direct access to China, and put them on the side of encouraging an extension of Chola expansionary policy eastwards.

Interestingly, the aggressive tactic appears to have failed in its purpose, since in 1106 the Chinese Council of Rites was still classifying the Cholas as 'subject to Sriwijaya' (Sen, p. 69). However, this is probably an artifact of the extreme conservatism of Chinese policy towards the Southern barbarians, which may have insisted on regarding joint missions that came from Cholas and Sriwijaya as essentially Sriwijayan, the better-known category at court.

Among the other interesting new data on the context for the Chola raids (thought by both Sen and Kulke to have included an earlier 1017 raid as well as that of 1025) are the chapters by Karashima and Subbaralaya (of the Tamil University of Thanjavur) on the South Indian merchant guilds that flourished especially in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Karashima's team assembled all the 314 inscriptions pertaining to these guilds, including four in Southeast Asia, from Sumatra and the isthmian ports of the Peninsula. Although most of these were essentially Hindu and centred around the cult of a particular deity or temple, both authors report new research on the Anjuvannam, for which inscriptions record rights and grants to particular merchants with Jewish, Christian and Muslim names. Was this also a trade guild in the same sense, or rather a category of entitlement and protection accorded to foreign merchants from West Asia?

One should be warned that the editing of this volume has been light. The papers do not all have new research or analysis to report, there is considerable repetition of material between them, and almost no acknowledgement in any papers except the Introduction of the existence of other papers or of the valuable primary sources in the appendices. Karashima's two chapters in the book have overlapping material, including the same table repeated (pp. 53, 137). The index is very valuable, but it would have been nice to have also a list of illustrations, many of which seem important including the beguiling cover, which is nowhere explained.

Still, this is a valuable advance towards bridging the gap that opened up between Indian and Southeast Asian scholarship in the 1950s. It is a fine first product of the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

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Sino-Malay trade and diplomacy from the tenth through to the fourteenth century
By DEREK HENG
Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi, 286. Maps, Plates (some coloured), Notes, Bibliography, Index.
doi:10.1017/S0022463411000105

This book provides a complex panorama of the political and commercial relations between Song and Yuan China on the one side, and the 'Malay' world on

the other side. As such it definitely fills a gap in the field of maritime history. Comparable accounts in European languages, written from the bird's-eye view, usually focus on earlier times or later periods, especially the fifteenth century (Zheng He's voyages) and the arrival of the Iberians; moreover, they rarely link changes occurring on the continent, inside China, to developments in insular Southeast Asia, on the 'opposite shores' of the South China Sea. One example is Paul Wheatley's monograph *The golden Khersonese* (Westport: Greenwood, 1973): it explores a variety of Chinese texts with data on the Malay Peninsula and other territories, but it does not take full account of the Chinese scenario itself. Derek Heng has tried to overcome this problem. He draws on a large set of Chinese sources related to both the maritime sphere *and* China 'proper'; this includes many entries in the dynastic annals, the *Song huiyao* collection (which has always been difficult to access), the *Wenxian tongkao* and a number of ethnographical texts. Besides these works he also makes use of epigraphical evidence and archaeological research. Moreover, the geographical frame of his study is clearly defined: it extends from the China coast (Hangzhou, Mingzhou, Quanzhou, Guangzhou) to the Malay Peninsula, the eastern side of Sumatra, and the northern and western coasts of Kalimantan. Java and eastern 'Indonesia' also appear in Heng's book, but they play a subordinated role at best. The areas of modern Thailand and Vietnam are left untouched.

Chapter 1 prepares the stage: it summarises Sino–'Malay' interaction during the first millennium CE. The author believes that during certain periods, so-called Kunlun traders and other non-Han groups dominated long-distance traffic across the South China Sea, while the Chinese, as commercial agents, were not yet important. Exchange was mainly in high-priced commodities. Towards the end of Tang rule one can also observe the formation of a flourishing foreign community in Guangzhou.

Chapter 2 looks at the internal situation in China from the tenth century onwards. There were periods when the central government attempted to control trade, almost to the point of monopolising it, as for example during parts of the Northern Song dynasty. At other times, for instance under the later Yuan, deregulation led to rapid growth in the private sector. Generally, the author is very consistent in his efforts to create a multi-layered model of Sino–foreign interaction; in short, he distinguishes between a 'state level', regional dimensions, and other strata of exchange. In that context he also investigates the role of important power groups. A famous case was the Ortaq 'block' in Mongol times. According to Heng, this clique exerted strong influence over some of China's leading ports; among other things, it supported the rise of Muslim communities, thus possibly contributing to the decline of the Malay presence in mid-Yuan China.

Irrespective of such shifts and changes, the Chinese market as a whole, more than anything else, was the principal driving force behind the growth of maritime interaction across the South and East China Seas, from the tenth through to the fourteenth century. This becomes evident upon reading chapter 3 and the subsequent sections. However, now and then, the author may not have felt too comfortable about this constellation, because he also seems to underline the weight of Srivijaya, the leading 'Malay' power in the period under review. The question is: how important was Srivijaya really? Does it qualify as one of China's 'equals'? It is perhaps true that

this polity, as indeed most of Southeast Asia, became involved in what has recently been labelled an 'Early Age of Commerce' (see Geoff Wade's article in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 40, 2 (2009): 221–65). However, many locations that partook in it were utterly small in relation to the commercial giant at the northern fringes of the Nanhai.

Srivijaya tried to keep a kind of balance between the Cholas in South India and Song China, as Heng argues quite brilliantly; yet, until this very day, the internal setting of Srivijaya has remained an item of scholarly dissent. For this reason, it still proves quite difficult to really relate the rhythm of that state's tribute missions to the changing framework governing Song China's external sector. Heng explores these issues at great depth, but many questions, I am afraid, will never be answered. Even such books as *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola naval expeditions to Southeast Asia*, ed. Hermann Kulke *et al.* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009; also reviewed in this issue of *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*) and Hans Bielenstein's *Diplomacy and trade in the Chinese world 589–1276* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) cannot bridge the 'void'. The story of Sino–Malay relations, there can be no doubt, is heavily 'biased', on account of the written sources, nearly all of which are in Chinese, and due to China's extraordinary clout.

Although certain dimensions outlined in the discussion may only be considered as hypothetical, and not as confirmed images, many of Heng's 'visions' are quite innovative. One example is the reforms initiated by Wang Anshi in the eleventh century. Their impact on overseas trade has rarely been investigated in recent writing. These sections are remarkable, indeed. The segments on commodity flows (chapters 5 and 6) also make good reading. Heng examines their changing composition at both the Chinese and Malay ends, taking account of different ports, their growth and decline, and their hinterland, especially in China. He provides useful tables and convincingly argues that, by and large, Sino–Malay trade gradually shifted from high-value to low-value products.

There are also several interesting sections on the role of Chinese overseas merchants in Southeast Asia, and on the temporary presence of Malay and other non-Han groups in China, especially in the so-called *fanfang*, or foreign quarters, of Guangzhou and Quanzhou. Yet, in many cases, written sources are difficult to interpret. Elsewhere, it has been argued, for example, that wealthy Song families kept thousands of African slaves in medieval Guangzhou — see Don Wyatt, *The blacks of premodern China* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Heng is much more prudent in that regard; he does not raise such doubtful issues, but tries to keep a critical distance towards his texts. Still, now and then he is quite liberal as well. Wang Dayuan's references to the unusual behaviour of Champa women is taken as a hint for intermarriages and of the same man we hear that he was probably specialised in the trade with certain commodities. None of this is impossible, and although I am inclined to think that Heng is correct in his views, not everyone might support these ideas.

To conclude my remarks: what is good about this book lies in the fact that it is well structured, easy to read, and not overloaded with too many details. Heng has clearly moved away from the purely 'philological' (and overwhelmingly

'ethnographical' analysis) to creating a complex historical model for Sino–foreign interaction in the South China Sea — a construction that is fresh in kind and certainly apt to ignite new research along similar lines. In that sense, one should also accept the fact that many books were not listed in his bibliography such as the work on Melaka (by M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h), J. Dars's French history on China's 'navy', E. Schafer's short monographs on Hainan and the Min state, and several rather 'heavy' Chinese items (by Liao Dake, Xu Xiaowang, etc). In sum, *Sino–Malay trade and diplomacy* sets a new frame for examining cross-Nanhai relations during the late medieval period. Also, it can be read with profit by all those interested in possible analogies between the past and the present, because a better understanding of the past may suggest 'how states in Southeast Asia would react to, and approach, China's present return to its historical position as a key economy and political entity in Asia' (p. 216).

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The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia
By JAMES C. SCOTT
New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009. Pp. xviii, 442. Notes, Glossary, Index.
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With the bold assertion that virtually everything about the livelihood of Southeast Asian hill people can be read as strategic positioning designed to keep the valley-based state at arm's length, James C. Scott has once again presented a piece of work which almost certainly will rank among the classics within the field of Southeast Asian studies. Instead of the usual state-centric focus, Scott argues for the importance of understanding the co-evolution of hill and valley cultures. Zomia, the region covering the hilly areas in mainland Southeast Asia, is home to a range of cultures that all shared a common interest, Scott claims, in resisting the state. Many of these people were actually refugees who had chosen to escape from the increasing impositions laid upon them by the valley states, and, by settling in the hills, they had designed a way of living that purposely evaded state control. Their mode of subsistence – mainly slash-and-burn agriculture – is therefore a form of escape agriculture, and their social structure – unstable and egalitarian – is an escape social structure, Scott argues. The dialectic between hills and valleys that this perspective represents is not a new one, but Scott's book is a remarkably well-argued contribution to our understanding of historical change in the area.

After staking out his main argument in the first chapter, Scott uses the next chapter to analyse the rationale and dynamics of creating state spaces. Concentration of manpower and grain was the principal means of this process. There were, however,