

HORSES IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAPYRI

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Introduction:

In this paper I try to throw some light on horses in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period through the material available in papyri. The documents may enable us to form some idea of the great care and maintenance given to horses in the Ptolemaic period as they were very important for the use of the army and other uses. Before dealing with the material, I think it is necessary to summarize how and when Egypt knew horses.

The earliest presentation of horses is in a picture-writing from the Highland Zone in Asia,¹ showing a group of nineteen horses, each represented by the animal's head only. It dates from about 3000 B.C. or possibly a century or two earlier, it is the earliest representation of domesticated horses. This example indicates that already at this early date the domesticated horse was found at the east end of the Highland Zone², then it gradually makes its way into the Fertile Crescent during the next thousand years, so that it was common in the age of Hammurapi.

1. J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Times A History of the Early World* 2nd ed. Boston (1944) P.2.

2. The Highland Zone includes a broad band of country extending from Aegean Sea on the west, eastward along the north side of the Fertile Crescent, and then further eastward between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, to the Iranian Plateau.

Cf. Breasted. *op.cit.* P. 242.

We now know that around 2000 B.C. the domesticated horse was in use from the Caucasus through Anatolia to the Fertile Crescent,³ from which it reached Egypt during or after the Eighteenth century B.C. For the Pharaohs of the Pyramid Age had never seen a horse.⁴

The first time that we have met with horses in Egypt on the ancient monuments was a relief⁵ showing the Pharaoh Ramses the second⁶ as he stands in his war-chariot scattering the enemy before his plunging horses. The walls of many temples are covered with various pictures sculptured in relief, depicting the victorious wars of the Egyptians in all directions, but especially in Asia, to which they drove back the Hyksos.⁷

3. G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* Pelicam (1966) P. 221;
Ph.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (7th ed) (1961) P. 20; apud.
Lutfi Abd ElWahab *Arabs in Ancient Times* (1988) P. 116. fn 24.

4. Some Scenes in the Egyptian tombs of the Pyramid Age are the oldest known pictures showing the work of planting and cultivating a field, herds, fat cattle some of them milch cows led up and tied to be milked others used as beasts of burden. But no horses in the tombs of the Pyramid Age are to be found, for horses were still unknown in Egypt. Cf. Breasted *op.cit.*, PP. 78-79 Figs. 43, 44.

5. Carved in relief on the outside of the great hall of Karnak. Cf. Breasted *op.cit.* P. 104 fig. 62.

6. From 1290 to 1223 B.C.

7. Hyksos brought horses to Egypt. Cf. Johannes Irmscher, *Lexikon der Antike München* (1987). S.V. Pferd P. 418; Lutfy Abd El-Wahab *op.cit.* P. 116 fn. 24.

After the close of Feudal Age,⁸ Egypt required and imported horses. They began to be imported from Asia. Chariots came with them and Egypt, having learned warfare on a scale unknown before became a military Empire,⁹ with a well organized standing army made up chiefly of archers and great masses of chariots.¹⁰ "Tarn", followed by others,¹¹ considered that in most of the great battles of the Hellenistic period cavalry had the first and last word, and that the great age of cavalry lasted for about a century after Alexander. "Rostovtzeff"¹², pointed out that Egypt was poor in respect of certain fundamental needs of the army and navy metals, elephants, good timber and horses. But the Ptolemies succeeded in satisfying some of their requirements. These were supplied by their most important foreign dominions and dependencies. Alexandria required and

8. 1570 B.C.

9. Breasted *op.cit.* P. 196

10. The use of horses to draw chariots goes out of Greek warfare before the classical period. In most Greek communities it was a sign of wealth and birth to keep a horse, and rich men imported race horses from foreign parts. But for the practical purposes of warfare, cavalry was nowhere the dominant arm south of Thessaly, where it maintained the rule of the local nobles over the half-serf population of its broad plains. Cf. F.E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles (1957) PP. 47-48.

11. W.W. Tarn *Hellenistic Military and Naval Development* (1930) P. 27ff; Adcock, *op.cit.* P. 52.

12. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic world*. Oxford (1967) P. 321.

imported horses.¹³ And from time to time fresh supplies of horses came to Egypt from abroad¹⁴ from Cyrenaica¹⁵ and Syria¹⁶ and perhaps from Palestine¹⁷ and in all probability from Arabia¹⁸ but a great supply from both Carthage and Sicily was of supreme importance,¹⁹ Carthage was rich in horses²⁰ and so was Sicily. No doubt Cyrenaica²¹ a famous horse breeding country and a province of the Ptolemies supplied Egypt with the horses she required.

13. M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* Madison (1922) pp. 167-8. Cf. also P. Cairo-Zenon 59075 (257 B.C.).

14. From Cappadocia Cf. P.S.I. 729 (A.D. 77) L. 2; from Constantinople P. Oxy. 922 (late sixth or early seventh century) l. 15.

15. Rostovtzeff SEHW P. 381.

16. M. Rostovtzeff, *Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt*, *Journal of Economic and Business History* IV (1932) p. 700; P. Cairo - Zenon 59075 (257 B.C.); Cf. also Harper *A Study in Commercial Relations between Egypt and Syria in the 3rd century B.C.* *American Journal of Philology* 49. (1928) p. 19.

17. Rostovtzeff. SEHW P. 381.

18. W. W. Tarn, *Ptolemy II and Arabia* "J.E.A." 15 (1929) pp. 20-21.

19. Rostovtzeff. *op.cit.* p. 396.

20. Other places rich in horses like Dardania Cf. P. Oxy. 1790 (first century B.C.) ll. 29-30 [λαρδαν] α]ν [L] κροτοροφ]ν; Libyan horses were noted for their speed. Cf. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* III 2., XIV. 10. and according to Herodotus IV 189:

τέσσαρες ἵππους συζεύγνυται παρά Λιβύων
οἱ "Καλλινες μεμαθήκασι.

21. Rostovtzeff. *op.cit.* p. 396.

After this historical background of how and when Egypt knew and imported horses, we come to deal with horses in Ptolemaic Egypt as they appear in the papyri. The first point in this concern is about royal horses which occupied a special position in Ptolemaic Egypt. In a very instructive papyrus²² we read the following.²³

"Lysis, keeper of horses ἵπποτροφός and antigrapheus, to Petosiris (son of...?) greeting. I have received from you for the royal horses βασιλικῶς ἵπποις kept by me at Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoite nome, in the month of Tubi of the 29th year, 2000 two-minae bundles of hay".

The document pointed that Lysis is responsible for the function of horse-keeper, acknowledged deliveries of hay for the royal horses in his charge. It is obvious that most of the horses in Egypt were owned by the State and were bred for the use of the army. Horses were probably not used at all for agricultural work.²⁴ "Claire Préaux",²⁵ followed by others, considered that horses occupied a special position in Ptolemaic army, at least in the 3rd century B.C. Therefore the Ptolemies imported horses

22. P. Tebt. 843 (152 B.C.).

23. Ibid. LL. 11-14.

24. Rostovtzeff. *op.cit.* P. 293.

25. Claire Préaux, *L'économie Royale des Lagides*. Bruxelles (1939) PP. 216ff; Ibrahim Noshy, *Egypt in the Ptolemaic Period 3* (1966) P. 287.

from abroad (as it is stated above) and bred them as far as possible in Egypt, and most of the horses were bred for the use of the army.

There are however some vital points about horses. The first is whether or not the royal horses were distributed among the cavalrymen in actual service? The earliest known example are six fragments of a document²⁶ belonging to one of the later years of the reign of Philadelphus.²⁷ The document contains usual regulations for the maintenance of cavalry horses. But, because of its fragmentary condition, the papyrus does not throw much light or give more details on the maintenance of horses. It proves however, that horses were distributed among cavalrymen.

There are also two other evidences in this respect. The first is a receipt²⁸ issued by a comogrammateus to Diodorus for a payment simply called ὑπῶν.²⁹ Diodorus paid on the horse³⁰ which his military duties obliged him to keep 1-drachma 5 obols.

26. P. Petrie, III. 54 (a).

27. The papyri may be assigned either to the 31st or to the 35th year of his reign. Cf. *Ibid.* note on Col I L. 1 P. 158.

28. P. Hibeh, 104 (225/224 B.C.).

29. *Ibid.* L. 5.

30. The horse tax is mentioned but once under the name of φῆρος ὑπῶν in P. Petrie, II. 39. e (5) 2.

The second is another tax called ἀνιππίας attested in a document ³¹ of the 2nd century B.C. In column II ³² is a list of persons who are probably κάτοικοι ἵππεῖς and own very large estates ranging from 320 to 500 arourae. One of them is a Macedonian, two others belonged to demes presumably at Alexandria. The ἵππεῖς pay the ἀνιππίας the payment for this impost was in wheat.

From these documents we find the existence of special payments φόρος ἵππων in silver, another payment ἀνιππίας paid in wheat, both payments made in respect of horses. "Mithaffy" ³³ considered ἀνιππίας to be a tax for having no horse. This view is rejected by "Wilcken" ³⁴, because in one case ³⁵ the same person pays both for φόρος ἵππων and ἀνιππίας therefore he argued conceivably that a cleruch, who was required to keep a horse should be subject to a tax φόρος ἵππων to be paid in money, and in cases of neglect should be forced to pay both, the tax φόρος ἵππων and a fine ἀνιππίας to be paid in kind, for not observing this duty.

31. P. Tebt. 99 (about 148 B.C.).

32. Ibid. LL. 45-60.

33. P. Petrie, II 39 (e) P. 130.

34. Ulrich Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka, Berlin (1899) P. 344 and P. 378.

35. P. Petrie, II. 39.5 (e); 6.

Wilcken's interpretation makes ἀνιπίας apply to the land, probably depending on the extent of the cavalry's estate, and therefore paid in kind. "Revillout's"³⁶ interpretation, ἀνιπίας was a kind of fine imposed on such military, cleruchs as were unable to ride for ἀνιπίας is found with the meaning "unskilled in horsemanship".³⁷

One would suppose through this discussion that the royal horses may have been distributed among the soldiers who had no horses of their own; therefore the cavalry apparently paid special account as a rent designed perhaps to cover the State's expenditure in connexion with the breeding of horses. A difficulty with this theory of the lease of horses by the king is the fact that there has not been found any lease, or application for lease of horses, which were certainly the property of the State. φόρος ἵππων is attested only in Ptolemaic period.³⁸ May be new material for ἀνιπίας will throw fresh light on the meaning of that impost.

36. Revillout, *Revue Egyptologique* III. P. 310 apud. P. Petrie III. P. 278.

37. In Plutarch *Moralia* 100 A:

ὡς εἰ παρεκλεύετο μή σурίξειν ἄμουσον
 ὄντα μηδ' ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἀγράμματον μηδ'
 ἵππεύειν ἀνιπίων.

38. Cf. Preisigke, *Wörter Buch*. III, Abt. II. sub. φόρος.

There is another point to be decided, which will help to prove that horses for cavalrymen were the property of the State. In a papyrus ³⁹ providing information about the death of certain cavalry soldiers, and directing that possession of their holdings should be resumed by the government. It reads:

"To Nikanor. The cavalry soldiers below-written have died, therefore take back their holdings for the State". ⁴⁰

Another document ⁴¹ may illustrate this fact. It tells us that a cleruch is found bequeathing a horse in his will to his son. Another document ⁴², of the Roman period, of a cavalryman, being stricken with a serious illness, drafts his last will and testament, naming his heirs to all his property in equal shares. After the naming of the heirs comes his property. Part of his money is stated to be in cash, while the remainder is out on loan to various persons. His personal and household effects are likewise inherited. Also the horse is stated to be inherited by his heirs. ⁴³

39. P. Hibeh, 81 (238/237 B.C.).

40. Ibid. LL. 5-6.

οι υπογεγραμμ[ε]νοι ιππεις τετ[ε]λευτημασιν,
 αναλαβε ουν αυτων [του]ς κληρους εις το
 βασιλικον.

41. P. Petrie, I. XI. 10 (3rd B.C.).

42. P. Columbia, 188 (A.D. 320).

43. Ibid. L. 16.

These documents might have answered an important question. Did the cavalry soldier own his horse or not? In order to answer such a question, we can say that the return of κληροῦ to the State at their owner's death was the usual course at the third century B.C. But in the second century it became customary for the cleruchic holding to pass from father to son. According to this fact we can say that for the cavalryman the State allowed the son his father's horse, if he registered himself in active service. So sons of cleruchs commonly received their father's holding. But this does not mean that horses seem to have become the property of the holder as "Bevan"⁴⁴ considered it, since even in the later period a cleruch's rights of ownership were by no means complete.⁴⁵

Some other papyri, being almost entirely business documents, enable us to form some idea of the great maintenance and care given to horses. In one document,⁴⁶ Apollonios, an employee who had charge of the stables in Alexandria, begs Zenon to send him some hay for the horses, as his stock is almost finished and it is difficult to buy any in Alexandria, otherwise the horses will fall ill.

44. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*. London (1927) P. 174.

45. Cf. P. Tebt. I. PP. 555-6.

46. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, 21 (257 B.C.).

In another document ⁴⁷ we read an account ⁴⁸ of barley for the horses ⁴⁹. The horses had two feeds a day $\delta\upsilon\omicron \delta\epsilon\tau\pi\nu\omicron\nu$ ⁵⁰ and the allowance for each meal was thirteen choinikes per horse. At the end of the document is a short account of money given to the grooms $\tau\omicron\tau\varsigma \lambda\pi\omicron\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$ ⁵¹ for wages.

A third clearcut document ⁵², is a letter from Ptolemaios to Zenon, informing him of the settlement made by Phantias the grammateus with the cavalrymen. It appears from the document that the cavalrymen were obliged to maintain horses, but the grammateus finding some lacking in their number or quality, would not let their crops be released from bond until he had received an assurance for the future to take best care for horses. Thus he has liberated their crops, but made them undertake in future to present their horses in good condition at the inspection. ⁵³

47. P. Cairo-Zenon 59376 (not dated).

48. The account was measured by the $\alpha\eta\lambda\omega\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in which the artab contained forty choinikes. Cf. *Ibid.* *Introd.* P. 120.

49. In P. Cairo-Zenon 59710 (not dated) is another account of barley for horses at Philadelphia.

50. P. Cairo-Zenon 59376 L. 15.

51. *Ibid.* L. 16.

52. P. Cairo-Zenon 59502 (not dated).

53. $\alpha\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ seems to be technical word for showing a horse at the inspection. Cf. *Ibid.* n. L. 8.

A very instructive papyrus⁵⁴ informs us about an account of provisions supplied for fifteen horses and ten mules and their drivers, for two days. It reads:

"..... making for two days for 15 horses 240 bundles of fodder, 6 artabae of barley; 3 choinikes of fine wheaten bread, 44 kotylae of wine 2 kotylae of oil, 36 choinikes wheaten bread. And for 10 mules for each 5 choinikes barley, 8 bundles of fodder, making for two days 160 bundles of fodder 2 artabae of barley. And for ten drivers at 2 choen of wheaten bread a day, for two days 40 choen, and for expenses, for each, 1 obol in copper....".⁵⁵

From this document we find that the provision supplied per day for a horse consists of fodder barley, fine and wheaten bread. The cure of the horse includes wine and oil. An analysis of such account prove that, horses' provision depends principally on cereals. In view of the high price of wheat and cereals,⁵⁶ grazing was less expensive than cereal culture, therefore breeding horses was very expensive and it was a sign of wealth to keep a horse. In fact it seems also that the nature of horses' food is of special kind in order to raise very powerful horses needed for war especially

54. P. Cairo-Zenon 51 (not dated).

55. Ibid. LL. 1-15.

56. See lists of prices of wheat per artaba in A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt Hopkins* (1936) PP. 310-11, cost of barley per artaba *op.cit.* P. 312, Prices of wine *op.cit.* PP. 314-315, of bread *op.cit.* P. 316.

during the Ptolemaic period rather than other domesticated animals. In another interesting document ⁵⁷ we have 3 receipts of veterans for the keep of horses, drivers and grooms.

The first receipt ⁵⁸ accounts for the feeding of 35 horses, one of them sick and treated specially, 3 charioteers and 13 grooms in charge of 5 carts with 5 horses each and 3 carriages with 3 each, the sick horse was embrocated with the lotion of oil and wine. The charioteers get a choenix of fine wheat made into bread daily. The grooms get rough bread and no wine. The next receipt ⁵⁹ is incomplete. The allowances to the men are the same as the first one, but the number of horses and men is not the same, may be according to its fragmentary condition. The third text, ⁶⁰ gives the account for horses fodder in all 35 horses, for each 8 bundles of fodder per day, the arrangement of carts is not responding with the first receipt.

Certain points can be noticed from this document. First, the receipts are of a veteran for the keep of horses, drivers and grooms employed in the service of the steward Asklepiades. These receipts are for supply in kind for feeding of horses and men which

57. P. Petrie II. 25 (Year 21 of the 3rd Ptolemy 226 B.C.).

58. Ibid. (a) F. 86 LL. 1-14.

59. Ibid. (b) F. 82. LL. 1-21.

60. Ibid. (c) F. 81.

accompanied. Second, the grooms were a lower class and got poorer fare than the drivers, rough bred and half the amount of oil without any wine. Third, the carts with five horses, as the publisher expected ⁶¹, are for carrying heavy loads which implies good roads or less canal traffic. Perhaps these carts were used to bring the produce in kind, which formed a large part of taxes to Ptolemais at the harbour. Fourth, a sick horse needs special treatment to be bathed and having blood let and for embrocating, needs wine and oil, for singeing kiki oil. If the sick horse does not recover, it may be branded ⁶². But unfortunately not a single payment in money is given, the whole payment is in kind.

Another document ⁶³ informs us that a citizen had been released from the obligation of providing hay and pasture for the cavalry by an order from Apollonios the dioiketes, but after he died, the burden was imposed again upon his son, who in this document, asks for a new exemption. This document leads us to think that, the maintenance of cavalry was imposed as a liturgy and these were issued by the State. Moreover, may be the natives too were obliged into the royal service as providing hay and pasture for cavalry, this responsibility was ^{so} heavy, that the man responsible for the duty tried hard to escape this obligation.

61. *Ibid.* P. 72.

62. Cf. *Ibid* (a) n. on L. 13.

63. P. Cairo-Zenon 59341 (247 B.C.).

All these documents afford another great proof that horses were well cared for, and there was a famous breed in Egypt. But great expenditures were needed in connexion with the breeding of horses. So that we can say that the only important group of the inhabitants of Egypt willing and able to have horses, were its new masters and rulers, the king and his court, the higher officials and perhaps the officers and soldiers of the army.

This point of view reminds us of the man who held important offices under Ptolemy II, the best known to us is Apollonios the *dioiketes*, while the papyri contain some interesting details to the public activities of Apollonios, they tell us still more about his private affairs: Horses were well cared in his estate at Memphis⁶⁴ and Philadelphia.⁶⁵ But the evidence is so scanty, that it does not permit us to say if breeding of horses in Apollonios' estate was a private affair or a State activity. In any way, Apollonios as an administrator and a man of business knowing that horses are very important for a profitable trade, and military service gave great care for their breeding.

64. P. Cairo-Zenon 59292 (250 B.C.); 59576 (not dated); P.S.I. 527 (not dated).

65. P. Cairo-Zenon 59292 (250 B.C.); 59710 (not dated) Cf. also P. Cairo-Zenon 59689 (257-6 B.C.) An account of hay and corn supplied to the horses who accompanied Apollonios and Zenon on part of the tour of year 28. The place is not stated in the document; Cf. also Zaki Aly, *Papyrology* (1985) P. 362.

Of interest too, knowing that Toubias,⁶⁶ the chieftain of Transjordan, sends the king Ptolemy II an offering of rare animals for his collection.⁶⁷ The document⁶⁸ informs us about a letter from Toubias to Apollonios, he announces that he has sent from Ammonite country to the king a gift consisting of two horses⁶⁹ and six young horses⁷⁰, all of them domesticated *καὶ τὰ δ' ἐστὶν ἰθαῖα*⁷¹ The party had taken about 36 days to travel from the land of Ammonite to Alexandria.⁷²

Horses for riding and transport are mentioned occasionally. In a document⁷³ we read about a journey started from Alexandria using horses, but the itinerary is not clear, the document also provides details of the account of money spent on fodder for horses. Another document⁷⁴ informs us about a journey from

⁶⁶. About more details on Toubias Cf. Bevan, *op.cit.* P. 73.

⁶⁷. The king was a great collector of strange animals. Cf. Diod., III. 36; Theocr., II. 67-68.

⁶⁸. P. Cairo-Zenon 59075 (257 B.C.).

⁶⁹. *Ibid.* L. 3.

⁷⁰. *Ibid.* L. 4.

⁷¹. *Ibid.* L. 5.

⁷². Cf. *Ibid.* n. L. 16.

⁷³. P. Cairo-Zenon 59542 (257 B.C.).

⁷⁴. P.S.I. 543 (3rd c. B.C.).

Pelusium to Alexandria. We hear of another journey⁷⁵ using horses to travel from the land of Ammonite to Alexandria. From these documents we can say that the king and the notables travelled sometimes in horse carriages or on horseback, but horses were very seldom used for heavy transport.

In a fragmentary document⁷⁶ there are interesting references to the purchase of good horses $\beta\epsilon\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ⁷⁷, for the training of clever boys in the gymnasium⁷⁸. This document informs us that horses were used for racing during the Ptolemaic period, perhaps the $\omicron\iota$ $\iota\alpha\iota\beta$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ $\gamma\upsilon\mu\upsilon\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ applied this sport habitually. For horse-racing was evidently developed by the Macedonian cavalry of the Ptolemies.⁷⁹ The hippodrome at Alexandria, which "Dio Chrysostom" calls the "stadium"⁸⁰ had probably been built under the Ptolemies.⁸¹

75. P. Cairo-Zenon 59075 (257 B.C.).

76. P. Cairo-Zenon 59586 (not dated).

77. *Ibid.* L.4.

78. *Ibid.* LL. 7-8.

79. Johnson *op.cit.*, P. 692.

80. Dio Chrysostom, XXXII 74.

81. That is, if it is the so-called "Lageion" as argued by A. Maricq, *Une influence alexandrine sur l'art augustéen? Le Lageion et le Circus Maximus* Rev. Arch. 37 (1951) pp. 26-46.

Trade in horses is seldom recorded. In P. Cairo-Zenon 59393 (not dated) a certain Apollonios of humbler station writes to Zenon from Kerke about selling a horse,⁸² he informs him that he has been approached by a purchaser of the big horse, but he cannot bargain about the price unless he hears from Zenon how much he is asking for it. Unfortunately the price of the big horse is not stated. In another letter⁸³ to Zenon the price mentioned for buying a horse is 800 drachmae.⁸⁴ This price seems to be surprisingly high. Another document⁸⁵ of the first century A.D. informs us that a cavalryman has purchased a black Cappadocian horse from a centurion of the 22nd legion for 2,700 Augustan drachmae, the horse is trained to eat and drink and is in all respects a horse for drawing carts. This price⁸⁶ seems also to be high. In a contract,⁸⁷ a sale of two mares for apparently 440 drachmae. A complete analysis of the price of a horse is difficult, because there is varies in amount, but this simply leads us to think that a horse's price depends on its age, sex, general

82. Wilcken Chrest., 57 (2nd C.B.C.) another document about selling a horse, the price is not stated.

83. P. Cairo-Zenon 59093 (257 B.C.).

84. *Ibid.* L. 4.

85. P.S.I. 729 (A.D. 77).

86. See lists of prices of horses in Johnson, *op.cit.* P. 232.

87. P. Fay. 301 (A.D. 167).

condition and use, anywhere from 800 to 2,700 drachmae (taking into consideration the difference between the silver drachma of the 3rd century B.C. and that of the 1st century A.D.). The lowest of those prices represents 72 drachmae⁸⁸ for a mare. The available prices of horses in Egypt during the third century B.C. show that the average price of a good and trained horse was about 800 drachmae.

One other interesting item of evidence remains to be mentioned. In P. Petrie 35⁸⁹, is a register of cavalry horses. It is remarkable that the document contains description of horses, a horse being dark dappled⁹⁰ another is a bay - mare with a white star,⁹¹ a third horse that has shed his first pair of teeth,⁹² that is a two-years old⁹³. These two fragments, inform us that there are official returns of the horses certainly possessed by the mercenaries responsible to the State. It points also to some arrangement for securing the breeding of horses in Egypt.

88. P.S.I. 1031 (A.D. 134).

89. P. Petrie 35 (between 244 and 240 B.C.).

90. Ibid. Col. 1. L. 9 μελανοσπαλακισσαν.

91. Ibid. Col. 1. L. 16 φαλιαν.

92. Ibid. Col. 1. L. 9 πρωτόβολον.

93. Ibid. P. 116.

What is interesting in some documents is to find a settlement of cavalrymen at Boubastos in the Delta κατοίκων ἵππῶν. . εἰς Βουβάστον ⁹⁴ Another settlement is to be found at Bacchias. ⁹⁵

Of interest too, knowing that a certain person salutes his brother and his horse Bassus. ⁹⁶ Another salutation in a message of greeting is sent to a horse among salutations to various persons. ⁹⁷

All these documents may imply that the Ptolemies gave great care and maintenance to breed horses, which was a famous breeding in Egypt. The use for horses in battle is vividly represented from accounts of barley and hay for feeding horses, in a register of cavalry horses, in taxes account, military taxes, and in receipts of veterans for the keep of horses, drivers and grooms. The horse's great role was in war especially in Hellenistic times under Alexander the great and his successors. Moreover horses played another role in riding, but is seldom mentioned in heavy transport, and may be also in racing, but for Ptolemaic period the

94. Edgar P. Zenon 9 (257 B.C.). LL. 7,9.

95. P. Cairo-Zenon 59350 (244 B.C.) L. 2.

96. Papyri from Karanis 482 (A.D. 133) L. 12.

97. P. Oxy 1772 (late 3rd C.); Cf. also O. Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, I Leipzig (1909) PP. 256-259.

evidence is so scanty that it does not permit any actual proving as an important sport during this period. Horse raising must have been profitable, unfortunately no declarations of private ownership are preserved. The very few in private ownership were luxury, because it was a sign of wealth to keep a horse according to its high expenses. Therefore only the important inhabitants of Egypt willing and able to have horses were its new masters and rulers.