

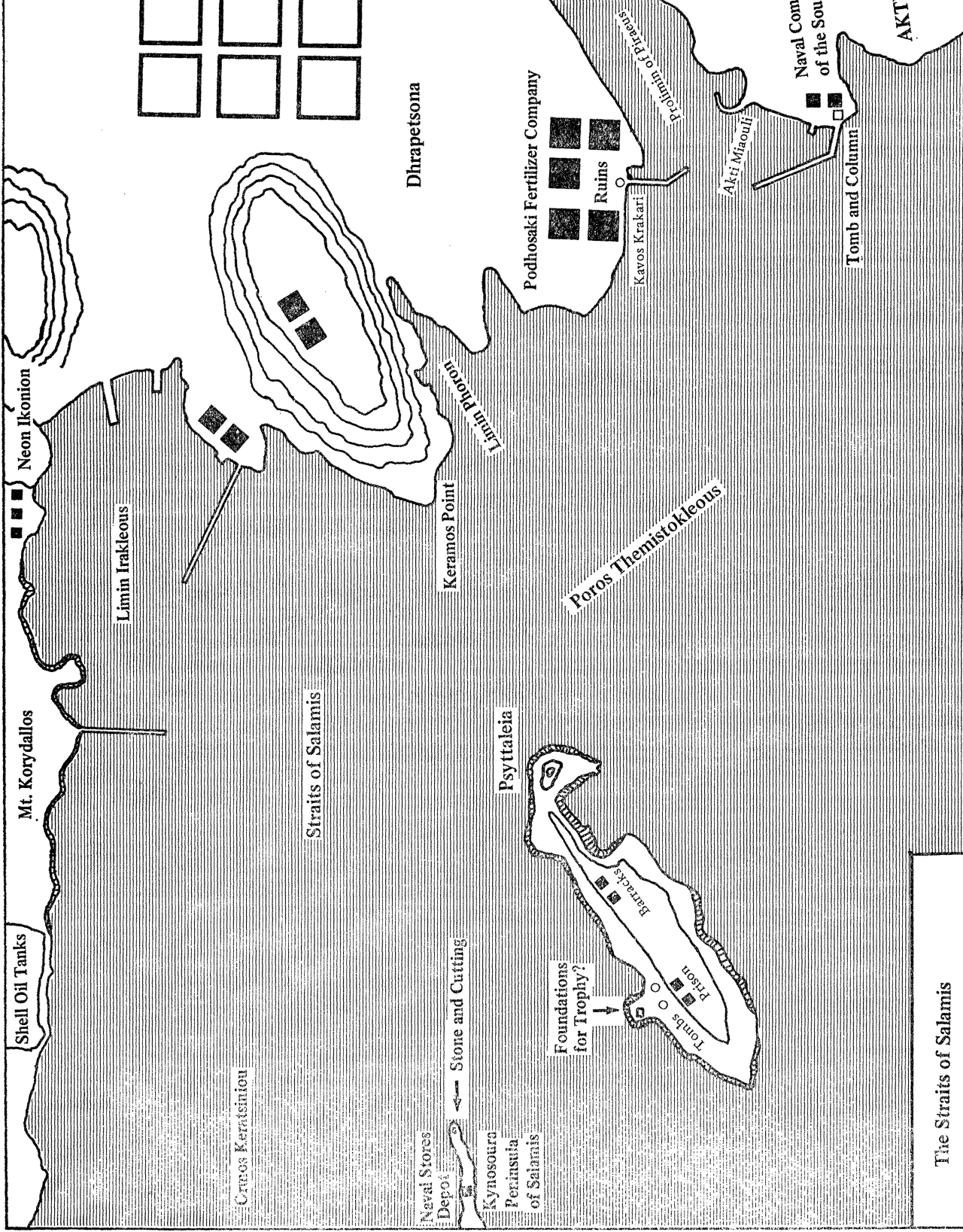
# THE TOMB OF THEMISTOKLES IN THE PEIRAIEUS

(PLATES 111-112)

AS early as Thucydides (I, 138, 4-6) a rumor was current in Athens that the bones of Themistokles had been brought out of Magnesia and secretly reburied somewhere in Attica.<sup>1</sup> Thucydides however makes no mention of a tomb identified as that of Themistokles and it is doubtful whether any structure was so known at that time. A little later references begin to occur to a tomb in the Peiraieus which was supposed to hold the great statesman's bones. Wherever exactly this structure was, and whosever bones it actually contained, it was apparently known as the Tomb of Themistokles throughout the rest of antiquity. In late Turkish times, when travellers began to visit Greece, the remains most often identified as the Tomb of Themistokles were a few scattered blocks, a sarcophagus, and some fragments of a column located on the western extremity of the Akte peninsula near Akti Miaouli, at the entrance to the Peiraieus on the south (Pl. 111, a). Another ancient structure on the opposite side of the harbor's entrance was suggested as the Tomb in the early years of this century, but the study which described this latter structure was published privately in Greece in pamphlet form and is little known. Both of these sites are now in restricted territory. The remains near Akti Miaouli are on the property of the Naval Command of the South Aegean; in the summer of 1970 the officers of the Naval Command kindly gave permission to the author to visit the site and to photograph, apparently for the first time, the ancient tomb which stands on the coast before their buildings. The physical, literary, and geographical evidence seems to confirm the traditional view that the antiquities on the Akte peninsula constitute the structure known in late antiquity at least as the Tomb of Themistokles.

The remains of the tomb on the promontory of the Naval Command are located at the point where the Akte peninsula comes closest to Psyttaleia and the straits of Salamis (Fig. 1). About 400 m. to the north of the projection where the remains of the tomb are located is the point known as Akti Miaouli, named after Andreas Miaoulis, one of the great admirals of the Greek War of Independence. The promontory where the tomb is located is the first point on the south which could be regarded as part of the mouth of the Peiraieus as one enters the port. Just to the south of the tomb the coastline retreats inland to form a small, rocky inlet, called Ormos Kanellopoulou. This inlet is about 250 m. across at its mouth and retreats inland about 300 m. from the margin of the sea.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read in shortened form at the 72nd General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Cincinnati, December 28, 1971.



The Straits of Salamis

The fullest description of the tomb was made in the last century by A. Milchhöfer:<sup>2</sup>

Wir beobachten nämlich, wie die Skizze zeigt, einen quadratisch hergerichteten Platz von je 5,80 Meter Ausdehnung, dessen umlaufender Rand von einer 0,80 Meter breiten geglätteten Felsbahn gebildet wird; dieselbe diente, wie bei der Stadummauerung an so vielen Orten beobachtet werden kann, als Lager für die Wände eines Unterbaus, welche sorgfältiger ausgeführt werden mussten als das innere Füllwerk; hier im Zwischenraum hat man gleich den Felsen z. Th. in Blöcken stehen gelassen. In diesen Bezirk fallen zwei kleinere Felsgräber und ein grosses, von denen die ersteren wohl nur Asche aufzunehmen hatten. Das grosse Felsgrab, welches östlich unmittelbar ausserhalb der Krepis liegt, muss nachträglich hinzugefügt und dann mit dem übrigen Unterbau verbunden worden sein.

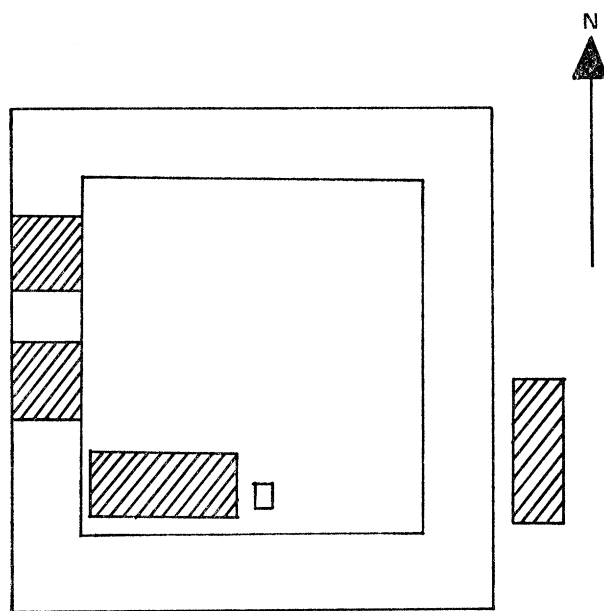


FIG. 2. Milchhöfer's Plan of Cutting and Graves on Akte.

Milchhöfer's plan (Fig. 2) shows four graves; the two small ones were located in the cutting on the west side, one full-sized grave was located within the perimeter of the cutting, and another was located immediately outside the perimeter on the east. Though Milchhöfer refers to some blocks, apparently when he saw the tomb the stones of the foundation were no longer in place.

Some restoration has taken place on the tomb, apparently quite recently. Two or three courses of ashlar blocks now rise above the "geglättete Bahn" which Milchhöfer described. The two graves in the west side of the circuit can no longer be seen, nor was I able to locate the grave Milchhöfer mentions as located outside the circuit

<sup>2</sup> *Karten von Attika*, Erläuternden Text, Heft I, Berlin, 1881, p. 54.

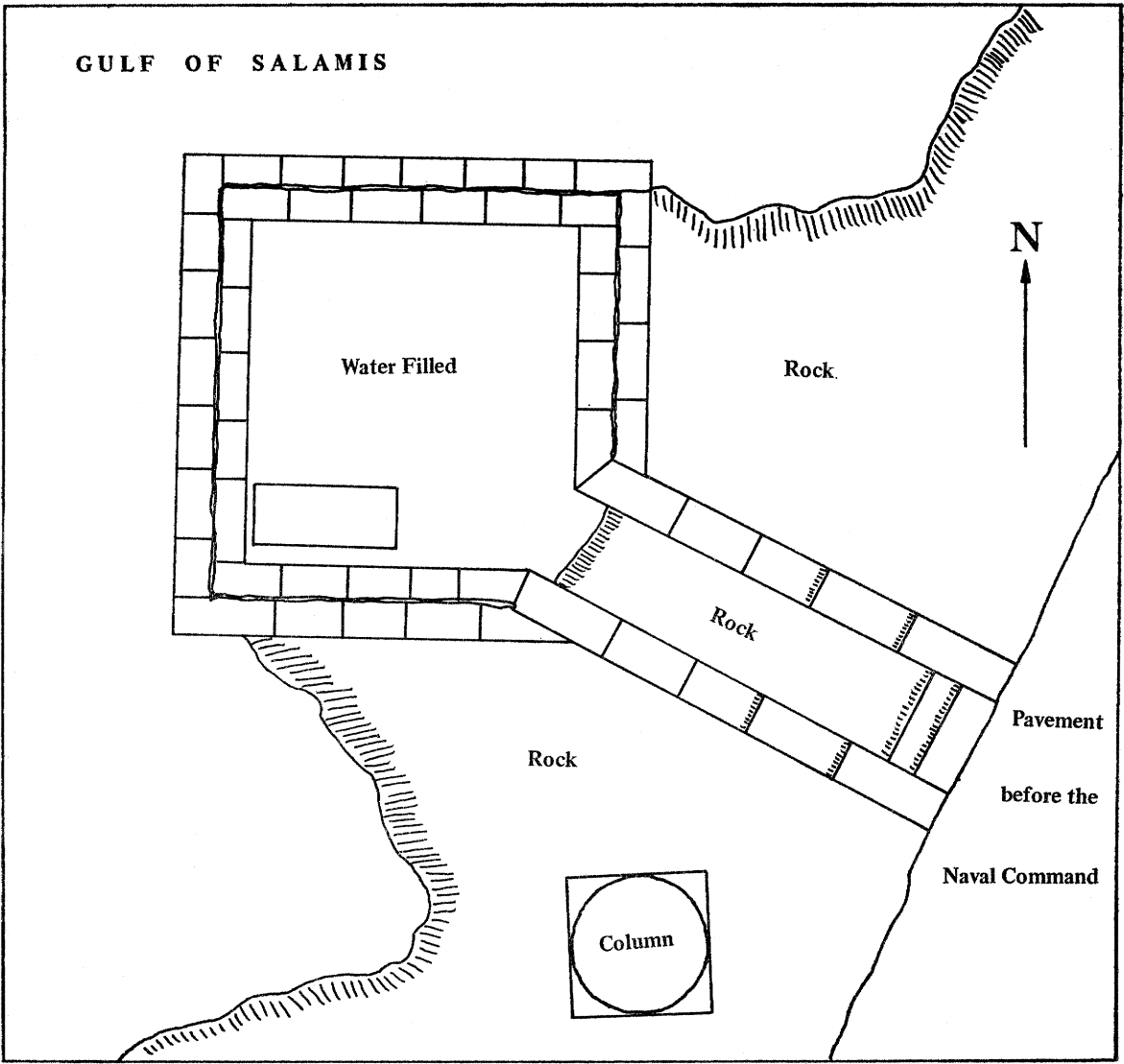


FIG. 3. The "Tomb of Themistokles" on the Western Extremity of Akte.

on the east. Only the sarcophagus within the circuit wall is now visible. The present shape of the structure (Fig. 3) is not a simple square as Milchhöfer describes it. The southeast corner of the foundation is broken by a space formed by two lines of stones, creating a kind of walkway which extends to the tomb from the asphalted platform before the Naval Command (Pl. 112, a). The whole structure, including the walls lining the "walkway," is built of ashlar blocks. On Bl. III of the *Karten von Attika* the tomb is located outside of the walls which defended the Akte peninsula;<sup>3</sup> the considerable building which has taken place in recent years has completely obscured the wall in this area, and its course can no longer be traced.

Just to the south of the tomb an unfluted column now rises about 9 meters in the air (Pl. 111, b). The column was reconstructed in 1952 from seven drums found scattered about the area.<sup>4</sup> Milchhöfer<sup>5</sup> speaks of seven or eight weathered column drums a few steps *north* of the tomb and of a block which probably belonged to a round foundation. This is probably the same place where Dodwell<sup>6</sup> saw "the remains of a large column of stone, consisting of eight unfluted frusta, seven of which are fallen. The lower frustum is in its ancient position; but is now washed by the waves. Its diameter is five feet and a half. Part of the volute of the capital, which is seen among the ruins, proves it to have been of the Ionic order."

Due to the rise in sea level since antiquity, the inner part of the tomb is now filled with water and is consequently difficult to examine. I was unable to determine exactly how deep the interior was, what still remains within the foundation, or to discover even the exact number of courses preserved (or reconstructed) on the seaward side. The sarcophagus in the southwest corner is almost completely submerged; it seems to be merely cut from the rock and was perhaps designed to receive another sarcophagus (Pl. 112, b). Those who in recent years have been concerned with the repair and restoration of the tomb have had no doubt, at any rate, as to the identification of the structure, for a stone in the second course of the west wall is inscribed with the words ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΣ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΦΡΕΑΠΠΙΟΣ. The great statesman's descendants must have known that he would not take offense if they misremembered his father's name.

At the beginning of this century another ancient structure in the area of the Peiraieus was suggested as the Tomb of Themistokles. The description of these remains and the arguments for their identification are contained in a small book by Iakovos Dhraghatsis entitled *Τὸ Θेमιστόκλειον*, published in Athens, 1910. These remains are in the area called Dhrapetsona and are located on a promontory, called

<sup>3</sup> See also Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, I, London, 1819, p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> Professor A. K. Orlandos has informed me by letter that in May 1952 he carried out the restoration on the column; he added that he performed no work whatsoever on the tomb itself.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 423.

Kavos Krakari, on the north shore of the entrance to the Peiraeus, about 800 m. west of the Eetioneia promontory (now called Akti Harry Truman). An inlet of the sea is formed by the Eetioneia and the Krakari promontories and is known by the name Krommidarou. A mole extends south from the Krakari promontory towards the mole which rises to meet it from the opposite shore.

The ancient structure on Kavos Krakari was excavated by Dhraghatsis in 1897.<sup>7</sup> Dhraghatsis (pp. 20-25) describes the remains as consisting of two column drums and a circular foundation (6.40 m. in diameter) which had a hole exactly in its center, dug into the rock (Fig. 4). This hole was 0.77 m. deep with an upper diameter of

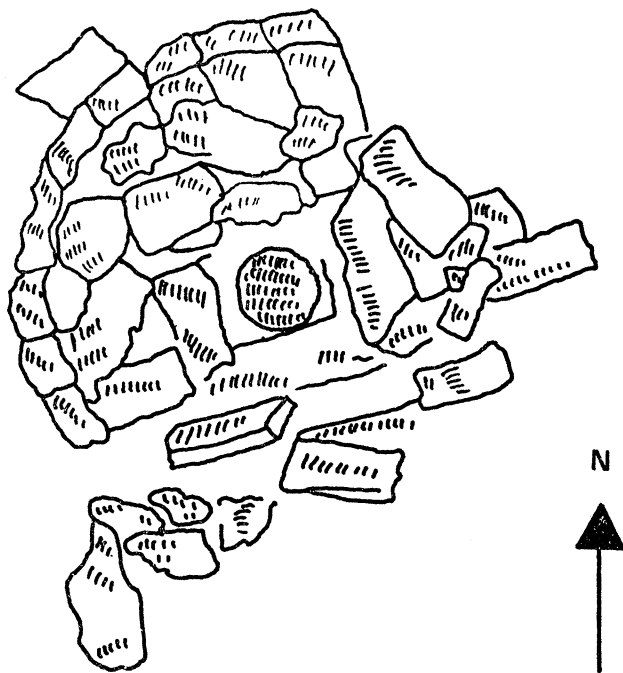


FIG. 4. Dhraghatsis' Plan of Remains on Kavos Krakari.

0.75 m. In the hole were found "sherds of different periods" and part of a marble burial cask (*κάλπη νεκρική*), with a "little bone dust clearly discerned in the soil" (p. 24). Dhraghatsis also excavated around the structure, but found nothing important. Dhraghatsis argued that the tomb on the Akte peninsula was for the reception of a whole body, not just for the bones, as was the case with the remains of Themistokles.

<sup>7</sup> At least I assume this is the excavation referred to by S. E. Likoudhis in the *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, XII, p. 494. Dhraghatsis himself does not give a date, except to say that illicit digging took place there *κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦ ἀτυχοῦς ἡμῶν πολέμου* (pp. 23, 24), which resulted in his excavation. He probably means the disastrous war against Turkey in 1897, which started with riots in Crete.

Dhraghatsis' site is now within a complex of buildings belonging to the Podhosaki Fertilizer Company, which does not display the antiquities to best advantage. Time and the Fertilizer Company have raised the ground (now a pavement) around the structure approximately 2.0 m. higher, and the buildings of the Company make surface exploration in the area impossible. But at least the site of the antiquities is no longer used by the Company as a trash dump, as in the days when it roused Dhraghatsis' ire.<sup>8</sup> A few blocks can today be seen in the hole and part of the column still remains (Pl. 112, c). The officials of the Company kindly gave me permission to visit and photograph the site, which, they insist, represents the remains of the Tomb of Themistokles.

A number of the travelers to Greece in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries attempted to identify some remains with the Tomb of Themistokles, but it is sometimes difficult to say whether the antiquities they describe, though usually in the area of the tomb on Akte, are in fact that tomb or some other tomb which was still visible in their day. The first of these travelers who seems to mention the Tomb is George Wheler,<sup>9</sup> who traveled through Greece in 1675: "The mouth of *Porto-Lione* is so narrow that two Gallies can hardly enter in a-breast. . . . Along the Shore, on the East-side of it [presumably Wheler means the *south* side], one may perceive some Foundations of Wall, and Ruins: And near to the street, at the mouth, the Foundations of two square Towers, over against each other. Near to the first was the Tomb of *Themistocles*, that made the *Athenian* Port. But whether it were that great Stone Sepulcher we saw a little further of, near to some caves cut out of the Rock, we could not determine." Richard Chandler<sup>10</sup> also mentions the tomb, but his remarks seem to be derived solely from the passage in Plutarch and not from actual observation of a tomb in the Peiraieus. Col. W. M. Leake<sup>11</sup> remarked that it was customary by his time to refer to a tomb on "the extreme Western Cape of the Munychian peninsula" as the Tomb of Themistokles. Leake described the remains as a "quadrangular *θήκη* or coffin hewn out of the rock," which was protected from the waves "by means of an outer case similarly formed." Leake also noted that near by lay a "sepulchral stele or short column of a common form." Leake is apparently the only early traveler to speak of a monument on the north shore of the harbor's entrance as another candidate for the Tomb of Themistokles. From his brief description it is not possible to say whether he is referring to the monument Dhraghatsis excavated. He said it was located on the promontory west of Eetioneia and that it consisted of a "broad *κρηπίς* or base, with the fragments of a large stele which stood upon it."

<sup>8</sup> Πρακτικά, 1922-1924, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *A Journey into Greece*, London, 1682, p. 419.

<sup>10</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, II, 2nd ed. with remarks by N. Revett, Oxford, 1825, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>11</sup> *The Topography of Athens*, 2nd ed., London, 1841, pp. 380, 381, note 1.

Leake was disinclined to accept either as the Tomb of Themistokles, thinking that both positions conflicted with the literary evidence.

Edward Dodwell's account of his visit to the site is important because of the description of the column which is quoted above. Of the tomb itself he says: "Near the column is a sarcophagus cut in the rock; but uncovered, and generally full of water. A few paces further I remarked another sarcophagus placed in a cavity, or exterior receptacle of the same form, with an intermediate space of about seven inches. The inner case is probably not cut in the solid rock, but placed in the cavity which was contrived for its reception. It is however not easily examined, as it is commonly overflowed. The cover is destroyed." The other early travelers who saw the site have little to add.<sup>12</sup>

The Tomb is also seldom mentioned in recent literature. Chr. Th. Panagos,<sup>13</sup> author of the most recent full length study on the Peiraieus, does not himself express a preference, but only lists those who have accepted one or the other identification. The only authors he mentions who follow Dhraghatsis' identification are El. Angelopoulos<sup>14</sup> and Ph. Négris,<sup>15</sup> to whom should be added S. E. Likoudhis.<sup>16</sup>

The literary evidence for the location and identification of the Tomb of Themistokles consists of statements made by only three ancient authors: Aristotle, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Thucydides (I, 138, 4-6), as mentioned above, does not actually give evidence for the existence of a tomb, but only reports the rumor that the bones of Themistokles had been brought to Attica: <sup>17</sup> τὰ δὲ ὅστ' αὖ φασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. Aristotle (*Hist. An.*, VI, 569b) mentions a Themistokleion in connection with his discussion of the ἀφύαι and the waters which they frequent around Attica: γίνονται δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκίοις καὶ ἐλῶδεσι τόποις, ὅταν εὐημερίας γενομένης ἀναθερμαίνηται ἡ γῆ, οἶον περὶ Ἀθήνας ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ πρὸς τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῳ καὶ ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Since Aristotle mentions a few sentences later Phaleric ἀφύαι, it has been assumed by some that the Themisto-

<sup>12</sup> The "modern Athenian guides" pointed out the tomb to J. C. Hobhouse (*A Journey through Albania*, I, Philadelphia, 1817, p. 300) and to his "fellow-traveller," Lord Byron, who described it as follows (*The Giaour*, lines 1-6):

No breath of air to break the wave  
That rolls below the Athenian's grave,  
That tomb which, gleaming o'er the cliff,  
First greets the homeward-veering skiff,  
High o'er the land he saved in vain;  
Where shall such hero live again?

<sup>13</sup> *Le Pirée. Étude économique et historique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu' à la fin de l'empire romain, avec une étude topographique*, Athens, 1968, p. 97, note 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Περὶ Πειραιῶς καὶ τῶν λιμένων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους*, Athens, 1898, p. 170.

<sup>15</sup> "Vestiges antiques submergés," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 350.

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also schol. on Aristophanes, *Eq.*, 84.



kleion he mentions may have been another monument on the bay of Phaleron. The *locus classicus* for the Tomb of Themistokles is Plutarch, *Vit. Them.*, XXXII, 3-6, which deserves to be quoted here in full: Διόδωρος δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γιγνώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκών, καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ἥ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. Οἴεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις·

Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος  
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,  
τούς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,  
χῶπόταν ἄμιλλα τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Pausanias (I, 2), proceeding from Sounion and Phaleron to the Peiraieus, says: Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἥρξε—τοῖς τε γὰρ πλέουσιν ἐπιτηδειότερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνεται οἱ προκεῖσθαι καὶ λιμένας τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἔχειν τοῦ Φαληροῦ—τοῦτό σφισιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατασκευάσατο· καὶ νεῶς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν οἴκοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους. The passages from Plutarch and Pausanias are the most significant for the identification of the Tomb of Themistokles and are the passages most discussed by those in modern times who have tried to locate the Tomb.

The only descriptive or topographical information these sources give is that the Tomb

- (1) had a large foundation and an altar-like superstructure (Diodoros [Plutarch])
- (2) was in a sheltered and marshy district (Aristotle)
- (3) was beside the largest harbor (Pausanias)
- (4) was near the large harbor opposite Alkimos, inside a promontory where the water is still (Diodoros [Plutarch])
- (5) was prominently located for ships entering and leaving the Peiraieus (Platon [Plutarch])

Inconsistencies between these facts and the sites described here can be seen at once. It could be pointed out first that neither site is located in a particularly marshy area. On the other hand, both sites could be said to be near the large harbor, but that fact scarcely helps to restrict the area. Nor does it help to know that the Tomb was *κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμον*, for this is the only time in ancient literature Alkimos is mentioned and consequently cannot be identified with certainty, though it is now traditional to give the name to the northernmost promontory of the Akte peninsula. But the most significant disparity between the sources and these two sites appears in the literature's emphasis on the sheltered and protected nature of the site, for both of the sites here described are situated *on* promontories, not on shores *protected* by promontories.

As was mentioned above, Aristotle's reference to a marshy area where ἀφύαι thrive is inappropriate to the tomb at the Naval Command as it would be to almost the whole of the Peiraieus. It is therefore possible that Aristotle is referring to another area when he speaks of a Themistokleion. This possibility seems first to have occurred to Leake,<sup>18</sup> who does not however suggest a location for this "second" Themistokleion. Milchhöfer<sup>19</sup> thought we should look for Aristotle's Themistokleion at Phaleron, which was "überhaupt reich an Seefahrerdenkmalen," and was famous "wegen der Güte und der grossen Zahl dieser Fische."<sup>20</sup> There is no evidence, however, for a monument to Themistokles at Phaleron, and there is really no need to suppose that one existed there. Wachsmuth<sup>21</sup> and Judeich<sup>22</sup> do not accept the suggestion of a second Themistokleion, regarding the one on Akte as quite suitable for the literary references.

As for Dhraghatsis' site, there do not seem to be any good reasons even for assuming that it is a tomb. Diodoros the Periegete (Plutarch) says that the superstructure, not the foundation, of the tomb was altar-like, so the circular shape of this monument is no more appropriate to the literary sources than a square one. The column may have served the same function as the column near the tomb at the Naval Command, whatever that was; but we may surmise that these two columns marked the entrance to the Peiraieus.<sup>23</sup>

When we remember that many tombs could previously be seen on both sides of the entrance to the Peiraieus,<sup>24</sup> it might seem that we are on a wild-goose chase in trying to find the Tomb at all. But apparently most of the tombs about the Peiraieus were small and simple, the sort of which Dodwell<sup>25</sup> was able to open thirty in one day. The mere size of the two structures under discussion mark them out as having at least a little more than ordinary significance.

Something, at least, can be said for the identification of the Themistokleion with the tomb at the Naval Command. Pausanias described the Tomb as being near the largest harbor rather than near the two small harbors (Mounychia, Zea), thus implying that the Tomb was on the Akte peninsula, between the large harbor and the two smaller ones; the tomb at the Naval Command is so situated. It certainly has a κρηπὶς ἐνμεγέθης and could easily have had a βωμοειδής superstructure. The tomb

<sup>18</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 69, note 70.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, II, Berlin, 1863, pp. 164, 165 and note 21.

<sup>21</sup> Curt Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen in Alterthum*, II, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 169, 170, note 3.

<sup>22</sup> W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1931, p. 443, note 1.

<sup>23</sup> Each site is marked a *Leuchtsäule* on the *Karten von Attika* and on Judeich's Plan III; Milchhöfer, *op. cit.*, p. 55 and Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 443, note 1.

<sup>24</sup> Leake, *loc. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 431, 432.

is also prominently located to be seen by ship, for the greatest traffic must always have approached the Peiraeus from the south, not from the Straits of Salamis in the north.<sup>26</sup> Further, if the bones of Themistokles ever were deposited on the Akte peninsula, the site must have been chosen because it was the location of one of Athens' proudest achievements, for which Themistokles was chiefly responsible. If a monument was set up as a memorial to the hero of the Battle of Salamis, surely a site would be chosen as close as possible to the scene of that conflict (Pl. 112, d). The promontory at the Naval Command is the point where the Akte peninsula comes nearest to Psyttaleia and Salamis, and both Psyttaleia and Salamis have promontories where antiquities have been found which may represent monuments to the battle.<sup>27</sup>

Where exactly the Tomb of Themistokles was located cannot be determined on the evidence now available; perhaps the site will never be definitely known. But the tomb at the Naval Command at least satisfies some of the requirements and is so situated as to be prominent and impressive both to voyagers on passing ships and to the visitor on the headland. The most famous tomb in antiquity in the area of the Peiraeus was the Tomb of Themistokles; perhaps it is significant that whenever in recent years someone has looked for the Tomb of Themistokles, the tomb at the Naval Command has always stood out before all the others. Whosever bones the tomb contained, the structure itself, with its size and situation, was certainly notable, and as one looks over the Straits of Salamis from the site, it is impossible not to make the obvious attribution. We cannot now say whether the bones of Themistokles were ever brought home or not; the Greeks from the time of Thucydides on certainly thought they were, but apparently they had no more evidence for their identification of the Tomb of Themistokles than we have for ours, which, in both cases, seems to be that this is where the Tomb of Themistokles *should* be located. The reasons for the identification of the Tomb of Themistokles throughout its history are probably those expressed by Dodwell,<sup>28</sup> who visited this site over 150 years ago, when he said: "If indeed we could identify this as the sepulchre of the great man, by whose energetic valour, and commanding genius, Xerxes was subdued, it would be one of the most interesting monuments in Greece. And what locality could be more appropriate for the reception of his venerable ashes, than the same shore which had witnessed his triumph, and which still overlooks the Psytalian and the Salaminian rocks, and the whole extent of the Saronic gulph?"

<sup>26</sup> The reference of Platon's (Plutarch, *Vit. Them.*, XXXII, 6) to the ἀμύλλα τῶν νεῶν is interpreted in different ways as shown by the way the various translators render it in English. J. G. Frazer (*Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London, 1898, II, p. 22 and III, p. 294) thought that it perhaps referred to the boat races which took place from the great harbor to Mounychia harbor. The ἀμύλλα could just as well refer to other great "contests," like the battle of Salamis or the race to Aigina at the beginning of the Sicilian expedition in 415 (Thucydides, VI, 32, 2). The verse may simply refer to the usual traffic of merchant ships entering and leaving the Peiraeus.

<sup>27</sup> *A.J.A.*, LXXIII, 1969, pp. 300-302.

<sup>28</sup> *Loc. cit.*

It is difficult to imagine how the name of Themistokles would have become attached to a tomb in the Peiraieus in the first place, though it must have done so very early,<sup>29</sup> for the comic poet Platon lived around the turn of the fifth to the fourth century B.C. A. W. Gomme<sup>30</sup> makes the interesting suggestion that the name of Themistokles was first associated with a promontory and was later transferred to a tomb. This suggestion was derived from a fragment from the *Τετράμετρα* of Hermippos (fr. 72 = schol. on Aristophanes, *Av.*, 303): *Θεμιστοκλέους τὸν πρῶνός τις ὦν κεβλήπυρις τις ὀνομάζεται*. Though the quotation is unintelligible as it now stands, it appears that some promontory was once called *πρῶν Θεμιστοκλέους*. Once the name of Themistokles was firmly associated with a promontory, a myth could quickly develop that the promontory was so called because his bones were buried there.

However it happened that a tomb came to be called the Tomb of Themistokles, no one in Athens was likely to object. In the last quarter of the fifth century Themistokles' status as exile<sup>31</sup> would surely have been played down, for the hero of Salamis had other things to offer. The naval policies of imperial Athens could be strengthened by the presence of a tomb, a reminder to all of the man who created Athens' navy, fortified her port, and defeated the Persian king.

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<sup>29</sup> Th. Lenschau (*R.E.*, XIX, cols. 92, 93, *s.v.* "Peiraieus") thought the tomb could have been erected by Konon in 395-4 B.C., since Thucydides does not mention it. A. W. Gomme (*Commentary on Thucydides*, I, Oxford, 1956, p. 446) remarks that the tomb "may be only later than Thucydides' exile" (424 B.C.).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, IV, 1832-1836, pp. 102, 122.

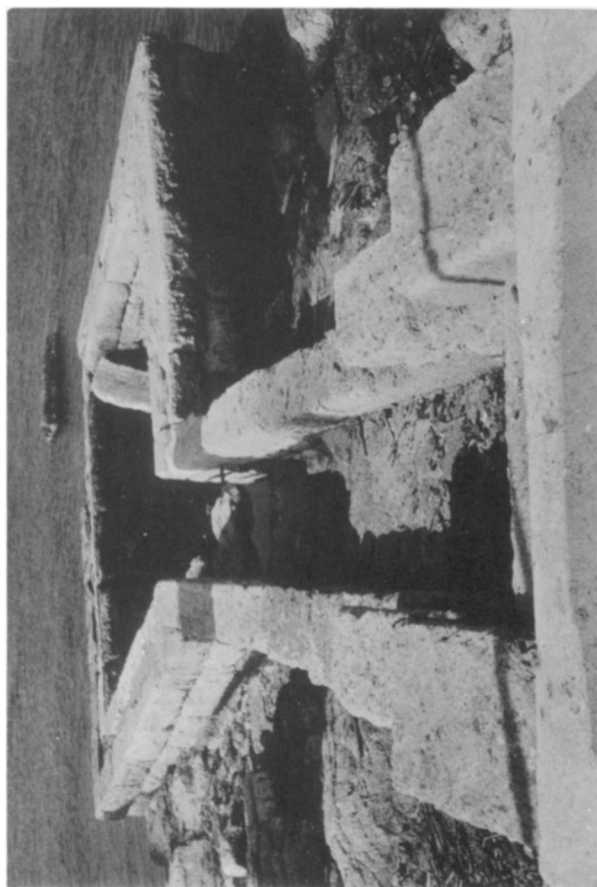


a. Peiraeus and Environs from Air



b. Column and Tomb

PAUL W. WALLACE: THE TOMB OF THEMISTOKLES IN THE PEIRAEUS



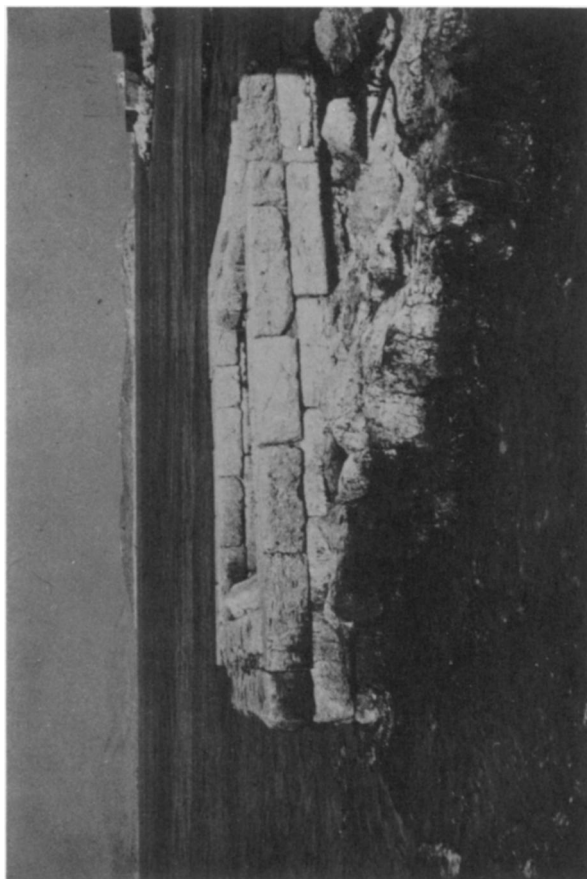
a. Tomb and "Walkway"



b. Sarcophagus in Southwest Corner of Tomb



c. Remains on Kavos Krakari



d. View from Tomb to Psytaleia and Straits of Salamis