

Introduction

In the city of Jerusalem, a follower of the recently crucified Jesus confronts one of the greatest challenges that he has faced. Having cast lots with the rest of Jesus' apostles, he discovers that he is to trek to India to preach. But he refuses due to the enormity of the task. As he wavers, the likeness of Jesus appears to him in a vision and exhorts him to complete his mission. But he again refuses. It just so happens that an Indian merchant is in Jerusalem, and Jesus, recently resurrected, approaches him in the marketplace. Offering his recalcitrant apostle as a slave, he quickly composes a contract with the merchant, and the transaction is sealed. The Indian merchant, named Habban, sails from Jerusalem with his slave, and by doing so, he ensures the evangelization of India.¹ Thus begins the surviving *Acts of the Apostle Thomas*, one of the most oft-cited sources for the movement of Christianity from the Roman empire throughout the ancient Asian landmass.

Historians are invariably at the mercy of their sources, and this is certainly so for historians endeavoring to narrate the voyage of early Christianity to the Indian subcontinent and how it traveled across Asia to reach it. This book accordingly examines the movement of Christianity to various parts of the ancient Afro-Eurasian world system and its anchorage in them through the analytical lenses offered by recent trends in world history. As it does, it also raises the question of what exactly constitutes an historical source for the arrival of Christianity in India or, for that matter, in the Iranian plateau or central Asia. As ancient historians increasingly craft narratives of the trans-imperial and intercrossed webs of ancient societies, their expanded scope necessitates that they consult sources that have been generated by diverse unfamiliar contexts or that possess epistemologically complicated backgrounds. But such sources are not always placed in proper context, and the

¹ *Acts of Thomas* 1–3 in the Greek (ed. Bonnet); ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ in the Syriac (ed. Wright). On slavery in the *Acts of Thomas*, see Glancy, “Slavery.”

epistemological issues that they raise are not always adequately recognized. As a result, many of the texts that scholars from diverse fields have treated as historical sources for Christianity's early movement to India and central Asia are perhaps not sources for this phenomenon at all. They instead reflect historical experiences of a literary tradition, not the fact of Christianity's movement. No source is perhaps more vulnerable to this critique than the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* (or hereafter the *Acts*).²

According to the *Acts of Thomas*, an apostle named Judas evangelized all of India. Because this apostle bore the Aramaic epithet of “twin” (ܛܡܐܐ, *tāmā*), he quickly became known as “Thomas” (ܛܘܡܐܐ, *tāwma* or a similar variation). Far from being a sterile narrative known only to enthusiasts of antiquity, this text is part of the living tradition of Thomas Christians in south India. Many of these in fact trace their communal origins to the activity of this very apostle and accordingly value the testimony offered by his *Acts*, alongside certain orally transmitted narratives linked intimately to their sacred topographies. As the chapters of this book outline, the *Acts of Thomas* has been cited by Thomas Christians as evidence for the antiquity of Christian traditions in south India and for missions that the apostle Thomas conducted there in the decades after the death of Jesus of Nazareth. It has also served as fodder for historians of ancient and late antique Christianity or of the connectivity of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean worlds, even when they deem the events or people of the *Acts* to be invented.³ In fact, the *Acts*' fundamental ambiguity and empirical weaknesses often constitute the greatest assets for the scholars who treat it as evidence for the phenomena that they seek to evaluate. While probably composed in Syriac in Upper Mesopotamia during the mid-to-late third century (as discussed in Chapter 1), the text is by most reckonings unclear regarding whether Judas Thomas traveled from the Levant to India by way of the Red Sea or via Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. In its apparent lack of clarity, and due to the existence of known trade routes in both instances, it is often surmised that early Christianity could have followed either route at an early date and probably did so. Whether scholars believe the account, deem it invented, think it contrived in its specifics but representative of a broader phenomenon, or proclaim uncertainty, they have repeatedly cited the *Acts* in support of the premise that it could be a source for Christianity's arrival and anchorage in India before 400 CE.

² *Acts of Thomas* (ed. Bonnet) for Greek and (ed. Wright) for Syriac.

³ For connectivity within the Mediterranean, see Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*.

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In light of such issues, this book analyzes how Christianity traveled from the Roman Mediterranean to central and south Asia. But it does so in ways that rely as little as possible on the dubious testimony of apostolic apocrypha and late antique hagiographies. By examining the dispositions of the social networks that connected the various regions of the ancient Afro-Eurasian world system, it probes how and when traders and travelers carried their embodied Christian cultures to new places, transferred them to converts, and thereby enabled these cultures to find regional anchorage and enjoy movement farther afield. The book is in this regard part of a recent fruitful trend in intercrossed or connected histories that examine the interactions of various populations inhabiting the world system of ancient Afro-Eurasia.⁴ It does not analyze the totality of dynastic interactions, objects exchanged, or ideas transmitted by such populations, and it does not provide a historical description of the populations, kingdoms, or empires of Afro-Eurasia involved. But it does focus on the movement of Christianity and the networks that carried its culture, and it thereby reconstructs the social connectivity by which Christian subjects transported their Christian culture in its various forms from the Mediterranean basin to the Indian Ocean world.

As the book maintains, what can be known about ancient socio-commercial networks is of immense value for those who aim to reconstruct the movement of Christianity throughout the ancient Afro-Eurasian world system. The textual and archaeological evidence for such networks between the Mediterranean and the Indian subcontinent provides valid alternatives to dubious literary narratives. By contemplating the networks, one can craft a new lens of interpretation regarding when and how Christianity arrived and became anchored in central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, and one can trace the social pathways that it followed. The networks also illuminate how the remarkable narrative tradition regarding the deeds of the apostle Judas Thomas traveled from its origins in Upper Mesopotamia

⁴ Werner and Zimmermann, *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée* and “Beyond Comparison” (for the approach); Lieberman, *Beyond Binary Histories*; Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History* (for early modern periods); and Pollock, *Language of the Gods*. I borrow the concept of “world system” from Frank and Gills, *World System* and “5000 Year World System” and Beaujard, “World-Systems.” For the ancient world specifically, see Reed, “Beyond the Land of Nod”; Dilley, “Religious Intercrossing”; Pollard, “Indian Spices and Roman ‘Magic’”; Fitzpatrick, “Provincializing Rome”; McLaughlin, *Rome and the Distant East*; Beaujard, *Mondes*; Fowden, *Before and After Muhammad*; Hansen, *Silk Road*; Wilken, *First Thousand Years*; Canepa, *Theorizing Cross-Cultural Interaction*; Beckwith, *Greek Buddha*; Lieu and Mikkelsen, *Between Rome and China*; Scott, *Ancient Worlds*; Frankopan, *Silk Roads*; Nickel, “First Emperor.”

to south India, where Thomas Christians would continue to reanimate it well over a thousand years later.

Socio-Commercial Networks and Christian Culture: Dispositions and Significance

According to the *Acts*, an Indian merchant named Habban purchased the apostle Judas Thomas in Jerusalem and transported him to India. He did so at the prompting of his king, who wanted a craftsman to build him a palace. As we will see in various parts of the book, certain features of the narrative correspond with contemporary evidence for commercial practices in the ancient world. But for the most part, the narrative misrepresents or occludes many of the practices and relationships that enabled commodities and even traders to travel throughout the geographic span between the Roman Levant and India. What made such movement possible therefore merits clarification.

In 157 ce, Palmyrene merchants who had recently returned from a commercial trip to “Scythia” (north India) arranged for certain notables to be commemorated by honorific statues and inscriptions at their ancestral city of Palmyra, a site located in the dry Syrian steppe. The inscriptions, written in Greek and Palmyrenean Aramaic, have suffered damage and possess certain lacunae, but their general message is clear.⁵ In these inscriptions, the merchants identified themselves by the names of the ship captains or owners who had transported them to and from north India, and they celebrated conspicuous individuals who had aided them in their journey as patrons. At least one of these patrons was a certain Marcus Ulpius Iaraios, whose benefactions to caravans, merchants, or expatriates are among the most commemorated in Palmyrene epigraphy and whose son on one occasion led a caravan from the Persian Gulf to Palmyra.⁶ While the specific inscriptions do not pinpoint where these patrons or merchants resided, a host of other documents from Palmyra constitute honorific inscriptions that caravans traveling between Palmyra and the Persian Gulf or expatriate communities residing near the gulf, especially at Charax Spasinou, Phorat, and Vologasias, raised for notables who had

⁵ *IGLS* 17.1.250, with perhaps 17.1.26. The name of the patron and date from 17.1.26 has been effaced, but some suggest that it was the famous Marcus Ulpius Iaraios, the prominent Palmyrene identified in 17.1.250 and who is recognized for his patronage in a number of Palmyrene inscriptions. See *IGLS* 17.1.26 for commentary.

⁶ *IGLS* 17.1.202, 248–50, [251], 255–56, [313]; *PAT* 1411.

helped them.⁷ The merchants who traveled to “Scythia” were accordingly among expatriate Palmyrenes who dwelled near the Persian Gulf. While some of their patrons may have been Palmyrenes who served in the royal administration of Mesene at places such as Bahrain⁸ or south Mesopotamia,⁹ their patrons predominantly dwelled at Palmyra.

The inscriptions commissioned by the Palmyrene merchants who had sailed to India are important documents for Palmyrene commercial networks.¹⁰ As texts, they illustrate the movements of merchants and their connections to patrons at Palmyra. But the value of these inscriptions is not limited to their status as texts. As material and physical objects, they were the products of the social networks that Palmyrenes maintained over the vast distance between the Roman Levant and north India. They in fact both expressed and perpetuated relationships of reciprocity and social pathways that enabled the movement and transfer of commodities from south Asia to the Roman Mediterranean. Such commodities brought immense wealth.¹¹ Despite being expatriates who resided in cities of lower Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, the Palmyrenes who trekked to India from Persian Gulf sites maintained business connections in their home city. The notables for whom they raised statues and honorific inscriptions were in fact financial patrons, investors, creditors, commercial contacts, and brokers of protection from brigands.¹² These in many ways facilitated the activities of the caravans that moved goods from Palmyra, across the desert, and to the Persian Gulf. They also enabled the seaward voyages of merchants who received these products. In exchange, grateful merchants commissioned honorific inscriptions and statues to commemorate such acts and to confer honor upon their patrons.

Through such commemoration, Palmyrene investors and patrons built reputations as upright citizens and benefactors, even as they pursued their

⁷ *IGLS* 17.1.16, 23–25, 87, 127, 150, 241, 243, and 245; *PAT* 1062=Milik, *Dédicaces*, 13=SEG 7.135=Delplace and Yon, “Inscriptions,” 284, An 30 (residential communities) and *IGLS* 17.1.67, 74, 87–89 and 240–51 (caravans/merchants).

⁸ *IGLS* 17.1.245.

⁹ *IGLS* 127 and 150; *PAT* 1062=Milik, *Dédicaces*, 13=SEG 7.135=Delplace and Yon, “Inscriptions,” 284, An 30 reflects a patron with an orientation at Vologasias. *IGLS* 17.1.246 apparently commemorates a figure at Phorat.

¹⁰ My analysis of Palmyrene trade and networks is informed by Gorea, “Sea and Inland Trade”; Seland, “Organisation,” “Palmyrene Long-Distance Trade,” and *Ships of the Desert*; and Gregoratti, “Palmyrenes” and “Palmyra,” with Ruffing, “Trade with India,” 200 and 208; and Young, *Rome’s Eastern Trade*, 123–68 (esp. 151–56).

¹¹ A tomb inscription of Palmyra documents a caravan’s haul or the tariff on it. See *PAT* 2634; de Romanis, “*Aurei*,” 63–69; Tchernia, *Romans and Trade*, 8.

¹² The key work on Palmyra’s notables is Yon, *Notables*, with 100–18 especially treating their links to caravans and their protection. My views differ somewhat from those of Young, *Rome’s Eastern Trade*, 123–68 (esp. 151–56), who sees synodiarchs and not patrons as primary investors.

own financial interests. A notable named Soados, son of Boliades, who probably resided at Vologasias in lower Mesopotamia during part of his career, was in this vein commemorated by caravans, Palmyra's civic council, and Roman magistrates for his support of merchants, caravans, and the expatriate community at Vologasias. On at least one occasion, he organized an armed force that protected caravans from the imminent threat of brigands.¹³ Some such figures could even serve as *synodiarch*, a civic official responsible for organizing the actual caravans to the Persian Gulf. Just as often, they received honors from a caravan through the activity of its *synodiarchs*, or from Palmyrenes linked to the residential communities at Charax Spasinou, Phorat, and Vologasias. These inscriptions are remarkable for their emphasis on the altruism of commercial investors and patrons. Strictly speaking, they were being celebrated for civic benefactions that aided caravans, the merchants on a ship, or a group of traders, whether these benefactions assumed the form of money, intervention with foreign governments, or the actual organization of protection.¹⁴

But the generosity and protection of such patrons should not disguise the personal stake that they had in the enterprises of those whom they aided. Despite the inscriptions' emphasis on altruism, it is reasonable to infer that their good deeds were motivated by their investment in the cargos that certain members of a caravan, ship, or port community transported. Such patrons could lend money to certain individual merchants for the acquisition of a cargo or even a ship, and by protecting or facilitating the movements of an entire caravan or vessel, they were probably protecting individuals to whom they were financially connected. In this sense, Palmyrene patrons constituted players within a commercial network that ultimately linked them to the Palmyrene merchants of the Persian Gulf who sailed to India. Despite the vagaries of distance, they supplied credit, financial resources, commodities, or protection to expatriate or itinerant merchants; in return, they received information, different commodities, profits, and admiration. As a result, investors and merchants established trust in one another and nourished beliefs that contacts would fulfill their obligations even if they were far away.¹⁵

¹³ *IGLS* 17.1.127 and 150; *PAT* 1062=Milik, *Dédicaces*, 13=*SEG* 7.135=Delplace and Yon, "Inscriptions," 284, An 30; *IGLS* 17.1.29. See Andrade, "Inscribing the Citizen."

¹⁴ *IGLS* 17.1.16, 23–25, 127, 150, 241, 243, and 245; *PAT* 1062=Milik, *Dédicaces*, 13=*SEG* 7.135=Delplace and Yon, "Inscriptions," 284, An 30 (residential communities) and *IGLS* 17.1.67, 74, 87–89, 240–51 (caravans/merchants).

¹⁵ My views are especially informed by the studies of Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean* on early modern Armenian merchants and Terpstra, *Trading Communities* on Roman traders, along with Terpstra, "Palmyrene Temple" (esp. 44–46), Ruffing, "Trade with India," and Tchernia, *Romans and Trade*, 28–50.

The form of social relations that characterized Roman-era Palmyra finds a striking parallel in a fascinating Greek inscription perhaps originating from the vicinity of Kandahar (Alexandria Arachosia) in central Asia during the second century BCE. An epitaph, it contains the testimony of a merchant named Sophytus, whose father bore the Indian name of Narates (Nārada in Sanskrit), and it describes how he funded his commercial enterprises on the Silk Road by borrowing money and then traveling to “many cities.”¹⁶ Sophytus was undoubtedly enmeshed in his own social network that facilitated the movement of credit, information, and commodities over long distances, but the specific components of his network remain obscure. It is therefore fortunate that Palmyrene inscriptions more adequately illuminate such social connectivity.

The physical bodies of Palmyrenes were ultimately responsible for carrying products, information, credit, and culture over long distances. After all, such articles could only travel as far and as fast as the bodies that bore them. But social relations were the sinews that made possible the movement of such bodies and the articles that they carried, and they facilitated the transfer of culture from one mobile body to another. They ultimately enabled wealthy patrons at Palmyra to forward credit and protection over vast geographic spaces. They facilitated the movement of merchants who trafficked goods in caravans across dry steppe wilderness and perhaps on rafts down the Euphrates to Palmyrene expatriates on the Persian Gulf. They empowered Palmyrene expatriates, who received such goods, to transfer them to ships, to contract sea-captains and sailors (and perhaps even acquire a vessel), to move such commodities to India, and to bring back eastern products for caravans to carry from the Persian Gulf to Palmyra.¹⁷ However hierarchical or uneven they may have been, the bonds of reciprocity, mutual obligation, and information transmission that connected all these players created social pathways that were essential to the movement and transfer of the commodities that they sought. These relationships constituted a social network.

The Palmyrene socio-commercial network is only one of many that contributed to an interconnected antiquity. Its social dispositions were

¹⁶ Merkelbach and Stauber, *Jenseits des Euphrat*, no. 105=Bernard, Pinault, and Rougemont, “Deux nouvelles inscriptions,” 227–356. Recently, Mairs, “*Sopha gramma*” and *Hellenistic Far East*, 106–17; Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission*, 100–1 and 108. The inscription’s provenance, however, has not been established.

¹⁷ Seland, “Persian Gulf or the Red Sea?,” “Organisation,” “Palmyrene Long-Distance Trade,” and *Ships of the Desert*; and Gorea, “Sea and Inland Trade” provide details regarding the forms of travel that the Palmyrenes undertook.

standard in premodern and even early modern times. Consisting of a core group that shared regional origins, and even civic, ethnic, or religious affiliations as well, it extended over vast spaces and intermingled with other networks that had their own unique compositions. It also established residential settlements in foreign places, especially on the Persian Gulf. These maintained contact with compatriots at Palmyra through caravans and mobile players, but they also facilitated meaningful social interactions between Palmyrenes and the residents of lower Mesopotamia, Mesene, and the Persian Gulf. The Palmyrene network also moved culture. It brought a cursive script abroad, and this may even have been adopted by the Manichaeans at the Persian Gulf.¹⁸ Its activity is presumably one of the reasons why Palmyrene and north Indian art apparently came to share some common features.¹⁹

In antiquity, networks like that of the Palmyrenes created social pathways along which culture traveled. This was not the only phenomenon on which networks had an impact. In recent years, scholars have yoked the explanatory power of social networks in a variety of ways.²⁰ Their work has illuminated the formation of trans-Mediterranean Greek ethnicity,²¹ the cohesion of late antique doctrinal factions,²² rabbinic social relations and practices,²³ and the effectiveness of communication and informed decision-making in the ancient Athenian democracy.²⁴ They have also been the focus of archaeologists who have harnessed their explanatory potency to illustrate regional connections and the economic and social significance of sites.²⁵ On the basis of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a recent study has employed the approach to visualize the connectivity of ports and sites of

¹⁸ Pederson and Larsen, *Manichaean Texts*, 3–5 and 113–85 (esp. 132–37 and 164).

¹⁹ Ingholt, *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture*; Schlumberger, *L'Occident*, 226–390; Long, “Facing the Evidence,” 138–39.

²⁰ Some key introductions are Watts, *Six Degrees*; Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, and *What Is Social Network Analysis?*; Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*; Carrington, Scott, and Wasserman, *Models and Methods in Social Network Analysis*; Barabási, *Linked*, and *How Everything Is Connected to Everything*; Newman, Barabási, and Watts, *Structure and Dynamics of Networks*.

²¹ Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou, *Greek and Roman Networks*; Malkin, *Small Greek World*.

²² Schor, *Theodoret's People*. ²³ Hezser, *Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement*.

²⁴ Ober, *Democracy and Knowledge*.

²⁵ Knappett, *Network Analysis in Archaeology*, in which “Introduction: Why Networks?” 4–6 (diffusionism); and Rivers, Knappett, and Evans, “What Makes a Site Important,” 125–50. Also, Knappett, *Archaeology of Interaction*; Bentley, “Introduction to Complex Systems” and “Scale-Free Network Growth.” The volume of Fenn and Römer-Strehl, *Networks in the Mediterranean World* contains articles that analyze the circulation of pottery (which suggests the existence of broader social networks even if the identities of their participants are still obscure).

the Indian Ocean and the demand and circulation of products.²⁶ Network approaches are the main analytic focus of a new volume on the Roman East and Parthia.²⁷

Despite their different focuses, all these studies have demonstrated the importance of social networks for transmitting knowledge and organizing human activity. They all point to a significant social fact of the premodern world, which did not know telegraphs, telephones, or email. In such a world, ideas and culture, like material objects and letters, only traveled when human bodies carried them. For ideas and culture to traverse geographic expanses, the people that embodied them had to move and transfer them to other human bodies that could carry them elsewhere. Known details about the individual players in the socio-commercial networks of the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, and Middle East are seemingly insufficient to do serious social network analysis on them or represent them visually beyond a general scheme, even if one can implement such analysis regarding sites and commodities.²⁸ But the ability of Christian culture to travel from the Mediterranean to India in late antiquity means that social networks connected these regions and enabled Christianity's movement. Without them, Christianity would have gone nowhere.

A notable point of comparison is the movement of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus. Jupiter Dolichenus was by origins a north Syrian divinity that was worshipped throughout the Roman empire in the second and third centuries ce. While scholars had long noticed that Roman soldiers often worshipped him, it was not entirely clear how the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus had traveled. But recent scholarship, informed by social network theory, has now addressed this question. Putting it simply, north Syrian soldiers stationed in Dacia brought the cult from the Near East to eastern Europe. From there, military logistics transferred soldiers who worshipped Jupiter Dolichenus from eastern Europe to other places in the empire. They then formed social bonds with other soldiers and transferred the culture of their cult to them. These other soldiers subsequently traveled and formed new social bonds.²⁹ Thus did social networks

²⁶ Seland, "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea."

²⁷ Teigen and Seland, *Sineus of Empire*. I regret that this was published too recently to be factored into my narrative.

²⁸ Seland, "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea."

²⁹ Collar, "Military Networks," 217–46, "Commagene, Communication, and Cult"; *Religious Networks*, 79–146. The last of these also explores the transmission of other cults and of ideas among rabbinic Jewish networks.

established by the Roman military and its deployment of soldiers enable the movement of people and culture in antiquity.

The fact that culture depended on social networks for its movement means that networks must have enabled Christianity to travel from the Mediterranean to India. Simply put, Christianity could not have traveled to India without them. In the paragraphs to follow, we will explain why these networks, like the Palmyrene one, were predominantly commercial in nature. The evidence for them is limited, but studies done on the social and commercial activity of merchants in other periods yield insight into the typical dispositions that such commercial networks bore.³⁰ They consisted of merchants with common regional origins (Palmyrene, Maghribī, Sephardic, Armenian, north Indian), and their regional basis could receive further religious refinement (Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Buddhist). They usually maintained a core point of logistical organization, or hub, in their place of regional origin. The Palmyrenes had theirs at Palmyra. But merchants and investors could also establish their hubs in places to which their ancestors had migrated. Early modern Armenians had theirs in Iran (at Julfa), and the medieval Maghribī Jews maintained one in north Egypt.³¹ From their hubs, investors and merchants forwarded money or credit and coordinated their activity with overseas connections. But their primary overseas contacts were compatriots who had formed residential communities in foreign ports or cities. These created nodes to which hubs were connected. They harvested local knowledge, acquired products, and made sales for investors and contacts at the hubs. Connecting the hubs and nodes were mobile people. Acting as links, they moved information, products, money, and credit between them. The Palmyrene network

³⁰ The recent scholarly literature that illuminates the dispositions of commercial networks in antiquity and that informs my analysis of them is Aubet, *Commerce and Colonization*: ancient Assyrians; Terpstra, *Trading Communities*: Roman Mediterranean; Terpstra, “Roman Trade”: Nabataeans; Gorea, “Sea and Inland Trade” and Seland, “Organisation,” “Palmyrene Long-Distance Trade,” and *Ships of the Desert* (esp. 75–88): Palmyrenes; de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*; and Hansen, *Silk Road*, 113–40: Sogdians of central Asia, east Iran, and west China (key Sogdian letters are now accessible, in translation by Nicholas Sims-Williams, available at <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/sogdlet.html>); Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions* and “Choosing and Enforcing Business,” 3–40: Maghribī Jews; Ho, *Graves of Tarim*: Yemenis; Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*: Sephardic Jews; Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean*: early modern Armenians; Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission*: south Asian Buddhists. The analysis of Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* and Goitein and Friedman, *India Traders* is also illuminating. The material that directly treats Indo-Mediterranean trade and commerce between Rome and Iran is cited in this book as appropriate. Markovits, *Global World of Indian Merchants*, 24–31 and 176–84 provides key formulation for early modern Indian networks.

³¹ Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean*; Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions* and “Choosing and Enforcing Business,” 3–40.