

Indo-Roman Trade

Compiled by Andrew Wilson and Nick Ray

Version 1.3, May 2018

General overviews

Warmington, E. H. (1928). *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Review:

- A.G. (1929). 'review of *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* by E. H. Warmington', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 18.69: 157–158.

Warmington, E. H. (1974). *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (2nd edition). London, Curzon Press.

Charlesworth, M. (1951). 'Roman trade with India: a resurvey', in P. R. Colman-Norton (ed.), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press: 131–143.

Wheeler, R. E. M. (1954). *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. London, Bell.

Review:

- Cohn, W. (1956). 'review of *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* by Mortimer Wheeler; *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* by Douglas Barrett', *The Burlington Magazine* 98.642: 337–338.

Miller, J. I. (1969). *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C.–A.D. 641*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Review:

- Johnston, L. D. (1971). 'review of *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C.–A.D. 641* by J. Innes Miller', *The Classical Journal* 66.3: 280–281.

Raschke, M. G. (1980). 'New studies in Roman commerce with the East', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, vol. II.9.2*. Berlin, 604–1378.

Singh, A. K. (1988). *Indo-Roman Trade: An archaeological perspective*. South Asia Books.

Begley, V. and De Puma, R. D. (1991). *Rome and India: The ancient sea trade*. Madison, Wis., University of Wisconsin Press.

Reviews:

- Sinopoli, C. M. (1992). 'review of *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* by Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51.4: 948–949.
- Salles, J. F. (1994). 'review of *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* by Vimala Begley, Richard Daniel de Puma', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 25.1: 103–107.

- Barnes, T. D. (1994). 'review of *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* by Vimala Begley and R. P. de Puma', *Phoenix* 48.1: 91–94.
- Peacock, D. P. S. (1994). 'Rome and India', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7: 457–458.
- De Romanis, F. (1996). *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana : uomini e merci tra Oceano indiano e Mediterraneo*. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider.
- Review:
- Desanges, J. (1999). 'Cassia, cinnamon, obsidian. Men and merchandise between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea – Italian – De Romanis, F', *Latomus. Revue d'études latines* 58.2: 451–453.
- De Romanis, F. and Tchernia, A. (eds) (1997; reprint 2005). *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar.
- Reviews:
- Lerner, J. D. (1999). 'Crossings: Early Mediterranean contacts with India – DeRomanis, F, Tchernia, A', *American Journal of Archaeology* 103.4: 702.
- Whittaker, C. R. (2000). 'Contacts with India [review article]', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13.2: 691–692.
- Young, G. K. (2001). *Rome's Eastern Trade. International commerce and imperial policy 31 BC – AD 305*. London, Routledge.
- Tomber, R. (2008). *Indo-Roman Trade: From pots to pepper*. London, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.
- McLaughlin, R. (2010). *Rome and the Distant East: Trade routes to the ancient lands of Arabia, India and China*. London, Continuum.
- Rathbone, D. (2001). 'The 'Muziris' papyrus (SB XVIII 13167): financing Roman trade with India', *Alexandrian Studies II in Honor of Mostafa el Abbadi, Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*, 39–50.
- O'Connor, T. (2005). 'Review article: Ex India, semper aliquid novi?', *Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* 79.305: 696–698.
- Cobb, M. A. (2015). 'The chronology of Roman trade in the Indian Ocean from Augustus to early third century', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58: 362–418.
- Gurukkal, R. (2013). 'Classical Indo-Roman Trade: a Historiographical Reconsideration', *Indian Historical Review* 40: 181–206.
- Gurukkal, R. (2016). *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade. Political economy of Eastern Mediterranean exchange relations*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Review:
- Sidebotham, S. E. (2017). 'Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade. Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations, by Rajan Gurukkal', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 40.2: 426–428.
- Seland, E. H. (2014). 'Archaeology of trade in the Western Indian Ocean, 300 BC–AD 700', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 22: 367–402.

Cultural contact between India and the Mediterranean World

- Rodriguez Adrados, F. (1994). 'Contactos culturales entre la India y Grecia', *Synthesis* 1: 7–18.
- Stoneman, R. (1994). 'Romantic ethnography: central Asia and India in the Alexander romance', *The Ancient World* 25.1: 93.
- Weerakkody, D. P. M. (1997). *Taprobanê: Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans* (Indicopleustoi). Turnhout, Brepols.
- Dognini, C. (1997). 'Alessandro Magno e la conoscenza dell'Iliade in India', *Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche* 71.1: 71–77.
- Benjamin, R., Jr. (1949). 'The Hellenistic Tradition in Northwestern India', *The Art Bulletin* 31.1: 1–10.
- Karttunen, K. (1997). *India and the Hellenistic World*. Helsinki, Finnish Oriental Society.
- Reviews:
- Brodersen, K. (1999). 'India and the Hellenistic world – Karttunen, K', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119: 215.
 - De Jong, J. W. (1999). 'Klaus Karttunen, India and the Hellenistic World', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 42.4: 362–367.
- Parker, G. (2008). *The Making of Roman India* (Greek Culture in the Roman World). Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Vickers, M. (1994). 'Nabataea, India, Gaul, and Carthage. Reflections on Hellenistic and Roman gold vessels and red-gloss pottery', *American Journal of Archaeology* 98.2: 231–248.
- Rowland, B. (1958). 'Gandhara art in Rome', *Artibus Asiae* 21.3/4: 282–284.
- Whitehouse, D. (1989). 'Begram, the Periplus and Gandharan art', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2: 93.
- Bíró, M. T. (1985). 'The Indian ivory comb from Gorsium', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37: 419–430.
- Bonacasa, N. (1996). 'Un rilievo marmoreo con il Trionfo Indiano nella Basilica Giudiziaria di Sabratha', in L. Bacchielli and M. B. Aravantinos (eds), *Studi Miscellanei* 29. *Scritti di antichità in memoria di Sandro Stucchi*, vol. 2. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider: 49–60.

Trade and Routes

- Schoff, W. H. (1912). 'A postscript to Indo-Roman relations in the first century', *The Monist* 22.4: 637–638.
- Filliozat, J. (1949). 'Les échanges de l'Inde et de l'empire romain aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne', *Revue historique* 201.1: 1–29.
- Margabandhu, C. (1965). 'Trade contacts between western India and the Graeco-Roman world in the early centuries of the Christian era', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8.3: 316–322.

- Casson, L. (1980). 'Rome's trade with the East: the sea voyage to Africa and India', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 110: 21–36.
- Salomon, R. (1991). 'Epigraphic remains of Indian traders in Egypt', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111.4: 731–736.
- Kulke, H. (1993). "'A Passage to India": Temples, merchants and the ocean', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36.2: 154–180.
- Mayerson, P. (1993). 'A Confusion of Indias: Asian India and African India in the Byzantine Sources', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113.2: 169.
- Schwarz, F. F. (1994). 'Magna India Pliniana. Zur Berichtsweise in der naturalis historia [Spairos. Festschrift Hans Schwabel 2]', *Wiener Studien* 108: 439–465.
- Seldeslachts, E. (1998). 'Translated loans and loan translations as evidence of Graeco-Indian bilingualism in antiquity', *L'Antiquité classique* 67: 273–299.
- Tomber, R. (2000). 'Indo-Roman trade: the ceramic evidence from Egypt', *Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* 74.285: 624–631.
- Bellina, B. and Glover, I. (2004). 'The archaeology of early contact with India and the Mediterranean world, from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD, in I. Glover and P. Bellwood (eds), *Southeast Asia: From prehistory to history*. London: Routledge Curzon: 68–88.
- Thapar, R. (2005). 'Early Mediterranean contacts with India: An overview', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 11–40.
- Mazzarino, S. (2005). 'On the name of the *Hipalus* (*Hippalus*) Wind in Pliny', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 72–79.
- Tchernia, A. (2005). 'Winds and coins: From the supposed discovery of the Monsoon to the *denarii* of Tiberius', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 250–276.
- Shcheglov, D. A. (2005). 'Hipparchus on the latitude of Southern India', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 45.4: 359–380.
- Guasti, L. (2003). 'Le rotte oceaniche per l'India in eta imperiale: tempi e percorsi', *Klio* 85.2: 370–383.
- Jones, C. P. (2001). 'Apollonius of Tyana's passage to India', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 42.2: 185–200.
- De Romanis, F. (2005). 'Rome and the *Notia* of India: Relations between Rome and Southern India from 30 BC to the Flavian Period', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 80–160.
- De Romanis, F. (2005). 'Romanukharattha and Taprobane: Relations between Rome and Sri Lanka in the first century AD', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 161–237.
- Fitzpatrick, M. P. (2011). 'Provincializing Rome: The Indian Ocean trade network and Roman imperialism', *Journal of World History* 22.1: 27–54.
- Cobb, M. A. (2014). 'The exchange of goods from Italy to India during the early Roman Empire: the range of travelling times', *Ancient West & East* 13: 89–116.

- Cobb, M. A. (2015). 'Balancing the trade: Roman cargo shipments to India', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 34: 185–203.
- Falk, H. (2015). 'Indian gold crossing the Indian Ocean through the millennia', in F. De Romanis and M. Maiuri (eds), *Across the Ocean: Nine essays on Indo-Mediterranean trade* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition). Leiden, E. J. Brill: 97–113.
- Whitewright, Julian (2017). 'The ships and shipping of Indo-Roman trade: A view from the Egyptian Red Sea ports', *HEROM* 6.2: 137–172.

The Periplus Maris Erythraeae

- Reinaud, J. T. (1864). *Mémoire sur le Périples de la mer Érythrée et sur la navigation des mers orientales au milieu du troisième siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'après les témoignages grecs, latins, arabes, persans, indiens et chinois*, (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 24). Paris, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/M%C3%A9moire_sur_le_P%C3%A9riples_de_la_mer_%C3%89rythr%C3%A9e
- Casson, L. (1989). *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with introduction, translation, and commentary*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.
- Review:
- Whitehouse, D. (1990). 'The Periplus Maris Erythraei', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3: 489–493.
- Robin, C. (1997). 'The date of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the light of South Arabian evidence', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 41–65.
- Robin, C. (2005). 'The date of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the light of South Arabian evidence', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 41–65.
- Fussman, G. (2005). 'The *Periplus* and the political history of India', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 66–71.
- Seland, E. H. (2010). *Ports and Political Power in the Periplus: Complex societies and maritime trade on the Indian Ocean in the first century AD*, (BAR International Series 2102). Oxford, Archaeopress.

Ancient India

- Morrison, B. M. (1968). 'Sources, methods and concepts in early Indian history', *Pacific Affairs* 41.1: 71–85.
- Smith, V. A. (1903). 'The Kushan, or Indo-Scythian, period of Indian history, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–64.
- Adhya, G. L. (1966). *Early Indian Economics: Studies in the economic life of northern and western India, c. 200 B.C.–300 A.D.* London, Asia Publishing House.

Review:

- Sharma, R. S. (1967). 'Indo-Roman trade', *Economic and Political Weekly* 2.20: 917–918.

Sharma, R. S. and Jha, D. N. (1974). 'The economic history of India up to AD 1200: Trends and prospects', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17.1: 48–80.

Ray, H. P. (1988). 'The Yavana presence in ancient India', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 31.3: 311–325.

Thapar, R. (1994). *Interpreting Early India* (Oxford India Paperbacks). New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Champakalakshmi, R. (1999). *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization. South India 300 BC to AD 1300* (Oxford India Paperbacks). New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Sharma, R. S. (2009). *Rethinking India's Past* (Oxford India Paperbacks). New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Trade Goods in India

Suresh, S. (2004). *Symbols of Trade: Roman and pseudo-Roman objects found in India*. New Delhi, Manohar.

Rao, S. R. (1966). 'Excavation at Amreli', *Museum Bulletin (Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda (India))* 18.

Gorelick, L. and Gwinnett, A. J. (1988). 'Diamonds from India to Rome and beyond', *American Journal of Archaeology* 92.4: 547–552.

Turner, P. J. (1989). *Roman Coins from India*. London, Royal Numismatic Society.

Review:

- Sidebotham, S. E. (1992). 'review of *Roman Coins from India* by Paula J. Turner', *Gnomon* 64.8: 732–734.

Cimino, R. M. (1998). 'Un Eros in India', *La Parola del Passato: rivista di studi antichi* 53.5: 369–387.

MacDowall, D. W. and Jha, A. (2003). *Foreign Coins Found in the Indian Subcontinent: 4th International Colloquium, 8th–10th January 1995*. Maharashtra, IIRNS Publications.

MacDowall, D. W. (2003). 'The Indo-Roman metal trade', in D. W. MacDowall and A. Jha (eds), *Foreign Coins Found in the Indian Sub-Continent: 4th International Colloquium, 8th–10th January 1995*. Maharashtra, IIRNS Publications: 39–44.

Will, E. L. (2004). 'Mediterranean amphoras in India', in J. Eiring and J. Lund (eds), *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean*, (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens). Athens, Danish Institute at Athens: 433–440.

Williams, D. F. (2004). 'The eruption of Vesuvius and its implications for the early Roman amphora trade with India', in J. Eiring and J. Lund (eds), *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean*, (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens). Athens, Danish Institute at Athens: 441–450.

Tomber, R. (2007). 'Roman & Sassanian wine in India', *Minerva* 18.1: 48.

Tomber, R. (2007). 'Rome and Mesopotamia—importers into India in the first millennium AD', *Antiquity* 81: 972–988.

Arikamedu

Wheeler, R. E. M., Ghosh, A., and Deva, K. (1946). 'Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman trading station on the East coast of India', *Ancient India* 2: 17–124.

Begley, V. (1983). 'Arikamedu reconsidered', *American Journal of Archaeology* 87.4: 461–481.

Begley, V. (1993). 'New investigations at the port of Arikamedu', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6: 93–108.

Francis, P., Jr. (1991). 'Beadmaking at Arikamedu and beyond', *World Archaeology* 23.1: 28–43.

Boast, R. (2002). 'Mortimer Wheeler's science of order: the tradition of accuracy at Arikamedu', *Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* 76.291: 165–170.

Maritime archaeology of the Indian Ocean

Whitehouse, D. and Williamson, A. (1973). 'Sasanian maritime trade', *Iran* 11: 29–49.

Ray, H. P. (1996). 'Seafaring and maritime contacts: An agenda for historical analysis', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 39.4: 422–431.

Ray, H. P. (2006). 'The archaeology of Bengal: Trading networks, cultural identities', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49.1: 68–95.

Ward, C. (2003). 'Early navigation and trade in the Indian Ocean', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 32.1: 124–125.

Parkin, D. and Barnes, R. (eds) (2002). *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*. London, Routledge Curzon.

Tripati, S. (1999). 'Marine investigations in the Lakshadweep Islands, India', *Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* 73.282: 827–835.

Tripati, S. and Gudigar, P. (2001). 'Shipwreck archaeology of the Lakshadweep Islands, west coast of India', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 30.1: 37–47.

Gaur Sundaresh, A. S., Tripati, S., Gudigar, P., Vora, K. H., and Bandodker, S. N. (2001). 'A group of 20 stone anchors from the waters of Dwarka, on the Gujarat Coast, India', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 30.1: 95–108.

Tripati, S., Gaur, A. S., Bandodker, S., and Bandodker, S. N. (2001). 'Exploration for Shipwrecks of Sunchi Reef, Goa, West Coast of India', *World Archaeology* 32.3: 355–367.

Tripati, S., Parthiban, G., Vora, K. H., Sundaresh, and Bandodker, S. N. (2003). 'Lead ingots from a shipwreck off Poompuhar, Tamil Nadu, East Coast of India: Evidence for overseas trade and their significance', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 32.2: 225–237.

- Tripati, S., Manikfan, A., and Mohamed, M. (2005). 'An Indo-Arabian type of stone anchor from Kannur, Kerala, west coast of India', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 34.1: 131–137.
- Vosmer, T. (1999). 'Indo-Arabian stone anchors in the western Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 10.2: 248–263.
- Meyer, J. C. (2007). 'Roman coins as a source for Roman trading activities in the Indian Ocean', in E. H. Seland (ed.), *The Indian Ocean in the Ancient Period. Definite places, translocal exchange*, (BAR International Series 1593). Oxford, Archaeopress: 58–67.
- Seland, E. H. (2007). 'Ports, Ptolemy, Periplus and poetry – Romans in Tamil South India and on the Bay of Bengal', in E. H. Seland (ed.), *The Indian Ocean in the Ancient Period. Definite places, translocal exchange*, (BAR International Series 1593). Oxford, Archaeopress: 68–82.

Arabia

- Sidebotham, S. E. (1986). 'Aelius Gallus and Arabia', *Latomus. Revue d'études latines* 45.3: 590–602.
- Bowersock, G. W. (1993). 'The new Greek inscription from South Yemen', in J. S. Langdon, S. W. Reinert, J. S. Allen, C. P. Ioannides (eds), *TO ELLENIKON: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr*, vol. 1. New Rochelle, N.Y., Aristide D. Caratzas: 3–8.
- Davidde, B., Petriaggi, R., and Williams, D. F. (2004). 'New data on the commercial trade of the harbour of Kanê through the typological and petrographic study of the pottery', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34: 85–100.
- Davidde, B. and Petriaggi, R. (2000). 'Ricerche archeologiche subacquee nel porto di Qâni', in A. de Maigret and S. Antonini (eds), *Yemen. Nel paese della regina di Saba*. Milano, Skira: 240–243.
- Davidde, B. and Petriaggi, R. (2000). 'Il Mediterraneo e l'Oriente: il commercio del vino e la diffusione delle anfore Dressel 2/4 attraverso il contributo della ricerca subacquea', in H. Gräfin von Schmettow (ed.), *Schutz des Kulturerbes unter Wasser. Veränderungen europäischer Lebenskultur durch Fluß- und Seehandel. Beiträge zum Internationalen Kongreß für Unterwasserarchäologie (IKUWA '99). 18.–21. Februar 1999 in Sassnitz auf Rügen*, (Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns). Lübstorf, Archäologisches Landesmuseum: 171–175.
- de Maigret, A. and Antonini, S. (2000). *Yemen. Nel paese della regina di Saba: Catalogo della Mostra, Roma, Fondazione Memmo dal 6 aprile al 30 giugno 2000*. Milano, Skira.
- Mouton, M., Sanlaville, P., and Suire, J. (2006). 'Le port sudarabique de Qâni' : paléogéographie et organisation urbaine', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 150.2: 777–808.
- Robin, C. and Gorea, M. (2002). 'Les vestiges antiques de la grotte de Hôq (Suqutra, Yémen) (note d'information)', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 146.2: 409–445.

- Sedov, A. V. (1994). 'Qana' (Yemen) and the Indian Ocean. The archaeological evidence', in H. P. Ray and J. F. Salles (eds), *Tradition and Archaeology. Early maritime contacts in the Indian Ocean. Proceedings of the International Seminar Techno-Archaeological Perspectives of Seafaring in the Indian Ocean, 4th cent. B.C. – 15th cent. A.D. New Delhi, February 28–March 4, 1994*. New Delhi, Manohar: 11–35.
- Sedov, A. V. (1997). 'Sea-trade of the Hadramawt Kingdom from the 1st to the 6th Century A.D', in A. Avanzini (ed.), *Profumi d'Arabia. Atti del Convegno*. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider: 365–383.
- Avanzini, A. (ed.) (2008). *A Port in Arabia between Rome and the Indian Ocean (3rd C. BC–5th C. AD): Khor Rori Report 2*. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider.
- Schiettecatte, J. (2008). 'Ports et commerce maritime dans l'Arabie du Sud préislamique', *Chroniques Yéménites* 15: 65–90. <http://cy.revues.org/1671>
- Blagg, T. F. C. (1990). 'Column capitals with elephant-head volutes at Petra', *Levant* 22: 131–137.
- Davidde, B. (2018). The port of Qana', a junction between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, in A. Wilson and A. K. Bowman (eds), *Trade, Commerce, and the State* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford, Oxford University Press: 579–589.

Incense trade

- De Maigret, Alessandro (2003). 'La route caravanière de l'encens dans l'Arabie préislamique. Éléments d'information sur son itinéraire et sa chronologie,' *Chroniques Yéménites* 11. <http://cy.revues.org/160>
- Jones, B. (1992). 'On the incense trail – From the Empty Quarter to the Indian Ocean', *Minerva* 3.4: 14–17.
- Peacock, D. P. S. and Williams, D. (eds) (2007). *Food for the Gods. New light on the ancient incense trade*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Red Sea

- Ball, J. (1942). *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*. Cairo, Government Press, Bulâq.
- Sayed, A. M. (1978). 'The recently discovered port on the Red Sea shore', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64: 69–71.
- Sidebotham, S. E. (2015). 'Roman Ports on the Red Sea and their contacts with Africa, Arabia and South Asia: Ancient literary and recent archaeological evidence', in K. S. Mathew (ed.), *Imperial Rome, Indian Ocean Regions and Muziris: New perspectives on maritime trade*. New Delhi, Manohar: 129–78.
- Sidebotham, S. E. (1986). *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 B.C.–A.D. 217*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- Sidebotham, S. E. (1996). 'Roman interests in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean', in J. E. Reade (ed.), *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity*. London, Kegan Paul International: 290–308.

- Sidebotham, S. E. (1986). 'Ports of the Red Sea and the Arabia-India trade', *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 5.2: 16–36.
- Sidebotham, S. E. (1989). 'Ports of the Red Sea and the Arabia-India trade', in T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 24-27 juin 1987*. Leiden, E. J. Brill: 195–223.
- Blue, L., Cooper, J. P., Thomas, R., and Whitewright, J. (eds) (2009). *Connected Hinterlands: Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV held at the University of Southampton, September 2008*, (BAR International Series 2052). Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Nappo, D. (2009). 'Roman policy in the Red Sea between Anastasius and Justinian', in L. Blue, J. Cooper, R. I. Thomas, and J. Whitewright (eds), *Connected Hinterlands. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Peoples of the Red Sea Region*, (BAR International Series 2052). Oxford: Archaeopress: 71–77.
- Casson, L. (1993). 'Ptolemy II and the hunting of African elephants', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 123: 247–260.
- Cooper, J. P. (2011). 'No easy option: Nile versus Red Sea in ancient and mediaeval north-south navigation', in W. V. Harris and K. Iara (eds), *Maritime Technology in the Ancient Economy: Ship-design and navigation*, (JRA Supplement 84). Portsmouth, Rhode Island, Journal of Roman Archaeology: 189–210.
- Agius, D. A., Cooper, J. P., Trakadas, A., Zazzaro, C. (eds) (2012). *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, (BAR International Series 2346). Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Blue, L., Hill, J. D., and Thomas, R. (2012). 'New light on the nature of Indo-Roman trade: Roman period shipwrecks in the northern Red Sea', in D. A. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, and C. Zazzaro (eds), *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places. Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, (BAR International Series 2346). Oxford, Archaeopress: 91–100.
- Nalesini, O. (2012). 'Sacred places and beings of the Red Sea littoral societies', in D. A. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, and C. Zazzaro (eds), *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places. Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, (BAR International Series 2346). Oxford, Archaeopress: 77–84.
- Seland, E. H. (2012). 'The *Liber Pontificalis* and Red Sea trade of the early to mid 4th century AD', in D. A. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, and C. Zazzaro (eds), *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places. Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, (BAR International Series 2346). Oxford, Archaeopress: 117–126.
- Power, T. (2012). *The Red Sea from Byzantium to the Caliphate AD 500–1000*. Cairo/New York, The American University in Cairo Press.
- Nappo, D. (2015). 'Roman Policy on the Red Sea in the second century CE', in F. De Romanis and M. Maiuri (eds), *Across the Ocean: Nine essays on Indo-Mediterranean trade* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition). Leiden, E. J. Brill: 55–72.
- Wilson, A. I. (2015). 'Red Sea trade and the State', in F. De Romanis and M. Maiuri (eds), *Across the Ocean: Nine essays on Indo-Mediterranean trade* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition). Leiden, E. J. Brill: 13–32.

Speidel, M. A. (2015). 'Wars, trade and treaties. New, revised, and neglected sources for the political, diplomatic, and military aspects of imperial Rome's relations with the Red Sea basin and India, from Augustus to Diocletian', in K. S. Mathew (ed.), *Imperial Rome, Indian Ocean Regions and Muziris: New perspectives on maritime trade*. New Delhi, Manohar: 83–128.

Nappo, D. (2018). 'Money and flows of coinage in the Red Sea trade', in A. Wilson and A. K. Bowman (eds), *Trade, Commerce, and the State* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy). Oxford, Oxford University Press:

Clyisma

Bruyère, B. (1966). *Fouilles de Clyisma-Qolzoum (Suez) 1930–1932*, (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire). Le Caire, Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Mayerson, P. (1996). 'The port of Clyisma (Suez) in transition from Roman to Arab rule', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55.2: 119–126.

Mayerson, P. (1996). 'Egeria and Peter the Deacon on the site of Clyisma (Suez)', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33: 61–64.

Iotabe

Mayerson, P. (1992). 'The island of Iotabê in the Byzantine sources: A reprise', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 287: 1–4.

Mayerson, P. (1995). 'A note on Iotabe and several other islands in the Red Sea', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 298: 33–35.

Abu Sha'ar

Sidebotham, S. E. (1994). 'Preliminary report on the 1990–1991 seasons of fieldwork at 'Abu Sha'ar (Red Sea coast)', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31: 133–158.

Mulvin, L. and Sidebotham, S. E. (2004). 'Roman Game Boards from Abu Sha'ar (Red Sea Coast, Egypt)', *Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* 78.301: 602–617.

Leuke Kome

Young, G. K. (1997). 'The customs-collector at the Nabataean port of Leuke Kome (Periplus Maris Erythraei 19)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119: 266–268.

Nappo, D. (2010). 'On the location of Leuke Kome', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 23.1: 335–348.

Myos Hormos

Whitcomb, D. S. and Johnson, J. H. (1979). *Quseir al-Qadim 1978: Preliminary report* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). Cairo, American Research Center in Egypt.

Meyer, C. (1992). *Glass from Quseir al-Qadim and the Indian Ocean Trade*, (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 53). Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Review:

- Nicholson, P. T. (1997). 'Glass from Quseir al-Qadim and the Indian Ocean trade – Meyer, C', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83: 240–242.

Whitcomb, D. (1996). 'Quseir al-Qadim and the location of Myos Hormos', *Topoi* 6.2: 747–772.

Burke, K. S. (2004). 'Quseir al-Qadim', *Oriental Institute Annual Report 2003–2004*: 125–132. http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/03-04_Quseir.pdf

Peacock, D. P. S. (1993). 'The site of Myos Hormos: a view from space', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6: 226–232.

Peacock, D. P. S. and Blue, L. (2006). *Myos Hormos – Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic ports on the Red Sea*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Peacock, D. P. S. and Blue, L. (eds) (2011). *Myos Hormos – Quseir al-Qadim: Roman and Islamic ports on the Red Sea. Volume 2: Finds from the excavations 1999–2003*, (BAR International Series 2286). Oxford, Archaeopress.

Cox, A. and Van der Veen, M. (2008). 'Changing foodways: watermelon (*Citrullus lanatus*) consumption in Roman and Islamic Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 17 (suppl. 1): 181–189.

Van der Veen, M. (2011). *Consumption, Trade and Innovation: Exploring the botanical remains from the Roman and Islamic ports at Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt*, (Journal of African Archaeology Monograph Series 6). Frankfurt: Africa Magna Verlag.

Marsa Nakari

Seeger, J. and Sidebotham, S. (2005). 'Marsa Nakari: An ancient port on the Red Sea', *Egyptian Archaeology: Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* 26: 18–20.

Berenike

Sidebotham, S. E. and Wendrich, W. Z. (eds) (1995). *Berenike 1994. Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*. Leiden, Research School CNWS.

Sidebotham, S. E. and Wendrich, W. Z. (eds) (1996). *Berenike 1995. Preliminary Report of the 1995 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*. Leiden, Research School CNWS.

Sidebotham, S. E. and Wendrich, W. Z. (eds) (1998). *Berenike 1996. Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*, (CNWS Special Series). Leiden, Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies.

Review:

- Maxfield, V. (2000). 'Berenike on the Red Sea and its hinterland', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13.2: 698–701.

- Sidebotham, S. E. and Wendrich, W. Z. (eds) (1999). *Berenike 1997. Report of the 1997 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Eastern Desert, Including Excavations at Shenshef*, (CNWS Special Series 3). Leiden, Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies.
- Sidebotham, S. E. and Wendrich, W. Z. (eds) (2000). *Berenike 1998. Report of the 1998 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*, (CNWS Special Series 4). Leiden, Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies.
- Sidebotham, S. E. and Wendrich, W. Z. (2002). 'Berenike: A Ptolemaic Roman port on the ancient maritime spice and incense route', *Minerva* 13.3: 28–31.
- Sidebotham, S. (2002). 'Late Roman Berenike', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39: 217–240.
- Bagnall, R. S., Helms, C., and Verhoogt, A. M. F. W. (2005). *Documents from Berenike: Texts from the 1999–2001 seasons* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 33). Brussels, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Wendrich, W. Z., Tomber, R. S., Sidebotham, S. E., Harrell, J. A., Cappers, R. T. J., and Bagnall, R. S. (2003). 'Berenike Crossroads: The integration of information', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46.1: 46–87.
- Sidebotham, S. and Wendrich, W. (1996). 'Berenike: Roman Egypt's maritime gateway to Arabia and India', *Egyptian Archaeology: Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* 8: 15–18.
- Wild, J. P. and Wild, F. C. (2005). 'Rome and India: Early Indian cotton textiles from Berenike, Red Sea coast of Egypt', in R. Barnes (ed.), *Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies*. London, Routledge Curzon: 11–16.
- Cappers, R. T. J. (2006). *Roman Foodprints at Berenike: Archaeobotanical evidence of subsistence and trade in the Eastern Desert of Egypt*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.
- Review:
- Zuiderhoek, A. (2006). *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2006.10.41
<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2006/2006-10-41.html>
- Sidebotham, S. E. (2011). *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Wild, J. P. and Wild, F. C. (2005). 'Rome and India: Early Indian cotton textiles from Berenike, Red Sea coast of Egypt', in R. Barnes (ed.), *Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies*. London, Routledge Curzon: 11–16.

Farasan Islands

- Villeneuve, F. (2004). 'Une inscription latine sur l'archipel Farasan, Arabie Séoudite, sud de la Mer Rouge', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*: 419–429.
- Villeneuve, F., Philipps, C., and Facey, W. (2004). 'Une inscription latine de l'archipel Farasan (sud de la mer Rouge) et son contexte archéologique et historique', *Arabia* 2: 143–190.

- Villeneuve, F. (2007). 'L'armée romaine en mer Rouge et autour de la mer Rouge aux II^{ème} et III^{ème} siècles apr. J. C.: à propos de deux inscriptions latines découvertes sur l'archipel Farasan', in A. S. Lewin and P. Pellegrini (eds), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)*. (BAR International Series 1717). Oxford, Archeopress: 13–27.
- Bukharin, M. D. (2006). 'Romans in the southern Red Sea', *Arabia* 3: 135–140.
- Villeneuve, F. (2007). 'Farasân Latin inscriptions and Bukharin's ideas : no pontifex Herculis and other comments', *Arabia* 4: 289–296.
- Villeneuve, F. (2009). 'Les îles Farasan et la mer Rouge'. <http://www.mae.u-paris10.fr/arscan/Les-iles-Farasan-et-la-mer-Rouge.html>

Eastern Desert of Egypt – roads and routes between the Nile and the Red Sea

- Sidebotham, S. E., Hense, M., and Nouwens, H. M. (2008). *The Red Land. The illustrated archaeology of Egypt's Eastern Desert*. Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press.
- Tchernia, A. (2005). 'The Dromedary of the Peticii and Trade with the East', in F. De Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*. New Delhi, Manohar: 238–249.
- Zitterkopf, R. E. and Sidebotham, S. E. (1989). 'Stations and towers on the Quseir-Nile road', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75: 155–189.
- Sidebotham, S. E., Zitterkopf, R. E., and Riley, J. A. (1991). 'Survey of the Abu Sha'ar-Nile Road', *American Journal of Archaeology* 95.4: 571–622.
- Sidebotham, S. E. and Zitterkopf, R. E. (1995). 'Routes through the Eastern Desert of Egypt', *Expedition Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* 37.2: 39.
- Bagnall, R. S., Manning, J. G., Sidebotham, S. E., and Zitterkopf, R. E. (1996). 'A Ptolemaic inscription from Bir 'Iayyan', *Chronique d'Égypte* 71.142: 317–330.
- Sidebotham, S. E. (1997). 'Caravans across the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Recent discoveries on the Berenice-Apollinopolis Magna-Coptos roads', in A. Avanzini (ed.), *Profumi d'Arabia. Atti del Convegno*. Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider: 385–393.
- Sidebotham, S. E., Zitterkopf, R. E., and Helm, C. C. (1998). 'Survey of the Via Hadriana: The 1998 season', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 37: 115.
- Sidebotham, S. E. and Zitterkopf, R. E. (2006). 'Surveying the Via Nova Hadriana: The Emperor Hadrian's Desert Highway in Egypt', *Minerva* 17.3: 34–35.
- Sidebotham, S. E. and Zitterkopf, R. E. (1996). 'Survey of the hinterland', in S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995. Preliminary Report of the 1995 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*. Leiden, Research School CNWS: 357–409.
- Cuvigny, H. (ed.) (2003). *La route de Myos Hormos. L'armée romaine dans le désert oriental d'Égypte: Praesidia du désert de Bérénice*. Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

- Schörle, K. (2011). 'From Harbour to Desert: An integrated interface on the Red Sea and its impact on the Eastern Egyptian Desert', *Bolletino di Archeologia Online*.
http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&_id=32&Itemid=32
- Bagnall, R. S., Bülow-Jacobsen, A., and Cuvigny, H. (2001). 'Security and water on the Eastern Desert roads: the prefect Iulius Ursus and the construction of *praesidia* under Vespasian', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14.1: 325–333.
- Durand, C. (2012). 'Crossing the Red Sea: the Nabataeans in the Egyptian Eastern Desert', in D. A. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas and C. Zazzaro (eds), *Navigated spaces, connected places. Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, (BAR International Series 2346). Oxford, Archaeopress: 85–90.

Trajan's Canal

- Aubert, J. J. (2015). 'Trajan's Canal: River navigation from the Nile to the Red Sea?', in F. De Romanis and M. Maiuri (eds), *Across the Ocean: Nine essays on Indo-Mediterranean trade* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition). Leiden, E. J. Brill: 33–42.
- Sijpesteijn, P. J. (1963). 'Der ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ', *Aegyptus: rivista italiana di egiptologia e di papirologia* 43: 70–83.
- Aubert, J. J. (2004). 'Aux origines du canal de Suez? Le canal du Nil à Mer Rouge revisité', in M. Clavel-Lévêque and E. Hermon (eds), *Espaces intégrés et ressources naturelles dans l'Empire Romain : actes du colloque de l'Université de Laval-Québec, 5–8 mars 2003*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté: 219–252.
- De Romanis, F. (2002). 'Τραιανος ποταμος. Mediterraneo e Mar Rosso da Traiano a Maometto', in R. Villari (ed.), *Controllo degli stretti e insediamenti militari nel Mediterraneo*, (Percorsi 28). Roma, Laterza: 21–70.
- Cooper, J. P. (2009). 'Egypt's Nile-Red Sea canals: Chronology, location, seasonality and function', in L. Blue, J. Cooper, R. I. Thomas, and J. Whitewright (eds), *Connected Hinterlands: Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV held at the University of Southampton September 2008*, (BAR International Series 2052). Oxford, Archaeopress: 195–209.
- Sheehan, P. (2012). 'The port of Babylon in Egypt', in D. A. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, and C. Zazzaro (eds), *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, (BAR International Series 2346). Oxford, Archaeopress: 103–115.

Late Antiquity

- Decker, M. (2010). 'Settlement and trade in the Red Sea in Late Antiquity: An archaeological perspective', *Ancient West and East* 9: 193–220.
- Howard-Johnston, J. (2017). 'The India trade in Late Antiquity', in E. Sauer (ed.), *Sasanian Persia. Between Rome and the Steppes of Eurasia*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 284–304.

Who conducted the trade? Where did traders live? What routes travelled? What is the duration and extent of this trade?
Arikamedu excavation by Sir Mortimer Wheeler 1945 116 Amphora sherds 38 sherds of Terra Sigillata Orthodox
view: Trade was Roman controlled, Arikamedu colonised by Roman Traders AD C1-C2. Mosaic bead Indo-Pacific glass beads
Java South India/ Sri Lanka Pearls Ostich egg bead Job's tear bead Glass Cameo. Pottery. Classical Indo-Roman Trade. Article
November 2013 with 90 Reads. How we measure 'reads'. Some Tamils might have accompanied the traders in the Arab or
Mediterranean ships, probably as merchant middlemen, suppliers of trade goods and providers of other services on board. Indo-Roman
trade relations (see also the spice trade and incense road) was trade between the Indian subcontinent and the Roman Empire in Europe
and the Mediterranean Sea. Roman and Greek traders frequented the ancient Tamil country, present day Southern