This presentation has formed the basis on which a workshop was carried out at the University of Kuwait on 02.12.14 on Hellenistic Ikaros-Failaka

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Alexander planned to combine his established naval supremacy in the Mediterranean with a corresponding domination of the Gulf (Erythrean Sea) into one combined naval and maritime empire. He wanted to make the Gulf “just as prosperous a country as Phoenicia” (Arr. 7.19.5).

For this purpose he went ahead with the following actions:

1. Exploration of the Gulf by Nearchos, Archias, Androstenis and Hieron (Arr. Ind., 32.6-37.10, Arr., 7.25.2-5)
2. Construction of keels for 700 ships at Thapsakos (Curt., 10.1.19)
3. Built ships in Phoenicia, disassembled and transported to Thapsakos, assemble again, sail to Babylon (Arr., 7.19.4). Built a “harbour in Babylon large enough to be an anchorage for a thousand ships of war, with dockyards in the harbour” (Arr., 7.19.4)
4. Built additional ships and acquire naval expertise in Babylon (Arr., 7.19.4)
5. Inspect the sea and the rivers and improve water canals
6. Built Alexandria on the Tigris (Pl. 6.31.138)
Alexander’s first Babylon fleet 324 B.C.

Total = 250 ships
Seamen = 13,360

Nearchos Commander in chief of the navy

Indian fleet
150 ships

- 80 triakontoroi = 2,400 seamen
- 20 trieres = 4,000 seamen
- 50 support vessels, hemolai = 1,000 seamen

Total = 7,400 seamen

First delivery from Phoenicia
50 ships

- 30 triakontoroi = 9,000 seamen
- 12 trieres = 2,400 seamen
- 3 teteres (4) = 960 seamen
- 2 penetere (5) = 700 seamen

Total = 4,960 seamen

Locally constructed
50 ships

- 50 support ships
- merchant and cargo vessels
- henolai = 1,000 seamen

L = length (meters)
N = seamen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Type</th>
<th>L (m)</th>
<th>N</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triakontoroi</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trieres (3)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Penteres (5)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>350</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teteres (4)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>320</td>
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</table>
After Alexander’s death it was the Seleukids who inherited a large part of Alexander’s navy and implemented his plans to set up a maritime empire in the Gulf. They controlled the Gulf from the Seleukid Eparchy of the Red Sea which was the district of Mesene which included in its administrative jurisdiction the Gulf Region. According to a funerary inscription found in Bahrain in 1997 there was a maritime administrative district in the Gulf which was called “Tylos and the Islands” which was governed by a Greek strategos. Ikaros must have been part of this district. Its affairs were most probably administered by the strategos based at Tylos. The Seleukids, like Alexandros, recognised Ikaros strategic position. Therefore Ikaros became part of the Seleukid maritime and naval infrastructure in the Gulf and served as a garrisoned resupply and naval outpost at the northern top part of the Gulf.

It must have been important and useful to commercial navigation and communications but also to military campaigns like:

1. Numenius operation at the Straits of Hormuz. (Plin., 6.32.152)
2. Antiochos III return from his trip to Gerrha in 205 B.C. (Pol., 13.9.2-5)

Most probably an ancient port existed close by the modern port of Failaka (above) as well as at Al-Khidr at the north.
• Ikaros was named by Alexander after the Aegean island Ikaria possibly because of similar shape and common connection by both islands to the cult of Artemis Tauropolos. It was some 22 km opposite the main coast and the old mouth of the Euphrates and a small village called Diridotis (Arr.Ind., 41.7)

• Ikaros was part of the Dilmun community at around 2,000 B.C. There is such evidence at Tell Sa’ad (F3) and (F6) where a palace is excavated and there is evidence of a monumental temple. Al-Khidr also produced evidence of Dilmun settlement and influence with a large number of seals.

• The island was under the influence and control of Assyrians Neo-Babylonians and Achaemenids. This is supported by findings on the island like: Epigraphic reference to a “palace of Nebuchadnezar II king of Babylon” Bowl with dedication to Babylonian sun god Shamash from Nebuchadnezar Aramaic inscription that testifies Achaemenid presence.

• Nearchos was most probably the first Greek to have explored the island.

• The island was further visited/inspected by Archias, Androsthenis and Hieron during three exploration expeditions ordered by Alexander at around 324/323 B.C.

• Ikaros might have been fortified and settled during the days of Seleucus I or Antiochos I. Perhaps even later.

• There must have been indigenous people, settled around the temple of Artemis, at Tell Kazneh, which could initially have been dedicated to the cult of Ishtar-Anahita.

• A Greek garrison was installed on the island where Greek cultural practices and customs prevailed. No evidence is found of the settlement functioning like a polis.
• There is Archaeological evidence of strong Seleukid presence at Ikaros. Most certainly the island was used as a naval anchorage and resupply point.

• A fortified settlement (F5) of mixed ethnographic composition was excavated by a Dutch Archaeological expedition at Tell Sa’aid. There is evidence of being dominated by Greek military settlers presiding over an indigenous population. The settlement includes:
  Two Greek temples A+B. Dedicated to Artemis Tauropolos, Sotera, and Apollo Soter
  Secular building complex
  Terracota workshop or Emporion (outside the fortress) (F4)
  Letter inscription from Anaxarchos (possibly a strategos based at Tylos) and Ikadion (possibly the eparch of Mesene)
  Altar dedication “to the gods by those from Ikaros”
  The fortified settlement was surrounded by a protective moat

• A third Hellenistic sanctuary (B6) close to the beach was found dedicated to Artemis. It is dated in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

• Hellenistic sanctuary at Tell-Khazneh occupied since Neo Babylonian and Achaemenid period. Most probably the one mentioned by Arrian.

• Dedication from Athenian commander Soteles and his soldiers to Zeus Soter, Poseidon and Artemis Soteira (late fourth early third century B.C.) found at Tell Kazneh.
The island of Ikaros

Dilmun civilization sites
F3 (Tell Sa’ad), F6, Al-Khidr and Al-Alwazim

Hellenistic sites
F4, F5 (Tell Sa’id), B6, Tell-Kazneh
There was a strong religiosity at Ikaros which was considered a holy island. There were gazelles on the island considered sacred and dedicated to the goddess. This is perhaps another reason the Greeks identified the island and its local goddess with Artemis Tauropolos and Ikaria. According to legend Artemis used to hunt with the nymphs gazelles and deer on Ikaria.

The architecture of the Hellenistic temples A+B is purely Greek although the columns were standing on Persepolitan type column bases. Possibly imported from Persepolis or built on site according to local available skills.

Most certainly there are other shrines on the island from the Dilmun period. The Ikaros settlement seemed to have lost its importance when Charax Spasinou was at the peak of its power at around 120 B.C.
1. Ikadion and Anaxarchos Letter erected at the front left hand side of temple A

1 ΑΝΑΞΑΡ[ΧΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ Ε]Ν ΙΚΑ[ΡΩΙ] ΟΙΚΗΤΑΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ 2 ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤ[ΟΛΗΣ ΗΝ ΕΔΩΚ]ΕΝ
ΗΜΙΝ ΙΚΑΔΙΩ[Ν 3 ΥΠΟΓΕΓ[ΡΑΦΑΜΕΝ ΥΜΙΝ ΤΟ]ΑΝΤ[ΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ 4 ΩΣ ΑΝ [Ε]Υ[ΘΕΩΣ
ΛΑΒΗΤΕ ΤΗΝ Ε]ΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ 5 ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑ[ΤΕ ΟΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ Α]Π[Ο]ΛΕΙΠΕΤΕ 6 ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩ[Ι
ΑΟ ΑΡΤ]ΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΚΖ ΕΡΡΩΣΘΕ 7- 8 ΙΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΞΑΡΧΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΣΠΕΥΔΕΙ 9 Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΙΕΡΩΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗ’ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ Ε[ΠΙΒΑΛΕΣ 12 ΘΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΓΑΓΕΙΝ Κ[Α]Ι ΕΓΡΑΨΑΝ
ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ 13 ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΑ[ΣΣ]ΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑΓΑΓΕΙΝ 14 ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΓΓ[ΟΥΝ
ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΕΚΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ 15 ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΓΓ[Ε ΔΙ’]ΗΝΔΗΠΟΤΟΥΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ 16 [Ο]Υ
ΜΕΤΗΓΑΓΟ[Ν] ΗΜΙΝ ΔΕ ΓΡΑΨ[Α]ΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ 17 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΜΕΤ[Η]ΓΑΓΟΜΕΝ
ΚΑΙ 18 ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ [ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕ[ΟΙΣ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΓΥ 19 ΜΝΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ Π[ΛΕΟΝ ΣΠΕ]ΥΔΟΜΕΝ
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΝΗΣΩΙ [Κ]ΑΤ[ΟΙΚΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ 23
ΠΟΡΕΥΣΘΑΙ [Ι ΤΙ ΤΩ]Ν Ε[Π]ΑΥΛΑΙΩΝ ΤΡΟΠΩΙ ΜΗΔΕΝΙ 27 ΑΛΛ’ΕΙΝΑΙ Π[ΑΣΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ]
ΝΗΣΩΗ[Ι] ΧΩΡΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙ 32 [ΣΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΗΠ]ΕΙ[Α]Σ ΕΞΕΡΓΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΥΤΕΥ 1
Most probably written at 204 or 239 B.C. It reveals a subordinate community without any segregation of the society or administrative structure. The settlement has distinctive Greek character. Anaxarchus possibly a strategos of the district “Tylos and the islands” reporting to Ikadion, the eparch based at Alexandria. Ikaros was administratively controlled from Tylos without any access to the king or his eparch.

2) Altar dedication translation reads as follows: “To the gods from those residing at Ikaros” found at Tell Sa’aid fortress

ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ
ΟΙ ΕΞ ΙΚΑΡΟΥ
ΙΔΡΥΣΑΝΤΟ
ΤΟΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ

3) Soteles dedication found north of Sa’ad near Tell Kazneh. Inscribed on same imported type of stone temple A was constructed. Translation reads as follows:

“Soteles citizen of Athens and the soldiers dedicate this to Zeus Soter the saviour, Poseidon and Artemis Soteira the Saviouress.”