Egyptian Names Derived from Foreign Elements: Innovation in Egyptian Onomastic Practice after the Roman Conquest ([1])

INTRODUCTION

Although the Demotic script gradually began to disappear following the Roman conquest of Egypt, the Egyptian language is generally thought to have persisted as the principal spoken language of a considerable part of the population. ([2]) Traditional Egyptian names continued to be bestowed as well, mostly appearing in the papyri in Greek transliteration. In the past, scholars have dismissed these tendencies as mere remnants of an old, moribund society, but in more recent times this 'biological' model of Egyptian civilization has rightly been criticized. ([3]) The present article provides further evidence for the vitality and innovativeness of the Egyptian traditions in the later periods in the form of newly formed 'hybrid' names, incorporating foreign elements into the conventional naming system. As we shall see, this phenomenon was not limited to seemingly Egyptian circles, raising the additional question as to the validity of strict ethnic or cultural distinctions in this period.

Hybrid names are names that combine elements of different linguistic or cultural origin into a single name. The majority consists of derivations of a name or a deity of one language in another language. The present article focuses on Egyptian hybrid derivations in particular. ([4]) These names are formed by adding an Egyptian name prefix, e.g. 'T3-šr.t-n-', to a Greek, Latin, or other element, e.g. the name Herakleia, resulting in the hybrid name Senherakleia. In the case of women's names, an additional feminine declension is often added, even when they are derived from male names, to render their appearance more feminine. ([5])

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(1) This article originated as part of my master's thesis on hybrid names. I would like to thank Mark Depauw, Yanne Broux and Willy Clarysse for their suggestions and comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

(2) M. DEPAUW, "Language Use, Literacy, and Bilingualism", in C. RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 493-506.

(3) In particular R. K. RITNER, "Implicit Models of Cross-cultural Interaction: a Question of Noses, Soap, and Prejudice", in J. H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* = *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51 (Chicago, 1992), pp. 283-290.

(4) I am currently preparing studies on the other subtypes.

(5) S. P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* = *Studia Demotica* 9B (Leuven, 2011), p. 929.

Despite their obvious significance for the study of the later stages of Egyptian onomastic practice and the nature of intercultural contact in Graeco-Roman Egypt, no systematic study of the Egyptian hybrid derivations has yet been undertaken. Their existence has often been noted, however, and some scholars have expressed an interest in these peculiar forms. (6) This article aims to provide a comprehensive survey of the names themselves and the context in which they figured. The most evident characteristic of these names is their linguistic hybridity, so most attention will be devoted to the linguistic milieu they originated from by taking the names of the identified parents into account, with the help of network analysis.

The data is collected from the Trismegistos database, an online platform aiming to assemble the metadata of all sources dated between 800 BC and AD 800, and to provide these sources with a stable identifier, in the form of a unique 'TM number'. (7) In the course of several research projects, numerous subsidiary databases were created, containing data about or attested in the sources in the core 'Texts' database. The onomastic data is stored in Trismegistos People, which consists of three sub databases: the most important one, 'REF', contains all attestations of names/people in the source material. The 'PER'-database hosts all individual people, with a link to their attestations in the 'REF'-component and to their relatives, if any are known. The third database is also linked to the other two and is called 'NAM'. It contains all kinds of information about the names of the people attested in the papyri and the inscriptions, among which the language of the name. (8)

At present, Trismegistos Texts does not include all sources from the Mediterranean dated to the intended period of time. For Egypt, however, almost all published papyri are incorporated, as well as most of the Latin, Greek and

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(6) E.g. J. BINGEN, "Akoris: épigraphie et onomastique", *CE* 63 (1988), pp. 165-172, p. 169 on hybrid names starting in 'Ta-' or O. MASSON, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, III (Paris, 1990), pp. 158-160 on the possible origin of 'Ta-' and 'T3-šr.t-n-'names.

(7) www.trismegistos.org. For more information, see www.trismegistos.org/about.php and M. DEPAUW and T. GHELDOF, "An Interdisciplinary Platform for Ancient World Texts and Related Information", in Ł. BOLIKOWSKI e.a. (eds.), *Theory and Practice of Digital Libraries – TPDL 2013 Selected Workshops = Communications in Computer and Information Science* 416 (Cham, 2004), pp. 40-52.

(8) For more information, see www.trismegistos.org/ref/about.php.

Demotic inscriptions. ([9]) The same does not apply to the People database, however, as only the Greek papyrological material has been semi-automatically entered using Named Entity Recognition. The people and the names from the Latin and Demotic material have been entered manually in a less systematic way. ([10]) This is not a problem for the present study, however, as the majority of the sources of the Roman period is written in Greek anyway.

I Characteristics of Egyptian hybrid derivations ([11])

In all, 207 different names are attested 1,361 times (in 'REF'). Most of the bearers were women: 1,121, as opposed to only 245 men. The most popular names among women were Tamystha (334 attestations), Taeuemeros (107) and Tamaron (104). For men, Psyros (59), Paboukas (42) and Papollon (21) featured most prominently. Among those derivations, some general subtypes can be discerned: derivations of Greek names (1,100 attestations), derivations of Latin names (23), derivations of Semitic names (18), and one derivation of an Arabic name; derivations of Greek words (47); derivations of Greek (169) and Semitic deities (3). The last two categories consist of names that could potentially be derived from deities, but given the nature of the naming prefixes, they might just as well refer to theophoric names. The existence of Egyptian derivations of Latin names is surprising, given the fact that, in other domains, the Roman and the Egyptian segments of society rarely seem to have interacted, although this impression might of course be the result of the bias of the preserved source material, particularly owing to the abolition of Demotic as an administrative language.

Fig. 1 displays the chronological evolution of these hybrid names. ([12]) The bars on the primary axis represent the absolute number of attestations, whereas

(9) For more information, see www.trismegistos.org/about_coverage.php.
(10) For more information, see www.trismegistos.org/ref/about_coverage.php.
(11) Gathered in March 2015.
(12) The graph is generated using a 'weighed dates' technique, which enables us to take imprecisely dated sources into account in a sensible manner. Every document containing an Egyptian hybrid derivation is assigned a relative weight in relation to how precise it is dated, the maximum weight being 1. A document dated to AD 1-5 receives a weight of 0,2 for each of those 5 years, while a document dated AD 5 has a weight of 1 for the one year it is dated to. For more information, see B. Van Beek and M. Depauw, "Quantifying Imprecisely Dated Sources: a New

the line graph on the secondary axis provides the relative figures, i.e. how many per cent of all people bore an Egyptian hybrid derivation in any given decade. ([13]) A few examples of hybrid names are already attested in the Pharaonic period, ([14]) and in the Ptolemaic period some isolated cases occur as well, but, as the chart demonstrates, the hybrid derivations were mainly a feature of Roman Egypt. ([15]) They were most popular from the second half of the first century AD to the first half of the third century AD. After that, they went through a slight decline. In the Byzantine period, their popularity rose once again, but in a different guise: as the old prefixes gradually disappeared, new forms with the Coptic article 'P3-'/'T3-' became common. In fact, the name Psyros mentioned above is an early manifestation of this phenomenon.

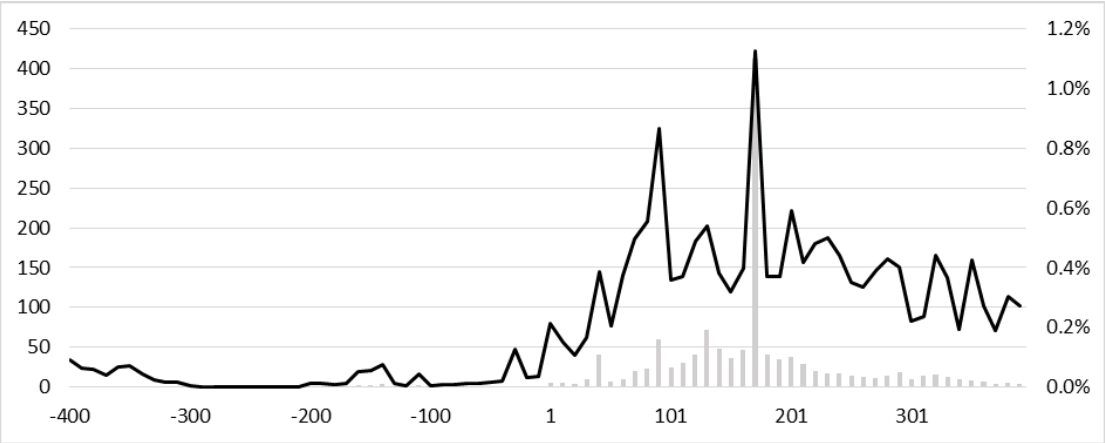

Fig. 1: Weighed dates chart of attestations of Egyptian hybrid derivations

The extreme peak in the decade 171-180 is the result of the Karanis tax rolls, consisting of only a handful of texts dated to 173-175, which contain thousands of names. ([16]) Among these names, Egyptian hybrid derivations feature prominently and especially Tamystha is attested many times. Given the

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Inclusive Method for Charting Diachronic Change in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *AncSoc* 43 (2013), pp. 101-114. The resulting data was grouped per decade to eliminate extreme short-term fluctuations. This method provides us with a more reliable representation of the source material, but it is also rather sensitive to distortions caused by the state of the sources themselves, e.g. by archives.

(13) As the identification of individuals in the 'PER'-component of Trismegistos People is still a work in progress, this chart is based on the data from the 'REF'-component.

(14) E.g. T3-dî-ʿstrt, see H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, Hamburg and New York, 1935-1952), p. 372.

(15) The apperent popularity in the fourth century BC is the result of the combination of a few very broadly dated texts and the low overall number of documents dated to this century.

(16) For more information about this archive, see www.trismegistos.org/archive/63.

fact that the name belongs to many individual people rather than the same person being attested numerous times, ([17]) the peak represents a genuine popularity of Egyptian hybrid derivations in the second-century Fayum. In fact, the name Tamystha appears in this region only. It consists of the prefix 'Ta-' and the Greek name 'Mysthas'. ([18]) The probable reason for its popularity lies in the assonance with 'Msḏr-sḏm', a local Fayumic god whose name means something along the lines of 'Listening ear'. ([19]) In Greek this is usually rendered as 'Μεστασυτμις'. Theoretically, 'Tamystha' could also be a shortname for 'Tamestasutmis', but this name is only attested once in the second century, rendering this possibility rather unlikely. In addition, there are some attestations of Tamysthas whose fathers bore the name Mysthas.[20]

Geographically speaking, Egyptian hybrid derivations are represented in many Egyptian nomes. Both absolutely and relatively, they were most popular in the Fayum (812 attestations), the Panopolite (121), and the Oxyrynchite (100) nomes. As for the broader regions, the names figured most prominently in the Fayum (0.41 per cent of all names attested there), somewhat less in Upper Egypt (0.2 per cent), and, unsurprisingly, rarely in Lower Egypt (0.06 per cent).

As for the prefixes used, most women's names are formed with 'Ta-' (831 attestations), meaning 'the one of …'. Masson argues that this naming type originated in a family context, as a reference to a family member. ([21]) In Demotic texts, 'Ta' is indeed used to signify 'the daughter of …'. According to Bingen, the name prefixes used for hybrid derivations had lost their original meaning and were simply used for rendering women's names male and vice versa. ([22]) Jennes

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(17) Thanks to the more or less systemic identification of individuals in the tax rolls with their name, patronymic, papponymic and metronymic, individuals that appear more than once in these texts could be identified automatically.
(18) The exact linguistic origin of this name is somewhat problematic, as it does not appear in the other Greek-speaking regions. It might be related to Greek Mystes, but the *theta* presents an objection to this hypothesis. The same applies to an origin derived from the Egyptian god Mestasutmis. As the name has a Greek suffix and the name Tamystha predominantly features in a Greek context (cf. the network infra; the reader can access the network of this individual name by entering it in the search function of the website presented below), Mysthas is considered a Greek name here. We should keep in mind, however, that we might also be dealing with a Greek derivation of a foreign element yet to be identified.
(19) R. GIVEON, "A God who Hears", in M. H. VAN VOSS e.a. (eds.), *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 38-42.
(20) E.g. TM Per 190425 (www.trismegistos.org/person/190425).
(21) MASSON, *Onomastica Selecta*, III, p. 158.
(22) BINGEN, "Akoris: épigraphie et onomastique", p. 170.

has analysed all attestations of this name type, both hybrid and normal, and reached the conclusion that at least part of the names expressed an existing genealogical relationship. ([23]) This is applicable to the Egyptian hybrid derivations as well: in a minority of the cases, such a relationship is attested, e.g. Senapollonia, whose father is called Apollonios ([24]), or Senherakleia daughter of Herakleios. ([25]) Also according to Jennes, the Egyptian prefixes in any case held more semantic value than the Greek suffixes of the same period. ([26]) The second most popular prefix also has a genealogical connotation: 'T3-šr.t-n-' (257), meaning literally 'the daughter of …'. A common prefix for theophoric names, 'T3-dỉ-', or 'she who was given by …', figures 7 times. One derivation is formed on the basis of 'T3-rm.t-n-', 'The woman of …'. The last prefix attested is 'T3-', the definite article (43).

Among men, the most common prefixes were the male counterparts of the ones popular for women's names. 'Pa-', the male version of 'Ta-', is attested 96 times. The second most popular prefix was 'P3-', the definite article (62). This is linked to the comparatively late diffusion of the Egyptian hybrid derivations among men, as this prefix was primarily used in the Coptic period. 'P3-šr-n-', 'the son of …', is attested 36 times. 'P3-dỉ-' was hardly any more popular than its female counterpart (6). Finally, the prefix 'P3-'ḫm-', meaning 'the eagle of …', is used once.

II Hybrid names in family contexts

The remainder of this paper focuses on the socio-cultural context in which these peculiar names are attested. They are primarily interesting because of their linguistic hybridity, so most attention will be devoted to the linguistic background against which they were chosen, by looking at the linguistic

(23) G. Jennes, "P3-šr-Personal Name. An Expression of Genealogical Relations?", *ZAS* 140 (2013), pp. 132-141.
(24) TM Per 77686 (www.trismegistos.org/person/77686).
(25) TM Per 137190 (www.trismegistos.org/person/137190).
(26) G. Jennes, *Inspired by the Gods: Theophoric Names in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Leuven, 2013) (unpublished doctoral thesis), p.162. In addition, the question regarding the semantic value of personal names in general remains unsettled as well: whether names are only labels, or if their 'meaning' is processed by the human brain is still in dispute. See e.g. T. Brennen, "On the Meaning of Personal Names: a View from Cognitive Psychology", *Names* 48 (2000), pp. 139-146.

affiliation of the names of the parents who bestowed them. Although there is no direct or necessary connection between the language of an individual's name and his or her cultural identity, ([27]) we can observe certain trends at the level of society as a whole. In this way, we can examine if these hybrid names were limited to the Egyptian sphere they morphologically belonged to, or if parents with Greek names bestowed them as well. In the latter case, it is also interesting to determine whether parents with different linguistic backgrounds preferred other prefixes or if there is no discernible pattern.

The data concerning the genealogical relationships of the people bearing Egyptian hybrid derivations, as well as information regarding the names of those relatives, is stored in the 'PER'-component of Trismegistos People. This database will be used for the remainder of the article, which accounts for the lower figures overall than in the previous part. 247 patronymics and 43 metronymics with a clear linguistic affiliation are known for people bearing an Egyptian derivation of a foreign element. ([28]) This information is provided below in the form of a network. ([29])

Network analysis is a method to map relationships between entities. The most obvious application of this technique in the fields of Ancient History and Egyptology is of course the representation of the social networks of people attested in the source material. Scholars have extended its use, however, to the spread of certain artefacts or linguistic features, the diffusion of religious ideas,

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(27) In the beginning of the 20th century, scholars were rather sceptic about the relationship between name and ethnicity or culture. In the decades following the Second World War, however, historians believed that a name did contain valuable information about these issues. See e.g. V. MARTIN, "L'onomastique comme indice des rapports entre indigènes et occupants dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine", in H. GERSTINGER (ed.), *Akten des 8. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie Wien 1955* (Vienna, 1956), pp. 85-90. From the 1980's onward, the general tendency has reverted to the prior scepticism. Also linked to this debate are double names: some people had both a Greek and an Egyptian name, and they rarely mentioned both in the same document. See Y. BROUX, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt* = *Studia Hellenistica* 54 (Leuven, 2015) and S. COUSSEMENT, *'Because I am Greek': Polyonymy and the Expression of Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* = *Studia Hellenistica* 55 (Leuven, 2015).

(28) In all, the 'PER' database contains 940 individual people bearing an Egyptian hybrid derivation.

(29) For the visualization of the network, the open-source software program *Gephi* has been used (http://gephi.github.io).

maritime networks, and so on. Network analysis has recently also been applied to onomastics, showing promising results. ([30])

In a network, the studied entities are rendered as *nodes*, which in this case represent names. The nodes are connected by *edges* if there is a relationship between the two of them. This is visualized as an arrow pointing from one node to another. The connection studied here is the bestowal of names, and the nodes representing the names are connected if a person with name x has a child bearing name y. The arrow runs from name x to name y, to represent the logical order, as it is the parent who bestows the name. This is called a *directed* edge, because the relationship has an obvious direction. Recurring combinations of a parent with the same name and a child with the same name are represented by a thicker edge, since its so-called *weight* is higher. If a parent passes his name on to one of his or her children, e.g. a certain Psenartemis has a son called Psenartemis as well, this is represented by a *self loop*, an arrow running around the node of, in this case, Psenartemis. The size of the nodes is determined by their *degree*, which corresponds to the total number of edges connecting the node to other nodes. In this case, only the *out-degree* is taken into consideration, meaning the number of edges going out from the node, as the focus of this section lies on the parents and not on the bearers. This is combined with the edge weight, so that the more times a name is attested as a parents' name, the bigger the corresponding node is.

Network analysis also supports the integration into the network of qualitative characteristics of the entities studies, called *attributes*. For names, this might include gender, semantic content, religious or ethnic background, or, in the case of the present article, language. The linguistic connotation of a name thus determines the colour of the nodes in the network: in this black-and-white rendering, black nodes stand for Egyptian names, white nodes for Greek names and dark grey nodes for Egyptian hybrid derivations. The other languages are less important, and they are all rendered as light grey here. ([31]) The colour of the

(30) Y. BROUX, "Graeco-Egyptian Naming Practices: a Network Perspective", *GRBS* 55 (2015), pp. 706-720.

(31) In the full-colour version of the network available online, pink stands for an Egyptian hybrid derivation, red for Egyptian, light green for a Greek hybrid derivation, dark green for Greek, blue for Latin, yellow for Semitic, and grey for names of unknown origin. For the sake of completeness,

edge is determined by the colour of the source node. Edges originating from white nodes are grey, however, as white edges would be invisible.

As scholars consider the logical and natural direction of onomastic transitions to be from the 'lower' Egyptian to the 'higher' Greek strata, we can reasonably expect the network to be mainly Egyptian in nature. As it turns out, however, this is decidedly not the case. The network is divided almost evenly between Greek nodes and Egyptian nodes, displaying a markedly mixed context for those mixed names (See fig. 2). There are also some isolated Latin and Semitic nodes, but they have very little impact on the overall picture. The two fathers' names attested most frequently are also Greek: Antigonos and Herakleides. Other than those two, only 4 names have a weighted out-degree of 5 or higher: the Greek names Heron and Chairemon, and the Egyptian names Orsenouphis (Wrš-nfr) and Onnophris (Wn-nfr). The two clusters dominating the centre of the network are on the one hand Tamystha and its associated parents' names, and on the other hand Senapollonia and its associated parent's names. Tamystha is more often attested among parents with Greek names, while Senapollonia is usually connected to Egyptian names. Neither of the two tendencies is absolute, however, and most of the derivations in the network are connected to both Greek and Egyptian parents' names.

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these names with an unknown linguistic background are incorporated in the network. They are, however, not relevant to the statistics used in the rest of the article.

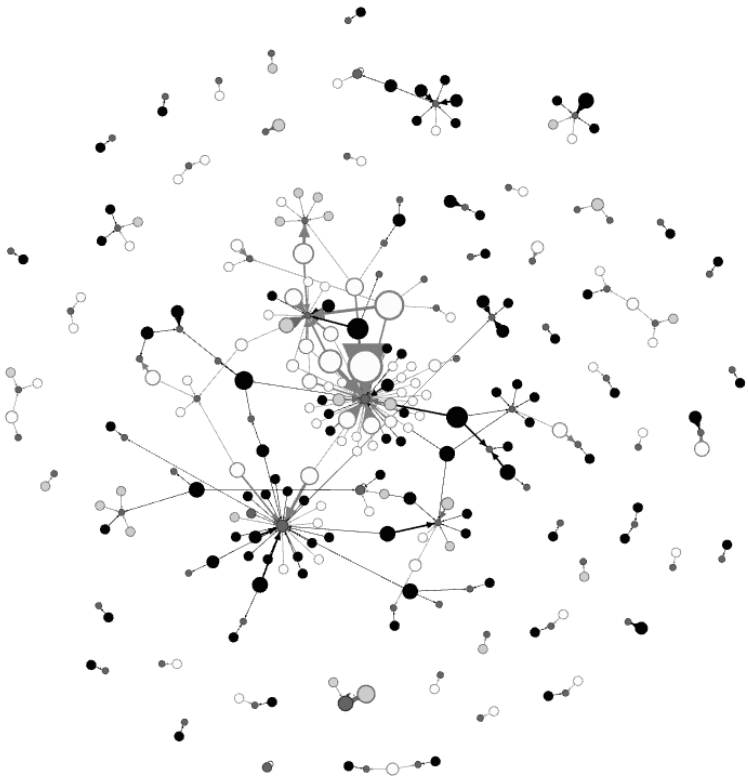

Fig. 2: Network of Egyptian hybrid derivations and the associated parents' names ([32])

As table 1 demonstrates, 45.5% of all parent's names were Greek, while Egyptian names represented roughly the same proportion (44.5%). As stated before, Latin names played only a marginal role (3.1%). Among parents with Latin names, the Egyptian derivations of Latin elements were somewhat more popular than among the other groups, but they make up only a small portion of all derivations and the figures are too low for general conclusions. Overall, the Latin element was rather absent. 5.9% of the parents' names were hybrid: 12 Greek derivations of Egyptian elements and 5 Egyptian derivations of Greek elements are attested. Again, no Latin derivations or derivations of Latin elements occur in the source material.

(32) An interactive and full-colour version of this network is available online at www.trismegistos.org/network/eg_derivations/. It also includes labels and it is searchable.

Table 1: parents of people bearing Egyptian hybrid derivations		
Language of their names	Frequency	
Greek	132	45.5%
Egyptian	129	44.5%
Hybrid	17	5.9%
Latin	9	3.1%
Other	3	1.0%

This Egyptian onomastic practice in use among parents with Greek names contradicts the image of a society constantly evolving towards more 'Greekness'. The fact that they bestowed morphologically Egyptian names does not necessarily imply, however, that parents bearing Greek names were not Greeks in a cultural sense. It does suggest that distinctions were probably not as rigid as we sometimes imagine them to be. The crucial element for understanding this phenomenon is gender. The majority of the bearers of the hybrid derivations were women, and for them, it was not as essential to present a Greek façade to the world in the way men had to. The language and the outward appearance of the public sphere was Greek, which made it necessary for men to stress their 'Greek' descent. Women, however, were largely confined to the private sphere, in which there was no such pressure to appear Greek.

Bingen and van Minnen have already noted this tendency with regards to regular Egyptian names among the women of the gymnasial and the metropolitan orders. ([33]) Egyptian hybrid derivations apparently follow the same pattern. According to van Minnen, this indicates that the 'Greeks' of the *metropoleis* were largely Egyptian to begin with, owing to the fact that many of their female ancestors were Egyptian. ([34]) The appearance of morphologically Egyptian names incorporating Greek elements, however, suggests more of a mixed society than a strict dichotomy between outward appearance and private practice. The stress on 'Greekness' among this section of the population resulted in a higher choice of 'proper' Greek names for boys. Women's names are

(33) J. BINGEN, "Notables hermopolitains et onomastique feminine", *CE* 66 (1991), pp. 324-329; P. VAN MINNEN, "Αἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. 'Greek' Women and the Greek 'Elite' in the Metropoleis of Roman Egypt", in H. MELAERTS and L. MOOREN (eds.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 337-353.
(34) VAN MINNEN, "Αἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου", p. 351.

therefore more revealing in this case, showing far more influence of Egyptian tradition.

As both parents with Greek names, who presumably belonged to the more privileged part of the population, and parents with Egyptian names bestowed Egyptian hybrid derivations, it would be interesting to know whether parents from a potentially different background preferred different forms of hybrid derivations. It is important to keep in mind, however, that as of yet no comprehensive study on naming patterns in Graeco-Roman Egypt has been undertaken, so assumptions about the background of people bearing certain names are always subject to reservations. In practice, the 'different forms' refer to the selection of the prefix. Table 2 presents the relationship between the chosen prefix and the language of the name of the parents who selected it. Only the three largest onomastic groups are taken into account here: Greek names, Egyptian names, and Latin names.

Table 2: prefixes used per language group

Prefix	Language of the parents' names					
	Greek		Egyptian		Latin	
Pa-/Ta-	111	72.5%	40	30.1%	8	80%
P3/T3-šr(.t)-n-	35	22.9%	70	52.6%	2	20%
P3/T3-	4	2.6%	18	13.5%	0	0%
P3/T3-dỉ-	3	2%	4	3%	0	0%
T3-rmt.t-n-	0	0%	1	0.8%	0	0%

A clear pattern emerges from this overview. Among parents with Greek names, 'Pa-'/'Ta-' is by far the most preferred prefix. Interestingly, the same goes for parents bearing Latin names, although the figures are too low to allow general conclusions. Parents with Egyptian names, on the other hand, show a marked preference for 'P3-šr-n'/T3-šr.t-n-' (usually rendered in Greek as 'Σεν-' or 'Ψεν-'). No immediately obvious and satisfactory explanation for this discrepancy exists. What is striking, however, is the fact that the parents bearing an Egyptian name seemed to prefer the grammatically more complex prefix, as opposed to the parents with Greek names, the majority of whom chose the prefix consisting of only one grammatical element. The most complicated prefix, 'T3-rmt.t-n-', is also attested only in combination with an Egyptian patronymic. This might

suggest that the parents bearing an Egyptian name themselves generally had a better command of the Egyptian language, while the parents with Greek names had a more 'diluted' knowledge. There is, however, no additional evidence to support such a claim, and the amount of unknown variables affecting the choice of names is far too high. The pattern emerging from the source material nevertheless remains an interesting one.

CONCLUSIONS

The chronological distribution of the attestations clearly demonstrates that the Egyptian hybrid derivations were for the most part an innovation of the Roman period. This provides further evidence for the vitality of Egyptian traditions during this time period, despite the ever-growing share of Greek cultural elements. The naming types under discussion here might have originated as references to actual people, as Masson argues, and there are some instances of 'T3-šr.t-n-'-names containing the name of the father of the woman concerned. Those cases represent but a small minority, however, and by this late date, the type was probably more akin to Bingen's vision.

In addition, the analysis of the parents' names associated with the hybrid forms seems to indicate that the names were not limited to an outwardly Egyptian milieu. On the contrary, Greek names figure as prominently as Egyptian names among the parents. This suggests an altogether more mixed society in Roman Egypt, as opposed to the 'living apart together' of the Ptolemaic period. It is significant that the Egyptian hybrid derivations mainly belonged to women, especially in the seemingly Greek milieus, as women led a more private life and the prestige of the Greek language had less of an impact on the selection of their names. This raises a number of questions regarding the 'Greekness' of the people bearing Greek names. The comparative absence of Latin elements, on the other hand, tends to confirm the assumption that there was less interaction between Roman and 'indigenous' naming practices.