLARATION

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to Jung

The use of Jung in theoretical papers has not been a popular choice among academics suspicious of his interest in the unconscious and the subjective nature of his work. Research has generally been confined to Freudian theories when employing a psychoanalytical approach to archaeological material. However, it is my belief that these criticisms are due to an apparent misunderstanding of Jung’s work and an oversimplification of the underlying concepts, which are admittedly not always easy to tease out from his writings.

The problem that I am attempting to address in this thesis is the virtual absence of any approaches dealing with the existence of emotion and the psychological motivation for certain acts and the use of particular materials in the Neolithic period. What did these actually mean to people and what were the effects outwards and unconscious that this material would have elicited. Much attention has been accorded to perspectives based on philosophical theories, (Tilley 1994) with reference to Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology on the Phenomenology of monuments and the surrounding landscapes and (Thomas 1991) based on the existentialist ideas of Heidegger. It is my belief that an approach based on psychoanalytical theory would produce a new perspective with which to examine the extant archaeological material.

This thesis will borrow extensively from Jung’s work on the archetypes and symbols to offer a psychological interpretation of sites from the British Neolithic period, concentrating on their emotional impact and ritual significance. Of necessity, the data is limited to what is available in the archaeological record and inevitably this will involve a more subjective approach but at the same time it is my belief that this will help in the understanding of why people from this era performed apparently irrational acts and the possible role of the unconscious forces underpinning them.

These issues will be explored by taking three themes based on Jung’s research and employing them to address these problems by applying them to sites in Great Britain
and Ireland dating from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period. These themes will include an examination of Jung’s god archetype, by an analysis of the alleged anthropomorphic imagery found at monumental sites. The fourth chapter will examine the possible significance of the spiral motif from the perspective of Jungian symbolism. The subject of the fifth chapter will be the role of the mandela device in megalithic art and architecture based on Jung’s extensive research on the effects of this worldwide symbol.

In conclusion, it is my belief that Jung’s hypotheses of an unconscious element to the human psyche and his consequent development, the archetypes has the potential for application to ideas and images found in Britain during the Neolithic period. These meanings will not be universal but they could provide explanations for the kind of ideas and ritual acts prevalent at that time.
CHAPTER TWO

Jung’s archetypal theory and its significance for the interpretation of meaning in British Neolithic contexts

In this chapter, I will introduce Jung and explain the basic precepts on which this thesis is based, discussing ways in which they can provide a framework for a re-examination of material from the Neolithic of the British Isles. My original intention was to focus on sites from Anglesey, however with certain aspects of the research the material available was insufficient, therefore I have resorted to using information from other regions in particular those from Ireland where the examples of megalithic art are more prolific.

There are a number of key concepts crucial to this interpretation and I will provide an outline of these together with supporting evidence and critical evaluations of their importance for the understanding of human nature throughout the ages. Jung’s concept of the unconscious relies not only on the individual mind it also has a collective aspect applicable to all human beings cross-culturally and across time. One of the main arguments from the point of view of the Neolithic period is that it offers an alternative explanation for the existence of similar ideas and practices, one that is not wholly dependent on diffusion theories. Following on from the idea of a collective unconscious shared by all humanity past and present is Jung’s formulation of the archetypes, understood as being the potential for patterns of human behaviour, ones that recur throughout time and across history. The archetypes themselves are only discernible by their outward manifestations and by the attendant symbols, imagery and behaviours that Jung believed to be imbued with deep significance. These basic concepts of Jung’s which on the surface may appear to be easily separable, are in his work inextricably bound together and made more complex by the way in which Jung himself was constantly refining and adapting them throughout his life.
2.1 Background to Jung

Carl Gustav Jung was born on the 26th July 1875 in the village of Kesswil on Lake Constance in Switzerland, moving when he was six years old to a village near the famous Rhine Falls. His father the Reverend Paul Jung was a Lutheran clergyman and according to Jung a rather disillusioned one. Perhaps this lay behind Jung’s rejection of a conventional religious attitude and his lifelong search for the truth by other means. On the other hand, his mother formerly Emilie Preiswerk, came from a family said to possess psychic abilities. To judge from accounts of his experiences, an incident being the incident of the table cracking (Jung 1999) and his intuitive abilities in the way he could find a reason for his patients’ problems meant that Jung had most likely inherited this capability. His continuing interest in the origins and explanations for these phenomena are evident throughout his life. It is likely that some of his insights into human behaviour were indirectly a result of this interest (Storr 1990:7).

Additional evidence for this propensity is the choice of subject for Jung’s doctoral thesis, entitled: “On the Psychology and Pathology of so-called Occult Phenomena”, a study based on sittings with his cousin Helene Preiswerk, an alleged spirit medium. Despite this research appearing somewhat unconventional from an academic perspective, Jung took an objective stance in that he did not claim the voices to be those of spirits but split-off parts of the medium’s psyche, functioning as separate personalities. These constellations he interpreted as being more mature than the mind of a teenage girl, an indication of the type of person she would become on maturity. The experiment was to form the basis for his hypothesis of autonomous complexes within the human psyche that he believed were projected towards future development, rather than being proof for the existence of spirits (Jaffe 1989:6). Later he was to modify his opinion somewhat, allowing for the existence of separate spiritual forces in certain cases.

From an early age, Jung understood himself to be possessed of two distinct personalities; the ordinary everyday number one and the more mysterious number two character that he was later to identify with the unconscious aspect of the psyche. He found that these two personalities were often in conflict with each other. Another
valuable insight from his early years was the understanding that we are not always in control or to state it more clearly the conscious part of our psyche does not always have the upper hand. This is particularly noticeable in the case of dreams, which Jung was to ascribe to the workings of the unconscious.

An example of this is a dream experienced by Jung around the age of six. Jung dreamt that he was alone in a field near his home. He noticed a square hole in the ground and a flight of stone steps leading down. Descending the steps, he entered an ancient underground chamber. Part of the chamber was concealed behind a green curtain. Curious about what lay behind it, Jung drew it back to reveal what he at first thought to be an enormous tree trunk on a throne at the far end of the room with an eye on what appeared to be the top of its head. The vision filled him with horror, a kind of numinous fear and awe and he realized that what he was seeing was a giant phallus. The phallic god, as he was later to call it, held echoes of myths and secret rites that would be unknown to a young boy. It was insights such as this that led to Jung’s concept of a collective element to the unconscious that was present throughout time and cross-culturally (Jung 1995:27).

Initially, Jung had no plans to attend university, as his family was too poor to afford the fees. The situation was remedied, however when one of his grandfathers, a Rector of Basle university agreed to finance him. Uncertain of his future career, Jung decided on medicine, specialising in surgery in which he duly qualified. Nonetheless, he was dissatisfied with the prospect of becoming a surgeon although unsure of what other career path to follow. Torn between his interest in medicine and his leanings toward the psychological, his future as decided, following his reading a manual on psychiatry by Kraft Ebbing in which the author expressed his belief that the practice of psychology was ultimately a subjective one, highly dependent on the practitioner. This was Jung’s ‘eureka moment’ when his future area of study became clear to him; he would be a psychiatrist, thus combining his two main interests; that of medicine and the study of the psyche. Consequently, he was to take up the post of Assistant at the Burgholzi Psychiatric hospital in Zurich under the mentorship of Eugene Bleuler, who was to have a profound influence on the future clinical work for which Jung became famous. Bleuler was the inventor of the medical term schizophrenia, a mental condition previously known as dementia praecox. Jung’s work with patients at the psychiatric hospital was to result in his
recognition of recurrent themes in his patients’ fantasies that coincided with those from myths and legends resulting in his hypothesis of a collective unconscious as opposed to one resting solely on personal experience

2.2 The Psyche

This is one of the basic concepts underpinning Jung’s work. In order to gain an understanding of Jung’s theories it is necessary to have an idea of what he means by the term psyche. From a superficial understanding of Jung, it might seem that psyche is just another name for what is generally understood by the notion of mind; however, this would not begin to do it justice as our understanding of mind is often taken to refer only to the rational aspect or the intellect. Jung went much further than this by including not only the emotions in his conceptualisation but postulating an unconscious aspect as well as a higher spiritual one. While he did not deny the mechanistic explanations for physical events, he did not think the same causal laws applied to non-physical events such as willing and wishing, nor did he believe that these can be measured in the same way; that is they could be assessed qualitatively but not quantified. To give an example, if attempts are made to compare a scientific theory which is practical with a feeling impression the results will be uncertain. Jung’s explanation for this anomaly is that the rational aspect of the psyche, which includes scientific thinking is confined to the conscious aspect of the psyche but that feelings and emotions belong to the unconscious and thus are more difficult to evaluate (Jung 1991(a):3-67).

In Jung’s earlier formulation, the psyche is closely connected to the physical body and reliant on it for its operation. Jung also believed that it possesses a form of energy that he termed psychic energy, consisting of different drives or forces, vital, sexual moral and mental such as willing, wishing and attention. These were comparable to physical forces but not of the same nature. Whilst acknowledging the contribution of Sigmund Freud to an understanding of psychic energy or libido, the term used by Freud to describe this force, Jung was highly critical of the almost exclusively sexual nature of Freud’s libido theory. In Jung’s approach, libido is composed of all the life instincts from the basic biological to the higher spiritual ones.
Many historical parallels exist for the concept of psychic energy. The idea of soul or spirit as a kind of substance goes back at least as far as the Greeks and ancient Egyptians, if not further. The word psyche means breathe in Greek. The term pneuma, meaning wind is also used as an analogy for the spirit. Unfortunately, the concept of an insubstantial component to the human psyche was firmly rejected by those of an empiricist persuasion, particularly by nineteenth century philosophers, who favoured a physical basis for the psyche, wholly dependent on matter. To quote Jung; “it was during the nineteenth century that the metaphysics of the mind was supplanted by the metaphysics of matter”(Jung 1991(a):340). He goes on to argue that a wholly materialistic notion of the mind is as problematic as that of an immaterial psyche. While not denying the physical link, he believed it was only a partial explanation and as such was insufficient to account for all non-physical phenomena. An early influence on Jung’s thinking on this matter was the German philosopher Dilthey who made the distinction between two different types of behaviour, “naturwissenschaft based on the natural sciences and gestewissenschaft based on mental science. Like Jung Dilthey emphasised the incommensurability of the two processes believing the mind to possess an inner purposefulness.

In addition, Jung believed the psyche to have an autonomous component apart from the conscious will; the reason being that he found material in his dreams that he had not consciously thought of as in his childhood dream of the phallic god as evidenced by the following quote. “There are things in the psyche which I do not produce but which produce themselves and have their own life (Jung1961:2; Hauke 1998:289). He goes on to state that; “No one knows exactly what the mind is or how far it extends into nature”(Jung 1991(a):409). He concludes that the mind cannot not be situated in space or time or measured objectively as its nature and structure are ultimately beyond human reach. It is an immediate given, comprising all our experience…The lower reaches of the psyche consist of the organic substratum, the upper the spiritual about which very little is known. What Jung called the psyche proper includes all functions under the influence of the will (Jung 1991(a):83).

A later definition of the psyche is equally indeterminate. “The psyche is distinctly more complicated and inaccessible than the body; it is the half of the world that comes into existence only when we become conscious of it. For this reason, the psyche is not only a personal but a world problem (Jung 1995:154), an explanation
reminiscent of Heidegger’s concept of worlding, the idea that human beings cannot exist without a world. Jung was accused of dabbling in phenomenology without being wholly committed to this philosophy but the fact is that Jung’s definition is very similar to that of Brooke; “Phenomenology situates the body and experience of the world in a single occurrence known as existence or being in the world. The body is not essentially isolated but involved in relations with other entities; the body is a disclosive presence,” (Brooke 1991:148). In a similar vein, Jung perceives the psyche not as something that is separate from the world around but a part of nature as well as having links with other psyches (Jung 1991(a):409).

2.3 The Unconscious

The idea of an unconscious component to the human mind was not new when Jung and Freud adopted it as an explanatory factor in psychoanalysis. Both Jung and Freud were strongly influenced by the work of philosophers like Hegel, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. The widespread influence of Von Hartmann’s book, ‘Philosophy of the Unconscious’ meant that the concept would have been one with which they were already familiar (Stevens 1999:12). Von Hartmann charted the history of the unconscious beginning with the Classical period up until modern times. His book became popular throughout Western Europe during the late nineteenth century and was one with which Jung would have been familiar.

Von Hartmann’s model divides the unconscious into three levels, comprising an absolute cosmic unconscious, a physical unconscious concerning human evolution and a psychological unconscious providing the ground for a conscious mental life. Another important influence on Jung’s thinking was the philosopher C.G. Carus, (1789-1869) whose model of the unconscious was very close to that of Jung in that he believed the key to the knowledge of nature and the soul’s conscious life were to be found in the unconscious. Like Von Hartmann, Carus believed there were three levels to the unconscious, the unknowable, a pre-conscious that influences the emotional life and an unconscious that consists of repressed feelings that have once been conscious, rather in the manner of Freud with his emphasis on repression. In line with Jung Carus recognized the potential of the unconscious for problem solving and providing important links between mind and body (Hauke 2006:57).
A resurgence of interest in the idea of the unconscious had its roots in Enlightenment philosophy, despite this concept being rejected by the Enlightenment philosophers themselves. The reason being that the emphasis on rationality in enlightenment thinking had led to the emotional and irrational being dismissed as inferior activities of the mind (Hauke 2006:55). This biased attitude served to highlight the deficiencies in an empiricist philosophy, more pertinently the neglect of the irrational. Consequently, towards the end of the nineteenth century, a reaction took place in the form of a renewed interest in the paranormal as evinced by the spiritualist movement and the experimentation with hypnosis as a method of medical treatment. This was to lead to these ideas becoming a more legitimate field of enquiry.

The German Romantic Movement, including such famous figures as Nietzsche, was at the forefront of this resurgence of interest in the idea of an unconscious component to the human personality. The Romantics believed that contact with the unconscious provided direct experience of the universe via dreams, mysticism and poetry. An important influence on Jung’s thinking was the German philosopher Schopenhauer, whose work ‘The World as Will’ depicted human beings as subject to blind internal forces with an unconscious that was always in conflict with the intellect (Hauke 2006:56). It is likely that such notions of the unconscious have their roots far back in history as evidenced by the attention given in the past to dreams, visions and altered states of mind. Following on from this it is highly likely that these processes would be present as far back as the Neolithic period.

While it was primarily the nineteenth century philosophers that brought the idea of the unconscious back into the foreground of thinking, a more concrete contribution was made by early psychiatrists such as Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), who used a method of treatment he called ‘animal magnetism’ an early form of hypnosis. The French physician Charcot later used this method in the treatment of hysteria and was successful in identifying the psychological basis for some illnesses previously thought to be purely physical. He also demonstrated the phenomenon of multiple personality with the conclusion that these multiple personalities can emerge from the unconscious and act as split off personalities of their own (Stevens 1999:13), an idea later adopted by Jung in his treatment of patients at the Burgholzi Psychiatric hospital in Zurich.
2.31 The Personal Unconscious

Jung also believed in a personal unconscious as distinct from the collective; his definition being that the personal unconscious consists of contents that have become unconscious either because they have decreased in intensity, have been forgotten or that attention has been withdrawn from them. Also relating to the personal unconscious are sense impressions that have never had the intensity to reach consciousness but have somehow managed to enter the psyche (Jung 1991a para 3.21). It is called the personal unconscious because it consists of acquisitions derived from the life of a person (Jung 1991e:9). The distinction between the personal and collective unconscious is summarized by the following quote:-

“The superficial layer is undoubtedly personal; I call it the personal unconscious. It rests on a deeper layer which does not derive from personal experience but is inborn; this deeper layer I call the collective unconscious, it is not individual but universal” (Jung 1991(b):3).

The psychologist, Sigmund Freud; a close associate and mentor of Jung during the early years of his career, was influenced by Hebert, an eighteenth century philosopher who had previously put forward the idea of unconscious mental processes. Freud came to his own conclusions about the nature of the unconscious by noting the gaps in the data of consciousness. Certain behaviours occur, that can only be explained by pre-supposing other acts that are not at present available to consciousness. From this observation, he concluded that only a small part of the psyche was actually conscious at a given time, therefore the rest must be in a state of latency (Freud 2001:166). Freud’s model also envisaged people being unable to act on a large number of instinctive impulses because to do so would transgress the legal or moral code of the individual. This suppression becomes repression when it becomes unconscious, resulting in disturbances in behaviour that affect normal functioning. These physical effects were termed psychogenic disturbances. They can include such actions as aversions to food when faced with certain experiences or in the presence of a particular person. Jung was largely in agreement with Freud regarding the above ideas. Where Jung’s model of the personal unconscious diverges from Freud’s is in that Jung did not understand the sexual motive or energy to be the
prime motivator for aberrant behaviour in place of it Jung substitutes an energy force while still retaining the Freudian term libido (ibid:7).

2.32 The Collective Unconscious

Jung argued that the concept of a personal unconscious was insufficient to account for all aspects of the unconscious as he claimed that not everything in the unconscious derives from personal experience. Citing evidence from case studies of patients under his care he provides accounts of mythical fantasies that do not correspond to events in the outside world or go beyond the life experience of the persons concerned.

These ideas and images he found bore a startling resemblance to the mythical motifs and religious images witnessed by students of cultural history worldwide. Derived from Jung’s own extensive studies of such material he believed he had found evidence for a universal symbolism that was due less to individual experience or cultural dissemination than to the structure of the human brain; a feature that he concluded was a characteristic shared by all humanity (Stevens 1999:21).

Postulating on the origin of this fantasy material Jung drew the conclusion that the capacity for such experiences was inherited with the brain structure as part of the creative activity of the brain and had been thus from the beginning of human existence (Jung 1991e:10).

Aniela Jaffe, a psychoanalyst who worked closely with Jung and was responsible for the editing of his autobiography, ‘Memories, Dreams, Reflections,’ maintained that Jung’s unconscious was a hypothesis, defining it as: “The reality that transcends consciousness and appears as the spiritual background of the world” (Jaffe 1986:14). In her opinion, Jung was less concerned with the ego conscious or personal unconscious than this collective element. The collective unconscious is not accessible to direct observation, the only means of investigating it is by drawing indirect inferences regarding its contents and structure and the way to do this is by comparing images and ideas from a variety of sources, particularly from mythology, dreams and religion. The recurrence of similar themes throughout history, were Jung concluded due to typical dispositions in the unconscious that is the archetypes (ibid 1986:15). It is this kind of comparative material that I intend to use to illustrate Jung’s theories in this thesis.
A further distinction that Jung makes concerning the division between a personal and a collective unconscious is elucidated by the following quotation:

“The collective unconscious is a secondary psychic system of a universal and impersonal nature, identical in all individuals. It does not develop individually, but is inherited; it consists of pre-existent forms the archetypes which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents (Jung 1999(b):43).

Some evidence for the existence of this alleged collective unconscious, was provided by the results of an investigation into the dreams of black naturalised Americans. The themes and subject matter of their dreams when analysed by Jung were found to bear a remarkable resemblance to the material found in Classical Greek mythology (Jung 1993:37). As regards tracing these findings back to the past, Jung drew attention to the wealth of symbolic material from prehistory, one significant example being sun wheels, an ancient mythological motif found in Africa dating back to the Palaeolithic period.

2.4 The Archetypes

2.41 The Complexes

The complexes are often assumed to be the forerunner of the archetypes, although some psychologists ascertain that the two are inextricably connected. In general the complexes are understood as being more aligned to the biological instincts, whereas the archetypes are thought to originate from the collective unconscious.

The idea of the complexes originated in the discovery of the feeling-toned complex by Theodor Ziehen a German psychiatrist in 1898. His formulation of the complex comprised a collection of images and ideas grouped around an emotional core. Jung developed an interest in Ziehen’s research after attending Janet’s seminars and developed the idea as one of his basic theories leading eventually to his formulation of the archetype (Casement 2001). Perhaps the most famous type of complex is the inferiority complex, a theory developed by Adler who in turn was influenced by the work of the psychologist Pierre Janet. This idea is so commonplace that it needs no further explanation. Jung further developed the idea of the complexes by his work with psychiatric patients during which he applied the Word Association Test,
devised by Francis Galton, noting their responses both verbal and physical to certain words. If they became stuck on a word or exhibited signs of anxiety such as an increased pulse rate then that word was held to indicate a disturbance in that person’s psyche. These tests demonstrated that certain psychic elements are clustered around emotional, or what Jung referred to as ‘feeling-toned’ contents. These complexes consisted of a nuclear element with two components, a factor determined by experience relating to the environment and an innate factor determined by the person’s disposition. Jung ascertained that because these elements are usually unconscious, the person is not fully aware of them and this is the reason why they have such a profound influence on their behaviour (Jung 1948:3). They cannot be fully explained by the concept of an energy as this explanation is quantitative, as in Jung’s explanation of psychic energy therefore there is no accurate means of measuring these effects. The psychologist can only attempt to assess the number of associations involved and the frequency of reactions that indicate a disturbance. These can be in the form of lapses of speech, memory slips, irrelevant talk or silences (ibid 12-13). In line with modern lie detector tests, Jung also recorded subjects’ breathing rate, the electrical resistance of the skin and the pulse rate. He concluded that the complexes are like fragmented parts of the psyche with personalities of their own (Storr 1990:27-28).

In effect, they are cut-off parts of the psyche that have their own agenda, usually with the explicit aim of avoiding the recurrence of traumatic experiences. However, the resulting behaviour is often at an unconscious level and the person involved is not fully aware of the motivation behind his/her actions. As Jung concluded, complexes are dissociated parts of the psyche associated with painful experiences; they are clusters of associations with a strong emotional content. In Hopcke’s view, they possess a collective element and are thus closely associated with the archetypes, as in the case of a complex due to a strong attachment to the mother; being understood as belonging to the mother archetype. Jung himself believed all complexes have a strong archetypal component (Jung 1991b:101; Hopcke 1999:19).

Another distinctive feature of a complex is its autonomy. Jung describes the ego complex of being a central part of the human psyche but only one among many such complexes. In general, the complexes are confined to the unconscious where they tend to attract more emotion to themselves. In order to obtain a cure, these emotions
need to be discharged or transferred (Jacobi 1974:10). A more recent definition of
the complex is that of generalized internalised episodic relationship patterns which
always imply an emotionally-toned collision between a significant other and the ego
(Kast 2006:127). Chodorow defines complexes as a primacy of emotions organised
round an emotional core. Emotion is at the heart of the complexes and is a
fundamental part of our personality, colouring all our thoughts and actions
(Chodorow 2006:218). This is an important observation as Jung placed great
importance of the role of emotion in relation to the complexes and the later
development of his archetypal theory. It was his belief, that the rational and
emotional are inextricably linked together and that to ignore the role of the latter is
detrimental to the understanding of human behaviour.

The role of emotion when discussing the archaeological past has been assessed and
evaluated by a number of archaeologists, particularly (Harris and Sorensen 2010),
who refer to research carried out by Sarah Tarlow on the importance of
understanding emotions in archaeology as the central facet of human beings and
their actions and the close relationship between material culture and emotions. They
discuss such concepts as affective fields, ‘attunement’ and atmosphere; in an attempt
to understand emotion in the past without recourse to texts or the people themselves.
The authors challenge the concept of emotion as being exclusively subjective,
individual and immaterial, suggesting that it is embodied and cannot be easily
separable into physical and mental aspects. Their work has involved the exploration
of textual and iconographic expressions of love, loss and bereavement (Tarlow 1999)
using their own emotions as proxy for those of past people. However, this work has
been severely criticised, on the assumption that people experienced these events in
the same way in the past. An important distinction between these ideas and those
put forward by Jung, is that emotions, can be understood as being the product of
peoples’ material engagement with the world, envisaging things as affective agents,
whereas in Jung’s psychology the emotional capacity is inborn in every generation;
it is something that is already there in the human psyche. While not denying that
material objects can exert an emotional influence, according to Jung this is not due to
the object itself but to a psychic projection by the person involved. In the case of
the alchemists Jung believed that they were projecting their personality and ideas
onto inanimate objects and natural phenomena consciously and unconsciously, so, in
this scenario objects do have a kind of agency independent from their creator but not in the way that Gell (1998) talks of the agency of things. It is the relationship between the psyche and the object and the emotional and numinous effects that it exerts that are so important to Jung.

2.42 The Development of the Archetype

The development of Jung’s epistemological position can be traced back to ideas current in early Greek philosophy. From the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus he took the idea of oppositions being a fundamental part of nature, nothing can be understood without reference to its opposite, if there was no light we would not be able to make the distinction between it and the dark, things are understood in relation to other phenomena. Likewise he adopted the Heraclitian concept of emantiodromia a psychological law by which things eventually turn into their opposites. Plato’s ideal forms of which everything that exists is a replica of an eternal form, can be seen as a precursor of the archetype. Plato differentiates between phenomena that exist in the world as objective and the noumena, which like the ideal forms and archetypes are ultimately unknowable, acting as a kind of blueprint for the real world. Plato placed a high value on the forms as paradigms or models(Casement 2001:40).

The term archetype comes from the corpus hermeticum in which God is referred to as the archetypal light. From Aristotle Jung adopted the concept of teleology the doctrine of final causes, in that he believed life had a purpose involving goals directed towards the future. Archetypes are described as meaningful and orientated towards the solution of problems even the anticipation of important life decisions. In line with Kant, Jung believed that human beings had an innate capacity for knowledge. Kant divided knowledge into the cognitive, dealing with the real world and the noumenal a-priori world or the thing in itself a concept remarkably similar to the archetype (ibid 2001:42) The idea of the archetype can also be found in the ‘principle ideas’ of St Augustine, in that ideas are not formed but are contained in the Divine understanding (Eliade1959 in Moreno1974:3). Philosophical influences of Jung’s theory were Kant and Schopenhauer. Kant’s a-priori categories and their influence on the way we perceive the world are a given, as are Schopenhauer’s prototypes, the original forms of all things (Stevens 2006:80).
2.43 *Some definitions of the archetype*

Although the ideas from Greek philosophy may appear to some to be remote and outmoded, therefore not applicable to archaeology as a modern discipline I would argue that they still have relevance, one that has the potential to shed new light on archaeological material. Jung’s views were not static as the development of his theories was ongoing throughout his life. I am going to chart the progress of this concept as well as assessing the support for it and the criticisms levelled against it. Finally, I will outline the ways in which this theory can be employed as an interpretive tool, to throw light on images, behaviour and ritual in the Neolithic period of the British Isles.

What exactly is an archetype and how and when do they manifest. Stevens postulated that an archetype becomes activated in an individual psyche, whenever that individual comes into contact with a person or situation with characteristics similar to the archetype in question, and it accrues to itself ideas and emotions associated with the person or situation responsible for its activation. These form a complex that becomes functional in the personal unconscious (Stevens 1999:32). Jung gives many definitions some rather abstruse and difficult to understand as he tends to express himself in metaphors and poetic language in an attempt to convey his meaning. Perhaps one of the clearest definitions is by Hauke.

“Jung proposes the archetypes of the collective unconscious as *structuring elements* in the psyche which serve to render our expression and experience of the world as distinctly and universally human; archetypes in the form of images, emotion, behaviour and ritual” (Hauke 1998:225). The archetype itself is only a propensity for the above list of possible manifestations; something that Jung believed to be inherited along with the physical body.

The archetype can take the form of an intuitive concept as in the idea of the primordial breath, or that of an energy or magical force associated with certain people and natural and man made objects (Jung 1991:95). As this is a feature of many so-called primitive or simple, as opposed to complex societies it is highly likely that such ideas were prevalent in the Neolithic period and the traces of these possible archetypal ideas and objects survive in the archaeological record. Another important feature of the archetype is that they often appear in projections, a
psychological concept that merits further explanation. Projection is an automatic process whereby an unconscious content transfers itself to an external object with the result that it actually seems to belong to that object. It is a kind of unconscious identification (Moreno 1974:11). Projection can take the form of attributing a particular quality onto another person seeing them as exceptionally wise or bad. Jung believed this was often more about the person doing the projecting than being a rational evaluation of the other person’s character; that is it was something within the person’s own character being attributed to the other. Projections can also be onto inanimate objects or natural phenomena like the sun and moon or the wind. An important point to bear in mind is that according to Jungian psychology the person doing the projecting is unaware of what they are doing, it is an unconscious activity. In conclusion, projection is an automatic process whereby an unconscious content transfers itself to an external object so that it seems to belong to that object (Moreno 1974:11).

Early supportive evidence for Jung’s subsequent formulation of the archetype comes from an experiment he conducted with one of his doctoral students, Emma Furst (Jung and Furst 1909:100, Papadopoulos 2006:25) based on the Word Association Test and applied to 24 different families as a means of exploring the relationships between different family members by reference to their language skills. The results showed that similar patterns of logico-linguistic structuring were shared between certain family members. The children’s responses were found to be more like those of their mother with daughters’ responses more like their mothers’ than those of their fathers. These similarities were more complex than the simple copying of words, involving deeper grammatical structures, not thought to be learned but inherited. The conclusions drawn from this study were that a network of inter-projections of unconscious material was taking place between the family members and the wider social environment. Unfortunately as Papadopoulos noted, these findings were never fully investigated, one of Jung’s main faults being that he omitted to explore the social aspects of his archetypal theory preferring to concentrate his attention on the life of the individual.

Jung used many other definitions for his archetypal concept describing them as typical modes of apprehension, patterns of psychic perception and understandings common to all human beings at all times (Hopcke 1999:13). He continued to stress
that archetypes were not the actual ideas and images only the precondition for these, reiterating the argument that an archetype is determined only with regard to its form not its content and then only to a very limited degree. He compares it to the axial system of a crystalline structure in a liquid matrix. The basic blueprint is already present however, the way it will develop and the final structure of the crystal is individual and unique, having no prior material existence of its own (Jung 1991(b):79). Curiously, Levi-Strauss uses the same analogy to justify his concept of an inherited social unconscious; whether or not he was influenced by Jung or vice versa is an interesting speculation.

Hart, an analyst, trained by Jung in Zurich and became a close friend, attempted to elucidate Jung’s ideas. He suggests that the classical Jungian approach relies on a dialogue between the conscious and the unconscious. The ego or rationality principle is an important aspect of the psyche, unlike the archetypal school in where it is one aspect among many. Jung’s process of individuation involves finding a balance between the conscious and the unconscious known as the transcendent function. Jung also respected the religious and spiritual manifestations of the psyche from the subject matter of dreams, feeling and intuitions, believing in their importance for psychic wholeness. A clear definition of what constitutes an archetype is the following quote “The true dominants of psychological and spiritual life are the centres of energy and imagery working on us from within and projected onto the world around us” (Hart 1997:90). Hart goes on to explain that the archetype is a potential source of energy inherent in all the typical experiences of human life, activated in a unique way in every individual; they are first encountered in projections, as if they are out there in the world (ibid). Freud in a similar vein referred to the archetypes as hereditary schemata, re-modelled by reality.

Vannoy- Adams argued that both Jung and Freud were Neo-Kantian structuralists who believed the psychic imagination is inherited and informs the experiences of the external world (Vannoy Adams 1997:101). Archetypes are images and ideas with an unconscious content lacking consciousness until activated by events in that person’s life (Stevens, 2006:75). The archetypes intervene in the shaping of conscious contents by regulating and modifying them, acting like the instincts. It has been suggested that they are linked to the instincts and that when typical situational patterns occur they trigger particular types of behaviour (Jung 1991(a) para: 404).
Although archetypes are inherited as irrepresentable dispositions in the unconscious, the actualisation of the images and ideas are formed anew in every individual, dependent on environment, personal experience and the cultural milieu in which that person lives. Jaffe believes as did Jung that archetypal motifs can emerge spontaneously at any time, overriding traditions and conventional religious dogmas, the underlying archetype being responsible for selecting the contents of myth and religions and arranging them in particular ways (Jaffe 1986:16). Archetypes have a biological aspect based on the instincts, which is instinctual but she is in agreement with Jung that they also possess an emotional and spiritual or numinous aspect, experienced as awe or strangeness, arousing an emotional response (ibid:19).

Jung’s concept of the numinous was derived from the work of Rudolf Otto, a theologian, who distinguished between the rational component in religion and the irrational, emotional and spiritual aspect that he came to call the numinous (Otto, 1959). The word holy is usually taken to mean completely good, or the consummation of moral goodness. In Otto’s opinion this lacks an additional element or overplus to the ethical, for which he chose the word numen a Latin word for a spirit; this is a primary datum that cannot be adequately defined only evoked in the mind (Otto 1936:7). In the context of Jungian psychology, the numinous is evoked by the activation of an archetype and can only be expressed in analogies and symbols. It can be either a positive experience with feelings of awe and wonder or a negative one in that it inspires fear and dread. It is also concerned with feelings and concepts of the transcendent and supernatural, a wholly other whose special quality we are able to feel without being able to express it clearly. Early manifestations of the numinous are the belief in spirits, mythology, the worship of natural objects and sympathetic magic, the belief that we can influence events by the performance of certain rituals; it is also expressed in art, by the concept of the surreal (Otto 1936:30).

Jung insisted that the numinous aspect of an archetype is one of its most significant attributes and that most if not all archetypes are of a spiritual nature. This can be either positive or negative, as a healing aspect or a destructive one. Jung noticed that some of his patients’ dreams had a mystic quality about them and often evoked philosophical and religious feelings in people who hitherto had been opposed to such
ideas (Jung 1991(a):206). In relation to the Neolithic period, the assertion that the numinous is closely associated with the performance of rituals is a link that would be useful when examining the evidence of ritual from this era. Areas of research could include an exploration of the ways in which a particular ritual or object could have held numinous significance for those taking part. To give an example, Jung related an incident from his travels in East Africa at the site of Mount Elgon where at sunrise the villagers would step out of their huts holding their hands in front of them and spit or blow on them. They would then hold their hands out palms uppermost towards the rising sun; a ritual known as mungu. When asked to account for these actions the people could not provide a logical answer. They said it had always been so (Jung 1991(a):209). This is an example of a performance that on a surface analysis does not appear to make logical sense. It is only by reference to Jung’s ideas that we are able to offer some kind of interpretation because it is an irrational act involving the emotions and the intuition, acting as a kind of identification with the ritual object, which in this case is the sun.

Hopcke defines the archetype as a psychic mould into which collective and individual experience is poured and consequently takes shape again emphasising its distinction from the ensuing ideas and symbols themselves (Hopcke 1999:1). Alternatively, Kast understands archetypes or archetypal fields as ordering or structuring principles common to all human beings that allows for the registering of information and emotion; Information usually in the form of images that have meaningful connections and subsequently lead to action of some kind. The archetypal images themselves are stable while possessing the capacity for variation. In addition, the archetypes are influenced by current social situations. Thus Kast supports Jung’s view that the archetype maintains a core stability whilst at the same time allowing for an individual component linked to the person’s innate characteristics (Kast 2006:127).

Papadopoulos draws attention to the fluid nature of the archetype. “The unique engagement between the knowing subject and the archetype is not a set of clearly-defined logical statements but is a living experience that has a purpose and finality; (that is it is teleological). It has a purpose and finality beyond causal-reductive and linear epistemologies. The hold that the archetype creates establishes an unique new pattern that shapes and moulds our understandings of ourselves and our relationship
to others while connecting with the wider socio-cultural environment involving the collective structure of meaning (Papadopoulos 2006:37).

As an example of a modern archetypal situation, Storr cites the phenomenon of Nazi Germany with its mythological background of German Folklore, together with the symbolism manifested in the use of the swastika as an instrument of numinous fear and awe. It is Storr’s conclusion that this constituted the playing out of an archetypal theme. As additional proof he offers evidence in the form of the projection of the collective shadow onto the Jews and all it entailed and the compulsion to act in certain ways which is common to such experiences. The ways in which this pertains to archaeology can be demonstrated by the use of archaeological research to justify the actions of the Third Reich by the provision of an alleged concrete background for the history of the Aryan race and its territorial claims based on archaeological evidence (Kossinna in Jones 1997:2).

Jolande Jacobi rejected the possibility of giving an exact definition of an archetype as it was her belief that it can only be suggested by implication, as the archetype is a riddle surpassing rational comprehension expressing itself in metaphors and symbols, some part of which will always defy explanation. Jacobi goes on to define archetypes as factors and motifs that arrange psychic elements into certain images. They do this in such a way they can only be recognized by the effects they produce (Jacobi 1959:31).

Rather than a choice between naturalist reductionism and supernatural interventionism, a choice which Jung primarily rejected by attributing everything to the human psyche rather than outside spiritual forces (a view he was to reconsider in later life), emergence theorists have chosen a third interpretation; in that that new and unpredictable phenomena are naturally produced by interactions in nature and this was basically what Jung meant by the archetypes as something connected with human beings and the natural world. He did contend that psychic phenomena were a part of nature, as I personally believe and not something apart from the natural world. That human agency and religious intentionality are complex cases of autopoeisis, the naturally emergent, self-organisation of complex structures with new functionalities and capacities (Gregersen, 2003, Juarrero, 2002, Stoeger, 2007, LeRon Schults 2010:74).
Scientific insights into the nature of matter and energy was a subject that interested Jung, he concluded that they were ultimately the same. As is the case with sub-atomic physics all matter is composed of atoms electrons, nuclei and sub-atomic particles that are constantly in a state of flux and is therefore dynamic in nature. Jung's correspondence with Einstein led him to conclude that spirit is inextricably entangled with matter.

2.44 The Symbol

The understanding of the symbol in a Jungian sense is not an easy concept to grasp because the word symbol is such a familiar term, it is easy to think we fully understand its meaning. In general, it refers to something other than itself, it has wider connotations hinting at hidden meanings. Objects can be described measured and classified but the meaning is not always apparent, for the reason that meanings become attached to the object, as a result of its use and of human interactions (Jung 1993:185). Primarily it is important to understand the difference between a symbol and a sign as in Cassirer's definition, in which a sign belongs to the physical world of being, whereas a symbol belongs to the world of meaning. It is not just a concrete manifestation but rather an expression of something unknown. The Jungian understanding of a symbol is that of a psychic factor that cannot be analysed or understood on the basis of causality. The difference lies between a personal concretist interpretation and the archetypal understanding of a symbol (Jacobi 1974:90). Jung believed that every symbol should be considered both on an individual level and a collective one, this attribute can be found in the subject matter of dreams because certain themes pertain both to a personal situation yet can also possess a more collective universal basis. It was this type of experience that Jung used as evidence for the existence of the collective unconscious (ibid: 106).

One definition by Jung describes a symbol as the best possible formulation of a relatively unknown fact which is known to exist or is postulated as existing (Jung 1971:474)CW4. A term or image is symbolic when it means more than it denotes or expresses; it possesses a wider unconscious aspect, one that cannot be precisely defined, or completely explained. This peculiarity is due to the fact, that in exploring the symbol the mind is directed towards ideas of a transcendent nature (Jung 1993:185).
Symbols may take on many forms. Jung talks of the eternal symbols in which the history of the human race, is being meaningfully re-discovered in the images and myths that have survived as archaeologists dig deep into the past. These symbols are supplemented by the myths and folk histories, in both written and oral form, which can often be translated into intelligible ‘modern’ concepts. Anthropologists have demonstrated that similar symbolic ideas exist in modern ‘tribal societies’. The analogies between these ancient myths and the dreams of modern people are thought by some to be neither trivial nor accidental (Henderson 1979:107).

Jung claimed symbols were the outward manifestation of the archetypes. While the archetype itself is unknowable, the symbol takes on an abstract or material form. It is not only objects that can be experienced in a symbolic manner, Jung’s theory encapsulates symbolic ritual acts like the Wachandi ceremony in which the men of the tribe dance naked in a circle waving their spears (Jung 1948:46). The ritual lacks objectivity as real women are not allowed to participate rather, it is an analogy, a magical act that works to stimulate the imagination, having as its focus the fertilization of the earth. Jung calls a symbol thought to act in this way, a libido analogue, having much in common with the idea of channelling psychic energy. Sacred objects and the rituals with which they are associated are claimed to be transformers of this type of energy. In this connection with this idea, it would be informative to look for possible sources of this kind in the Neolithic material remains; possible ritual objects or indications of ritual acts from the Neolithic period that can be interpreted as symbolic in a Jungian sense. Jung placed great emphasis on the fact that symbols were not something that is deliberately chosen; they are spontaneous productions of the unconscious through the medium of dreams, revelations and intuition. This would explain the close relationship between dreams and the subject matter of mythology. Jung observed that symbols across religious boundaries are associated with a kind of energy. The Dakota Indians’ concept of wakonda is one that refers to a number of different things, it can denote thunder, the moon, the stars, the wind and certain ritual objects. It also signifies mystery, power and greatness. There are innumerable instances of other such forces across religions and cultures. For example the oki of the Iroquois and Manitu tribes of the Algonquins, and the Melanesian concept of mana; a universal supernatural force.
thought to be present in people, objects and spirits. (Jung 1991(a):64) I would add to this list the idea of life force energy in yogic philosophy.

Andrew Samuels summarises Jung’s concept of the symbol as being the best possible formulation of a relatively unknown psychic content that cannot be grasped by consciousness, citing as an example the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven as something that cannot be encapsulated by a single statement only by the use of metaphor. For this reason, it is not a sign but a symbol and a spontaneous product of the psyche (Samuels 1994:94). It is true that Jung’s approach to symbolism is similar to that of religion, combining an emotional content and a numinous or spiritual one. Jung believed that the decline of religion meant that both personal and collective symbols no longer had the effect on human beings that they once had, that they had lost their power to inspire. He attributed this to the rise of the scientific outlook that dismissed such ideas as irrational and meaningless. This underlines Jung’s conviction of the necessity of a symbolic dimension to human life and his belief that in modernity some of these symbols had lost their power to the detriment of humankind.

Symbol formation from a Jungian perspective, is an unconscious response to a consciously perceived problem originating in the archetypal realm beyond consciousness. The language of the unconscious differs from that of the conscious in that it has its expression, not in words but in imagery fantasy and symbols. It is separate from the unconscious but complementary to it (Casement 2001:2). However, symbols in the Jungian sense are much more than material objects with hidden meanings; they possess a dynamic quality and can lead to significant changes in the life of the individual or society as a whole. They are also polyvalent in that they are not restricted to a single meaning. In fact, Jung’s concept of the multiple meanings of symbols echoes Eliade’s view on religious symbolism. Eliade states that we need a knowledge of religious history in order to fully understand not only the religions themselves but to gain a deeper understanding of philosophy and myth (Moreno 1974:36).

Everything can assume symbolic significance from inanimate objects like stones to animals, people, mountains, water, sun and moon even abstract forms like numbers and geometric shapes, such as the square, the circle (mandela) and the triangle. Jaffe
agrees that people possess a symbol-making capacity and that that the unconscious can transform ordinary objects or forms into symbols, thereby endowing them with great psychological importance. She claims that the intertwined history of religion and the visual arts reaches back to prehistoric times (Jaffe 1979:232). This is an important point to remember when analysing such material from the Neolithic period.

2.5 Critiques of Jung’s archetypal theory

Jung’s description of the archetypes as images engraved on the psyche by repetition from primordial times led to accusations of Lamarckian tendencies. According to the biologist, Lamarck, the actual ideas and images themselves are inherited from our ancestors along with the physical brain structure. Such beliefs were popular in the early nineteenth century. In response to these criticisms, Jung attempted to define more clearly the distinction between the archetype as a potentiality and the ideas and images that are its outward expression (Stevens 2006:77). One problem with this is the fact that Jung habitually refers to archetypal forms, motifs and fantasy images giving the misleading impression that the archetype itself is a concrete construct. To give an example he refers to the archetype of the snake thereby giving the misleading impression that the snake itself is an archetype, (Hobson in Samuels 1994:33). Yet it may well be an outward symbol of an archetypal manifestation though not obviously an archetype as such and not necessarily having the same meaning in every context. For instance the snake as a symbol has many meanings cross-culturally but these are not fixed and immutable, it is not the snake itself but the internalized representations or the context that defines its symbolic meaning, in fact the allocation of one particular meaning to an object is severely criticised by Jung as being overly simplistic, particularly in regard to the interpretation of dreams during analysis.

Jung has also been criticised over his stance that archetypes form some kind of replicable pattern, the world over and throughout history. Many archaeologists strongly deny the existence of any kind of universals by insisting that every situation is unique and different. However, what they fail to understand is that Jung’s archetypal theory is more subtle than this criticism implies because it does take account of social context and individuality. As Jung was continually reiterating, the archetype is only a potential and the ways in which it will manifest are open to
variation. Indeed Brooke puts forward the suggestion that archetypes are not bodily entities or even structures rather they are fundamental possibilities for bodily presence and thus fundamental modes in which the world is revealed (Brooke 1991:148). As Papadopoulos puts it, so succinctly “The unique engagement between the knowing subject and the archetype is not a set of clearly-defined logical statements but is a living experience that has a purpose and finality beyond causal-reductive and linear epistemologies. The grip that the archetype has creates a unique new pattern that shapes and patterns our understanding of ourselves and our relationship to others while also connecting with the wider socio-cultural environment and involving collective structures of meaning.”(Papadopoulos 2006:37)

Storr’s main criticism of Jung’s ideas is the accusation that they derive almost exclusively from his personal experience and clinical practice and are not representative of the population as a whole. That only a certain kind of person undergoes Jungian analysis (Storr 1990:46) However, this kind of critique could apply equally to other psychoanalysts, in particular Freud, who was criticised for concentrating his research on hysterical middle class Viennese women. Similar criticisms, were levelled at Jung’s method of dream interpretation, in that his patients had ‘Jungian dreams’ as in cases of interpreting them from the point of view of Jungian symbolism and disregarding alternative interpretations. In response to the argument that people undergoing Jungian therapy, tend to produce ‘Jungian dreams.’ Gerhard Adler describes his experience of a patient, a forty nine year old woman who had already transcribed her dreams prior to analysis, dreams which happened to be distinctly reminiscent of the type that Jung dealt with, including the tendency towards mandela symbolism. From the above evidence, Adler claimed that the suggestibility of a patient and of the unconscious is extremely limited. It is more to do with the nature of the dreams themselves and to Jung’s wide experience of unconscious processes that he was able to distinguish so many remarkable similarities (Adler 1960:45).

The concept of structures that underlie reality is one that has produced much debate in the social sciences, significantly within the discipline of archaeology itself. These underlying cognitive structures are claimed to exert a major influence on human behaviour (Thomas 2004:155). Thomas argues that the replacement of
classifactory systems by the concept of deep structures hidden within the mind, which took place in early modernity was influenced by the models employed by the emerging disciplines of geology and archaeology. The preoccupation with depth was echoed by structural linguists like Saussure who saw language as possessing a universal structure with the idea of innate grammars embedded in the human conscious across the linguistic divide. Jung’s model of the psyche has been widely criticised on account of the implications of structuralism inherent in his concept of a deeper layer of consciousness, the unconscious and the inherent notion of depth.

In common with most philosophers and anthropologists Levi-Straus references Freud rather than Jung, taking up Freud’s model of dreams as systems of repressed ideas that cannot be accepted by the ego and thus necessitate a censor and some form of disguise before they can be admitted to consciousness. Levi-Strauss applies these ideas to mythology, asserting that behind the outward manifest content is a message similar to a collective dream with a hidden meaning, allowing the expression of desires that are incompatible with reality. However, there is too much dissection of the material and the way in which Levi-Strauss reduces his data to abstract formulae takes away from the significance of the myths. Compared with Jung’s model of the unconscious, Levi-Strauss’ model is more of a social one based on the similarity of cultural practices throughout the world rather than being focused on the individual. Whereas in Jungian psychology the unconscious is seen as possessing a deep significance, a mysterious numinous quality as can be found in certain significant dreams and is not something that can be reduced to logic. Where Levi-Strauss comes closer to a Jungian point of view is in his work on myth which he saw as a means of coming to terms with life-changing events such as death and other inexplicable occurrences, as a means of assimilating them and making them appear less threatening (Leach 1970:60). More sympathetic to Jung, the anthropologist William Wundt believed myth to be especially significant as it contains peoples’ theories of the universe and guides moral behaviour. It was his belief that myth has a psychological function and is a way of objectifying our conscience by personifying the outside world, rather like the introjection theory of Jung and Von Franz with the idea that myth possesses a psychological function; it is not just about telling stories (Shamdasani 2004:281).
Jung’s most vociferous modern critic is the science historian from Harvard, Richard Noll, whose main aim appears to be the demolition of Jung’s theories and the assassination of his character. Among Noll’s bizarre claims is the notion that Jung set out to establish a cult of redemption or renewal; a mystery cult that promised the initiate revitalization through contact with the pagan pre-Christian layer of the unconscious mind. By doing so, one would then have a direct experience of God who would be experienced as an inner sun or star (Noll 1997:141). Noll takes examples of Jung’s research, building on ideas such as the role of the sun in worldwide rituals, concluding that this means Jung was attempting to establish a cult based on sun worship, choosing not to understand that much of Jung’s work was symbolic not concrete (Stevens 1999). Counter to such accusations Jung who by this time was no longer around to defend himself, had vehemently denied the wish to start a cult. Noll also claimed that the Solar Phallus incident constituted the only evidence for the collective unconscious. Although it was a favourite example often quoted by Jung and in Stevens’ opinion not a very good one, it was certainly not the only evidence on which Jung based his theory. Stevens defends Jung, emphasising that Noll’s attack on his reputation was unjustified and highly damaging and that many of the people who read Noll’s books and articles and accepted them as the truth knew very little about Jung beforehand. Personally, I think that the majority of Noll’s ideas are extremely biased and taken out of context. Noll’s research often relies on letters and information from people who were not particularly close to Jung. It is significant that Jung’s family refused to allow Noll access to his personal papers.

Noll’s attack on the archetypes claimed they deceive the client with scientific-sounding jargon. He is equally condemning of the collective unconscious, seeing it as too mystical and its genetic nature as untenable. Stevens’ response to this criticism in the Times Higher Educational Supplement is to insist that there is evidence for more than just biological characteristics being inherited, citing Jung’s Families Constellations Experiment as proof (Jung 1909:100).

2.51 Evidence in support of archetypal theory

Recent support for the archetypal hypothesis, can be found in the idea of innate psychological mechanisms as claimed by evolutionary psychologists (Stevens A
Evolutionary psychology does not make the claim that human behaviour is the direct product of natural selection but rather the product of psychological mechanisms correlated to the instincts underlying human behaviour using the analogy of a computer model the above mechanisms are referred to as Darwinian Algorithms or computational models (The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Stevens 1999). I agree there is a surface similarity to Jung’s archetypes especially regarding their link to the instincts, however the analogy of a computer model is one I find too mechanistic in relation to human behaviour. I find Jung’s model more comprehensive in that it takes into account the emotions and the mystery encompassing what it is to be human.

Support for the existence of a mythical sub-stratum to human experience comes from the work of psychologists and experts from other fields. The Object Relations School of Melanie Klein is concerned with ‘internal objects’ or internalised objects derived from early experience that colour a person’s behaviour later in life. To take an example, the child’s experience of the prime carer or mother can be either good or bad and these influences are at the root of prejudices and internalized images of the mother that can influence the future behaviour of an individual, particularly when they encounter similar individuals this will elicit certain patterns of behaviour similar to the enactment of an archetype (Storr 1990:43).

In an earlier paper based on Jung’s work, the Canadian anthropologist, R. J. Nash employs Jung’s archetypal theory as a research model. He attempts to overcome the problems and limitations of cognitive universal models by using a Jungian approach to decipher ancient prehistoric meanings. Underpinning his work is the idea that the archetypes of the collective unconscious are consistent throughout time in form and meaning. His conception of the archetype is of a prime imprinter in human nature, (Nash 1997:58). His case histories feature three distinctive types of landscape, the icy wastelands, the forest and seascapes. Using mythology as his methodology Nash attempts to extrapolate the core meanings of the myths connected with these landscapes back to prehistoric times.

Insoll critiques this approach on the grounds that Nash and implicitly that Jung is assuming that the psyche of prehistoric people is the same as that of moderns, concluding that the search for collective meanings is an essentialist reductive
approach irrelevant to the study of prehistory (Insoll 2004). I would challenge Insoll’s argument, on the grounds that Jung did not claim that the archetypes would always manifest in exactly the same way. They are not identical in every instance but vary according to context and are coloured by individual experience. It is only by looking at the factors they have in common, the recurrent themes and emotions associated with an archetypal manifestation that we may be able to gain some idea of how they could have operated in the past; obviously it cannot be an exact portrayal of past experience, that is not what I am claiming, but it would provide some idea of past meanings.

In a similar vein, Jean McMann’s study of the Loughcrew megalithic cemetery in Ireland makes use of current knowledge from the myths and legends as a means of recapturing some of the meanings that the place would have held for people in prehistoric times. The way she achieves this is by using a diachronic approach, looking at the myths and stories associated with the place throughout history (McMann, 1991:4).

Early influences on Jung and support for some of his basic tenets can also be found in the work of anthropologists like Lucien Levy-Bruhl, who introduced the idea of collective representations or ‘representations collectifs’ to be found in the psyche of early social groups with similar myths. Adolf Bastian a professor of Ethnology travelled extensively in his search for evidence of the customs of ‘primitive tribes’ before modernisation took hold, in an attempt to find psychological laws to explain the mental development of groups, his aim being to establish a scientific psychology. He put forward the concept of elemental thoughts held by all people, making the claim for a universal psychological origin for ideas as an alternative to diffusion (Shamdasani 2004:273). Likewise the anthropologist Edward Tyler believed he could find a window into prehistory by his studies of modern ‘savage tribes’ that appeared to possess the remains of earlier civilizations, making the case that the similarities of customs across group boundaries are not due only to diffusion (ibid:274). Franz Boas the father of modern anthropology was another important influence on Jung, although he was critical of the comparative method of attempting to establish psychological laws. In a paper of 1909, entitled Psychological Problems in Anthropology Boaz sought to discover new laws in his search for the psychological processes behind the widespread incidence of similar ideas, that he
believed, had not been sufficiently investigated. The problem of totemism he understood as consisting of not one single problem but as being far more complex than the simple explanations given for its existence (ibid: 277). Likewise, the anthropologist Joseph Campbell cites the existence of universal themes in his research.

From the discipline of religious studies, Mircea Eliade recounts instances of recurrent religious themes also drawing some of his evidence from anthropology. The sociologists Hubert and Mauss also drew attention to the universality of belief systems and doctrines, calling them categories of the imagination; a term later used by Jung in the development of his archetypal theory.

More recently the anthropologists Robin Fox and Lionel Tiger of Rutgers University have applied ethnological concepts to human social behaviour, believing that these behaviours are encoded in ‘biogrammars’ (Tiger & Fox 1972 Stevens 2006:82). French molecular biologist, Jacque Monod in his book chance and Necessity (1971) states that everything comes from experience, yet not from actual experience, reiterated by each individual with each generation but instead from experience accumulated by the entire ancestry of the species in the course of evolution (Stevens 2006:81).

Drawing their conclusions from studies of animal behaviour, the biologists, Niko and Konrad Lorenz conclude that each species has innate releasing mechanisms in the central nervous primed to be activated by appropriate stimuli in the environment and that these patterns are adapted through evolutionary processes (ibid:83). Similar to Jung’s observation that when an archetype is activated, there follows a need to act compulsively comparable to an instinctual drive (Jung 1991(b) para: 9).

Research by Ian Hodder on the use of symbols by the Nuer in Africa revealed that they only occurred in certain contexts but that their significance often transcended group boundaries. Overall, his findings revealed there was a pattern to the way that symbols operate (Hodder 1982). Hodder’s latest theory concerned with symbolic material is the concept of material entanglement. LeRon Schults, draws on Hodder’s theory and applies it to a search for religious behaviour in the Neolithic Near East resulting in the idea of spiritual entanglement based on Robert Neville’s theory of religious symbolism. Neville’s emphasis is on the function of symbols
and their transformative power. He perceives religious symbols as boundary making engaging the boundaries of the lived world. The word religious is an ambiguous term one that is highly contested. Rather than taking a dualist approach and separating the material from the spiritual, he believes that intentionality and meaning-making are fully embedded in the semiotic network that is nature. In his work he attempts to explores religious boundaries and their causal effects on human agents (Schultz 2010:76). In line with Jung he believed in the transformative power of symbols and that they changed through time. They can lose their power to fascinate or they can be replaced by new symbols, an aspect that can be explored in a Neolithic context.

From a critical stance, Renfrew is of the opinion that it is impossible to access the minds of individuals in the pre-literate past (Renfrew & Zubrow, 1999). I would challenge this negative assumption, by maintaining along with Jung the belief that it is possible to gain valuable insights into the workings of the psyche of prehistoric people by means of exploring the shared symbols which belong not only to the individual conscious but originate from the collective unconscious, an observation that is brought out by Hauke who asserts that Jung’s model helps us to understand past cultures from the way in which these symbols operate in the present (Hauke 1998:295).

Relevant to a Jungian study of Neolithic material, Jung himself recognized the importance of archaeological research as a means of gaining understanding of the archetypal past and that archaeological investigation ought to be able to reveal that the situations and symbols generated by an archetype would be present reaching far back into prehistory. Furthermore, archetypal theory could help to provide an explanation for the remarkable correspondence of cultural artefacts occurring throughout the world (Stevens 2006:78). This is an important point to consider when examining archaeological material, with the idea in mind to search for instances of a particular situation or symbol occurring throughout history which might evoke similar behaviour from people living in the Neolithic period. Along similar lines Leone believed that the use of structural analyses was feasible to retrieve prehistoric thought patterns, since no class of artefacts, substances or religion is any further from the root of the culture than another they are all ordered by the
human mind (Leone 1982:743) Echoing Jung’s claim for the similarity of the human psyche worldwide and throughout history.

Indeed, it has been claimed that ancient history is being meaningfully rediscovered in the present in the symbolic images and myths that have survived from prehistoric times and that archaeology provides the key to ancient beliefs that are still active in the world today. Cultural anthropologists have discovered symbols from other societies with similar patterns of ritual and myths. In common with Jung the anthropologist, Henderson rejects the interpretation that these are signs of a backward society, but are as relevant today as they were in the past because these symbols still appear in the dreams of modern human beings. However, in order to understand them better we need a wider knowledge of the symbols from ancient myths as well as comparable themes from modern contexts as in the instance of similar themes and symbols appearing in dreams, however an in-depth study of this type of material is beyond the scope of this thesis but would be an interesting area of research involving material from modern sources. Henderson concludes that the existence of these symbols in modern people is not accidental (Henderson 1979:107).

In the ensuing chapter, it is my intention to examine the evidence for the manifestation of an archetype the god archetype in the Neolithic/Bronze Age. Despite recent research being highly critical of the argument for religious imagery from this period, Jung believed that there would be evidence for its manifestation throughout history and across cultures. He conjectured that the psyche of every human being must contain the faculty for a relationship with the Divine, or in psychological terms, the manifestation of the god archetype. The reason for the diversity of these images cross-culturally is that the actual archetype is only a potentiality not an absolute replica of previous manifestations. Every archetype also contains an unconscious element that overrides tradition. It is true that similar images can be found across the religious divide as well as featuring in dreams and myth. According to Jung, this is because primarily they manifest spontaneously, only later being adapted to fit in with conventional belief systems (Jung 1991(b):67).
The theme of chapter four will be Jungian symbolism comprising a detailed study of the use of spiral decoration on Neolithic architecture, pottery and artefacts. A later chapter on a closely related theme will involve an exploration of the mandela symbol in Neolithic contexts. The focus will be on art displayed at the megalithic monuments but will also include an analysis of one of the monuments themselves as examples of mandelas inscribed upon the landscape and how this Jungian insight may give us a clue to the activities carried out at these sites.
CHAPTER THREE

Reviving the Anthropomorph: a reassessment of the oculus or face image, in the megalithic tomb art of Great Britain and Ireland.

3.1 Introduction

Primarily, it is necessary to distinguish what exactly is meant by the term ‘anthropomorph’ or anthropomorphic. When translated literally from the Greek it means in the form of a man, the word ‘anthropos’ being the Greek word for a man as distinguished from a female of the species. Dictionary definitions of an anthropomorph include that of an artistic representation of a human being or a god shown in human form. (Chambers English Dictionary 1998). Anthropomorphism means the attribution of a human form or personality to a god, animal or thing (Oxford English Reference Dictionary 1995). From the above definitions it can be seen that an anthropomorph does not necessarily have to resemble a figure of a god or person but can take on an abstract form as has been suggested (Breuil 1934) in the form of stylized U’s or the parallel zigzags from megalithic tomb art, thought by some to be representations of a human torso. Under these conditions it would appear that the anthropomorph can take on virtually any form which begs the question of how it is possible to distinguish anthropomorphic prehistoric images from ones that are simply ornamental? What supporting evidence is present at these sites to indicate whether a motif is likely to be anthropomorphic or the manifestation of Jung’s god archetype or not. An important point to consider is whether the image is in a particularly significant position in the tomb, one where it can be understood as playing an important role such as that of a guardian. In addition to looking for examples of this type of image, I will also be assessing how well they accord with the outward manifestation of Jung’s god archetype and what kinds of situations could have led to the artists producing this type of image.

On a more subjective level, I will be assessing the experiences of archaeologists to certain motifs found within the corpus of megalithic art. It may be that they exert an emotional effect on the observer and perhaps this is something that they have in common with prehistoric individuals given that according to Jung the psyche of a
prehistoric person is equivalent to that of moderns. Another clue is the wealth of mythical material associated with some of the monuments particularly in Northern Ireland linking them not only to the ancestors, but also to houses of the gods, although it is highly disputed how far back in time these legends can be dated. However, local knowledge regarding the sun lighting up the triskele spiral at Newgrange on a certain day of the year was proven by O’Kelly to be more than just speculation as it was discovered that this event still occurred at the midwinter solstice (O’Kelly 1982). Consequently it would be wrong to dismiss all of the ancient sources as mere legends.

I will examine the evidence from a Jungian perspective in an attempt to uncover some of the possible meanings of these images and what archetypal situations they could represent. A further source of evidence is the role played by these images in other cosmologies; this information will be used to further explore the likely role of these alleged anthropomorphic images in a Neolithic context. Obviously, I am not suggesting that their meaning in prehistory would be identical with these other sources, only that it should be possible to access some of the ideas that would have been prevalent during that era. In fact, Jung placed great importance on their variability; maintaining that it is only the basic archetype behind the imagery that has any stability (Jung 1991(a):67).

When Jung came across a concept he was unable to explain by logic, he tended to express his ideas in poetic form as in the following quotation:-

“Mankind never lacked powerful images to lend magical aid against all the uncanny things that live in the depths of the psyche. Always the figures of the unconscious were expressed in protecting and healing images,” (Jung 1991(a):12).

It is true of course, that not all social groups have a deity or god figure but the majority usually believe alternatively in some kind of magical supernatural or spiritual force which is not always expressed in imagery. The question I am concerned with here is did these unconscious archtypal processes operate in the prehistoric past and if so how do we go about finding evidence for them in the archaeological record. For Jung, religious images, symbols and the performance of rituals constitute a means of gathering psychic energy for the use of both individuals and social groups. The
traditions established by the repetition of these rituals help to give meaning to the lives of those who participate. At times when this function is at its weakest and the rituals are no longer observed, the means of tapping into this energy is lost, consequently life becomes less meaningful without the symbols to nourish and support the psyche and negativity takes over (Jung 1991(b):18).

Depth psychology plays an important role in that it provides a means of reconnecting with these symbols and tapping in to the energy they produce; it does this by contact with unconscious processes for instance taking note of dreams and their recurrent themes and motifs. In connection with this process, Jung conceived of an innate order in the unconscious psyche, a centre with the ability to communicate with divine forces. Thus by the psychological interpretation of religious material, it is possible to access the archetypal contents and recurrent symbols used by religious doctrines as the symbolic is the only means by which they can be communicated (Ulanov 1997:310). Consequently, it is my belief that some form of anthropomorphic representation would have existed in the Neolithic. Photographs and drawings of art from the megalithic tombs show a number of carvings interpreted as oculi or face motifs (Breuil 1934, Piggott 1954). The repetition of certain images at different sites and the similarity of their contexts, lends further support to this theory.

Indeed the face as a symbol has a variety of meanings across different cosmologies. A single face can represent the outward personality, or multiple faces can symbolise different aspects of the personality, comprising the forces of nature, wind, thunder and lightning, or the exploits and functions of gods. Eyes not necessarily associated with faces can stand for an all-seeing divinity or the faculty of intuitive vision and are often a symbol of sun gods. The mystic eye symbolizes light, enlightenment, knowledge, mind, vigilance and protection, whilst stars are the eyes of the night, never sleeping (Cooper 1978: ). All of these meanings would accord well with Jungian interpretations as the symbolic representation of eyes is a feature that deeply interested Jung. Included in his formal elements of mandela symbolism is the phenomenon of ‘polypthalmia, the occurrence of eye-like images or multiple eyes often found in Eastern mandelas and religious contexts (Jung 1991(b):361). A notable example is the realistic depiction of eyes in Egyptian art, employed as a protection against evil forces. Other examples can be observed in the drawings
produced by Jung’s patients during the course of psychotherapy. These are interpreted by Jung as being an unconscious function not something of which the artist was always aware. A Jungian interpretation of their meaning is that of an unseen, watching presence; a manifestation of unconscious processes brought to the fore at times of uncertainty. It was Jung’s assertion that images like these were not always a deliberate choice by the artist but were due to unconscious motivating forces.

Ethnographic support for this type of imagery can be observed by the Brak eye idols from Syria with their multiple eyes, cited as evidence of an eye goddess cult dating from the second and third millennia BC, migrating from the East to Ireland (Crawford 1957:54). The depiction of eyes on the Sumerian seals from the third millennium BC can be interpreted in a similar way (ibid plate 4) and similar eye motifs can be seen on pots, stones and bones from Almizaraque and Los Millares, (Crawford 1957, figure 19). However, more recently, the concept of a Neolithic goddess as the head of a religious cult, has been firmly rejected.

There has been an extreme reaction by some modern archaeologists to the idea that some carvings are depictions of a human or non-human face. Some are of the opinion that these motifs are purely stylistic, merely representing the art of the time, having nothing whatsoever to do with human or supernatural beings (Twohig 1981:138; O’Kelly C 1983). From a different perspective French archaeologists have interpreted some of the megalithic art from Brittany as representing the anthropomorph or the Idol particularly the boxed ‘U’s from Gavrinis, Larmorbaden. It has been observed that this type of image is usually found at the entrance to the passage or in the chamber of the tomb (Giot 1979:185), similar to its position in Britain. However, some of the motifs do have a striking resemblance to a face and these images will form the basis of my study.

Consequently, it is my belief that some of the megalithic motifs can be subjected to a form of Jungian analysis. While it will not allow us identify individual persons, it would provide possible explanations for displaying certain motifs in a particular way. By this means it should be possible to identify the possible motivation behind the creation of the images; that many of them are associated with the dead ought to provide a clue. Jung stated that anthropomorphic reality is strongest when the conscious faculty is weak and fantasy is dominant as in the case of imaginative play.
by young children. (Jung 1991(b):67) This withdrawal from reality is often found to be true of experiences associated with death and the encounter with supernatural forces as it is at such times that unconscious coping mechanisms are more likely to be in operation.

3.2 Historical perspectives
In this section, I will be examining the theories of earlier investigators to see how far their ideas stand up to scrutiny and choosing a selection of images for further study. Anthropomorphic imagery has been the subject of a great deal of research by early twentieth century antiquarians and more recently by archaeologists; admittedly, some of it highly speculative and open to question. Indeed the drawings and photographs of art from the megalithic tombs and the rock art corpus show a number of carvings that have been interpreted as oculi, or face motifs (Breuil 1934; Piggott 1954). The repetition of these images at different sites and the similarity of the contexts, tends to support the theory that these were a deliberate act.

An early form of anthropomorphic image is the stele, a roughly-shaped pillar carved to give the impression of a head and shoulders. These are found in early megalithic tombs in France together with the carved buckler motif, suggesting a link between the two, (Twohig 1981:129). Later in date are the full anthropomorphic statue menhirs from the Swiss tombs dated to the mid third millennium BC. These are nearly always female, a factor appearing to lend support to the idea of a prehistoric female goddess. Unfortunately no statues of this type have been discovered in Britain.

Another candidate for the anthropomorph, is the engraved slate or schist plaques found alongside burial deposits in Iberian megalithic tombs. Designs are usually in geometric form, mainly consisting of cross-hatching, triangles, chevrons and parallel lines. Other plaques with an alleged anthropomorphic appearance, are thought to be derived from earlier Almerian plaques such as those found at the site of Los Millares in Spain, alongside carved stone and bone idols and decorated pottery. A number of similarly engraved plaques have been discovered in Britain, including the Amesbury engraved chalk plaque from the Stonehenge region and a plaque with incised lines; interpreted by Piggott as a group of hatched triangles pendant from a double line, discovered in the peat near to the Graig Lwyd stone axe factory, Penmaenmawr,
North Wales (Hazledine 1919:342). A crenellated slate plaque with engraved lines was discovered in a late Neolithic context at Castell Bryn Gwyn enclosure, Llanidan, Anglesey. (Wainwright 1962) Whether these are all funerary items is debatable given the variety of contexts in which they were discovered.

The idea that anthropomorphic images existed in megalithic art originated in the work of Breuil and Mauer. Breuil began his research in the analysis of Palaeolithic cave art. In the early nineteenth century his focus switched to the study of megalithic carvings from the passage tombs in Britain and Northern Ireland. As regards the more distinctive anthropomorphic art, Abbe Breuil was one of the first investigators to undertake a detailed study of megalithic carvings in his search for anthropomorphic imagery. Widely regarded as a fantasist, it is my opinion that his work has been the subject of much undeserved criticism.

In his address to the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia in 1934, Breuil drew attention to the parallels between megalithic art from Iberia and Brittany and that of Ireland claiming that much of the Irish art was also anthropomorphic. Face motifs or oculi were included in his group three classification and consisted mainly of motifs from the megalithic tombs of Newgrange and Dowth Ireland, the tomb at Knowth had not been investigated at the time. Further to the critiques of Breuil’s theories, on studying the paper he delivered to the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, it is evident that despite the widespread criticism of his anthropological motifs, that later researchers like Raftery and Piggott drew heavily on his work. A perusal of Piggott’s corpus of megalithic art shows that it contains many of the same motifs as Breuil’s, as do those of Herity and Raftery.
As can be seen from the above Breuil’s corpus includes the common double spiral motif with the lozenge middle left as well as the eyes and eyebrows from the roof at Newgrange and the rather more obscure button motifs on the bottom right.

A more critical approach by Piggott in the 1950s made use of some of the motifs from Breuil’s repertoire, in particular the oculi or face motifs. These ideas were to influence the excavators of passage tombs in Britain and Ireland, Barclodiad y Gawres, Anglesey, (Powell & Daniel 1959), the Calderstones, Liverpool, (Forde-Johnston 1954), M J O’Kelly at Newgrange (1982) Eogan Knowth (1983).
Some of the later megalithic motifs are identical to ones formulated by Macalister and Breuil. Piggott included three types of face motif. 1a, the schematic face, the double spiral with a central one superimposed as seen at the sites of Sess Kilgreen and at Loughcrew. The one I have called the dynamic face motif, as it has a dynamic quality about it giving the impression that it is coming towards you. According to Breuil it is a distorted or schematic version of the face motif. Motif 1b, the most common oculus motif is the double or conjoined spiral accompanied by a lozenge usually double-outlined. In Piggott’s system, there is a lozenge above as well as below the spirals. There are slightly different versions noted by the author one substituting a spiral for the central lozenge. An interesting example of motif 1b is on a fragment of grooved ware pottery from Skara Brae, Orkney, featuring the double spiral and two lozenges, a possible connection with the Irish tomb art (see Figure 3). Thirdly, motif 1c, the scalloped face motif found on stone 1b at Knockmany and on the underside of the
roof stone at Newgrange. It is similar to the angular face motif on orthostat 49 from the passage at Knowth West (O’Riordain & Daniel, 1964:101).

Another advocate of the face image is Herity. His assumption that the Irish art was the result of colonization from Brittany has since been rejected, although there is likely to be a common origin for some of these motifs but from where they originated and what motives inspired their creation, we shall probably never know. Herity’s corpus of megalithic art is mainly derived from the systems of Macalister and Breuil. He proposes two basic types of anthropomorphic image, the angular designs attributed to male figures, such as those at the sites of Seefin, Dowth South, Fourknocks and Barclodiad y Gawres and the rounded, curvilinear images from Newgrange, Sess Kilgreen and Cairn U Loughcrew, ascribed to the female form.

Herity mentions an angular face design on a stone at Fourknocks designed to fit above the orthostats on the left of the entrance to the main chamber and a circular motif he describes as a female figure, probably the clown (Herity 1974:41). Included in his repertoire are the combination of the double spiral and lozenge, Newgrange, the superimposed spiral, Sess Kilgreen and the angular face from Knowth West, (Eogan’s ghostly guardian Fig 7). Herity thought that these motifs were likely to be magical symbols because of their striking anthropomorphic appearance. The face
motifs from Sess Kilgreen he describes as being very naturalistic, but more abstracted at Newgrange, apparently native to Ireland, (Herity 1974:105).

3.3 Case Studies

In this section, I have chosen some motifs from a selection of sites in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, that I believe are open to an anthropomorphic interpretation as face motifs or personifications of some deity. Alternatively, they could be unintentional products of the unconscious, to be equated with the eye motifs or polyopthalmia, to be found in mandelas and the drawings by Jung’s patients. This would counter the criticism made by many that the images seen by modern researchers may not have been the intent of the original artists. On the other hand if we are looking at their psychological effects on the observers or the outcome of unconscious forces this is less problematic. The emotional and numinous effects that these images exert on modern people would be understood by Jung as an analogue to their effects on people in the past.

Newgrange

In the early Irish annals, the passage tomb of Newgrange was linked to a site called Bru na Boinne meaning the House of the Boyne. It was discovered to be the place referred to in mythology and folk stories by George Petrie and is alleged to be the burial place of one of the great Irish folk heroes Diarmaid (M J O’Kelly 1982:43). Newgrange or the Bru was reputedly linked to Dagda the good god or the god of light, his wife Boann and son Oengus or Angus. The site was also linked to a supernatural beings known as the Tuatha or Tuatha de Daanan, traditionally associated with the ancient ‘fairy mounds’ of pre-Celtic origin. O’Kelly believed that the folklore was based on some very old material, whether from writings or from that passed down by oral tradition, which he believed should not be completely rejected. There was a local belief that the triskele spiral on stone C10 would be illuminated by the sun on a certain day of the year. This was subsequently proved to be the midwinter solstice, first observed after thousands of years on the 21st December 1967, (M J O’Kelly, 1982:123).
One of the most outstanding examples of anthropomorphic imagery is on orthostat L19, situated on the left hand side of the passage. This motif is at eye-level, approximately four feet from the ground. It is composed of two spirals, possibly representing eyes, a lozenge for the nose, beneath which is a large spiral representing the mouth. The face composed of two spirals and a double-outlined lozenge are framed by zigzag lines, forming a chevron pattern, a feature that has been interpreted as hair (O’Riordain 1964: plate 17) (Figure 4:53).

Figure 4 Image on stone L19 Newgrange

O’Riodain thought this motif had a definite purpose due to its prominent position in the tomb, as it is situated at the point where the passage bends towards the entrance to the main chamber. Some people believed it was sited there to frighten people entering the tomb referring to it as the Guardian Stone (Mac Uistin, 1999).
This image has a definite anthropomorphic appearance; the eyes are small in comparison with the large spiral representing the mouth, which on the Knowth mace head is composed of a large round hole carved into the flint. Similarly, the large spiral representing the mouth gives the impression of a person screaming, as does the hole in the Knowth flint mace head, (see Figure 9). The general impression is the same, even down to the zigzags around the face giving a stylized impression of human hair. Images such as these situated in the passages of chambered tombs are believed by some to represent a guarding presence.

The most famous carving from Newgrange is situated on orthostat C10 the triple or triskele spiral described as a highly stylized form of the human face, with two spirals forming the eyes and the spiral below the right eye forming the nose (Raftery1951: Fig 111; O’Riordain, plate 16). This image is situated low down, on Stone C10, with spirals above it and a row of halved lozenges and triangles nearby.

![Figure 5 The Triskele spiral on stone C10 Newgrange](image)

Seen from a certain angle, this carving does give the impression of a face but I am unsure as to whether it is an anthropomorphic image. It was certainly of great significance to prehistoric people, due to its illumination by the sun at the midwinter solstice, as demonstrated by M J O’Kelly in the winter of 1967.

Another possible candidate for the anthropomorph is on Stone R12 on the right hand side of the passage. Three horizontal grooves are marked on the right edge of the stone near the base facing the entrance. Above this is a series of pocked triangles and higher still, a small pocked design described by some as a face motif representing
eyebrows and a nose (O’Riordain & Daniel 1964:61). It does not look very convincing to me but needs further examination. The eyebrow motif is one of the images subscribed to the anthropomorph; A similar design is located on the lintel from the ruined tomb of Papa Westray South, Orkney (Henshall 1989) and on the Folkton Chalk Drums (Longworth, 1900:83).

On entering the main chamber, the final carved stone on the right, R21 has broad bands of picking running across the surface of the stone as well as deep round hollows and a lozenge at the top. A story told by the caretaker of the tomb, was that a giant had once lived there who was so large he had to squeeze inside, the bands of carving being the tracks of his ribs. Interestingly there is a connection with a giant at the tomb of Barclodiady Gawres, Anglesey, the name translates as ‘The apronful of the giantess.’ where there is a very green stone with similar bands of carving running widthways across its surface rather a large wide stone which immediately brought to mind the image of a ribcage. This stone is mentioned by Lynch in her reappraisal of the decorated stones (Lynch 1967). It is possible that a similar legend could have been associated with this site. Bare ribs are linked with death together with skulls and skeletons in mortuary art and are a part of more modern graveyard sculpture. They could also be anthropomorphic representing some human or non-human personage, possibly a deity connected with death; reflecting Jung’s theory that at times of stress anthropomorphic fantasy imagery is strongest as a way of dealing with a traumatic situation.

The famous design on the roof stones of the northern side chamber comprise a version of Piggott’s scalloped face motif and are according to Riordain and Daniel an assemblage of face motifs grouped round a central lozenge (O’Riordain & Daniel 1964, plates 28 and 29) comprising a kind of composite version of the face motif. Some archaeologists believed it to be a representation of the Eye Goddess or Funerary Goddess. (O’Riordain & Daniel (1964:211). The reference to eyes is interesting in the light of Jung’s theory of polyophthalmia and the incidence of eye motifs from other cultures for instance the multiple eyes of the Brak idols carved on a temple in Syria (Mallowen 1937, Crawford, 1957;26, Fig 2). That it should be on a ceiling is even more significant; enforcing their role as a guardian presence. Insert ex from other cultures of gods looking down from ceilings, temples churches.
The fact that these same motifs are repeated elsewhere is further support they were deliberately conceived carvings that were deeply significant. One of the most accomplished designs second only to the famous entrance stone (O’Riordain & Daniel 1964, plates 28-30) This carving contains a wealth of detail, including the scalloped eyebrow motif repeated across the stone. The composite face motif, 1b from Piggott’s catalogue consists of three eye spirals and two double-outlined lozenges and forms a central feature to the overall design. These carvings can be subjected to a Jungian interpretation as it has been shown that similar images occur in mandelas and are used in Eastern religions as a focus for meditation. They also feature in the drawings made by Jung’s patients of multiple eyes and eye-like images. The idols from Brak date to around 3000 BC they are displayed on a temple devoted to the worship of a goddess. While dismissing Crawford’s theory that there must be a direct connection between the art from the Middle East and Britain, the similarity of the two art forms is further support for the existence of unconscious structures within the human psyche, illustrated by the similar way in which deities are depicted in societies thousands of miles apart. The position on the ceiling of the tomb looking down is one common to deities worldwide not least in the Christian religion, adding to its role as a manifestation of the god archetype, as a supernatural presence watching over the deceased; a deity looking down from above or as a protective deity watching over the dead.

Anthropomorphic images are not confined to the interior of the cairns; there are some intriguing examples on kerbstones from the outer perimeter of the monument, demonstrated by Stone K67 from the outer kerb at Newgrange, on which there is a design consisting of two s-shaped spirals accompanied by a couple of lozenges. It has been suggested as a native example of the art, possibly an artist’s experiment (Herity, 1989:61). However, it is my belief that it was an intentional part of the tomb art and was in that particular place because it served some purpose. It has two spirals described as paired oculi or staring eyes, around which the stylized outline of a human face can be observed (Herity & Eogan, 1989:76). This is a common motif, one also found on mobiliary art from Iberia and Scandinavia. Again, the occurrence of this combination of motifs at different sites is a strong indication of its importance, that it was meaningful in some way. The position of this stone at the north-eastern side of the tomb may well be significant as the north-eastern orientation is associated with
entrances and the position of the sun at sunrise at the equinoxes. This could lend it to further interpretations as a deity connected with the sun, with rebirth and renewal.

Figure 6 Kerbstone 57 Newgrange

The above kerbstone has a definite anthropomorphic appearance. Originally designated as stone b, it has the double conjoined spiral and two lozenges one above and one below, rather resembling a grub, which is apposite due to its situation in the ground, it could even be a representation of some underground, chthonic deity being a likely candidate for the oculus or face image. A very similar image from the kerb at Knowth, on a kerbstone since reburied has been illustrated by Macalister (O’Riorain & Daniel, fig. 17). Could these anthropomorphic images carved on outer kerbstones
be a protective force with some possibly acting as guardians of the tomb. The illustration on the top left (ibid) bears a strong resemblance to stone b/K57 from the outer kerb at Newgrange with the two circles for eyes and a lozenge for the mouth give both images the appearance of a creature, especially the one on the Newgrange kerbsone, the one from Knowth, taken from a drawing by Macalister, may be partly due to artistic licence, but nevertheless the similarity is striking. The image on composed of a circle for the face, two smaller circles representing the eyes and the oval, a nose or mouth. The impression I have is of a grub, but then these creatures are associated with the soil the earth and also with dead people, enforcing the idea that if is some kind of chthonic deity. Or did they represent some kind of guardian, situated as they are on the outer perimeter of the tomb? In eastern mandelas the outer circle is the protective one, that holds the inside in and keeps malign forces out.

Knowth West

Figure 7 Stones from the passage at Knowth west, ‘Eogan’s ghostly guardians’
The position of the art at this tomb is thought to have had a protective function comparable with other carvings of this nature, that are situated high up on stones in key positions. The images on the above stones, particularly the one second from the left, are startlingly anthropomorphic in appearance, strongly suggestive of an overseeing presence, an attribute of Jung’s god archetype. They appear to be standing guard over the entrance to the chamber, the most important central position in the tomb. They may have had a similar function to the decorated schist plaques from Neolithic tombs in Iberia and Portugal, believed to have been placed as protection for the deceased (Eogan 1986:127).

More significantly from a Jungian perspective, Eogan on first entering the western tomb at Knowth, encountered what appeared to him to be an anthropomorphic figure with two large staring eyes, situated on the inner right orthostat, no 49. To quote his exact words “This ghostly guardian suggested that we were approaching the inner sanctum.” (ibid:132); thus conveying his first impression and emotive reaction to this striking and rather frightening image. The experience of encountering it in the dark and being the first person to see it after over three thousand years must have been an awesome experience with overtones of the numinous, strange effect such images can evoke, the awe and fear sometimes evoked by the encounter with such images. It is described as a wraith-like human figure situated on the right towards inner end of the tomb beyond the angle in the passage where its impact on the votaries would be greatest (Herity & Eogan, 1989:75) Again pointing to a supernatural numinous effect on the viewer, one which given the uniformity of the human psyche is likely to have been its effect on at least some of the people who saw it in the past. That this image can be perceived on a subjective level as a guarding presence and by an observer as an anthropomorphic figure with the concentric rectangles forming the eyes and nose or mouth, comparable to the design on the Knowth flint mace head is further proof of its power. The Knowth mace head discovered nearby in the eastern tomb confirms the likely significance of this imagery. Strangely there are no comparable carvings in the Eastern tomb, only evidence of a very important burial of possible a king or chieftain, maybe the owner of the mace head or the person who carved it. Another interpretation sees it as a spontaneous impression in its resemblance to a face and disputes its role as guardian of the tomb as the eyes appear to look down rather than back toward the entrance. Rather, it is a speechless face without a mouth (Werner
Antpohler 2000:48) I disagree as one of the spirals could have been intended as a mouth as could the large hole in the Knowth mace head. Alternatively not seeing or speaking could mean it is something beyond human as the dead can no longer communicate in this way with the living.

The idea of a spirit guardian or some otherworldly deity being present in the tomb is indicated by rituals from other cultures where rites are performed in order for the dead person’s safe passage to the other world. In the journey of the dead described by Seligman (Layard 1936:125), the dead live in a cave and have to partake of a journey that involves the crossing of water and a home of the dead guarded by a female guardian ghost. The ghost refuses the dead person passage until offered a gift of a tusked pig kill the western tomb at Knowth where Eogan’s three guardian images Stand in the passage at the entrance to the chamber.
Although we would expect to find anthropomorphic carvings at a site where the most accomplished piece of mobile art was discovered this is not the case. The famous flint mace head was found in association with a burial in one of the recesses, between the jamb stone with the perforated end pointing towards the recess, together with antler pins, stone beads and pendants (Eogan 1986:42-3). This amazing piece of prehistoric sculpture could be a prototype of the face images at the megalithic tombs. The two spirals representing the eyes and the gaping hole presumably where the mace
handle would have fitted the mouth, the two side spirals could be ears and the zigzag
designs on the top and sides could stand in for hair and a beard. Maybe the mace
head itself as such a significant a part of the tomb it needed no embellishments or
protective images in the form of stone carvings.

Figure 9 The Flint Mace Head from Knowth East

_Dowth_

There is a possible representation of the anthropomorph from Dowth North on
RS4 one of the roof stones. In legend, Dowth is designated as the dark tomb so
perhaps the art was not as important here, as the dark is symbolic of the unconscious
side of the psyche. The roof stone has a panel of ornament in the middle. This central
motif is composed of two spirals, the one on the right overlaps the other, there are
some smaller spirals underneath, one offset to the left and the other worn and
incomplete. This ornament is an example of the schematic face motif as seen at Sess
Kilgreen and at Cairn U Loughcrew. Claire O’Kelly describes it as being a distinct and carefully planned carving (M J & C O’Kelly et al 1983 PRIA 83c). Of the two spirals forming the eyes, the one on the left is larger, according to Jung inclining more towards an unconscious motivation, the right hand one slightly overlapping the left and another spiral offset below.

Stone K53 (Fig 10) from the outer kerb is another contender for the anthropomorph, with two large circles for eyes deeply carved, the eyes are convex and on closer examination have a small circle in the centre. The one on the left is noticeably smaller than the right, a feature I noted at other sites. The large circle possibly representing the mouth, has been deliberately hollowed out, forming quite a deep impression, reminiscent of the hole on the Knowth mace head which has been interpreted as a mouth. A similar bulging effect can be seen on stone E at the Calderstones and on the image from Fourknocks known as the clown.

Figure 10 Kerbstone 53 from Dowth
Loughcrew

Cairn U

There are two possible images from this site. Shee Twohig mentions a possible anthropomorphic carving (Shee Twohig 1981, fig 24). Stone C3 from the chamber at cairn U (Twohig,1981:218) is a motif like the one at Sess Kilgreen, composed of three spirals with the central one superimposed on the other two. The major difference between the two is that the Loughcrew motif has a left hand spiral that is much smaller than the one on the right, whereas at Sess Kilgreen the two eye spirals are equal in size. It is uncertain whether these differences have a bearing on the meaning of the ornament or are just accidental as there are examples of this anomaly at other sites. According to Jung, more emphasis on the right is a leaning towards the conscious rational side of the psyche.

Cairn T

An image from Cairn T Loughcrew appears to be another example of the Schematic face image or anthropomorph . This is an important site that will be discussed more fully in Chapter Five If the photograph is viewed upside down it is possible to make out the overlapping spiral and the partial remains of the two eye spirals on this stone.

Stone C6 is according to SheeTwohig, a poor quality stone with many natural holes. The motif on this stone consists of long boxed U’s opening downwards. The intricate ornamentation consisting of groups of nested U’s was interpreted at the Breton site of Gavrinis by French archaeologists as anthropomorphic (Giot, Le Helgou’ach).

Cairn L

The anthropomorphic image here, (Twohig 1981plate 30) has a similar design to the one from Sess Kilgreen of the schematic face motif on which the left spiral is overlapped by the large central one, on stone C16 from the chamber .
Two stones in the passage and two in the chamber are purported to have anthropomorphic imagery. One such carving, recorded earlier on the granite block forming the upper part of the chamber roof at north end on western side could not be found in a later survey by Rynne as the stone in question was obscured by moss. This stone, however, a large granite block overhanging the chamber sounds promising, being in a similar position to other examples of anthropomorphic art, notably the clown from Fourknocks, appearing to be guarding the entrance to the chamber a position in common with other images of this type.

Two stones in the passage were described by Macalister (Macalister 1932). The fourth stone on the right side of the passage is the more ornate and is situated directly opposite the fourth stone on the left. The ornamentation on these stones consists of triple-outlined rectangles set at angles, claimed by some to be representations of a male anthropomorph acting as a guardian of the tomb. It cannot be denied that the design is very similar to the angular carving on stone 19 from Barclodiad Y Gawres, Anglesey, (Powell & Daniel 1956) which is presumed to be from the former passage and a stone from Dowth with which it has been compared, although the images are not immediately recognisable as representing a figure of any kind.

Sess Kilgreen

This monument situated to the south east of the Post Office is the remains of a megalithic burial chamber, eleven feet long and six feet seven inches wide. The carving at the rear of the chamber, (O’Riordain & Daniel:plate 63, Figure 11 ), is a convincing example of Breuil’s schematic face motif. Consisting of three spirals, the two larger ones side by side composing the eyes and a smaller spiral superimposed between the other two forming the nose. It is comparable to the images at the site of Loughcrew, at Cairns U and T. More proof that it was an important symbol, perhaps of a deity. This image has a dynamic quality, giving the impression that it is moving towards you. The two eye spirals with the nose superimposed have a three dimensional effect.
There is another convincing example of the oculus motif on stone b. This is the comical face (Herity & Eogan 1989:75). It has been variously referred to as the clown, the old man of Fourknocks and King Tut by men working at the site, (O’Riordain & Daniel 1964:95). The carving certainly gives the impression of a face with two bulging eyes created by raised spirals in semi relief giving it the impression of standing out. The nose is formed by a double lozenge or diamond motif. The image certainly gives the impression of a face, though not a human one. Spiral decoration above the face could be interpreted as representing hair, a feature which is also seen on the Knowth Flint mace head. The clown image is situated on a wedge-shaped boulder of soft sandstone embedded in the mound, with the rounded end overhanging the passage near to where it opens out into the central chamber and was believed to be some kind of human representation (Hartnett 1957). The place where the passage joins the main chamber is a common site for important carvings, one that must have held a deep significance for the people at that time. It is evident that the position of these images was important to the tomb builders as they would have been visible from both the passage on approach and the central chamber looking backwards towards the entrance, perhaps watching over the comings and goings, guarding what is inside or protecting it from outside influences of a malign nature.
There is a close parallel with stone 5 from the Calderstones, Liverpool where there is a similar carving on a projecting portion of a large stone, probably the largest in the former tomb. Unfortunately, the position of this stone is unknown as the tomb was dismantled in the nineteenth century.

Twohig denies the existence of any anthropomorphic images at this site, although she includes a possible anthropomorphic image on stone C1, incidentally not the Clown stone but concludes that it is likely to be accidental (Twohig 1981:22).
There are at least four possible face motifs from this site. Unfortunately, their former position within the tomb is not known as the tomb was dismantled in the early nineteenth century and the stones were re-erected at the entrance to Calderstones Park. The designs on three of the stones, have been compared to those found on the underside of the capstones at the sites of Newgrange and Knockmany (O’Riordain & Daniel 1964:105).

Stone B, the largest in the group is six feet long and five feet wide. In view of its exceptional size, it is likely to have occupied a prominent position within the tomb. Sadly, most of the markings are considerably eroded (Forde-Johnston 1957). No carvings are now visible on one face of the stone but the markings on the opposite face are on a raised portion of the stone. This is a further indication that the stone occupied an important place in the original tomb, as at other sites, stones, often large in size with significant motifs are positioned so that they overhang the passage at its juncture with the chamber and I believe that this could have been the case here.

The face motif, B5 is very faint with only the outer part being visible to the naked eye. Forde-Johnson used a latex mould to reveal the design and was able to restore the image on the left but the right hand one was too eroded for any impression to be made. He thought it likely that the central part of the motif was composed of a group of concentric circles. The two spirals, thought to represent eyes, are on either side of a deep groove in the rock, which may or may not have been contemporary with the original carving. Maybe there was some inclusion occupying the groove in the rock. The same could be true of the holes in the stones at Barclodiad and Newgrange.

The markings on stone C are also likely to be important and to have occupied a prominent position in the tomb. In fact, carvings C4, C5 and C5a could be part of another face. C4 is incomplete due to a break in the rock. It is similar to the spiral C5 only larger. Below the two parallel spirals forming the eyes, is a small circle, possibly once a spiral and attached to a short length of what could be a continuation of the spiral, perhaps once joined to it (Forde-Johnson 1957:27).
Motifs C2 and C3 are probabilities. Two large spirals form the eyes, the one on the left winding in a clockwise direction and the right hand one winding anti-clockwise. A lozenge, diamond shape forms the nose. As seen on Figure 13, the above image can be visualised as a face with two eyes, surmounted by brows and a circular carving constituting the nose, slightly offset. Whether or not this is intentional is open to debate but I certainly think it could be anthropomorphic or an example of Jung’s watching presence.

Another likely image on E8, is situated on a curved area and consists of a large spiral winding anti-clockwise for two and three quarter turns, doubling back for one full turn in a clockwise direction. These spirals can like the image on stone C be interpreted as eyes, given that they resemble the design on the Knowth mace head. Perhaps there are multiple meanings hidden within the motifs. Left and right in some cosmologies having a host of meanings good and evil, male and female, death and rebirth and the Jungian interpretation of conscious and unconscious. Seen as a whole the face stands
out in relief, the bulging eyes and round button nose bear a striking resemblance to the carving known as the clown from Fourknocks, County Meath, Ireland. (Hartnett 1957). The contouring gives the impression of depth and movement. This is more than an accidental feature; it has a dynamic quality, a kind of power about it, although at the same time it has a comical appearance in common with the Fourknocks clown. The image has the effect of emerging from the stone itself as if it were an integral part of it and it is my belief that it was intended as a composite design.

I shall give a brief account of the possible anthropomorphic imagery at the two chambered tombs on the island, however a more detailed account of these sites will be given in chapter 4,
Powell identified a possible example of an anthropomorphic image on stone 6 from this chambered tomb. This stone is quite tall around six feet high and three feet wide and is another example of a large stone in a prominent position within the tomb. More significantly it occupies the same position in the tomb as the clown motif from Fourknocks, also inclined over the passage and a similar stone from Dowth South, one of three situated opposite the entrance to the chamber (Lynch 1967) an indication that these images were deliberately placed in a prominent position, one where they were able to watch over the tomb, likely to be guarding the entrances. The design consists of two conjoined spirals or circles, a triple outlined lozenge and a concentric u-shaped marking (Powell 1956:29).

On a computer, zooming in to a design to the right of the holes in the stone, thought to be natural, it looks as if another hole was in the process of being formed and it was likely that a softer material once occupied the holes. The spiral on the left is very clear but the one on the right side is partially obscured by a fault in the rock. Below is a triple outlined lozenge as described by Powell. The central part of this motif has flaked off. On closer examination, there is an arc of small pick marks on the right, suggesting the proposed course of the spiral on that part of the stone (see Figure 15). The spirals are very faint on Powell’s photograph and are even fainter today.

The central lozenge forming the nose has been slightly damaged by erosion due to the formation of more holes in the stone. This image is one of Piggott’s type b face motifs with the two spirals representing eyes and the lozenge a nose. Of particular significance, is the difference in size between the two spirals with the one on the left being considerably smaller; this feature can be seen not only in megalithic tomb art but also on decorated open air rock surfaces, where the cup and ring mark on the left is considerably smaller than its neighbour; pointing to a difference, symbolic or otherwise between left and right, or the Jungian conscious and unconscious. The tendency to emphasise the right side against the left would in Jung’s view indicate leaning towards the rational aspect of the psyche whereas the left would indicate an unconscious tendency.
Stones 5 is included by Powell as having possible anthropomorphic carvings. The other proposed anthropomorphic carving at this site is on stone 22 from the former passage with the double outlined zigzags running vertically down either side of the stone, supposedly standing for a male torso, similar to the design found on two stones in the passage at Seefin, Dublin. A reassessment of the art at Barclodiad y Gawres
(Lynch, 1967) drew attention to the two ‘anthropomorphic stones’ at the entrance to the chamber. Herity described these stones as anthropomorphic stelae, which strike the viewer looking backwards towards the entrance. Like Powell, Herity suggested that stone 22 is a stylized torso with two double ‘vertical serpents’ either side of the two double lozenges (Herity 1974:95). He believed motifs portrayed by the passage tomb artists were originally magical symbols significant in some way to the people of that era and that they were combined into artistic designs (ibid:103). From an alternative perspective, zigzags are a sign of threat danger when used on signage and this could have acted as a warning to anyone entering the tomb.

A re-examination of the stones at Barclodiad Y Gawres was carried out used tracing paper to record the designs (Lynch 1967). No additions were made to the motifs already recorded by Powell and Daniel but a stone was found that had been worked with rib like grooving in a similar manner to stones R21 and as I noted to R12 at the Irish tomb of Newgrange. Local folklore pertaining to stone R21 tells of a giant who tried to squeeze into the tomb, the carvings representing his ribs. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the tomb of Barclodiad y Gawres is named after a giantess, who was reputed to have thrown rocks down the hill to create the cairn. Such legends of giants are common in Welsh and Irish folklore.

_Bryn Celli Ddu_

Although anthropomorphic art appears to be completely absent at this site, I think it is possible that there was once more decoration on the spiral carving on the south wall of the chamber. On close examination of an enhanced digital image of the spiral by the author, there appears to be an arm heading towards the right, suggesting the former existence of another spiral joining on to it, forming a double spiral. In addition, there is evidence for the rock having flaked off in this area, meaning that the possible missing spiral on the right could either have been damaged naturally or even have been deliberately defaced. This slighting of the spiral motif has been noted at other sites from both megalithic tombs and rock surfaces, suggesting as Jung would say that the symbol had lost its power to inspire, being no longer regarded as a numinous symbol. Lower down underneath the existing spiral and slightly to the
centre is another branch, possibly leading to a lower spiral or other motif but again because of the nature of the rock, and erosion it is difficult to be sure. If this is true then the image could be another anthropomorph, however, this is highly speculative.

At the time Breuil and Piggott were analyzing the megalithic art neither Fourknocks nor Barclodiad y Gawres had been investigated which makes it all the more remarkable that they should home in on these types of anthropomorphic images. Indeed, it is apparent that Breuil’s work has been the subject of much unwarranted criticism; the fact that motifs from his repertoire of face images have been discovered at later excavations lends support to his theory; that they held some deep significance for the people concerned. It has been suggested, that they are magical images as the same combinations of motifs are found across different sites; the spirals and lozenges are frequently combined to form a face (Herity & Eogan 1989:76).

3.4 Conclusions

There are examples of this type of guardian entity from other cultures. In the journey of the dead, the deceased live in a cave. The newly dead person has to undertake a perilous journey involving the crossing of water and passage through the house of the dead which is guarded by a female guardian ghost who refuses entry unless propitiated by the offering of a tusked pig in a special mortuary ritual (Layard 1936:124). Legends tell of a guardian ghost sitting in front of a cave on a stone, inseparable from the stone, highly suggestive of images found in the British megalithic passage tombs, the passage possibly being the place where such transitional rites were practised, or presumed to be enacted by the dead and the ancestors. In the journey of the dead, the deceased person has to undertake a perilous journey which involves the crossing of water and passage through the house of the dead guarded by a female guardian ghost, who refuses entry unless propitiated by the offering of a tusked pig in a special mortuary ritual. Legend also tells of a guardian ghost seated in front of a cave inseparable from the stone (Layard 1936:124-8). The legend of a white man responsible for building megalithic type tombs and erecting standing stones and the parallels between these monuments and those of the British Neolithic/ Bronze Age are spookily familiar. If we dismiss legend of a white man arriving in Melanesia and establishing these customs, then it could be evidence in
favour of Jung and the manifestation of images and ideas, being indicative of the similarity of the psyche in past times and across cultures.

Such histories of the final journey of the dead may well have existed back in the Neolithic period based on dreams or visions and passed on through the generations and could like the Melanesian ones have been represented by carvings. They could also have inspired certain rituals, or ways of performing ceremonies that gradually became part of accepted tradition, as people did not question their origin. Obviously, the cosmology surrounding these rites would not have been real in an objective sense but they would have made sense to the individuals concerned in the way that modern religious ritual does to its adherents. The guardian ghost in Malekula is represented by dots or small circles which stand in for eyes, nostrils and breasts. Some of the motifs stand for a person. Conch shells in Malekula and the Stone of Ambat both represent the body of the guardian ghost (Layard 1937:131), thus it is highly likely that similar abstract designs from the Megalithic art are indications of complex ritual beliefs rather than being purely aesthetic, stylistic or random doodles having no meaning.

The sensation of a guardian or guarding presence is a recurrent one among investigators of the tombs. With regard to Jung’s concept of a collective unconscious it appear that certain people in the present are affected by the numinosity of these images as were some in the past. It being my belief that some people are more open than others to this kind of influence.

Some motifs have been interpreted as a stylized or degenerative version of human figures both male and female. Herity also makes this distinction between the sexes assigning the angular motifs to male figures and the curvilinear to representations of female figures or goddesses. According to Raftery the face symbol is the most common. He suggests it may represent the dead in the tomb, a guardian of the tomb or gods from the otherworld. He questions the unity of these interpretations and thinks regional differences may indicate different cults with their own deities. I think there could have been a unifying factor, deity as well as separate gods as is common across cosmologies. The collective nature of the motifs may also be a factor, there may be an unconscious factor in the apparent unity of the motifs, relating to Jung’s
concept of the collective unconscious and the similarities between cosmologies. That can be understood as the outward symbols, or manifestations of the god archetype.

On examination of the stones from photographs, drawings and tracings, it was found that those which stood up to close scrutiny as being the representation of a face were the double spirals combined with a spiral below, central or slightly to one side forming the eyes and nose, or alternatively, double or conjoined spirals combined with a double-outlined lozenge as on L19 Newgrange, Fig. 4 and Kerbstone 57 from the same site Fig 6. Another version is the double spiral with a central spiral superimposed giving the impression of movement seen at Sess Kilgreen Fig 11 and Loughcrewe cairn U. Piggott’s scalloped version is rarer; the most important example being the famous roof stones from the north chamber at Newgrange. The eyes and eyebrow motifs are less convincing and more indistinct often forming part of a series of arcs and dots. Other than the chambered tombs, particularly at Holm of Papa Westray, Orkney, they can be seen on pots and the chalk drums from Folkton discovered in conjunction with a child burial (Longworth, 1999:83).

It is intriguing that Breuil found these motifs where other people could not see them, whereas Twohig and Claire O’Kelly denied their existence. Researchers like Breuil, Herity and Raftery went to the other extreme by finding examples of the anthropomorph in the most unlikely motifs, interpreting parallel zigzags and serpentiforms as versions of a male torso as seen on stone 22 at Barclediad y Gawres, Anglesey and Fourknocks. Piggott’s repertoire of face motifs is more convincing and both Powell and Forde-Johnstone refer back to him in their analysis of the art at Barclediad and The Calderstones, Liverpool.

More subjective are the impressions described by Powell and Eogan on encountering the images at Barclediad and Knowth both sensing a guarding presence, in common with Hartnett and his workmen at Fourknocks. All of these experiences were in response to carvings situated at or close to the entrance to the main chamber of the tomb lending weight to the theory that the siting of these images was far from accidental.
Are there any clues in the mythology as to what these motifs could have represented? Crawford quotes from Macalister who recorded legends of heroes with multiple eyes down to a god called Baithin in Christian times but he dismisses these legends as they all relate to male gods, he is adamant in his idea of a goddess, based on the legends surrounding Loughcrew, the hill of the hag (McMann 1991). Eogan’s interpretation of such sites is of places of pilgrimage and homes of the gods, connected with legends of the Tuatha de Daanann.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Spiral: An interpretation of this motif based on a Jungian psychological approach, with regard to its potential use as a deeply meaningful and significant symbol being understood as the outward manifestation of an archetype associated with death rebirth and the afterlife and as a means of providing a deeper understanding of its function in the context of the British Neolithic.

In the following chapter, it is my intention to outline the known history of this symbol in the archaeological literature, assessing how it has been interpreted by antiquarians and more recently by archaeologists, in order to uncover some of the possible meanings. I shall be looking at incidences of the spiral from the disciplines of art, psychology, religion and ethnology, evaluating the ways in which a Jungian interpretation can contribute to the continuing debate on the significance of this symbol and the role it could have played in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age society. The presence of the spiral in Britain during the Neolithic period is generally confined to the art from the chambered tombs; other examples have been noted on isolated standing stones, cist covers, rock surfaces and Grooved Ware pottery from roughly the same era.

4.1 Historical background

From an early twentieth century perspective, the spiral motif was assumed to have originated in the Middle East, from whence it migrated via Europe to Britain, ending up in Ireland where it was believed to form the basis of megalithic art and a proposed belief system based on a mother goddess (Crawford 1959). The idea of the dissemination of a Neolithic religion to Britain from the East (V Gordon Childe 1892-1957) has since been dismissed by archaeologists and the supporting chronology consequently disproven by radio carbon dating. In fact, modern dating methods have proved that the Irish examples are earlier in date than the Middle Eastern ones.

Layard an anthropologist, who was later to undergo analysis with Jung consequently developing an interest in myths and dream symbolism disseminated his ideas in a book entitled ‘The Hare and the Moon’ a study concerned with the recurrence of similar cosmological themes cross-culturally. His earlier work in Polynesia already
had much in common with Jungian symbolism. Both the maze and the labyrinth were interpreted by Layard, as forms of the spiral because their winding towards the centre in common with Jung who regarded the spiral and maze as a form of mandela.

From a Jungian perspective, I will be arguing that some examples of the spiral could be a case of individual invention, rather than the result of migration although obviously the two processes are both valid alternatives. From the perspective of individual invention, I shall be employing an approach based on Jung’s archetypal theory in which the production of symbols is understood as being an integral part of the apparatus of the human psyche, something that can manifest anywhere, in any era, not necessarily having to be imported from elsewhere. I emphasise, it is the capacity to produce this symbol, not the image itself that is inborn; an important distinction that many critics of Jung failed to fully understand. I would further argue that in certain cases, the spiral is a spontaneous, numinous symbol, connected with such matters as death, rebirth and the afterlife, perhaps being part of a transformational process to help ease the transition between life and death, forming a part of the rituals associated with this traumatic event. In an attempt to understand more fully its function in the above situations, I am going to examine different aspects of this motif; where it is situated, the relationship to other recurrent motifs and the type of monuments and materials with which it is associated. In conclusion and in light of these findings what cosmological concepts it may have represented. With this in mind, I am going to present a series of case studies of sites where the spiral is a significant feature.

From England, the only surviving examples of the spiral in passage tomb art come from the now dismantled megalithic chambered tomb known as the Calderstones, originally situated at the entrance to Calderstones Park, West Allerton, Liverpool, subsequently being transferred to the cellars of Liverpool Museum and at present in a glasshouse back in Calderstones Park. From Wales, there are two sites, Bryn Celli Ddu and Barclodiad y Gawres, both on Anglesey. In Scotland, there are two ruined passage tombs with spiral carvings, Eday Manse and Pierowall, both in Orkney. The spiral is rarer on decorated menhirs and comprises a stone from the Kilmartin Valley, Argyll and Long Meg and Little Meg stone arrangements Cumbria. Some less well authenticated examples, are to be found on Anglesey. The Cunogusi Stone, Llanfaeolog is an inscribed Roman stone believed to be a former incised prehistoric
stone with a spiral carved near the top (Longley pers. com). There are also two faint spiral markings on a stone found together with later eight century carved tombstones at the church of Llangaffo and another stone with the remains of a faint spiral incorporated into the church architecture at Llangeinwen. On a recent visit to this site I found the buttress in question but could no longer detect the spiral carving. The truncated spirals carved on two rotary querns from Tre Anna, Llangeinwen also in roughly the same area, suggest that the stones in question may be a case of recycling from an earlier monument (RCAMW 1937).

Comparative examples of art from the Irish megalithic corpus will form the basis of this discussion. As these sites will be the focus of chapter five on the mandela I am not going into much detail here. Overall, it appears that the spiral is more often associated with funerary sites in respect of both the stone carvings and designs on pottery, which ought to provide some clues to its significance.

4.2. Jung on the spiral

Jung includes the spiral among his formal elements of mandela symbolism, although in this chapter I am treating it as a separate entity the reason being that it figures so prominently in the corpus of British tomb art and on other media. This motif also occurred frequently in the art produced by patients of Jung during the course of therapy and I shall be examining some examples, to see if they can elucidate some of the possible motivations behind the production of the megalithic art.

As regards Jung’s understanding of the spiral, a discussion of this symbol and its significance can be found in a paper by Aniela Jaffe, in Jung’s work, ‘Man and His Symbols’ written in order to make his ideas more understandable to the general public (Jung 1979:107).

One case study concerns the spiral in a cosmological context. A female patient brought up in the Protestant religion presented with a picture she had painted, displaying a ‘mandela’ in the form of a spiral against a background of deep blue sky. She had been inspired to create this painting as the result of a dream, in which she was instructed to paint the godhead. In the dream, the image was an illustration in a book, the figure of God being only suggested by the image of a cloak and the light and shadow reflected on it, in contrast to the stability of the spiral depicted against a deep
blue sky. The woman awoke in shock as this image went against all she had learnt from her Protestant faith, in a way it seemed anti-Christian even Pagan in nature. Jung interpreted this dream as being a spontaneous manifestation from the unconscious, an instance of the spiritual taking on a new form (Von Franz 1979:227). Few people nowadays would regard the spiral as a religious symbol in the way that we view the Christian cross, however, this does not exclude its manifestation as such in the past, perhaps by a dream or vision, which became an accepted cosmological concept. This outward manifestation would have been associated with an archetype activated by an actual event associated with a person however, as regarding the Neolithic period that kind of information is beyond our ability to retrieve.

In Jung’s view, symbols can relate to significant transitions such as that from childhood to adolescence, to maturity and from maturity to old age and preparation for death. Resulting from a long-term study of his patients’ dreams and fantasies, Jung demonstrated the link between archaic myths and the symbolic ideas that take place within the psyche of modern individuals (Henderson 1979:109).

4.3. Historical perspectives

Research into the origins and significance of the spiral, (Kinnes1995), attempts to demonstrate its chronological and spatial relationships, by means of isolating specific traits. Kinnes’ paper discusses the motif as found on Grooved Ware ceramics. In Orkney Grooved Ware pottery is associated with chambered cairns; it was also found in association with a henge, where it had been deposited in isolated pits. Kinnes’ findings seemed to show that the spirals from the passage tombs in England, Wales and Ireland have no discernible connection with the motifs on Grooved Ware pottery. In fact, there is little evidence for this type of pottery at the two decorated chambered tombs, Bryn Celli Ddu, (Hemp 1936) and Barclodiad Y Gawres, Anglesey, (Powell & Daniels 1959). Small fragments of pottery of doubtful origin were excavated at Lligwy, (Lynch 2005) and at Capel Eithin and Trefignath, (Smith & Lynch 2005). Neither does there appear to be any Grooved Ware associated with the remains of the decorated tomb at Calderstones Park, Liverpool. Nevertheless, such links may be more subtle and less easy to access from the archaeological record, given the time period covered by radio carbon dates. Kinnes does suggest migratory influences but points out that the spiral motif is international, the connections between the different
regions having not been adequately explained. He concludes that the spiral motif is central to material art and pottery. “It is held to be archetypal and is certainly within the often complex Boyne designs, easy of identification and isolation.” (Kinnes 1995:49), an interesting claim that appears to echo Jung’s thinking, although how far his idea of an archetype accords with that of Jung is not made clear. People tend to use the word ‘archetype’ to indicate a generic theme, not making fully explicit its link with the unconscious and the inherited structure of the psyche or that its manifestations are not necessarily the result of diffusion.

As regards origins, the standard British Museum text from 1904 traces the spiral motif displayed on the twelfth dynasty, Egyptian scarabs, was alleged to have migrated via the Aegean on to the amber route by land to Scandinavia or by sea to the Mediterranean and Atlantic to Britain. It was Coffey’s belief that it came from Mycenae to Ireland via Scandinavia, while Crawford believed it provided evidence for a religion based on a mother goddess cult originating in the East. Later the archaeologist Stuart Piggott put forward the theory that the Irish spiral art originated in Iberia. All the above archaeologists believed the spiral to have originated from elsewhere and to have by some means spread to Britain, however recent evidence points to a local origin. Research based on radio carbon dating has demonstrated that the spiral art from Mycenae, supposedly pre-dating that from Ireland is of a later date than the Irish art. Conversely, the spiral art from the Maltese temples is roughly contemporary with the Irish examples (O’Kelly 1982:15).

An example of the Maltese art is provided by the four spirals on a Neolithic relief, carved on a stone from a temple at Tarxien, see Fig 16). It is thought to represent plant growth resembling as it does the pattern taken by the growing vine, (Jung 1991(b):fig. 4). The carving has a circle in the centre a common feature of the mandela and is an example of the tendency for spirals to be depicted in a group of four representing the quaternity a theme Jung associated with wholeness. The quaternity device is common around the same era as the Maltese relief. If we take a Jungian stance this does not mean that the British spirals have any connection with those from Malta but that they emerged spontaneously from the psychic matrix, that is they were a case of individual invention although there may well be similar symbolic connotations, ideas behind their creation.
Figure 16 Tarxien spirals

Alternative explanations for the occurrence of the spiral in diverse situations, includes the theory of entoptic phenomena put forward by Lewis-Williams and Dowson; a theory based on previous research conducted by Eichmeyer and Hofer (1974), into entoptic images produced by the brain. They argue the case for megalithic art motifs as luminous, geometric entoptic phenomena (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1993:5). More recently, Bradley and Patton have applied the entoptic model to Megalithic art in Britain and Brittany.

Bradley questions the wisdom of breaking down the megalithic art into its component motifs. Neither is subjecting it to a formal analysis, seeing it as a set of grammars (Hodder 1986) the way forward as it is my belief that is more than a formal language or an arbitrary system of signs. Jung’s approach is more fluid, less rigid. An important point is that the production of these patterns is not necessarily a conscious process, nor do they always have an identical meaning; they can be a means of coping, for example a reaction to a death, some sort of shock to the system. To extract and isolate patterns apart from their environment and to treat them as a form of language may be missing vital information.
Lewis-Williams and Dowsons’ main argument is that mental imagery is intrinsic to the human nervous system and not a pathological aberration. They concur with Jung by offering proof that this type of image can be produced by a person without any need for outside intervention. They outline three neurological stages ranging from simple to complex. The first stage the geometric is the one they use to explain the megalithic motifs. Counter to this assertion, Bradley argues that when motifs are very simple it is impossible to make a case for an entoptic origin, particularly with regard to simple cup marks. More controversially, Lewis-Williams and Dowson argue the case for some form of institutionalised altered state of consciousness in the Neolithic period, combined with the use of mood-altering substances and techniques such as hyperventilation, sensory deprivation and meditation (Lewis-Williams 1993:56).

Other evidence they provide, results from ethnographic studies, where the motifs produced during trance states consist of multiple patterns similar to entoptic stage one. These motifs can be observed in the rock art of Tukano (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1969, 1978) and in the formalised repetitive patterns of the Shamanistic rock art of South Africa. Neolithic examples offered are the highly decorated entrance stone at Newgrange and the art from Gavrinis off the coast of Brittany. I would argue against such highly skilled work being achievable under the influence of mind-altering substances as I believe it would be likely to result in inferior workmanship and are trance states necessary for the production of this kind of art. That is not to deny the likely hallucinatory effect of the art itself on the observer.

A further stage in the production of entoptic art is where the individual motifs are combined together to form more complex geometric hallucinations as seen in the image at Pedra Coberta where red zigzags are outlined by geometric shapes. This corresponds to Jung’s mandela theory where images spontaneously produced in art and dreams are enclosed by a circle and contain central figures or motifs. My stance is not to dismiss the production of such images but to question the means of production. The production of mandelas will be more fully discussed in the ensuing chapter but what is interesting about Lewis-Williams and Dowson’s work is the spontaneous nature of image production which seems to support Jung’s theory. However, from a Jungian perspective the idea of some kind of altered state is not necessarily attributable to the use of mood-altering substances but rather to the natural
powers of the psyche acting to produce these images usually at critical times in a person’s life

Figure 17 Map showing the Irish Sea megalithic tombs with spiral carvings.

4.4 Case Studies

The Chambered Cairn of Bryn Celli Ddu, Llandaniel Fab, Anglesey

First excavated by Hemp in 1930, this monument was described as a large circular single-chambered cairn originally about 160 feet in diameter likely to have been 15 feet high, situated at the end of a low ridge 100 feet above sea level. Formerly known as Llwyn Llwyd and Caer Celli, it is the site of two carneddau or cromlechs much overgrown Fenton (1917:260). Reverend Henry Rowlands visited the site in 1723 (Rowlands 1993: 93) recording it as adjacent to a smaller tomb, destroyed by its stones being removed for wall building. He noted two standing columns, by which I presume he meant standing stones, situated between the two cairns. Today only one stone remains to the north west.

An account by Henry Penruddock Wyndham in November 1777 describes the accidental discovery at the hamlet of Brynkelly of a subterranean gallery 18 feet long
3 feet wide and 6 feet high leading to a chamber covered by a single large stone 12 feet long and 9 feet wide. A small round pillar stone seemed to offer some support for this but later accounts of the pillar stone almost certainly prove that it was always free standing and not part of the roof support. Wyndham noted human bones strewn over the floor of the chamber that turned into dust on contact. A conflicting account in Neil Baynes’ paper on the megalithic remains of Anglesey (Transactions of the Society of Cymmrodorian 1910-11) mentions the existence of a stone bench situated along the walls of the chamber on which human bones were displayed. These crumbled at the touch and were obviously very old, so we can assume the former existence of ancient bones and an upright pillar in the chamber.

When the monument was complete it would have consisted of a mound of stones and soil over a polygonal chamber 8 feet 18 feet in diameter roofed by two cover stones and with a passage 26 feet in length with only the inner 20 feet roofed over by four stones. The chamber was within but not central to a circular area surrounded by four concentric circles of stones, three of which were underneath the cairn.
This stone is approximately 8 feet 3 inches long with only 5 feet 6 inches above floor level. It was discovered lying in a semi-prostrate position, leaning against stone six (Hemp 1931). Previously overturned in a search for buried treasure, the only find being an oyster shell buried underneath the stone, possibly an offering of some kind (Molyneux ref). In Skinner’s sketch of 1882, it is shown lying on ground. Subsequent doubts have been cast on whether it had ever been upright. Thomas Pennant in his Tour of Anglesey mentions the discovery of a carnedd similar to the one at Tregarnedd (now demolished), within which was a passage and chamber, in the
middle of which was an ‘artless pillar’ of stone which he assumed to be a roof support (Pennant 1861:91). In a later drawing by Captain Lukis, the pillar is shown uprooted from its hole leaning at an angle towards the centre of the chamber. Lukis remarked on its resemblance to the pillars used in Hindu religious ceremonies, (Lukis 1861:91). Due to the existence of the original packing stones and stone hole, however, it was possible to re-erect it in its original position. The surface of the stone has been smoothed and rounded and is slightly flattened on the northeast and northwest sides. On one side are some very small curvilinear markings likely to have been of interest to the tomb builders.

There appear to be some minute spiral markings towards the centre of the stone, however these appear to be natural but may still have influenced the choice of the stone. I am unsure if the notches on the left side are ancient or if they have been carved in recent times by the new age people who frequent the site, leaving offerings of flowers and other objects like the rather gruesome sheep’s skull I once found outside the entrance. If they are original, it is possible that they are indications of solar alignments together with the spiral on the left hand wall of the chamber. There appears to be some wavy lines on the pillar whether the result of engraving or the nature of the rock it is difficult to tell.

Another feature of possible ritual significance, is the recess between stones 12 and 14 the latter having a narrow face towards the passage leaving two recesses either side, in which smaller stones are placed on end partially embedded in the clay floor and projecting a few inches out from the other stones opposite a slight recess in the clay wall. This is a possible example of a baetyl as found at the site of Carrowkeel in Ireland and La Hogue Bie on Jersey and at Barclodiad. The purpose of these stones is uncertain but it is considered likely that they had a phallic significance. Five postholes were discovered, 6 inches in diameter, two of which contained carbonised remains of pine thought to be supports for a wattle screen. The five postholes formed an arc southernmost on main axis of the monument.

Beyond the postholes was a shallow pit, slightly sunk into the clay floor in which lay the skeleton of an ox whole except for horns and the top of the skull possibly destroyed when the ground was cultivated (Hemp 1931 ). Alternatively, it could have been a deliberate act, the horns having some symbolic significance as similar ritual
deposits have been discovered at sites in Ireland. It is interesting that a similar ‘enclosure’ for the remains of an ox was discovered at Stonehenge and it is my belief that these animals were a ritual deposit having some cosmological significance and an important part of the construction process. The ox at Bryn Celli Ddu was crammed into the pit with its head twisted round to face the entrance to the tomb and the passage of the sun at the summer solstice, augmenting the spiral theme of the carved stones and the underlying stone arrangements.

The Pattern Stone

During the excavation, a large schist slab was exposed almost directly in the centre of the monument. When lifted, it revealed a pit in the natural gravel the base of which had been hardened or scorched by fire containing fragments of charcoal one piece identified as hazel. In the centre of the pit one burnt bone and human right ear bone comprising the hammer and anvil bones from the middle ear. Ear bones are conspicuous among the finds from Anglesey barrows, particularly at Bedd Branwen and Treiorworth (Lynch 1991:96). Was the cochlea not present, discarded or had it been destroyed in the cremation. If it had been present then owing to its shape it would be further evidence of the significance of the spiral, echoed elsewhere in the carving and layout of the tomb (Fig.19). As can be seen from the diagram, the cochlea, the inner ear bone has a shape similar to a small seashell. Accompanying the ear bone in the clay infill of the pit were stones, two large pieces of red jasper and a lump of purple clay in the shape of an inverted cone on top of which was a shallow hollow 6 inches in diameter covered by the central stone. The cochlea is a spiral shaped, hollow conical bone in which sound waves travel from the middle ear to the apex. This portion of the inner ear resembling a snail shell receives sound in the form of vibrations and is associated with the functions of hearing and balance. This delicate bone may have accompanied the more robust hammer and anvil bones but would not have survived the cremation. It could have been significant due to its spiral shape, echoing the spiral themes of material found elsewhere at the site.
Figure 19  Cochlea

Figure 20 Replica Pattern stone, Bryn Celli Ddu, photograph by the author
This stone found lying beside the schist cover stone was considered to be a free-standing menhir, decorated with a meandering pattern of double-outlined wavy lines, a curvilinear design accompanied by spirals. The decoration runs over the top and is continued on the back of the stone, suggesting that it was intended to be seen and likely to have been in an upright position being a free-standing menhir comparable to those from Brittany (Lynch 1991:96). The original Pattern Stone (Hemp 1931) was removed to the Museum of Wales Cardiff, sadly, the decoration is now too faint to fully appreciate the ornamentation. The accompanying decoration consists of double outlined serpentiforms or curvilinear carvings running down the sides and centre of the stone and carried round to the back. The position of the spiral near the apex of the stone echoes that found at other sites, in particular at Barclodiad on stone 22 although in that case the accompanying decoration is angular rather than curvilinear. Hemp’s opinion was that the carvings suggested some form of magic. This was the impression that Powell had on observing the carving on stone 22 to as having some kind of magical effect standing guard at the entrance to Barclodiad y Gawres.

While, I agree with Lynch, that this stone was intended for viewing, I believe that because of its spiral decoration, it was originally an integral part of the tomb, and likely to have been situated somewhere in the passage possibly at the entrance or near the entry to the chamber. This would fit with the position of similarly decorated orthostats from Newgrange and stone 22 from Barclodiad y Gawres. If this was the case then there is a strong possibility that the spiral on this stone could have been illuminated by the sun at the midsummer solstice, as is the spiral decoration on the south wall of the chamber; reinforcing the importance of the spiral as a symbol associated with light and renewal in line with the role played by archetypal symbols in Jungian psychology.
Figure 21 The ‘Cattlefield Stone from Bryn Celli Wen, photograph by the author
A fascinating parallel to the pattern stone from Bryn Celli Ddu down the field is a stone originally embedded in a high grassy mound roughly parallel to the old farmhouse of Bryn Celli Wen. This stone was discovered by the author a couple of years ago. The pattern running vertically down the stone consists of two lines of double outlined curvilinear decoration proven by experts to be a natural geological feature however its similarity to the decoration on the pattern stone throws up some interesting questions. Was the decoration on the pattern stone inspired by this random design of nature perhaps as Roland Flook from the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust suggests There are examples of this type of pattern on stones from sites in Ireland and might some of these also be natural but still of significance to the people who incorporated them into their monuments.

*The Spiral Carving*

Additional support for the cosmological significance of the spiral motif at Bryn Celli Ddu is the survival of a spiral carved on the south wall of the chamber. This motif has been compared with the single spiral found in the chamber at the Irish tomb of Baltinglass (Twohig 1981: fig 251) and cairn F at the Carrowkeel megalithic cemetery (Herity & Eogan 1989:69, Macalister et al 1912).

Lynch dismisses the Bryn Celli Ddu spiral as being a single one and a poor example of the art, however, it is my belief that it once formed part of at least a double spiral as the area of rock to the right of the existing spiral has been broken off or flaked off. On closer scrutiny a branch of the spiral appears to head towards it. The lower portion of the spiral has an arm that appears to be descending this could mean it was once part of a triple oculus design as suggested in the preceding chapter but because the stone is so worn, it is impossible to be sure.

*The Circles of Stone*

An interesting observation by Hemp, one surprisingly not taken up by subsequent researchers is the morphology of the stone arrangements encircling and underlying the tomb. On clearing the outer passage, the area immediately between the uprights on either side was found to lead to a platform. A small dry stone wall was found on this platform beyond stone 18 where it turned in a south-easterly direction. Only two or three courses of walling remained, the lowest on a level with the passage wall was a
corresponding wall on the other side. The outer passage ended in a break in the wall of upright stones, which were thought to have surrounded the monument and were slightly set in at the entrance to the passage, comparable to the horns of a long barrow, (Hemp 1931:238).

A further study by Hemp revealed, that to a spectator standing outside the outer passage of the cairn, there would appear to be a perfectly symmetrical arrangement of four converging walls all terminating at the portal by the upright stones, (Hemp 1931: fig. 7). Of the four sets of stones, only stone 18 has one side disengaged as it terminates the inner circle on the south side. If this circle is carried around clockwise, it reaches stone 19 linked to upright no 15, which in turn forms part of the main wall of the inner passage which then continues to the north wall of the passage, which runs on without a break curving round to form the chamber and returning as the south wall of the passage to complete the circuit of the monument at stone 16, this stone is linked to stone 20 in the outer circle; thus the line of walling runs without a break twice round the monument continuing by the clay-set wall to a point on the face of stone 9, just short of the chamber (Hemp 1931:239). A further enhancement to the spiral theme is the impression received by Hemp, that the two circles form a gigantic spiral with a loop comprising the passage and chamber. Recent information on Silbury Hill, suggests that the construction of the mound also took a spiral form.

Layard was an anthropologist who was later to undergo analysis with Jung, subsequently developing an interest in myths and dream symbolism. His earlier work in Polynesia already had much in common with Jungian symbolism. The maze and the labyrinth were interpreted by him as forms of the spiral because their winding towards the centre is an attribute they both share, as did Jung who regarded the spiral as a type of mandela. Such spiral structures or labyrinths exist in other contexts. A labyrinth noted by Richards was constructed of small stones was found near to the ruined city of Kundani, in the shape of a spiral (Layard 1936:176).
Figure 22 The Bryn Celli Ddu Spiral photograph by the author
The Chambered Tomb of Barclodiad Y Gawres, Rhosneigr, Anglesey.

Described in antiquarian sources as a tumulus on a projecting piece of land above a traditional place known as Barclodiad Y Gawres, which translates as the apronful of the giantess (Longueville-Jones 1855:22). A later account describes it as a large chambered tumulus mostly destroyed situated on a high piece of ground known as Pen y Cnwc (Pritchard 1869:403).

The cairn was later excavated (Powell & Daniel, 1956). Powell divided the decorated stones into two distinct groups, comprising stones 5, 6 and 22 situated in the former passage at the entrance to the chamber and stones 8 and 19 functioning as the end stones to the east and west side chambers respectively. He noted differences in the type of carvings on the two groups of stones, the end stones being devoted to spiral decoration, whilst the other three are decorated with lozenges, chevrons and zigzags although they too have a spiral motif, (Powell 1956:27). These are the only decorated stones identified by Powell, although he did not deny the possibility of more but owing to the problems posed by age and weathering the ornament was difficult to distinguish.
This a large stone, the upper part of which is extensively weathered due to having being exposed to the elements, some of the stones had been removed to a quarry. The spiral decoration consists of two conjoined spirals, both coiling in a clockwise direction joined in two outer rings at the top, accompanied by a triple-outlined lozenge, (Lynch 1967:5). This carving can be seen more clearly on the photograph taken during the excavation of the site, (Powell & Daniel 1956:fig ).
It now stands at what would have been the entrance from the passage to the main chamber on the left hand side, an important situation for a carved stone. The holes in the centre of the stone are likely to be natural (Powell & Daniel 1956) From the photograph taken by the author, using a disposable flash camera, the inside of the holes appears to be shiny compared with the rest of the stone as if some kind of inclusion has gradually worn away. The holes are quite deep and as it is very dark in the chamber, they appear to the naked eye as deep dark holes not easy to see inside so this is an interesting feature and one that could explain the choice of this particular stone by the artist. The association of the spiral motif with light enhanced by the inclusion of quartz may have been part of its significance, perhaps as part of a solar ritual, notably in the roof box at Loughcrew. It is apparent that the decoration is carved with regard to the hollows as it is to the right of centre rather than occupying a more prominent central position. On close observation of an enlarged digital photograph, a small circle of tiny pick marks can be observed that look as if the craftsman was intending to make another motif above this one but gave up on the attempt.

Stone 8

This is the back stone of the eastern side chamber corresponding to stone 19 in the western one. The spiral design consists of four tightly coiled spirals, their size decreasing towards the right. The smallest spiral has five coils, the other three have six. The two outer spirals coil in a clockwise direction, whereas the inner two are anti-clockwise. On the upper surface is a small loosely coiled spiral, the remains of another and some straight lines that may have been a group of chevrons (Lynch 1967:7).

The spiral motifs appear to be the most significant here, their positions on the stone and the shape of the stone and its horizontal position are comparable to the highly decorated kerbstone K1 from Newgrange, in fact, it seems to be a poor relation of that skilfully carved stone, suggestive of a strong link between North Wales and Northern Ireland. From a Jungian perspective, the group of four spirals represents the quaternity, a symbol of wholeness and completion. The two clockwise spirals situated on the outer sides and the anticlockwise ones inside make a balanced design, it is interesting that the right winding spirals are on the outside denoting the conscious in
Jungian psychology and the left winding unconscious protected within. It appears likely, that like its sister stone K1 from Newgrange, this stone would have been illuminated by the sun at some significant time of year but because the passage has not been reconstructed, there is no evidence for this. Could the decreasing size of the spirals be a metaphor for the fading of light and of life itself, as they grow smaller towards the right, a lessening of the conscious aspect as death approaches. The inner spirals winding anticlockwise leaning towards the unconscious protected on the outer sides by the clockwise ones. In other societies spiral drawings represent the journey from life to death and the possibility of the return. The Australian aborigines produce ceremonial ground drawings with concentric circles and spirals to recreate the journey of the ancestors’ spirits into the physical world (Hadingham 1976:144) The spirals represent the return to the world of the living.

Stone 19

The back stone in the west chamber has only a single faint spiral. There may have been more decoration on this stone but today it is very green and owing to the lack of light in the chamber, no other carvings are apparent. In common with stone 8 this stone could have played a role in the solar event as the light from the sun circulated round the chamber.

Stone 22

This stone stands at the entrance to the chamber at the end of the former passage. It is a tall stone occupying a prominent position on the right hand side of the entrance, in common with other such stones displaying significant decoration. The main ornament consists of rows of parallel zigzags running vertically down the outer sides of the façade that faces inwards towards the junction between the former passage and chamber. There is a small spiral on the top right in a comparable position to that on the pattern stone from Bryn Celli Ddu where it is accompanied by curvilinear rows of carvings down and extending over the sides and back of the stone. The spiral motif was brought into prominence by Powell using a latex mould (Powell 1956:27). Unfortunately, the ornamentation on this stone, like that on the pattern stone now in Cardiff Museum is not as clear as it was when the tomb was excavated by Hemp in 1931.
Lynch agrees that the spiral is one of the most important symbols from the Neolithic period, linking it with the Irish passage tomb art, likely to be closely associated with the art at Four Knocks in Ireland, (Lynch 1967). The spiral motif has definite links with Ireland, where it may have originated, the most famous examples being the entrance stone and the triskele spiral at Newgrange. Burl suggests that the clockwise spirals represent the journey taken by the dead to the otherworld in pairs of threes and that the reverse spiral leading outwards symbolised the return possibly being a symbol of rebirth (Burl 1981:86). Other cosmological ideas are expressed by art that is abstract in form, as that from Malakula (Layard 1936). In the Seniang district, a version of the journey of the dead takes the form of a continuous line called the path along which the ghosts of the dead proceed. At a certain point is a rock in the sea where a female guardian ghost sits. On the ground in front of her is a geometrical design called nahal or the path, that is the path the dead person must follow which lies between two halves of the design, one half of which is deliberately erased by the ghost. Part of the journey involves a crossing of water. The designs are comparable to mandela devices, as designated by Jung in that they involve a journey a kind of psychic progression being that of the way from an earthly life to another plane of existence. Although these designs appear to be simply geometric, they actually represent quite complex cosmological ideas and this is a possibility for similar designs from the megalithic tombs in that they could represent something more than decoration.

*The Cunogusi Stone*

Another possible example of spiral art on Anglesey may exist on this stone, believed by some to be a prehistoric menhir. The stone was later embellished by an inscription in Latin dating to the Romano-British period. Evidence for its use in prehistoric times is the possible existence of a spiral motif in the top corner (David Longley pers com).

Examining my photograph of the stone on the computer I saw what appeared to be a small spiral on the top left hand side, the area to the right appeared to have sheared off at some time, so it is possible that there was once a similar motif there but not necessarily so. If there was once a spiral on this stone, the motif would be in the same position as the spirals on both the pattern stone from Bryn Celli Ddu and stone 22 from Barcloidiad y Gawres, situated at the entrance to the former passage. On the
Bryn Celli Ddu pattern stone there is a small spiral at the top right-hand side above the double outlined curvilinear design, running down both sides and over the back of the stone; a motif that has been interpreted anthropomorphically. There is also a spiral in the same position on stone 22 at Barclodiad Y Gawres carved above a design similar to the one at Bryn Celli but angular, rather than curvilinear, both motifs have been interpreted as anthropomorphs. If a spiral once existed on the Cunogusi stone then there is a strong possibility there was once more decoration which was obliterated by the later Roman inscription.

Scotland

In Scotland, the distribution of decorated tombs is much sparser than that of Ireland. Three sites where the spiral motif occurs are located on Orkney, Eday Manse and Pierowall, (Davidson & Henshall 1989:81) and the ‘burnt mound’ at Pickaquoy, (Twohig 1981). At Eday, the spiral takes the form of a pelta design, consisting of two spirals joined at the top resembling some of the designs on grooved ware (Davidson & Henshall 1989:81). Spiral decoration on a stone from the destroyed mound at Arsdale consists of a horned spiral (RCAHMS 1946:85).

4.41 Stone alignments

Templewood

The significance of the spiral extends beyond the megalithic passage tombs. At the Temple wood stone circle, Argyll, there is an upright menhir with a design of spirals accompanied by a concentric circle. The Kilmartin valley has motifs largely absent from other areas of Scotland. These include the spiral, pelta designs, stars, ringed stars, rosettes, parallel grooves and uncut rings (Stevenson 1997:109). The monument at Templewood consists of two circles, the earlier north east circle was originally of wood, the later south west circle appears to be the more important, it consists of 22 standing stones and two small cairns with cists outside of the circle on the north east and west later covered over by stones and material from the cairn. The twenty two uprights are set in an oval13m x 12m, Craw recorded 13 stones and 22 stones on the south west with holes, some containing stone fragments.

Concerning the spiral decoration, two of the remaining stones have pecked ornament, one with a very faint concentric circles, the other has a double spiral extending across
two faces of the stone. The outer spiral has three strands that curl to form a single spiral. This is an unusual situation for the spiral, which elsewhere has been clearly connected with megalithic tombs, rather than stone circles. There is a suggestion that this motif originated on menhirs but in general stones circles have been dated back to the Bronze Age, whereas the megalithic tombs are from the Neolithic period, but possibly indicate a continuation of the symbolic significance of this motif and its connection with solar events.

*Long Meg and her daughters*

Another site where the spiral is a significant feature here is the stone alignment Long Meg and her daughters, (Beckensall 1992) seven miles to the north east of Penrith situated on a gently sloping hillside. One of the largest stone circles in Britain it dates from the late Neolithic period. The monument consists of seventy stones, 27 of which are still upright, forming an irregular oval 305 feet from north to south, and 360 feet east to west. An entrance to the southwest is indicated by two stones situated due southwest, sited on the largest stone Long Meg 13 feet high situated due southwest from the centre of the stone circle. Camden (1557) noted two piles of stones in the centre of the circle resembling cairns, suggesting that later cairns had covered the circle.

Long Meg, the stone nearest to the north east, is a very large menhir of red sandstone 3.8 metres tall, aligned on the midwinter sunset, with faint concentric carvings accompanying a spiral, together with rings and grooves (Lewis 1886:473). It could be that there were common cosmological ideas behind the use of the spiral symbol at stone circles as well as at megalithic tombs, not least because he spiral symbol is displayed on a stone with a solstice alignment in common with its position in the chambered tombs, therefore it is likely to have had the same cosmological significance. The existence of cairn material is a link with death if these contained human remains.

4.42 *Rock art sites*

The earliest survey of rock art was undertaken by J Y Simpson in the 1860s, the antiquarian responsible for the appellation, cup and ring marks (PSAS 1868). Simpson was the first person to provide detailed illustrations of the carvings.
including those from the Kilmartin area. Achnabreck is a site of particular importance (Stevenson 1997:109), where groups of cup and ring marks are a common feature. Incidences of the spiral are much rarer; they occur on rock outcrops at Achnabreck and Blarbuie (Simpson 1868).

**Achnabreck**

Achnabreck, north of Lochgilphead is one of the most important rock art sites in Britain famous for the quality of its art with carvings distributed over three rock surfaces. Two of the exposures have a pelta form of spiral similar to the one from Eday Manse, Orkney. At the north end of this outcrop are two double spirals, one triple spiral and several multiple rings badly weathered and in some instances overlain with other carvings, possibly representing an earlier phase, (RCAMS Argyll, 1988:97). This is an interesting observation, as the slighting of spirals also occurs at the megalithic tombs and indicates a possible rejection of the cosmology behind these symbols, or as Jung would say they have lost their meaning their ability to inspire. Alternatively, it could just be a new style of art.

There is a single spiral underneath the double pelta motif on the northern end of the upper rock face, similar to some of the carvings from Newgrange, which at that site have been suggested as anthropomorphic, there is another pelta design further down on the rock face; most of the other carvings consist of concentric circles with gutters leading outwards.

It has been suggested that double spirals could be shorthand for some form of deity as the two spirals could represent a pair of eyes, or they could be an example of polyophthalámia, multiple eyes, denoting an unseen watching presence as cited by Jung in his analysis of mandela images. In this instance, they could be evidence of the unfolding of unconscious processes. A protective function is less easy to associate with open-air sites, as it is difficult to see what it is they are protecting, having no direct connection with the dead, not as far as we know. It is highly likely that other features, now inaccessible to archaeological investigation, were once present in the prehistoric landscape that could help to explain their function. On the other hand, this does not exclude a connection with invisible beings, such as deities and the spirits of the ancestors.
**Blarbuie**

This rock outcrop could not be located by the 1988 Royal Commission survey, the existence of a spiral with two cups with five rings and a radial groove was formerly recorded by Campbell and Sandeman, however this could not be confirmed.

It is my belief that these sites are more amenable to analysis with regard to mandela symbolism therefore my discussion here has been a cursory one.

4.43 *The Spiral on Ceramics*

It was the opinion of V Gordon Childe that a fragment of pottery from Skara Brae (Piggott 1970, plate xii), denoting a spiral had been inspired by the Boyne Valley art from the tombs of Newgrange and Knowth. He also noted the similarity of a decorated potsherd from Durrington Walls to that of the Knowth stone basin. Other examples are from Ipswich, Lawford and Radley, as well as some doubtful examples of broken concentric circles that could have originally been spirals, designated as the Durrington Walls sub-style (Wainwright & Longworth 1971). Fourteen examples of spirals on decorated carved stone balls from north east Scotland are linked to prestige goods from the later Neolithic but remain undated, (Kinnes 1985).

Despite this similarly, Garwood rejected a direct cultural connection between passage grave art and Grooved Ware, the reason being that radiocarbon dates indicate a time lapse of 400 years between the Boyne art and Grooved Ware pottery from the south of England (Garwood 1999:146). Although according to current thinking the Grooved Ware style originated in Scotland.

Spiral motifs occur on Grooved Ware at Woodhenge in the Stonehenge region. As well as the spiral, which incidentally rarely occurs on this pottery type, another motif from passage tomb art often found alongside the spiral, the lozenge, found together with the spiral on the Radley pot it suggests a link between the two. The spiral has been proposed as a leitmotif to much of Grooved Ware and thus to the complex of symbols and perhaps beliefs with which it was associated (Cleal 1999:2). A spiral on Grooved Ware from Woodhenge is also decorated with another frequent passage tomb motif, the zigzag (Cunningham 1929: Cleal 1999), providing further evidence
for links between the two. The link could maybe have been to do with the symbolism and cosmology attached to these particular motifs cross-culturally as Jung would argue due to the nature of the unconscious that produces this type of symbol in response to archetypal situations, as in the case of the megalithic art, the transitions and dangers of the passage from life to death and all the cosmological concepts with which it is commonly associated.

The symbolic significance of the spiral motif on pottery from other cultures may hold yet another clue to its meaning for Neolithic people. A design consisting of four spirals features on an urn from P’an Shan, China. In this instance, the spiral is reserved exclusively for funerary ceramics and rarely found on domestic pottery or on that in general use. This motif which is thought to be derived from the spiral shape of certain shells, plays an important role in the worship of the dead and is believed to help the deceased person communicate with cosmic forces. In Chinese cosmology, the spiral also signifies fertility, as well as life, death and rebirth (Eliade 1961:143). It is highly likely that the use of the spiral in megalithic monuments and on other media involved similar cosmological themes, although obviously they would not have exactly the same meaning as these ethnographic examples. Its existence on painted ceramics from the Tripolje region of Russia, demonstrates the symbolic polyvalency of this symbol, often linked with the lightning or zigzag motif, (Eliade, 1961:143), as strangely in megalithic tomb art the spiral and zigzag often appear together. It seems to be that these particular motifs have some kind of connection with each other in line with Jung’s thinking. They also occur together in examples of the mandela as discussed in the ensuing chapter.

Spiral motifs also feature on vessels within the Decorated Bowl regional tradition. The vessel from the Great Wilbraham causewayed enclosure (Alexander, Clarke & Kinnes 1985) has a single row of isolated spirals on the lower body. The site been dated to the 4th millennium BC, which could coincide with the date of much of the megalithic art, contrary to the belief that there is no connection. Spirally-decorated pottery has also been discovered buried at the entrances of enclosures, demonstrating a possible connection between the spiral and entrances. Coincidentally they are prominently displayed on entrance stones at the megalithic tombs, (Bradley 1989) placed at significant portals between the outside world and the inner chambers suggesting the experience of entering a different location, a liminal space, or moving
towards the centre as demonstrated by the form of the spiral which winds towards a centre, involving the concept of moving towards some goal or maybe towards a sacred place, reinforcing the idea of the spiral representing a journey a transition from one place or from realm to another. Jung would suggest that this entails a change or an important life transition.

Ethnographic examples provide further evidence for the significance of the spiral. In pre-Columbian America, the Tula relief of Malinche Hill depicts a god surrounded by water containing oysters, spirals and double circles linking the water with the oysters and divinities. An interesting parallel in view of the juxtaposition of the spiral with double outlined circles at Neolithic sites. Why should these motifs appear together in seemingly disparate contexts? Could it be something to do with the commonality nature and structure of the human psyche that this occurs, in line with Jung’s thinking on the nature of the psyche that these symbols are produced in response to life’s unanswerable questions.
CHAPTER FIVE

Circumference, Circle and Centre: The significance of the mandela in Jungian psychology and its relevance to the interpretation of Megalithic Art and Architecture in the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland.

“As magic circles they bind and subdue the lawless powers of the world of darkness, creating order which transforms chaos into cosmos” (Jung 1991(b):32).

5.1. Introduction

In the following chapter, it is my intention to examine and assess the evidence for the existence of one of Jung’s most important symbols the mandela, exploring the role it could have played in Neolithic society and identifying some of the ways in which this device could have operated on a psychological level. My focus will be on megalithic art, but I will also be looking at some of the monuments from that period to assess how they could have acted as mandelas in physical form. The significance of these structures will be illustrated by an examination of mandelas encountered by Jung in his psycho-analytical work and by looking at the interpretations/role of these devices from other contexts.

The word ‘mandela’ derives from the Sanskrit term for a circle. In both religious and psychological contexts it is a circular image that is drawn, painted, constructed or even enacted. In Tibetan Buddhism, it takes the form of a dance performed at Dervish monasteries (Jung 1991(b):387). The word mandela denotes a magic circle in Lamaism and tantric yoga. It can also act as a yantra a focus for meditation. In the 1930s, Jung encountered a Tibetan monk, who explained that a mandela was a mental image built by the power of imagination at times of psychic disturbance in order to recreate balance (Jung 1992:97). Another definition of a mandela is “A symbol which exists in every culture throughout history; the mandela or magic circle signifying undifferentiated unity and integrated wholeness” (Salmon 1997:54). Jung understood the production of mandelas and their effects, as projections of the inner psyche, a process comparable to casting a spell on one’s own personality, or an attempt to
regain psychic unity by external means and a means of reuniting the conscious and unconscious aspects of the psyche.

During the course of his work, Jung noticed that the images depicted in mandelas from a wide variety of sources, including works of art, philosophy, religion and mediaeval alchemy, corresponded to material from his own and his patients’ dreams. Mandelas also featured in the artwork produced by his patients during the therapeutic process. It became apparent to Jung that these images represented stages in a psychological process leading towards the balancing of the personality, offering a means of creating order out of chaos, enhanced by the sometimes numinous, almost magical effect of this symbol, likened to that of a religious icon (Jung 1991(b):361).

Jung first encountered this device during his travels in India. The mandelas he observed at the temple of Madura consisted of concentric circles drawn on the floor by women using coloured chalk. The rim of the outermost circle was usually dark blue or black, representing the fire of desire, its purpose being to exclude the outside and keep what is on the inside intact. This is a very important point to bear in mind as this protective function is echoed in the mandelas created by Jung’s patients and is I believe relevant to the function it would have had in the Neolithic. Within the next circle is a space or courtyard divided into four parts with four entrances, signifying seclusion and concentration, containing four colours, red, blue, yellow and black. The groupings of and divisions into four, known as a quaternity, is a common feature of mandelas and indeed of Jungian symbolism and thus will be another aspect of the megalithic art that I will examine. However, the most important feature of a mandela is the centre, regarded as the most significant in Buddhist philosophy. It is represented either by a figure or figures usually the god Shiva or an abstract device; for example the diamond shape known as the *dorje*, a point representing a timeless place or the one-pointedness, beyond the world of illusion where creation begins (Jung 1991(b):358).

Jung concluded that very ancient magical effects are hidden within the mandela; it can be understood as an enclosing circle, acting as a means of protection, comparable to the magic circles described in folklore, with the notion of drawing a magical furrow round a central point, with either the intention of preventing what is inside from
flowing out, or to guard what is inside from malign external influences. Jung perceived the mandela as a fundamental schema derived from the instincts and a means of healing on the part of nature and thus the outward manifestation of an archetype. With regard to the Neolithic period, Jung emphasised the importance of these devices in the past. “Texts and the configuration of monuments are proof that for some individuals in archaic societies, the symbolism of the centre was transparent in its totality; whereas the rest of the people just participated in the symbolism” (Jung in Eliade 1961:25).

There are many variants of the mandela, the most common being simple circles and concentric circles. Less common is the cross or flower within a circle, as illustrated by the Buddhist lotus flower, a motif that also occurs in megalithic art as will be illustrated by the following case studies. In Jungian psychology, the mandela incorporates the premise of a centre around which everything is arranged; presupposing a point in the psyche believed to contain a source of energy beyond ego consciousness. Other recurrent themes are the uniting of opposites, incorporating, male and female, left and right, darkness and light and according to Jung the integration of the conscious and unconscious aspects of the psyche. Another common feature is the serpent or serpentiform; usually interpreted as a symbol of transcendence and depth, sometimes representing water, or acting as a chthonic (earth) symbol; often depicted by a snake wound round a pillar, as in the ancient Greek rod of Aesculapius symbol of a physician. Or in Kundalini yoga, as the god Shakti represented by a snake wound around the lingam, an upright pole or stone standing for the possibility of manifestation in space (Henderson 1979:154). Snakes often appear in drawn mandelas and paintings as demonstrated by the art produced by Jung’s patients. Some very intriguing parallels exist between these images and some of the motifs from the megalithic passage tombs, where serpentiforms are found along with spirals and mandela type images.

Jung spent many years studying mandelas from different sources, exploring their possible meaning in patients in whom they manifested in the form of dreams and art, in an attempt to reach a deeper understanding of their nature. One important case study concerned an influential person who presented Jung with a series of dreams that he had recorded. This research constituted a kind of experiment carried out under
controlled conditions, in that Jung had no contact with the man over a period of several months, in order not to exert an undue influence on the subject matter of his dreams. The dreams however still exhibited mandela-type features. Obviously, due to patient confidentiality, no personal details are available, but it is apparent that this person was going through a period of personal crisis. He was in fact the famous physicist, Wolfgang Pauli (Shamdasani 2004). Jung’s conclusion was that these devices manifested during times of psychic disorientation such as loss, bereavement and family breakdown; on a more positive note, they can also act as guidelines to personal development by exerting a noticeable therapeutic effect on the people who experience them.

As regards archaeological evidence for the mandela, themes of circularity in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age have been the subject of recent theoretical papers. Richard Bradley describes Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments as the manifestation of a circular archetype reflecting prehistoric views of the cosmos; the reiteration of circular themes can be observed by the configuration of monuments and the art from the megalithic tombs, (Bradley 1998:101). In a similar vein, Colin Richards perceives the Stones of Stenness and the Ring of Brodgar, Orkney, as representing a microcosm of the surrounding landscape (Richards 1996:190). From yet another perspective, Aaron Watson draws attention to the importance of centrality in relation to the position of henge monuments, emphasising their tendency to place the viewer at the centre of the cosmos. The positioning of later barrows, where they can be viewed from inside the henges was he believes dictated by an unconscious focus on centrality (Watson 2001:214), a concept that has echoes of Jung’s concept of self and the tendency for the psyche to centre itself.
5.2 Examples of Jung’s mandelas

This type of image known as a yantra, is used in rituals to aid contemplation by narrowing down the field of vision, thereby restricting it to the centre. The circles of the mandela are meant to shut out the outside and to hold the inside together. The centre is treated in different ways according to the type of ritual. In Buddhism the centre is usually occupied by the god Shiva, in his world creating emanation; the one
existent, the timeless in the perfect state, the point from which creation begins. Usually combined with the feminine aspect, it is perceived as emerging from the state ‘of being in itself to that of being for itself’ to use Hegelian terminology (Jung 1991(b):356). The relevance to megalithic art is the incidence of similar types of image located in specific areas of the tombs, thereby offering a clue to their significance from a Jungian perspective. In the following section I will provide pictures of some of the mandelas Jung used as explanatory models, to see if they can help in understanding the motivations behind the megalithic art.

Another significant mandela drawing was created by a woman, resulting from a dream in which she was asked by her sister to complete an embroidery pattern consisting of a spiral. The square in the centre represented a stone with four facets in four different colours the inner spiral formed by a snake winding three and a half times round the centre. Snakes and serpents appear together with the spiral in megalithic art and this aspect of the symbolism will be discussed in a later section. The woman had no idea why this was happening. Jung interpreted this image as indicating the beginning of a new direction in her life with parallels from Eastern symbolism, a subject with which she had no knowledge. The idea came spontaneously when she had reached a certain point in her development. Jung’s interpretation was that the snake arranged in angles and circles around the centre signified the unconscious, the hidden aspect of the psyche; the central stone a cube is quaternary form of the philosopher’s stone indicates a new centre of the personality that can also be symbolised by a vessel. (Jung 1991(b):363). Jung’s interpretation is that she is aspiring to achieve to some goal in her life perhaps overcoming a problem. While Jung is not explicit regarding the patient’s personal situation, this does not detract from its usefulness when analysing the megalithic carvings, as we are only able to offer a very generalised interpretation of the meaning of these symbols, in a Neolithic context, on either a personal or cosmological level, for the reason that we do not have any means of accessing the actual circumstances under which these devices were produced.

This mandela (Jung 1991(b) fig. 14) is an Indian representation of Shiva-Bindu, the unextended point, showing the divine power before the creation as the opposites are still united. The god rests in the point. The snake signifies extension, the creation of
the world of forms that in Indian Buddhism is called Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ or golden egg, representing the divine eternal being (ibid:368). It is also a clockwise spiral curled around a central sphere, a creation symbol in Indian cosmology but also a motif found in megalithic art. In line with this mandela, the central point often represented by a lozenge or diamond could be a creation symbol.

This picture created by another woman patient was interpreted by Jung as the squaring of the circle, the plants meaning growth and a sun in the central position. The snake has moved from the centre it occupied in a previous image by the same patient, lying outside of the sphere.

Figure 25 Jung’s patient’s mandela
This is rather a startling image, disturbing in some way, the spiral usually connected with the sun and the light appearing as a dark, chthonic symbol, one can understand why Jung interpreted this drawing as being by a neurotic person.
Painted by what Jung describes as a neurotic young woman. He points out the unusual feature of the snake in central position, when it is usually outside of the inner circle or coiled round a central point, suggests it is a symbol of the chthonic feminine nature of the patient. This central spiral device is a common feature also of the megalithic tomb ornament and furthermore in the open air rock art there are many examples of motifs described as gutters leading outwards from the mandela type carvings of cup and ring marks, their function being seen as one of water drainage but perhaps they had a more symbolic role.

Figure 27 Jung’s patient’s mandela

The above mandela picture was drawn by a young woman, the snake is coiled round the four-rayed middle point trying to escape from the circle. A rayed motif, known as a sunray is also found in megalithic tomb art, particularly on the outer kerbstones encircling the passage tombs and in the chambers and in some instances in an easterly orientation, highly suggestive of a link with the sun as a powerful numinous symbol and on stones in the chambers of the Loughcrew passage tombs. Jung believed that,
rather than being evidence of the practice of sun worship, it was a psychic projection onto a natural phenomenon being a sign of enlightenment, hope and rebirth. This device according to Jung, indicates the awakening of kundalini, meaning that the patient’s chthonic nature is becoming activated. There is some force or energy activating in the psyche leading to a change, possibly a freedom from some restriction in that person’s life. An interpretation indicated by the arrows pointing outwards representing a force moving outwards from the confining circle. In practice it means becoming conscious of one’s instinctual nature. The snake in ancient times personified the spinal ganglia and spinal cord. Arrows pointing outwards can also signify the protection of the inside from danger.
Figure 28 Young Boy’s mandela
A young boy subject of a broken marriage, hung this simple mandela image over his bed as a form of protection, called it my loves. He made various pictures of a similar nature. Jung interpreted these as a means of coming to terms with the distress caused by his parents splitting up, as a means of rebalancing his psyche in order to deal with this traumatic situation, perhaps as a kind of unconscious defence mechanism.

Figure 29 Star mandela

This is a painting from Jung’s mandelas of a sunray or starburst motif. The artist was male. The image has a central circle, a common mandela device and four main rays extending from the top, bottom and both sides representing the quaternity. Motifs such as this appear in the megalithic art particularly at the site of Loughcrew and like the spiral they are linked to solar events and are possibly symbols of an underlying archetype, likely to be connected with death and the afterlife.
In the following section, I will be focusing on a selection of case studies, looking at where these devices are found, their juxtapositions with other motifs and how they accord with Jung’s interpretations of the mandela, offering interpretations based on Jung’s understanding of the function of such devices and the ways that they could play out in a prehistoric context. There is clearly a correspondence between Jung’s examples of these devices and the motifs found in megalithic art, thus I will be exploring the ways in which these insights could add to our understanding of these monuments and the people responsible for their creation. Additionally, I will be contributing my own personal views on the carvings and referring to examples from ethnography and other sources to support my arguments.

Provided below is a list of Jung’s formal elements of mandela symbolism (Jung 1991(b):361) illustrating the type of motifs under discussion.

1. A circular, spherical or egg-shaped device.
2. A circle elaborated into a flower, for example a rose, lotus or a wheel.
3. A centre expressed by a sun, cross or star, usually with four eight or twelve rays.
4. Circles, spheres and cruciform figures often represented in rotation, (swastika).
5. A circle represented by a snake coiled around a centre, a ring shape uroboros or spiral.
6. Squaring the circle, or a circle within a square.
7. Castle city and courtyard motifs either quadratic or circular.
8. Eyes, polyophthalmia, a watching presence.

5.3 The Mandela in Megalithic Art
The style of carving known as megalithic art has its main concentration at passage tombs dating back to the fourth millennium BC. Of the British sites, those in Ireland have the greatest variety of motifs. The Megalithic tombs from Brittany and Iberia, have some motifs in common with the British ones but there are many differences and the links and chronologies between these sites and the ones in Britain have not been established to any degree of certainty.

One definition of megalithic art, is the term applied to carvings found on the structural stones of megalithic tombs (Eogan 1986:147), although this would seem to exclude
the art on the kerbstones which one could not really call structural as well as the
decoration on isolated stones, that have motifs in common with the passage tombs.
However, it is likely that some of these stones, may in some instances have originated
in monuments. Eogan doubted that megalithic art was integral to the passage tomb
tradition, as many have no decoration at all but emphasises its key role in ritual. From
a different perspective, Bradley questions the wisdom of applying the modern western
concept of art to the megalithic carvings, believing it is more useful to study how the
visual images were employed in specific situations in the Neolithic period, with
greater attention shown to the motifs used at the different sites together with the
evidence of human activity (Bradley et al 2001:45).

With regard to the execution of the designs, two main techniques were used, incision
and picking or pocking. Incision involved drawing a pointed tool along the surface of
the stone while picking is executed by percussion with a pointed tool, probably of
flint or quartz. At Knowth Eogan thought two different types of tool were used, the
chisel and the punch some punches were pointed others blunt, picks were also used
for dressing the stone to smooth the design or to improve the appearance of the
surface an act known as pick dressing (Eogan 1986:149).

The following section on megalithic art will focus mainly on the carvings from
megalithic passage tombs but will also include examples of these devices from other
sources, exploring the significance of their presence on isolated menhirs and rock
surfaces. Jung believed that certain motifs acted as symbols being the outward
manifestation of an archetype. In relation to megalithic art, there are a number of
motifs that bear a close resemblance to some of those described by Jung as belonging
to the mandela device. I believe it would be useful to compare and analyse some of
these motifs as they occur in the megalithic repertoire. Particularly in connection with
their position in the monuments as I believe it would help in understanding the
possible motivations behind their use. What at first appear to be simple motifs may
very well have much wider connotations, one only has to look at the deceptively
simple designs like the guardian ghost from Malekula in the New Hebrides to see how
apparently simple drawings can be expressions of quite complex cosmological
concepts (Layard 1936).
In the following case studies, I will be concentrating mainly on the Irish megalithic art primarily because of the wide range of motifs at these sites available for comparative purposes. Newgrange is the most famous in legends and oral histories believed to be synonymous with An Brug or the mansion, belonging to the good god Dagda and his son Aengus (O’Kelly 1982:123), a god who was associated with light. In more recent times, it has become famous for the range and quality of its art.

5.2.1 Newgrange
Despite this tomb being famous for the quality of its spiral art, there are in fact more circles, concentric circles and circles containing a central dot at this site (O’Kelly 1982:147), motifs which according to Jung comprise a very simple form of mandela. More pertinently, the positions occupied by these carvings may well hold a clue to their psychological significance. While the expertly carved spirals on the entrance stone and other prominently placed stones have been thought to be less about the symbolism and more about the quality of the carving, the simple circular motifs are considered to be of an earlier date and thus more likely to be concerned with the cosmology behind the building of the tomb (ibid). There are many motifs situated without regard to overall design or to the surface of the rock. More significantly, many are hidden on the back, sides and underground surfaces of the stones, giving rise to the theory that the actual act of carving was more important to the tomb makers than the end result, because it did not matter whether they could be seen and thus appreciated by the observer.
Some of the simpler mandela motifs, for instance the dot in circle, are situated on R18 on the front lintel of the famous roof box, a stone box-like structure constructed to allow the rays of the midwinter sun to penetrate the tomb. There are more of these motifs are on the back of the roof box and two on the corbels to the left and right, making both sides equal, or a means of balancing the conscious and unconscious aspects of the psyche in Jungian parlance. These motifs are similar to the protective mandelas drawn by the young boy as a way of coping with a difficult situation (Figure 29:119, Jung 1991(b) figure 33). Two similar designs are situated at the junction of the passage and the chamber roof, likewise creating a balance between left and right. The fact that these motifs are hidden or occulted could indicate that they pertain to the unconscious the dark or the rejected side of the psyche, perhaps conveying a lack of acceptance or a means of coming to terms with loss. An alternative explanation is that they were never intended to be seen by living human beings, only to be illuminated by the rays of the sun. Light possibly signifying enlightenment or being some kind of renewing force, a projection onto a natural phenomenon being symbolic of more than ordinary sunlight, thus the dichotomy between darkness and light appears to be one that formed a part of their spiritual beliefs. Jung’s concept of the conscious versus the unconscious is another indication of possible prehistoric cosmological ideas, because the deceased are invisible to the light of the sun, a symbol signifying life and thus consciousness, whereas the darkness or dark side of
the personality, sometimes symbolized by the moon, is more often associated with negativity and death.

Other stones with mandela motifs are from the outer kerb; another significant position, because the kerb surrounding the chambered tomb could be interpreted as the outer circle of a mandela, having a similar protective function. Therefore, the symbols on these particular stones may well have a similar albeit unconscious role of safeguarding the contents of the tomb or alternatively of preventing any malign influences connected with the dead such as disease and decay from escaping. Moreover, in some societies, the dead, are regarded as contagious and dangerous to the living on both a physical and spiritual level; a belief that may well have had a logical basis in the incidence of infection and disease associated with death; a notion that has its parallel in the dangers of the outer circle, as expressed in the Indian mandelas, associated with the fear of death and the graveyard.

Hidden art distributed on some kerbstones below ground level, hints at a chthonic role, bringing to mind the concept of underground deities or spirits from an underworld. These symbols could act as a means of propitiating them, or of keeping them under control. Other hidden mandelas can be seen on the backs of kerbstones. On Kerbstone 13, the ornament consists of a random distribution of concentric circles usually with three circles some with a central dot and others with the centre artificially hollowed out. These are associated with a series of cup marks, the circles on the left of the image being incomplete.
Kerbstone 9 shows a double-outlined serpentiform, a motif variously interpreted as water, a fertility symbol or as a chthonic or earth symbol, alternatively represented by a snake, a creature associated with the dark and underground places. The serpentiform or wavy line is a common feature of megalithic art and significantly of the mandela device as can be seen in the examples of Jung’s patients’ mandelas, which context he relates it to unconscious forces emerging, the person reaching an important stage in their life perhaps facing a major change or refocusing of the personality. It appears to be a metaphor for something emerging out of the unconscious.

However, not all the underground art consists of circular motifs. In contrast, kerbstone 6 (Figure 33) displays a sunray of twelve rays with a central enlarged circular hollow, a form of mandela included by Jung in his elements of mandela symbolism, expressed by a sun or star with rays radiating outwards from a central point, (Figure 29:120). This kerbstone is now below ground level. It is puzzling that this particular motif usually found in prominent positions where it can be illuminated by the light of the sun as at Loughcrew, is here situated below ground level. Does it shine in another world illuminating dark places, or was it originally meant to be above ground.
An interesting variation is on the underneath of Kerbstone 18, below depicting a double concentric circle with an enhanced central hollow, a simple mandela above which is carved a three-pointed zigzag, a symbols usually associated with lightning and warning signs. These motifs were discovered when the stone was taken out to record the carvings on the back.

On the back of kerbstone K4 there are a couple of concentric circles one with four rings and a central dot the other with two rings and various bits of random etchings including some snake-like carvings outside the confines of the mandela perimeter that are very disorganised. With regard to Jung’s analysis of patients’
drawings, these could be indicative of disturbances within the psyche of the artist. From Jung’s analysis of patients’ mandelas any image that appears to be trying to escape or is emerging from the confines of the circular structure particularly snakes or serpentine symbols can be signs of a disturbance within the psyche or of something breaking loose, attempting to break free in a psychological sense, something restrictive in that person’s life, (see Figure 27).

This kind of simple ornamentation is repeated on Kerbstone 2 by a couple of circles and some wavy lines, on Kerbstone 7, the upper surface of Kerbstone 8 and the top of Kerbstone 3. It is interesting that snake-like carvings are associated with some of these simple circles in very disassociated designs. Kerbstone 90 has the simple mandela form of three concentric circles which is incidentally the commonest on rock outcrops. On Kerbstone 5 there are many natural hollows that have been deepened by picking, again K17 has concentric circles two with central dot. In fact, the majority of the outer kerbstones comprising the outer perimeter of a mandela are decorated in this way.

5.2.2 Dowth

In contrast to Newgrange, which according to local folklore is linked to gods associated with light, Dowth is known as the dark tomb in legends hence its name Dubadh. The word du means dark in Welsh hence the name Bryn Celli Ddu the tomb in the dark grove. The dichotomy between dark and light appears to be one that was an important part of prehistoric cosmological belief. In Jungian terms, darkness signifies the hidden unconscious part of the human psyche. Disregarding the souterrain, which is of a later date.Dowth was investigated in the nineteenth century by Coffey and Wilde (O’Riordian 1964:67). The tomb has two passages one facing north and the other south. The dichotomy between darkness and light is likely to have been a part of prehistoric cosmological beliefs as demonstrated by the focusing of the sun’s rays at certain times of the year and conversely by the act of carving motifs in dark hidden places where they are not likely to see the light of day.
Dowth North

In common with Newgrange, this tomb has more carvings of simple mandelas, mainly concentric circles of an inferior quality (O'Kelly 1982:147). Like Newgrange, these carvings are associated with dark and inaccessible places. Interesting as north in cosmology is associated with winter, darkness and death, the north entrance door of Christian churches being traditionally the entrance for the coffins of the dead. The most frequently occurring motif as this site is concentric circles. Burl believed these circular motifs were connected with religious rites and the passage of the sun and moon and likely to be a form of symbolism associated with a cult of the dead (Burl 1981:86).

One of the kerbstones on the eastern side of the mound has a pattern of rayed suns or sunwheels, (O'Riordain & Daniel 1964 plate 43) a type of mandela according to Jung’s system. In the passage, the fourth stone on the right, Coffey’s stone five has a design of concentric circles and a figure like a filleted fish. The stone directly opposite, the fourth stone on the left also displays concentric circles. This balancing of right and left is another recurrent feature of a mandela. Four decorated stones in the chamber, Coffey’s number one on left of passage at its juncture with the chamber are decorated with a group of irregular concentric circles and on the right, the most elaborate stone at Dowth carved with a design of concentric circles the opposite face has spirals, rays and a herringbone pattern (O’Riordain 1964:71). For some reason the concentric circle is relevant to the cosmology of this tomb perhaps acting as a protective device. Sun wheels are also prominent contrasting with the dark theme with which this tomb appears to be associated.

Dowth South

Regarding the mandela symbols from the southern tomb, circular motifs are found on three quarters of the stone surfaces. Stone R22 one of the roof stones, has a concentric circle. Other stones have one or more serpentiforms accompanying the circular motifs (Eogan 1967). This tomb has a different repertoire of motifs, as illustrated by those seen on the stone on the left side of the passage at the entrance to the main chamber where a group of pocked circles could be interpreted as a kind of
protective mandela guarding the entrance (O’Riordain 1964 Plate 45), however, the principal stone opposite the entrance to the chamber has horizontal zigzags and chevrons and the next stone on the left has vertical zigzags running down each side in the style of stone 22 from the passage at Barclodiad yGawres, Anglesey, with which it has been compared. This angular style of decoration has been interpreted as anthropomorphic and could like the mandela motifs have had the role of protecting the tomb.

In the side chamber, the decorated stone on the right of the entrance is comparatively large 9 feet by 4 feet 6 inches with a pattern of spirals, concentric circles and rayed circles accompanied by a design described as a filleted fish (O’Riordain 1964:71). It is probable that certain motifs are associated with the orientation of the tomb, south being associated with the sun hence the rayed motifs are situated in that position, whereas, the north has more circular motifs possibly associated with darkness, winter and maybe the moon, as the dichotomy dark and light symbolised by the sun and moon is a common one across diverse cosmologies. In Jungian psychology, the sun stands for the light of consciousness and the moon the unconscious aspect.

5.2.3 Knowth
An area of the kerb excavated by Macalister in 1943 revealed 58 kerbstones, 48 of which possessed ornament. The designs included spirals, concentric circles, gapped circles, rayed circles and wavy lines (O’Riordain 1964:75).
This is Macalister’s depiction of some of the kerbstones on the eastern side of the mound. Top left is an image comparable to that on K57 from Newgrange described in chapter 3 as being anthropomorphic in appearance. The other designs, notably the one on the top right are definite mandela images with the concentric circles composed of what appear to be snakes surrounding a central point may owe something to artistic licence, or maybe to the unconscious aspect of the artist’s psyche leading him to enhance the images in the manner of Jung’s patients. Hence the snakes portrayed top right curling round the centre. The sun wheel lower right occurs in other prominent positions being more abundant at Loughcrew usually being a prominent motif visible to the human eye. Being situated on the kerb, representing the outer perimeter as in a mandela, these symbols could be understood as having a protective function.

The main tomb Knowth 1 and twelve of the satellite tombs contain approximately 250 decorated stones, (Eogan 1986:148). Eogan argues that the art at Knowth is meant to be seen because it is displayed openly on the outer faces of some of the kerb stones (ibid:150). Unlike the situation at Newgrange decoration on the backs of stones is rare here and is only found on 11 stones, comprising stones 1, 13, 18, 32, 35, 46, 49, 51, 68, 71 and 85. So far, none of the backs of the orthostats in the passage were found to be decorated. As regards the satellite tombs orthostat 8 at site 14, orthostat 4
at site 15 and orthostat 11 at site 18 have carving on the backs. Kerbstone 11 at site 8 has decoration on the back, as has orthostat 11 at site 18.

At site one, 123 kerbstones were excavated, ninety are decorated three are missing and three are damaged, the largest most highly decorated stones in the kerb are situated close to the entrances a significant location signalling a place of importance. The western tomb has 35 decorated stones 25 orthostats and 4 capstones 1 sill stone and 5 corbels. The eastern tomb an estimated 70 decorated stones, 33 orthostats, one jambstone, 18 capstones and 15 corbels.

Twelve of the 17 satellite tombs have decorated stones nos. 2-5, 8 and 12-18. Only fifteen decorated kerbstones survive from the smaller tombs, which generally have less decoration (Eogan 1986:151) due to lesser importance or possibly that they are older in origin. Knowth 14 has 20 kerbstones, only 3 of which are decorated, 2 of 26 surviving kerb stones at site 15 are carved and only one of 19 left at site 16. At site 15 only 3 out of 21 orthostats decorated and 3 out of 19 at site 16. 3 decorated of 19 at site 16, 3 of 13 orthostats at site 2 (ibid:152).

5.2.4 Loughcrew
The Loughcrew megalithic cemetery is situated on the Slieve na Callaigh hills in County Meath and is known in folklore as the hill of the witch or hag (McMann 1991:2). McMann’s study of the landscape and monuments takes both an architectural perspective and a diachronic one in an attempt to retrieve some of the meanings attached to the place throughout history. An early investigator George Coffey believed he had found evidence for a solar cult at this site from the numerous carvings of rayed cups and circles that he referred to as rayed cups and sun snakes. Motifs also found at both Dowth and Newgrange (Coffey 1896:102; McMann 1991:59).

An interesting feature of the chambered tombs at this site is the preponderance of these sun wheel and rayed motifs and some examples of a flower enclosed in a circle, all of which feature in Jung’s formal elements of mandela symbolism. At cairn F the sunray occurs together with arcs on orthostat C5 in the chamber, (Twohig 1981: figure 214). At cairn H stone C5 has a design of concentric circles with a central dot,
(Twohig, 1981:Fig 216). At the main site cairn 1 the sunray device is carved on one of the roof stones, there are several sunrays with the largest one centrally positioned, enforcing Jung’s idea of the importance of the central mandela device, the other sunray carvings being much smaller by comparison.

Figure 35 Loose stone from cairn I, Twohig 1981 fig 217
Figure 36 Roof stone R2 from cairn I Loughcrew

At cairn I, (see Figure 36), a loose stone in cell 3 has a pattern of double-outlined wavy lines accompanied by the sunrays to the left, (Twohig 1981:Fig 218). These double curvilinear carvings seem to occur with regularity being an important part of the megalithic repertoire. They appear on stones from Anglesey together with the spiral as well as the more abundant Irish examples. Again, the largest sunray motif is centrally placed adding balance to the design reinforcing Jung’s theory on the importance of the centre.

On C5 in the main chamber there are two conjoined sunrays accompanied by some rather randomly displayed curvilinear carvings. On C13, there is at least another sunray together with a lot of random circles and squiggles. These sun motifs are usually confined to the chambers of the tombs and are often high up as on the roof stones although they also appear quite frequently on the kerbstones. There do not appear to be any kerbstones remaining at this site, or it could be that none have yet been excavated as is the case at Knowth and Newgrange.
Cairn L has two sunrays on roof stone 3 and one in the chamber on orthostat C1, while stone C3 is decorated with concentric circles or eroded spirals decreasing in size towards the right hand side. The sunray symbols are also a feature of the roof stones indicating a presence watching over being in an elevated position but the sun is also high in the sky at midday could mean enlightenment a means of providing light to the dead, who can no longer see the light of the sun (Twohig 1981:Fig 224). On the western face of orthostat C17 is a large sun motif near to the base of the stone. This means that the stone and the motif are in an east-facing position, that of the rising sun thus they are likely to be connected with a cosmology or archetypal situation linked to sunrise. Also on C19 there are faint carvings possibly the remains of sunrays one to the right of the stone on its east-facing side.

A motif belonging almost exclusively to the Loughcrew repertoire is the flower on the south face of L4 in the passage at cairn S (Twohig 1981:Fig 231). There is also a spiral and a sunray enclosed in a circle near the base of the stone. On the western face of L4 there is another sun motif accompanied by a single dot in circle mandela. On stone C2 and C6 in the chamber there are a lot of very sketchy simple dot in circles.

Cairn T is one of the most highly decorated cairns at Loughcrew. The rock art in view of this cairn may lend emphasis to its importance. On L2 (Twohig 1981:Fig 232). The left hand side of the passage is full is carvings composed of concentric circles, spirals and some faint motifs that could be more circles. Orthostat L1 has some very intricate designs, one a sun wheel with two inner concentric circles with rays extending from the outer circle and enclosed in another circle accompanied by a flower inside a circle, both mandela symbols, more concentric circles occupy this stone, the images are very crowded. On L5 small circles are accompanied by concentric circles with a spiral to the right, (Twohig 1981:figure 233). On roof stone R5, small concentric circles are littered all over the stone and on C3 from the chamber there are concentric circles with a central dot and some partial ones now very faint, with two sunrays to the left and centre, Twohig 1981: figure 234). C1 has the remains of concentric circles and circles with a central dot, also a small sunray motif. C5 also has small circles with central dot and a sunray. The motifs on C8 (Figure 38 below) are more unusual, there is the flower like a daisy enclosed in a circle and some motifs like fish bones enclosed in an oval. There are four of these daisy motifs and two.
rather spidery sunbursts, also a group of wavy lines, (Twohig 1981: figure 235). C9 has a rather odd design composed of a central dot surrounded by three concentric ovals the exterior one surrounded by sunray lines extending outwards plus one possible example of a flower, Twohig 1981: figure 236). C14 and C15 have a lot of messy circles and faint squiggles, also another fishbone design and a flower. Sill stone 3 has another sunray near the top of the stone, Twohig 1981: figure 237). The lintel of cell 3 also has the remains of a sunburst.

Figure 37 Decorated stone in western side chamber, Cairn T Loughcrew
The roof stone of cell 2, pictured above, has a variety of carvings, comprising a daisy-like flower not enclosed in a circle, a sunburst enclosed in a circle, two sunbursts standing alone and various squiggles, (Twohig 1981: figure 238). The carvings are more easily distinguished from O’Riordain’s photograph being a selection of different mandelas and sun motifs, the sun likely to have played an important role in the cosmology of this tomb. It has been proved in more recent times that some of the flower motifs are light up by the sun at certain times of year.

On an orthostat from cairn U, the carvings are rather faint, on C2 the western face there is a motif of three concentric circles with central dot horizontal lines encased by an oval and another sunray, also a great many tiny circles, (Twohig 1981: Fig 239). Orthostat C3 from this cairn has the dynamic face motif described in chapter three but also an example of a sunray, C4 in the east has a curvilinear design and a series of wavy lines, (Twohig 1981: Fig 240).

Orthostat C9 from cairn U is another stone with a variety of motifs, including a lot of concentric circles, some overlapping, chevrons and a sunray near the top of the stone with wavy lines either side. A loose stone has a curvilinear motif and a small sunray near to the base of the stone, (Twohig 1981: Fig 241). Cairn V has no sun motifs but two spirals on C3 a curvilinear motif on C4 and concentric circles on C5. Finally
Cairn X has an example of a sunray enclosed by a circle, the original position of this stone is unknown (Twohig 1981: Fig 244).

5.3 The mandela in rock art

While there has been much controversy regarding the function of petroglyphs, it has been concluded that the search for specific meanings is unproductive, whereas looking for structure is easier, assuming the uniformity of the human cognitive system (Bradley 1994). This theory supports what Jung was attempting to prove, although he did not assert uniformity, only the commonality of the underlying psychic structure, while allowing for variation. With regard to the mandela device, it is interesting to note that the most common rock art motifs are composed of three concentric circles, followed by circles with central dots or hollowed out cup marks both simple forms of mandela. Although we are unlikely to ever discover exactly what these carving meant to prehistoric people, this observation, is perhaps no accident. Concerning possible links with the megalithic tomb art, it has been recorded, (Bradley 1986; Morris 1989) that these rock surfaces very often command extensive views of the surrounding landscape and are in a position where the sun can light up the carvings at certain times of day; suggestive of a shared solar cosmology.

Until recently, rock art has been considered to be a separate phenomenon from megalithic tomb art, dating from a later period probably the late Bronze Age. However, in recent years a number of rock carvings have been discovered, in close proximity to the Loughcrew megalithic cemetery. These consist mainly of cup and ring marks, with many shallow depressions enclosed by circles, accompanied by lines and other motifs. They were discovered between 2003 and 2009 on 13 boulders in situ, in ten locations near to the hill of Carnbane East, during heritage funded fieldwork using airborne laser scanning, as part of the LiDAR project 2005, some of these rock carvings were earlier noted by Conwell. The carvings are on earth fast sandstone erratic boulders usually on smooth upper surfaces. They include concentric circular designs, Plates 5 and 6 (Williams in Twohig 2010).

At Ballinvalley there are triple concentric rings with central dot, a common mandela motif. A high proportion of multiple circles have been recorded on lower ground round the edge of the rock art distribution, all with similar viewsheds, where it is possible to see the three main hills with many cairns on top, including three of the
largest cairns, providing evidence for the contemporaneous occurrence of both megalithic art and rock art, (Twohig et al, 2010:22). The frequency of multiple circles around the edge of the distribution of rock art and the fact that these mandela motifs are on the outer edge of the rock carvings forming an outer perimeter suggests a protective function one common to mandelas. An alternative explanation is that they could indicate the approach to a site of ritual importance.

Some of the carvings are in view of the cairns, as at Corstown on the north western slope of Carnbane East, the hill sloping upwards towards Cairn T, one of the most decorated cairns in the Loughcrew cemetery with an established orientation on the equinoxes suggesting they are a part of a prehistoric ritual cosmology. Although cairn T cannot be seen from the area of rock art, some cairns on Carnbane West are visible. Rock carvings in close proximity to tombs have been discovered at other sites, cup marks have been discovered on the rock outcrop to the north west of the chambered tomb at Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey (Nash et al, 2005).

Achnabreck

The decoration here is displayed on the surface of three large outcrops, two and a half kilometres to the north-west of Lochgilphead, in a pine plantation with wide sea views. They are reputed to be the largest carved rock surfaces in the British Isles (Simpson 1864, Morris 1977). There are three distinct exposures; the largest, Achnabreck I at the foot of the enclosure comprises three clusters of markings towards the lower end of the rock sheet dominated by multi-ringed and guttered cups with up to seven rings accompanied by an extensive network of grooves. In the centre and higher on the rock outcrop are clusters of multi-ringed cup marks, all of these motifs are common forms of mandela. Towards the bottom of the rock sheet is a row of four exceptionally large plain cup marks. At the centre of the sheet is another cluster of multi-ringed cups and higher up a third cluster.

The smallest middle group of carvings (RCAMS 1988:88, fig 113) has at the centre one of the largest cup and ring marks in Scotland, measuring 0.97 metres in diameter with seven rings accompanied on the south by a cup with a three rings. To the north east and south east are other multi-ringed cups one with two central cup marks all with well defined gutters extending southwards from the cups. Why are they heading
in a southerly direction and to what are they pointing, maybe it has something to do with the sun, although not sun worship perhaps some cosmological theme or projection of an archetypal idea.

On the upper sheet the carvings are concentrated at the north end comprising cups some with gutters and up to six rings a lot of plain cups lengths of grooving some which form enclosures. The larges cup and ring being positioned centrally on the middle exposure is an expression of the importance of centrality and the central motif being as it is of an impressive size dominating the other carvings a recurrent feature of mandelas, placing emphasis on the importance of the central point. The exceptional number of rings, is uncommon, seven being the maximum found on rock surfaces, one wonders why they should have chosen this motif and why so many rings encircling the central point. Could the grooves or gutters that are running southwards, perhaps be emphasising the power of the sun in the south. Were they related to the spirals from the megalithic tombs which were meant to be illuminated by the light of the sun in the middle of summer. There must have been some underlying cosmology due to the fact they are so widespread on rock surfaces. Many of these rock faces have wide viewsheds looking over the landscape (Bradley 2000). Perhaps as mandela motifs they could have had some kind of guardian function or marking out of a territory.

*Cairnbaan*

Situated on high ground to the north of the Cairnbaan Inn, are two groups of cup and ring marks, comprising three carved rock sheets. On the largest sheet is a pair of cups surrounded by three partial rings, one cup with two rings, three cups within a single ring, sixteen single cups with single rings, 60 plain cups and several lengths of grooving. A significant feature of this rock sheet is the long gutters running down slope from seven cups at the southern end of the rock sheet towards the south as at Achnabreck the orientation of the sun at the height of summer. Another rock sheet in open moorland has a complex series of decorations, including a number of conjoined multiple-ringed cups, six of which are surrounded by four rings, one by three, seven by two, and eight by single rings, again several of the ringed cups have gutters, are also fifteen plain cups and series of grooves. At bottom right of the
outcrop is a broad shallow cup surrounded by a single ring, linked to the cup by a series of rays. Interesting to note as rayed designs occur at the Loughcrew tombs and are associated with the sun at certain times of the year (RCHAMS 1988, vol 6). The name of this site is almost identical to Carnbane the hill above the Loughcrew megalithic cemetery where incidentally there has been the recent discovery of flat rocks and erratic boulders bearing rock art in close proximity to some of the passage tombs surrounding the hill of Carnbane West, thus providing more evidence of a possible link between so called rock art and the megalithic art from the passage tombs, generally considered to be of a different era and to have very different implications as to meaning.

Cairn T from Lochcrew has a sun wheel motif illuminated by the sun’s rays at the equinoxes. It may be no coincidence that some of the motifs from rock art also bear a strong resemblance to the sun wheels from Loughcrew, this may be an indication of a shared cosmology. According to Jung, such similarities are evidence of the common structure of the human psyche but in this instance, I feel that there is a more objective link, possibly due to the diffusion of ideas or migration of people. Furthermore, in Jung’s view the existence of sun symbols is not necessarily proof of sun worship but is more likely to be a psychic projection in which sunlight represents some concept difficult to express rationally, being the outward expression of an archetype, an unconscious act like the Hopi Indians’ ritual of greeting the rising sun.

An interesting feature of this rock sheet is that many rings have a radial line running from the central dot to the outside. These have been variously interpreted as channels for water drainage or more dramatically for the draining away of blood from sacrificial victims (Morris 1970-71). However, in Jung’s interpretation of mandelas, a line leading from the central point to the outside signifies some sort of psychic change, something moving from the inside outwards, emerging from the psyche or attempting to escape. This particular feature occurs on the trio of rings and on an isolated ring. In Jungian terms, something is emerging from the unconscious. This could be an alternative subconscious function rather than they served any practical purpose.
Ormaig

This site consists of a cluster of rock outcrops partly within a forestry plantation and a clearing 330m south of Ormaig farm. The lower of the two major exposures is a gently sloping finger of rock on two sheets one open to elements and the other protected and well-preserved. On the western section which is open to the elements there are seven cups with single rings and fifteen plain cups with several lengths of grooving. On the lower part of the sheet are four cups with double rings, 27 with single rings and numerous plain cups some with gutters and several channels, with a parallel group of three towards the eastern end of the sheet.

At the eastern edge of the clearing a short distance from the first outcrop is a steeply sloping finger of rock very weathered, covered with closely spaced carvings of cup and ring marks, gutters and channels. One carving is particularly unusual, comprising a cup and gutter surrounded by a circle of pits enclosed within multiple rings, the inner and outer leading into a guttered cup and another ring respectively, RCHAMS 1988:fig 129). This design is also similar to the rosette design of the flower enclosed by a circle is one that is a common feature of the Loughcrew cairns. The unusual rosette motif is also found at Greenland, Dunbartonshire Auchenlarie, Kirkudbrightshire and Derynoblahe Ireland (Morris 1977:113). Another carving has with multiple rings with inner and outer rings leading into a guttered cup. An unusual decoration is seven short parallel grooves. Below the grooves is a pair of cup and ring marks, the one on the right has a central cup that is larger and deeper than left, both have gutters leading out from the central cup. The cup marks appear to be random with no discernible groupings or pattern. In other words not very well organised showing a lack of balance, the central feature has leakages, or things escaping, a negative sign in Jungian psychology, perhaps a sign of some deep-seated changes taking place.

Auchalich Wood

At this site, there is additional evidence of the gutter features that seem to have no practical purpose, (RCHAMS 1988;121) there is a pair of cup and ring marks with a smaller one on the left, is the unconscious less dominant here; some of the cups
here are linked by grooves and channels cut in the rock. The gutters are also a feature of the carvings at Ballygown (ibid :123) with a number of channels joining up with cup and ring marks with smaller cups interspersed in between. An erratic boulder and outcrop at Glasvaar contains fifteen cup marks and is likely to be associated with a large cairn to the south, (ibid 1988:154), they both have gutters leading out from the centre. Again from a Jungian perspective, the evidence of something moving outwards, or emerging from the unconscious; an indication of some deep seated change taking place.

Portolloch

A cup and ring marked rock outcrop situated in woodland with the rock dipping steeply towards the east, criss-crossed by deep fractures. The decoration comprises seven cups with four rings, one with widely spaced rings, nine cups with three rings, nine with two and thirteen with single rings, around eighty plain cup marks, more mandela motifs. An unusual feature to the north west of the cups with four rings, are two star-shaped marks, one surrounded by a ring carvings found in megalithic art interpreted by some as a sun wheel or sun symbols, (RCAMA 1988:fig 180). More parallels with the megalithic tomb art, emphasising the former significance of this symbol and the apparent connection to some archetypal situation.

Roughtin Linn

This monument has been described a simulacra of a megalithic tomb due to its shape and the position of the carvings. Simpler motifs are on the upper surface of the rock with the more prominent designs on the sides creating a frieze round the edges giving it the appearance of a cairn. The markings on the southeast are similar to ones at Loughcrew consisting of cup and ring marks accompanied by a series of parallel rays. Again the sun symbols are displayed in a southerly orientation. They resemble the art on the kerystone at Newgrange (Bradley1994) an example of O’Sullivan’s plastic style, more like the decoration on Grooved Ware ceramics of the Clacton sub-style, composed of lozenges and triangles, suggesting a connection between later megalithic carvings and grooved ware and a possible link with the cosmologies behind these symbols. In Melanesia, motifs from the tombs are
also found on mortuary ceramics. In Malekulan art, the themes of these images include guardian ghosts, secret ghost societies, important personages, thresholds to be crossed and dangers to overcome. These ideas have much in common with the function of a mandela in Jungian psychology where they are often linked to the dangers associated with important life transitions. In the case of the megalithic tombs, these transitions are likely to be concerned with the transition from life to death and the dangers involved, as is the case with the Malekulan drawings. It is my belief that their role was more than decorative. Mandelas represent a containing device, acting as protection from outside influences, pertinent the outer rim in Indian mandelas is perceived as a dangerous perimeter to cross, blue or black in colour, it signifies death and the dangers of places of the dead, evoking numinous feelings of fear and awe. This property is reflected in the beliefs surrounding the Malekulan designs expressed by patterns, which on the surface appear to be simply abstract. In common with the Malekulan designs, the motifs from megalithic tombs could be part of a mortuary mythology concerned with important ancestors and deities and dangerous rites of passage, involving difficult transitions, notably that between life and death. These images can be understood in a Jungian sense as evidence as psychic projections surrounding these significant and apparently dangerous experiences.

5.4 Of Darkness and Light, ritual dichotomies associated with the mandela
Jung’s mandela philosophy came to fruition following his dream of a golden castle, synchronistically at the same time he came into contact with the Sinologist Richard Wilhelm who introduced him to ancient Chinese philosophical ideas contained within the Taoist tract ‘The Secret of the Golden Flower.’ Central to this philosophy is the concept of a circular movement activating both the light and dark forces of human nature and combining the opposites in order to restore wholeness (Jung in Wilhelm 1962:105). These ideas paralleled the conclusions Jung had reached in his research and his experiences with his patients on the subject of dream interpretation and therapy.

Are there in effect other ways of expressing the symbolism inherent in the mandela in Neolithic contexts other than those illustrated by the carvings. Perhaps a more subtle theme but none the less a deliberate one is that of the solar alignments at some of the
passage tombs. It is true that the act of incorporating these features into the monuments does not make sense from a rationalist point of view although it could be interpreted as aesthetic. However, when re-examined employing some of the insights from Jungian psychology it is possible to draw an alternative conclusion. Consequently, we can assess their function not only from a conscious perspective but from an unconscious one, maybe that of an instinctive means of coming to terms with traumatic events such as death and the fear and uncertainty surrounding it. Jung was convinced that these major life transitions would have involved the attempt to re-orientate the psyche by the use of unconscious coping mechanisms such as projection onto a natural phenomenon, in this case the sun one that most likely already had cosmological implications concerned with the changing seasons, the dichotomies of day and night; darkness and light and the growth, death and renewal of trees and plants. Obviously on an objective level Neolithic people would have realized that these pre-planned orientations would have no real effect they would be more subjective even metaphorical. In some cosmologies, material objects and forces of nature are perceived as something more than inert substances. In Gell’s theory in relation to art, certain objects possess agency and have the ability to evoke emotional responses, acting as if they were a living presence with which people can enter into personal relationships; evoking such emotions as love hate fear and desire; a theory that resonates with Jung’s belief in the numinous effect of material objects and the spontaneous response to objects and situations of an archetypal nature.

Further to the concept of agency, Jung made a meticulous study of alchemical texts over a number of years, which led him to identify some recurrent symbols and transformational processes that appeared to support his own work on the archetypes and symbols and dream therapy. One important example is the belief in the existence of a special jewel or stone with special powers or life enhancing properties, as found in myth and legend, a well-known example being the lapis from alchemy or the philosopher’s stone described in Mediaeval philosophy. Such objects are thought to exert a numinous effect; that is their role can be transformative or act as a focus for unconscious forces. They can be personal or collective and it is my belief that they would have had a significant role in the Neolithic period at a cosmological level. An outstanding example is the use of quartz a light-emitting stone used at prehistoric tombs in conjunction with the harnessing of the sun’s rays to mark significant solar
events as in the roof box at Newgrange. The notion of the circulation of the light is described in alchemy, where it is known as the *circulatio*. In connection with the deliberate positioning of the cairns and certain motifs, more often the spiral but also sun wheel or sun ray motifs, we can compare this with the symbolism of light from other cosmologies.

One source that resonates very strongly with ritual from the Neolithic period is that of the Chinese Taoist philosophy connected with the circulation of the light, expounded in Richard Wilhelm’s book *The Secret of the Golden Flower*.

“That which exists through itself is called the way. Human nature and life are contained in the light of heaven. When the Tao begins to work, action is reversed into non-action and the two poles, the dark and the light begin to rotate.” (Wilhelm 1962 in Jung)

The dichotomy between day and night, dark and light appears in Irish Folk Legends in which The *Bru* thought to be the tomb of Newgrange believed to be built in a day and a night (McMann 1991).

Light can be translated as consciousness, as a means of bringing together, that which is separated. In the manner of Jung, such ideas can only be expressed symbolically. The Tao also refers to two principles of reality, the light represented by the Yang symbol and Yin representing the dark side, (Wilhem 1962:12). Jung understood these ideas as being parallel to his work on the conscious and unconscious of the human psyche.

Augmenting the notion of circularity inherent in the mandela is the circular motion of the sun through the heavens returning to the same position at the solstices perhaps expressing a metaphor for life itself or the notion of time the trajectory of time being perceived as circular rather than linear. The incorporation of solstice and equinoctial alignments is likely to be an expression of spiritual ideas, or in Jungian parlance, the outward expression of an archetype bound up with the way things return to their origins.
From local knowledge, the sun was reputed to illuminate the triskele spiral in the tomb at Newgrange on a certain day of the year. Professor Michael O’Kelly was the first person in over three thousand years to test and prove this theory at the midwinter solstice in 1969 (O’Kelly 1982: 123), proving that is wrong to dismiss all the information contained in folklore. I had heard that this phenomenon occurred at the passage tomb of Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey on the midsummer solstice. It was the desire to experience this event for myself that led me to visit the site on the 19th June 2013.

I arrived well before sunrise, to find a group of primary school teachers, parents and young children gradually assembling to participate in this experience. The children were given musical instruments drums, flutes and a digerigoo. One of the teachers told me that the best place to observe the sun entering the passage to stand on the top of the mound. Inside the cairn chamber, they had placed cameras to capture the sun’s rays as they passed down the passage. I was told that there was only a 50% chance of seeing this phenomenon as of course it is very much dependent on the weather.

It very soon got light, however it took some time for the disc of the sun to appear above the horizon, accompanying it was a cold breeze chilling everyone down. At around 5am the globe of the sun appeared from behind a distant clump of trees that in all probability had not been present in the past as they were obscuring the view of the horizon above which the sun would rise. As the sun appeared, it gained in intensity until it was almost too bright to watch. As it continued to rise above the horizon, a wide beam of light shone down on a group of people standing around on the grass, reminding me of a scene from the science fiction film E.T. Gradually the light moved over to shine down between the two stones marking the entrance to the passage. It did not look as bright as I had expected as the light was broken down in the colours of the spectrum. In spite of the lack of brightness, it was for me a very moving experience, thinking of all the people who must have watched this event thousands of years ago. It gave me a profound sense of unity with the past. I felt that there must have been some kind of numinous, spiritual significance to this experience. Jung was adamant that such archetypal experiences induce an emotional response.
As the sun came up the children began playing their instruments and echoing sounds made by the teacher. We were all told to listen to the birdsong and ignore the sheep but I watched them anyway as they proceeded in a long line to the rocky outcrop to the north west of the tomb, some climbing up to stand on top of the rock, heralding the dawn. After which they carried on down the field, they obviously had their own ceremony to perform. I thought of Jung’s account of the ritual carried out by the Hopi Indians when they stood with raised hands palms uppermost to greet the rising sun, confirming that the sun is a very potent symbol of renewal and of reaffirmation of life. The sheep were likewise reminiscent of a passage from Jung’s travels in Africa, where he describes the rising sun illuminating objects from within turning everything to crystal. His observation point was close to a high cliff inhabited by baboons. Every morning they would sit on a ridge of the cliff facing the sun, whereas throughout the rest of the day they ranged through the forest screeching and chattering. Solar events were most certainly important to prehistoric people as they are to ethnic groups. Their ‘salutations to the sun’ being more than a simple case of sun worship. Beams of sunlight have been interpreted elsewhere is a symbol of renewal, (Hadingham 1974:30). A cyclical event linked to the symbolism of the spiral carvings illuminated by the sun during solar events.

5.5 *Mandelas inscribed upon the earth*
To consolidate the evidence from megalithic tomb art and open air rock art; the final section of this chapter will be taken up by an analysis of the architecture of one of the monuments from the Bronze Age perhaps with features dating further back in time.

In the light of Jung’s mandela symbolism. I will be discussing how this device is reflected in the shape and internal features of one monument and the effects this may have had on those who used this site and the kind of ritual performances that may have been enacted there. I have limited my discussion to one site Seahenge, because although it would be interesting to apply these ideas to other monuments it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Below are some important points to note.

1. The importance of the centre
2. The significance of the outer perimeter.
3. The significance of internal and external features.
4. How a Jungian perspective can help in the interpretation of this sites.

There are numerous references to circular sites in mythology and from ethnographic sources. Archaeologists have referred to a circular conception of the cosmos back in the Neolithic period and Bronze Age demonstrated by the building of circular monuments. The monumentality of the land is conceived of as being related to an ancient symbolic code through the physical reworking of the topography, the topographical features likely to be connected to myths and cosmologies from early times (Watson 2001:214).

One example of a circular ritual site is Bighorn Medicine Wheel in North America, an ancient circular stone monument with a dual role, a place of healing and contemplation as well as for trading and the settling of disputes. It is associated with a sacred mountain known simply as ‘Mountain’. The use of Medicine Wheel dates back at least 10,000 years (Price 1998:260). While we know a little about the function of this site from oral histories, sites from prehistory must remain largely a mystery.

Jung’s research into the mandela led him to believe that there is something in the human psyche that predisposes people to seek a centre or to be in the centre, in order to transcend the human condition (Eliade1961:56). Eliade supports many of Jung’s ideas, particularly his references to comparative religion in his work on the psyche, the collective unconscious and the archetypes, concurring with Jung on the powerful influence exerted by archaic religious symbols, (Eliade 1961:31). The symbolism of the centre appears in many cosmologies, featuring pillars, the cosmic mountain and the world tree, being thought of as a means of contact between earth and the heavens and in the Indian mandelas as the point at which creation begins. In the ancient Indian scripture, the Rig Veda, writings that date back to at least two thousand years BC the universe is believed to be expanding outwards from a central point (Eliade 2001:42).

Another function of a constructed mandela is as a centre for healing and contemplation. The use of a magic circle for this purpose is an archetypal theme common across different ethnic groups. A Pueblo Indian ritual involves the use of sand drawings of a mandela with four gates. This device is also apparent in their
ritual architecture, the central structure in this case consisting of a lodge or sweathouse, within which the men of the group undergo a cure. The ritual significance of the central area is further emphasised by another magic circle situated in the centre of the lodge accompanied by a bowl of healing water; water signifying the entrance to the underworld (Jung 1993:123). Jung was a firm believer in the therapeutic value of these devices, (Jung 1991(b):389).

Another example of the use of circular sites comes from a study of the seventeenth and eighteenth century American Indian Cherokee and Creek confederacy tribal groups carried out by the anthropologist William Bartram in 1770. He described buildings capable of holding several hundred people, that he termed communal rotundas, containing circular rings of posts and tree trunks, similar in form to the structure of prehistoric wooden circular monuments. Performances took place in separate lodges, where special food and drink was consumed for both ritual purposes and entertainment (Hadingham 1976:48).

Although there may be little left to help us unravel the ritual significance of prehistoric stone circles, a clue may lie in the associated mythology and folklore surrounding them. Very common in the literature are stories of stones moving of their own accord to another place, or of stones representing persons of note or ancestors. Parallels exist in some early societies of stone sanctuaries with deities represented by a group of rough unhewn stones. The rock gardens of Zen Buddhism are a good example of this kind of religious symbolism, although they do not have any geometric form, they are in fact an expression of a refined spirituality (Jaffe 1979:232).

5.51 Seahenge
While there may be no visible central structure remaining at the majority of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monumental sites, it does not mean that this feature never existed. We have only to look at the monument known as Seahenge discovered in the sea off the Norfolk coast in 2005. The central feature in this instance is the upside down oak tree in the centre of the circle, an act that cannot have been accidental and one that was likely to have had cosmological implications.
Laser technology showed it to be not a perfect circle but an ellipse with a maximum diameter of 6.6 metres, with the axis running north west to south east. The structure was not composed of isolated wooden posts in the style of a traditional henge but of long pieces of wood fitted closely together with only a narrow gap permitting access to the interior. The oak posts had been split down the centre with the bark on the outer side, making the monument close fitting not so much like a ring of posts, more a solid wall, (Pryor 2002:248). The oak in the centre had been debarked. Pryor wondered why they had inverted the central oak and why arrange posts with the bark facing outwards and strip the bark from the central tree. He concluded that it was to do with purification, involving rituals associated with death and the spirit’s journey to next world. Of course, the monument would not have been submerged in the sea in the Bronze Age but would have been situated on marshland close to or within view or the sound of the ocean, a rather remote desolate place according to Pryor, enhancing its eerie atmosphere.

The significance of the central tree, in Jungian psychology signifies the emphasis on the central point of the circle, as is common in mandela symbolism. Pryor was in no doubt that it was an act of symbolic power. He found it a compelling slightly frightening and eerie image but wondered if it had a specific meaning. He argued that symbols are about more than face value, convinced the oak had held a deep significance, as in the world turned upside down, representing forces deep in ground as much as skyward (Pryor 2001:275).

An intriguing observation is the orientation of the entrance towards the midwinter sunrise. The emotional experience of the archaeologist Francis Prior when confronted with this monument is suggestive of its numinous nature, the awe and feeling of strangeness he experienced combined with the impression that it was for something more than habitation.

In relation to the mandela, the central feature here, the tree is likely to have been the most significant and to be related in some way to their rituals and cosmological beliefs. The Semang pygmies of the Malay Peninsula believe that at the centre of their world is an enormous rock, Batu-Ribn, beneath which is Hell. From the Batu-Ribn rock, a tree trunk reaches up to the sky. Hell, the centre of the earth
and the door of heaven are exist on same axis and along this axis is a passage from one cosmic region to another.

The Semang also say that the trunk of a tree formerly connected the summit of the Cosmic Mountain, the centre of the world with Heaven (Eliade 1961:40). The world tree and the central pillar all occur in different cosmologies and I believe it is highly likely that the central tree from Seahenge also represented some mythical idea being the outward symbol of an archetype associated with the belief in other worlds attainable through mystical means.

From another source it is questioned why this site should have such a profound emotional effect on people in the present, particularly those who came to visit it and attempted to prevent its removal. It has been suggested that the evocative nature of the name ‘Seahenge’ had an effect even though it has been proved archaeologically that the site was never in the sea. Some of the photographic images helped to create this impression, the image of the posts emerging from the sea with the central tree stump the image described by the author as atmospheric having a magical fascination in the way that Jung describes the manifestation of an archetype evoking emotion. Added to this the magnetic pull of the site for New Age and Druid groups and for some of the local residents who fought against the removal of the monument (Champion 2000:105).

Further evidence for its numinous fascination for people, is the fact that he upside down tree is an ancient symbol found in other contexts notably in philosophy, mythology and art. In alchemy, a subject close to Jung’s heart, it is known as the ‘arbor inversa’ meaning upside down tree. Jung conceived of this as a very ancient, numinous symbol (Jung 1993(a):340). Further evidence for the cosmic tree, based on the theme of centrality, is its conception as being at the centre of the universe, as a world axis in ancient China. In German mythology, it is a tree whose roots reach down into Hell and its branches up to Heaven and in central and north Asian mythology, having seven to nine branches representing the celestial planes (Eliade 1960:44).
Laurentius Ventura in the sixteenth century described it as having the roots of its ores in the air and the summit in the earth, in Hindu literature the tree grows from above downwards,( Jung 1967::313). In both the east and western world, the tree symbolism is a living process of enlightenment, which although capable of being understood intellectually, is not to be confused with the intellect. In many cosmologies the tree appears as the guardian of treasure, the life of the tree in alchemy represents the opus or the spiritual work. The concept of the inverted tree also features in alchemy, the Jewish mystical system, the Cabbala and as the tree of knowledge in the Bible (ibid.:318).
CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions

How far do Jung’s theories help in our understanding of the some of the material extant from the British Neolithic period, do they add anything to our conceptions of life at that time.

Commencing with chapter three on the subject of the god archetype do certain motifs images demonstrate the possible existence of these ideas in prehistory. Certainly some of the images from the megalithic tombs are highly suggestive of a belief in deities of depictions of gods concerned with the rites surrounding death funerary rites; not only from their anthropomorphic appearance but with regard to their position within the monuments, guarding the passage or the entrance to the chamber, the central area of the monument. Another clue is the emotional reaction of some archaeologists to these images a fact that Jung would have interpreted as evidence for their numinosity, the feelings of awe and strangeness. In the case of Fourknocks, an emotive effect also experienced by some of the workers who took part in the excavation of the tomb. Whether we can extrapolate these highly subjective and emotive experiences to people from prehistoric times is a highly contentious area of research, hotly disputed by those who believe that it is impossible to put ourselves in the place of people who existed so far back in time, emphasising that their world and experiences would be vastly different from our own. I would concur with Jung that this is not the case, that the ‘structure of the psyche of prehistoric peoples would have much in common with our own, despite being so far back in time and their hopes and fears surrounding the trauma of death would be of a comparative nature, not least their similarity to images from other sources notably the depiction of the guardian ghost from Malakula, (Deacon) which played an important role in the passage of the dead from one realm to another.

Evidence for the spiral as a symbol, acting as an outward manifestation of an archetype can be ascertained from its use at both the megalithic tombs and more rarely as a motif on open air rock surfaces. As Jung was at pains to emphasise, symbols can lose their power to inspire their power to inspire becomes lost or is
superceded by new cosmological ideas. Evidence for this is the slighting of the spiral in some cases being almost totally obliterated and or replaced by other carvings. The belief that this motif was likely to have been a powerful symbol in a Jungian sense, can be deduced from its position in the tombs being situated where it is illuminated by the rays of the sun at certain times of year, generally the midwinter or midsummer solstice, or occasionally at the spring and autumn equinoxes, underpinning the significance of the sun and the phenomenon of light as a powerful archetypal projection of the hopes and uncertainties surrounding death.

Perhaps the most relevant analogy is that of the motifs from megalithic art, rock art and some ceramics to the mandela device. A number of the images displayed at the tombs are forms of the mandela, ranging from the simple circles, dots or cup marks in a circle to concentric circles the most common simple forms, to the more complex designs such as those from the Loughcrew megalithic cemetery of flowers enclosed in a circle and the sunray and sunwheels both of which are included in Jung’s compendium of mandela symbols. Most striking is their likeness to images from the art produced by Jung’s patients, to the more complex mandelas, portraying religious and philosophical systems concepts, that one would think that there was some kind of idea in common motivation behind their production.

Not only the forms of mandela but the contents, one aspect which has a recurrent significance is role of the central point not only as containing cosmological features but as a means of balance, point around which everything revolves and the role of the outer perimeter as a means of containment of guarding what is within.


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