

# Mnemonic Landscapes and Monuments of the Past: Tumuli, Tholos Tombs and Landscape Associations in Late Middle Bronze Age and Early Late Bronze Age Messenia (Greece)

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## Abstract

The paper explores the landscape associations between tumuli and tholos tombs in the Aegean. In doing so, emphasis is placed on issues of visibility, proximity and placement of the tombs in the landscape. The extent to which tumuli may have influenced the location of tholos tombs is reconsidered by looking at the process of creation of a new funerary tradition which made claims to the monuments of the past. It is argued that location and landscape associations, as opposed to physical prominence, may have played a crucial role in strategies of display and particularly in the construction and/or reconfiguration of mnemonic landscapes.

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## **MNEMONIC LANDSCAPES AND MONUMENTS OF THE PAST**

### **TUMULI, THOLOS TOMBS AND LANDSCAPE ASSOCIATIONS IN LATE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE AND EARLY LATE BRONZE AGE MESSENA (GREECE)**

Yannis GALANAKIS\*

#### ABSTRACT

The paper explores the landscape associations between tumuli and tholos tombs in the Aegean. In doing so, emphasis is placed on issues of visibility, proximity and placement of the tombs in the landscape. The extent to which tumuli may have influenced the location of tholos tombs is reconsidered by looking at the process of creation of a new funerary tradition which made claims to the monuments of the past. It is argued that location and landscape associations, as opposed to physical prominence, may have played a crucial role in strategies of display and particularly in the construction and/or reconfiguration of mnemonic landscapes.

People travelling on the A40 motorway from Oxford to London witness a wondrous spectacle: the Northala fields, four tall conical mounds made of the spoil from the construction of the new Wembley stadium and White City.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the environmentally friendly reuse of the debris, the Northala mounds act formidably as shields for the newly built park to the east by blocking the noise pollution of the busy A40. Most intriguingly, they are considered public art. At the same time, however, they summarize some of the ideas I would like to explore in the present paper: 1) the visibility (physical prominence) of mounds in the landscape, their impact on the viewer and their proximity to major routes leading to and from the settlement; 2) the interaction with and reuse of the (not so distant in the case of Northala) past and 3) the creation of landmarks that shape relationships between people and their environment.

During the Middle Bronze Age (MBA hereafter) in the Aegean, earthen mounds were used to conceal a number of different tomb types. From the end of the MBA and throughout the Late Bronze Age (LBA hereafter), a new funerary type was added to the list of tombs covered under an earthen mound: the tholos.<sup>2</sup> It has been argued that the tholos derived from or was strongly influenced by the tumuli tradition, although

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1. [http://www.ealing.gov.uk/services/leisure/parks\\_and\\_open\\_spaces/new\\_developments/northala/](http://www.ealing.gov.uk/services/leisure/parks_and_open_spaces/new_developments/northala/) (last accessed 10 February 2009).

2. Tumuli in the Greek landscape are not necessarily of Bronze Age date. They also appear in certain regions from the Geometric down to the Roman period. In addition, as the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP) showed, not all mounds have a burial function: some of them may actually be the result of more recent accumulation through agricultural practice (Davis *et al.* 1997, p. 486-487, *e.g.* Pyrgaki: Tsouka and Chora: Koukouyera).

other local features like giant *pithoi* (storage jars) of the MBA may have also inspired its form.<sup>3</sup> It has been widely acknowledged that the earthen mounds of tumuli and tholos tombs would give a similar impression to the viewer by concealing the structural differences of the two funerary forms, on the assumption that all stone built tumuli were indeed covered by an earthen mound. It has also been proposed that tholoi constituted a logical extension and intensification of MBA status marking,<sup>4</sup> especially in Messenia, the area with the largest concentration of tumuli and early tholos tombs in the Aegean.

In the present paper, I propose to explore the landscape associations between tumuli and tholos tombs in Messenia.<sup>5</sup> In doing so, I intend to place emphasis on issues of visibility, proximity and placement of the tombs in the landscape. After assessing the landscape associations of the two funerary forms, I would like to argue that although the visual continuity in the Messenian landscape may have made claims to the past, at the same time it was progressively appropriated to serve the needs for power display of rising local elites. I will finish by examining the site of Englianos, the site of the so-called “Palace of Nestor”, in an attempt to exemplify how in this particular case the placement of tholos tombs may have helped to transform the landscape into the ideal arena for power display.

However, any attempt to discuss the issue of landscape associations is hampered by a number of obstacles. Very few tholos mounds have been thoroughly investigated and only a handful of MBA tumuli have been properly studied and published. In order to appreciate the setting and prominence of the tombs, further work is needed towards the reconstruction of the Aegean Bronze Age landscape, especially the area surrounding the tumuli and tholos tombs.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, it is very frustrating to have substantial funerary data and at the same time to know very little about the settlements with which the tombs were associated.

#### MBA TUMULI (FIG. 1)

Despite sharing some basic characteristics, tumuli in the Aegean are almost individually idiosyncratic monuments. They are considerably diverse in their lifecycle, size, architecture, construction and the number and types of tombs they conceal.<sup>7</sup> MBA tumuli in the Aegean have a diameter ranging from 8 to 30m and a height ranging from 1 to 5m, meaning that some allowance must be made for the effects of erosion.

The visual impact of Bronze Age tumuli in the Aegean should not be exaggerated. Most of them constituted simple earthen rises slightly swollen at the centre.<sup>8</sup> Taking into account the topography and geomorphology of the Greek landscape, and of Messenia in particular, it becomes apparent that in the majority of cases the visual impact (the physical prominence) of tumuli would have been limited at close quarters, unlike for example the vast grasslands of the steppes where mounds may have actually mapped the landscape.<sup>9</sup>

As far as the landscape associations of tumuli with tholos tombs are concerned, so far in only one instance in Messenia, at Voidokoilia, is an early tholos directly associated with an earlier tumulus (in this case of MH I date). The tholos, as shown by Professor Korres, was inserted almost in the centre of the MBA tumulus itself built over an EH II settlement.<sup>10</sup> This action might have constituted a direct claim

3. Korres 1993, with earlier literature; Korres, this volume.

4. Voutsaki 1995; Bennet 1998, p. 125; Boyd 2002.

5. For MBA Messenia see also the recent review of new sites by Chasiakou and Korres 2006; for an overview see also Boyd 2002.

6. A good example towards this direction is the work carried out by Zangger *et al.* 1997 for PRAP.

7. Müller 1989.

8. Pelon 1976; Cavanagh, Mee 1998.

9. For a brief overview on tumuli in Europe see Harding 2000, p. 84-103.

10. Korres 1993; outside Messenia, something similar is attested at Amparia Loutrakiou in west central Greece (see Müller Celka, this volume). The tombs at Kato Samiko, with the exception of the two (?) tholoi are here considered “grave circles”. I take into account only those tombs securely identified as tumuli.

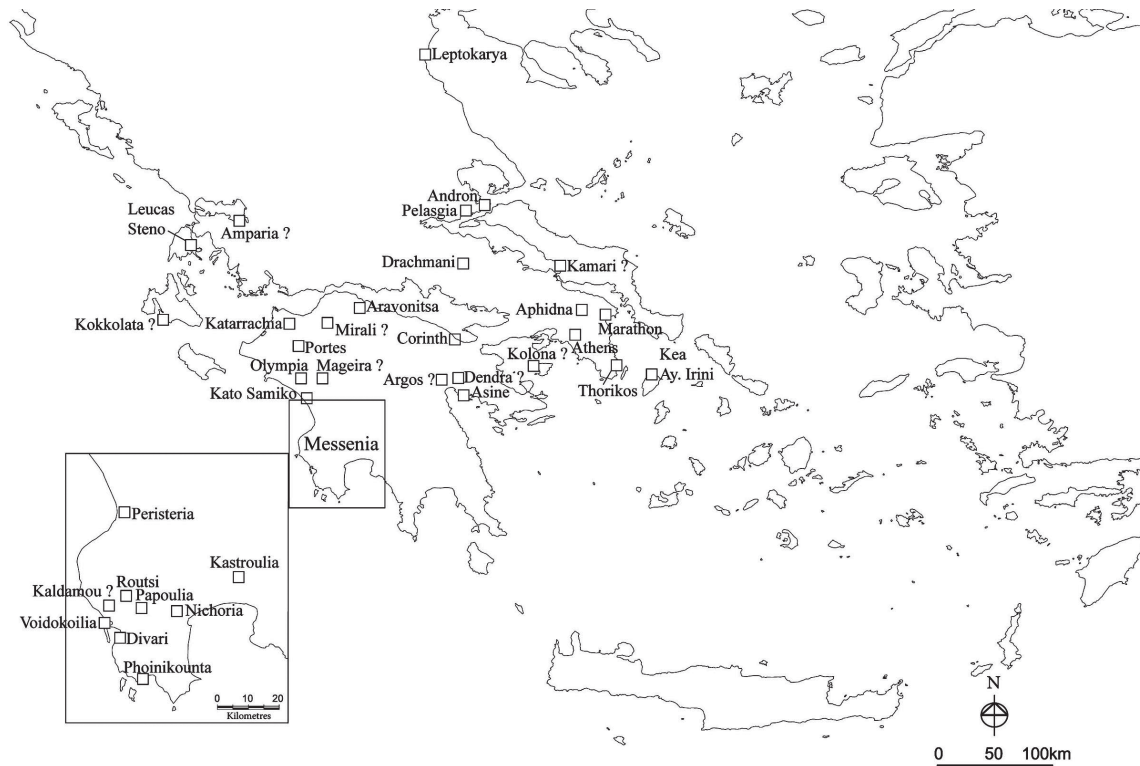


Fig. 1 – Map showing the distribution of Middle Bronze Age tumuli in the Aegean. Tumuli identified in surveys (date uncertain) and the tumuli covering the small and crudely-built tholos tombs at Kaminia and Gouvalari are not included in this map (adapted by the author after Müller Celka 2007, p. 188-189 and pl. 43). For an update see also Papakonstantinou in this volume.

on behalf of the tholos-using groups to these layers of past occupation, resulting in the creation of an archaeological palimpsest.

Although future investigation of more tholos mounds in their entirety may bring to light more such examples, at present tholos tombs are infrequently found in very close proximity to early funerary mounds (that is <100m, e.g. at Thorikos, Kato Samiko and perhaps Dendra).<sup>11</sup> In most instances, where tholoi and tumuli co-exist within the same territory, they are situated hundreds of metres apart: from about 500m (to the west of Peristeria and to the SW of Routsi) to about 1km (to the west of Papoulia).<sup>12</sup> (fig. 2) In the case of the Englianos and Hellenika ridges in Messenia, MBA tumuli were placed in prominent locations on the opposite ridges (to the west in the case of Englianos: *Kaldamou* and to the east in the case of Hellenika: *Kastroulia*)<sup>13</sup>. Although these tumuli may have retained some visual contact with the areas where the settlements later developed, they were certainly not inter-visible with the tholos tombs.

11. I do not include Mycenae (see Dickinson, this volume). A long-standing tradition in elite burials may have increased the receptivity (or paved the way) for the introduction of new funerary forms. In a number of sites across mainland Greece there appears to be an area reserved for elite burials from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age. There is generally a tendency from LH II to move away from the ancestral burial grounds (Aravantinos, Fappas 2009, in relation to the chamber tombs at Thebes).
12. Something similar can be observed outside Messenia, e.g. at Marathon in Attica (600m to the east of the MBA tumuli). In order to evaluate properly this data one has to take into account settlement patterns and the maximum distribution (radius) of tombs associated with these settlements (a difficult exercise for the MBA). During the LBA, where evidence exists, the maximum radius for cemeteries and tombs to be associated with a single settlement appears to be 1.5km, though this is only an average (and there is considerable spatial and temporal variation: Galanakis 2008; for a critique on clustering practices and the archaeological problems involved see Dickinson 1982, especially p. 127-130).
13. Spencer 1995a; Boyd 2002, p. 134-137 (Lefki: *Kaldamou*, six or more mounds of assumed MBA date); Rambach 2007 and this volume for Hellenika: *Kastroulia*.

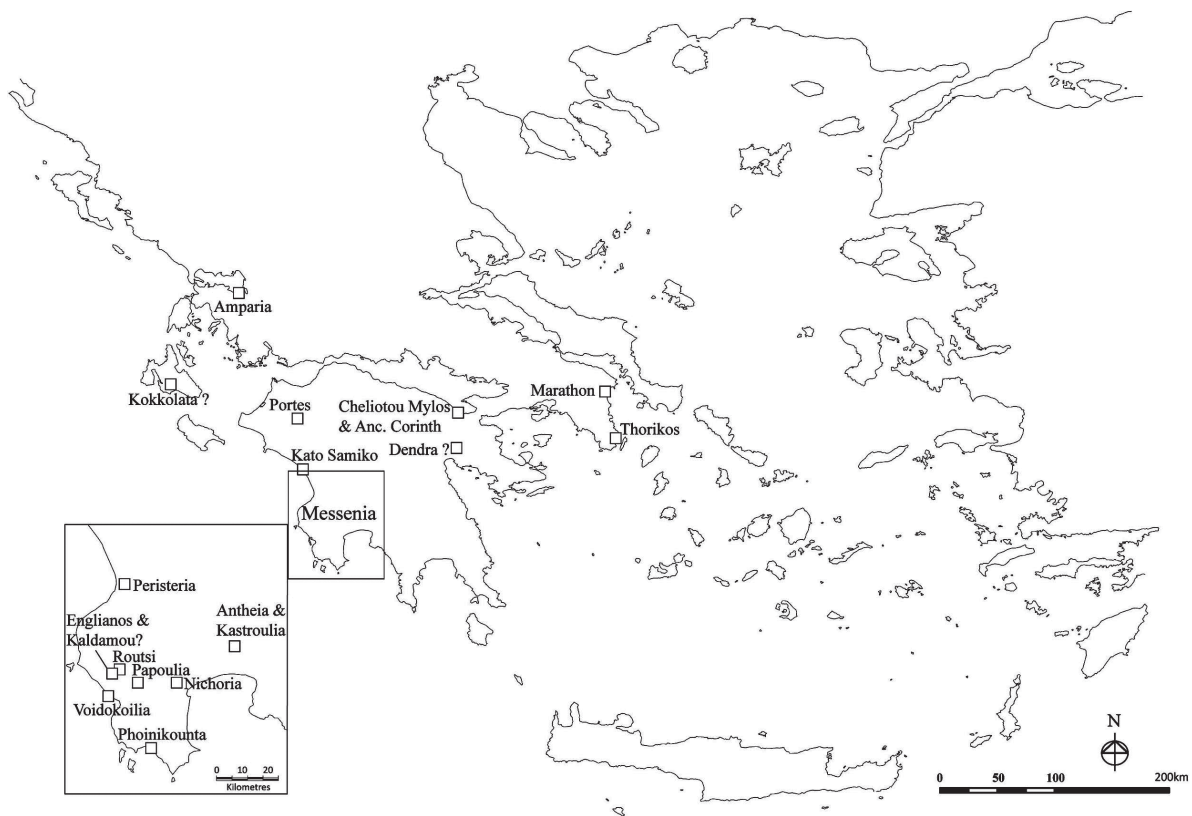


Fig. 2 – Map showing the co-occurrence of Middle Bronze Age tumuli and Late Bronze Age (LH I-IIIb) tholos tombs in the Aegean (either side by side or within a radius of 1km [i.e. at different locations but under the same site name]). About 45% of the sites with excavated MBA tumuli have also yielded at least one tholos within a radius of 1km (map prepared by the author).

Overall, there is little inter-visibility between the earlier funerary structures and the later tholoi, perhaps with the exception of Peristeria. More importantly, the proximity of tholos tombs to tumuli is best understood in relation to the proximity (if not overlap) of the LBA settlement to earlier habitation sites. This is to say that, whatever the influence of tumuli on the development of the tholos, little effort was made to retain any association between the two funerary forms other than the visual continuity achieved by the mound. This is an important point since it appears to refer to the mnemonic (as opposed to the physical) marking of the landscape. Mnemonic landscapes can appropriate past monuments and structures or artfully “forget” their existence.<sup>14</sup> They construct, and potentially control, memories. They can unite but can also divide by demarcating spatial relationships and renegotiating the ways in which the surrounding environment is approached, envisaged and used.

Thus, the position of tholoi in Messenia does not appear to have been determined in any significant way by the presence of tumuli (especially of pre-late MBA date), with the exception so far of Voidokoilia. Moreover the construction of tholos tombs often post-dates, sometimes by hundreds of years, the last period of use of the nearby tumuli. Something similar may have happened with the placement of a number of MBA tumuli in Messenia on top of or near EH II settlements.<sup>15</sup> It is the history of the

14. Mnemonic is here used as “aiding or designed to aid the memory; of, or relating to, [the power of] memory” (according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*). An important element in the construction of memory is the power of forgetting: the reshaping and renegotiation of past memories “deployed by the élite as a way of marshalling general support for their own stand” (Osborne 2003, p. 143). For mnemonic practices at Mycenae see Button 2007.

15. E.g. at Voidokoilia, Routsis: Kalogeropoulos, Papoulia: Agios Ioannis, Hellenika: Kastroulia, etc.

settlement and the world of the living that may provide us with some more vital clues with regard to the location of these tombs. The tombs were probably built in close proximity to habitation sites (as *e.g.* at Asine in the Argolid), although we unfortunately know very little about the association of tumuli with specific settlements in MBA Messenia. It is thus imperative to focus archaeological investigation in the future on settlement sites in an attempt to contextualize these monuments within their broader built environment.

## THOLOS TOMBS

Let us now turn our attention to tholos tombs. Although the overall appearance of tholoi may seem standardized, they too are characterized by considerable diversity, especially in terms of size, architectural elaboration, funerary assemblage, prominence in the landscape and regional and chronological frequencies. To date, more than two hundred LBA tholos tombs have been found in the Aegean: as far north as the southern slopes of Mt Olympus to as far south as Crete and as far west as the Ionian Islands and SW Epirus to as far east as the Aegean islands and the coast of west Turkey, dating from around 1700 to 1200 B.C., although in some regions they continued down to the Early Iron Age and even into later periods.<sup>16</sup>

The tholos tomb consists of a thalamos (chamber), a stomion (entrance) and a dromos (passageway), though the latter element is not always attested. The earthen mound covering the tomb is one of the most prominent features in the completed monument in tholos architecture. The mound prevented the stones of the corbelled vault from slipping and provided the backfill that counterweighted the forces of the corbelled chamber walls. In this respect it had a more structural role than most of the earthen mounds of earlier tumuli. In some tholos tombs the exterior of the stone vault was often coated with several layers of plaster in an attempt to insulate and perhaps even draw attention to the domed vault of the chamber that would have protruded, in most cases, considerably above ground. Retaining walls are often found in association with the earthen mound of tholos tombs. These walls would have prevented the earth fill from slipping and marked out the earthen mound.

Although it is difficult today to assess the prominence of tholos tombs in the landscape due to soil erosion or aggradations, this would have varied considerably: from tombs completely buried underground (like the tholoi at Kokla in the Argolid and Marathon in Attica) to a gentle rise or even prominent knoll in the landscape (as in the case of Georgiko in Thessaly). The prominence of the tombs depended on a number of factors, including local topography and the surrounding landscape as well as the placement of the tomb in relation to ground-level (*e.g.* above-ground, semi-underground or completely underground).<sup>17</sup> The corbelled vault of the early tholos tombs in Messenia would have made a considerable impact on the viewer since most of the tombs were either semi-underground or above-ground structures.

Despite the protruding vault, which in most cases was probably covered with an earthen mound, tholos tombs would generally be appreciated from a short distance (perhaps a few hundred metres). Very few tholoi might have achieved a long-range physical prominence (as *e.g.* Georgiko in Thessaly). Thus, most Aegean tholoi (also due to the uneven and mountainous terrain of the Greek landscape) would have only been visible at close quarters (something already noted in the case of the tumuli in Messenia). It appears that in most cases the tombs and their mounds were visible from the settlement or some of the routes that led to it.

However, we are running the risk here of undermining the importance of mounds: even though they might not have been highly visible in terms of physical prominence, they might have been perceivable and in this case the manipulation by local elites of memory and tradition plays a prominent role in

16. For a thorough discussion see Galanakis 2008.

17. Even Koryfasio was not completely underground: as noted by Zangger *et al.* 1997, p. 573, “the burial of the tomb is simply due to geological processes” that took place over time after it went out of use.

reading the mnemonic landscape<sup>18</sup> – and by that, I refer to the embeddedness and mapping of memories on the landscape. That is to say that visibility from a distance may not have been as vital a characteristic as the positioning of the tombs in certain locations for fulfilling various goals and aspirations other than achieving physical prominence from afar. Therefore, we should try to avoid projecting our modern preconceived ideas about physical prominence onto the past, as landscape archaeology sometimes tends to do. We should also try to look beyond the practical parameters (e.g. proximity to arable land; water resources; or, as argued in this case, physical prominence in the landscape). In addition, mythological/cosmological landscapes in a micro-regional scale may have also played a prominent role in shaping the ways in which people approached and understood the visible as well as the invisible past.<sup>19</sup> The past is often mapped on the landscape – either as part of the landscape's physical properties, or, more importantly, because of the interaction of people's experiences and memories with it. In a sense, we should be looking for the “experienced” landscape where memories and emotions are combined.

In their study on the location of Mycenaean tombs, Cavanagh and Mee concluded that the position of tombs within a territory does not appear to have been determined by any single factor.<sup>20</sup> Although appropriate geological conditions may have been sought after by the builders (especially for the construction of certain types of tombs, like the rock-cut chamber tombs), the position of the tomb was surely not dictated on grounds of geology alone. Several interpretations have been put forward in order to explain the placement of tombs, ranging from traditional and eschatological beliefs to territorial or social claims.<sup>21</sup> It appears that although some factors may have been more prominent than others, overall we should not expect a unifying element, a single answer, but should rather try to assess tombs and cemeteries in their own social, geographical and chronological context. This is not to say that the location they occupied was accidental or unimportant. On the contrary, tombs may have taken up a special place in the socio-political, natural or even eschatological landscape. In this respect location and associations rather than physical prominence may have been more important for the individuals that commissioned and interacted with these tombs.

### THE “PALACE OF NESTOR” AT ANO ENGLIANOS (FIG. 3)

The well-surveyed, thoroughly studied and published site of Englianios provides us with an ideal case for exploring the factors that may have influenced the position of tombs in the landscape not least because it was the only site with early tholos tombs in the region to develop into a major administrative centre in Messenia in LH III based on the Linear B documents.

In the late MBA to early LBA a fortification wall was built at the site around the highest point of the ridge, defining the area later to be occupied by palatial structures.<sup>22</sup> There is scarcely any evidence for structures of this phase beneath the later palatial remains, even after the recent detailed investigation of the available data by Nelson.<sup>23</sup> Despite the lack of evidence, it is significant that the north eastern sector of this circuit has an elaborate entranceway aligned directly on the stomion of tholos IV.<sup>24</sup> This alignment underlines vividly how certain individuals at Englianios may have decided to associate the settlement closely

18. For mounds and monuments in general as focal points of memory and identity see Spencer 1995b; Bradley 1998; Bradley 2002; Bailey 2000; Alcock 2002; van Dyke, Alcock 2003 (various articles); Papadopoulos *et al.* 2008 (with references); see also <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/iaa/staff/papadopoulos/lofkend/index.html> (last accessed 10 February 2009), and Palumbi, this volume.

19. Della Casa, this volume.

20. Cavanagh, Mee 1990; Mee, Cavanagh 1990.

21. See *e.g.* the recent study by Georgiadis and Gallou (2006-07) which highlights regional differences in the placement of the tombs in the landscape between the Argolid and the Dodecanese.

22. Blegen *et al.* 1973, p. 4-18; Bennet 2007, p. 34.

23. Nelson 2001.

24. Blegen *et al.* 1973, p. 3, fig. 4; Davis 1998, p. 56; Bennet 2007, p. 34.

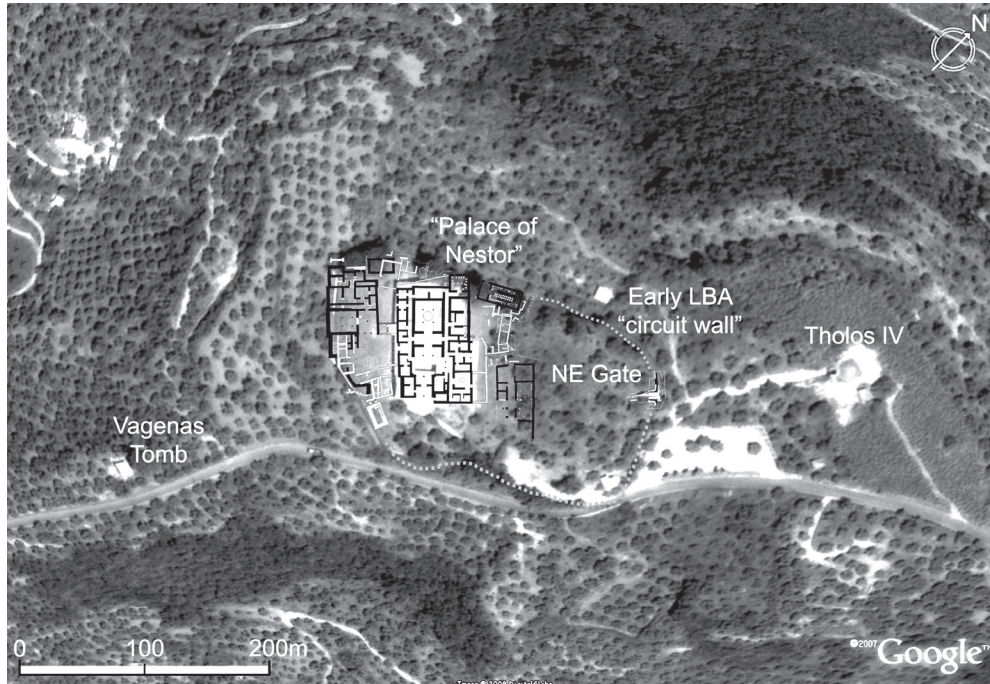
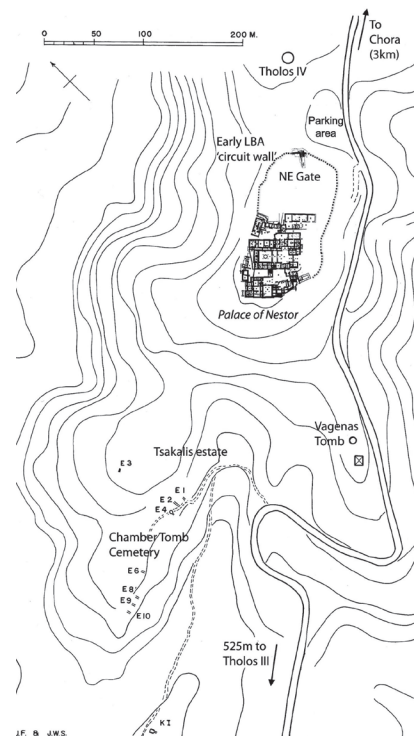


Fig. 3 – The “Palace of Nestor” at Ano Englianos (adapted by the author after Google Earth and Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 303 and 304).

with funerary monumentality and at the same time delimit the site of habitation.

Tholos IV was built in LH I and is chronologically the second tholos to be built at Ano Englianos. However, this demarcation may have already started with the positioning of the Vagenas tomb built late in the MBA right on the final ascent to the Acropolis, about 150m to the south of the Englianos hill. The Vagenas tomb commanded a superb view of the Bay of Navarino and the island of Sphakteria as well as of the areas to the southwest, that is, the areas that were to become (if they were not already) part of the dominion of Pylos.<sup>25</sup>

The fact that these two tholoi are not situated on the highest point of the hill, but rather lie on lower ground, each on either side of the ridge top, made John Bennet suggest that they may have acted as territorial markers bounding the settlement.<sup>26</sup> Their clustering is rather unusual for they are about 400m apart, while in most other cases tholoi often tend to be found in closely arranged clusters (within a radius of 100m, as is often the case with clusters of tumuli).



25. Schepartz *et al.* 2009; but see also Boyd 2002, p. 151, who discusses the possibility of the Vagenas tholos being a depository for secondary burials. This assumption should advise us that the date of construction of the Vagenas tholos may not be necessarily synchronous with the “earliest date of use” based on the finds accompanying the secondary burials.

26. Bennet 1998; Bennet 2007; see also Wright 1984. Both tombs are visible from either end of the ridge top. The positioning of tumuli and tholoi in central Pylia on ridges appears to relate to settlement patterns (though this is not strictly followed outside this region: *e.g.* in the nearby Soulima Valley to the north LH II-III tholoi are situated in the plain as at Vasiliiko, Kopanaki and Malthi and on ridges as at Peristeria, Psari and Chalkias; in addition, settlement and tomb(s) may have occupied quite distinct locations as *e.g.* at Malthi). For mounds as markers, perhaps as early as the Early Bronze Age see Weiberg 2007, p. 165-166.

The position of the two tombs also appears to follow the natural NE-SW contours of the land: the Vagenas tomb stood prominently on the final ascent to the acropolis, while tholos IV was perhaps the first major structure to be encountered by the passerby coming from the NE (that is, from Chora with the extensive cemetery of chamber tombs, *ca.* 3km to the NE of the Englianos site, but where so far no tholos has been discovered).

In LH II a new tholos, tholos III, was built about 1km to the SW of the acropolis of Englianos and about 700m from the Vagenas tomb. Situated away from the other two tholoi, tholos III would have been the first of a series of funerary monuments encountered by the passerby on his ascent to the acropolis. Its placement away from the acropolis has been interpreted as a reflection of the possible expansion of the settlement site at that time and of the Pylian polity as a whole. In this respect it could be argued that tombs became part of a wider strategy that entailed the creation of mnemonic landscapes,<sup>27</sup> whatever the physical prominence of the monuments might have been.<sup>28</sup>

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has already been argued that, early in the LBA, the tholos tomb became an instrument of display. Irrespective of its origins, the tholos appears to represent the culmination of the development of monumental funerary architecture, a phenomenon that in SW Peloponnese probably started in the early MBA. However, the number of tholoi in Messenia, the differences in their funerary assemblage and architectural elaboration appear to suggest that this particular tomb type was not, at least in this region and certainly in the early stages, the exclusive tomb type of the elite.<sup>29</sup> The same is probably true for the Messenian tumuli, although more work is needed in order to understand their social complexities.<sup>30</sup>

Yet, a number of tholoi would have acted as focal points for elite display to a wider community; display perhaps in support of claims to rule by certain members of the elite,<sup>31</sup> as was probably the case at Englianos. The spiralling architectural elaboration of tholoi, especially during LH II, appears further to reinforce this notion.

However, as the example of Englianos suggests, the position of tombs in the landscape may have already from LH I become a tool not only for making claims on the past but also for displaying a new cultural rhetoric; a package of social and ideological practices that was emulated by a number of groups around Pylos and beyond. If one looks at the sites that would have probably constituted the main rivals of Englianos's power, Kakovatos and Peristeria, a similar pattern, though not as widespread as at Englianos, can be observed, with the clustering of tholoi probably along the main routes leading to the settlements (and this pattern is in no case restricted to Messenia; see *e.g.* Thorikos in Attica, Mycenae in the Argolid and Knossos in Crete).

27. It is worth mentioning here the distinction within the Pylos polity of the "Further" and "Hither Aigaleon" provinces, which imply a "mental map" (Bennet 1998, p. 114) and helps, to some extent, to underline the importance of mnemonic landscapes for the agents of the time (either funerary and/or political or simply geographical).

28. At the beginning of LH IIIA the Vagenas Grave Circle goes out of use to be followed soon afterwards by tholos IV (sometime in LH IIIA). The thousands of *kylikes* and other potsherds discovered in the parking area during the 1968-1969 trial trenches by Blegen's team could suggest that this broad plaza to the northeast of the ridge may have been used as an open space suitable for gatherings (Blegen *et al.* 1973, p. 64-67; Prof. J. Davis, pers. comm. 16 February 2009), perhaps in relation to the commemorialization of tholos IV (cf. the LH IIIB remodelling of Grave Circle A at Mycenae and the open spaces in front of the Atreus and Clytemnestra tholoi; for the "symbolic manipulation of sacred and ancestral geographies" in LH IIIB see Gallou 2005, p. 24-30). Only tholos III probably stayed in use down to LH IIIB (early) along with a few chamber tombs.

29. Voutsaki 1995; Voutsaki 1998; see also Bennet, Galanakis 2005.

30. A good example of how to move forward is offered by the Middle Helladic Argolid Project "Shifting Identities" (Voutsaki *et al.*, this volume).

31. Bennet 2007, p. 36; Wright 1995; Voutsaki 1995.

The long-distance physical prominence of tumuli and tholos mounds in the landscape has been exaggerated somewhat in the archaeological literature of the 2nd millennium B.C. in the Aegean. I have tried to argue that the impact on the viewer was, in most cases, from close quarters. Emphasis was placed, at least in the early LBA, on the mnemonic rather than the physical prominence of the monument. Tombs (architecture and burial practices) became part of wider, complex strategies that entailed the construction and re-negotiation of power relations. The proximity of important tombs along the major routes leading to and from the settlements may have contributed towards the creation of mnemonic landscapes and in some sites almost certainly demarcated settlement boundaries (thus creating landmarks that shaped relationships between people and their natural and social environment).<sup>32</sup> In most instances monuments of the past (that is of a MBA date) were either forgotten (they went out of use), re-discovered (as at Voidokoilia) or re-configured to serve the aspirations and needs of the new rising elites (as was perhaps the case with the MBA mounds and the LBA tombs between Kastroulia and Antheia and perhaps Kaldamou and Englianos).

This brief presentation does not claim to have covered all the issues associated with the landscape associations of tumuli and tholoi or their possible regional and chronological differences. I have simply tried to demonstrate that a discussion of landscape associations can form a useful exercise in an attempt to assess how the different elements of the built environment may have influenced each other and in particular the appearance and spatial setting of the tombs.<sup>33</sup> It is hoped that the publication of a number of unpublished tumuli will help us gain a better understanding of their date of construction and use; the accurate fixing of their locations on large-scale maps will improve our knowledge of the setting of these monuments in the landscape;<sup>34</sup> what will, however, be essential in the future is the excavation of the settlement sites (wherever they may still survive).<sup>35</sup> Settlements may not necessarily provide us with an answer to all our questions but will help us appreciate even further the interaction between the world of the dead and the world of the living.

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32. E.g. they may have created limits and new relations as to who has access and who has not to the settlement site.
33. The progressive construction (often in layers) of some tumuli entails a different lifecycle and impact to that of the tholoi, the form of which was not altered in any dramatic way after the first interment(s). For the lifecycle of tumuli and the implications it may have on the way we approach and interpret them see e.g. Borgna, this volume. Micromorphology will certainly enhance our understanding of the different phases of use of earthen tumuli (see Papadopoulos *et al.* 2008; see also its recent application in chamber tombs in the Argolid: Wright *et al.* 2008, especially p. 635-643).
34. Davis *et al.* 1997, p. 486; Merkouri, Kouli in this volume; also Kuna 2006.
35. For a constructive critique on the often contrasting (though to a large extent inter-related) attitudes and approaches in archaeology, namely “settlement patterns” versus “landscape studies”, see Sherratt 1996.

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