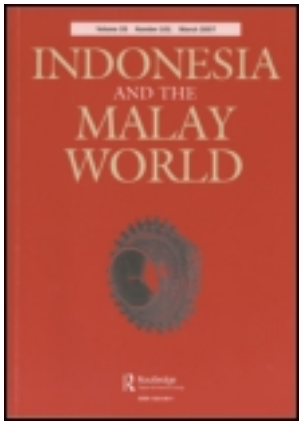

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Elena Govor and Sandra Khor Manickam

A RUSSIAN IN MALAYA

Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's expedition to the Malay Peninsula and the early anthropology of Orang Asli*

This article presents a critical overview of the newly translated diary of Russian anthropologist Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay's expedition to the Malay Peninsula (November 1874 – October 1875) to study its indigenous peoples, today known as Orang Asli. A scholar who was at the forefront of modern anthropological practice, Maclay spent long periods of time in the field and his expeditions to New Guinea, Australia and Melanesia are well known in the history of anthropology. However, his travels in the Malay Peninsula remain poorly understood and little studied. An analysis here of the new translation and annotation of the diary, highlights its contribution to racial theories of the region. Maclay's theory of a 'Melanesian' or 'Papuan' element in Malaya's indigenous people was one of the main developments in racial theorising of the people of the Malay Peninsula before the advent of anthropologist W.W. Skeat's tripartite racial classification at the turn of the 20th century. Maclay's linking of Malaya's indigenous peoples to Oceania attests to the malleability of boundaries and borders of the area today called the Malay archipelago and

*The final translation of Maclay's diaries of his time in the Malay Peninsula (November 1874–October 1875) is the result of the work of many academics. In no particular order, Govor and Manickam, Mimi and Charles Sentinella, Natalia Kuklina, Raphael Kabo and Chris Ballard were all involved at various stages of the project and supported the final compilation of the diary with annotations. The research reported here has been generously supported by ARC Discovery grants DP0665356 'European Naturalists and the Constitution of Human Difference in Oceania: Crosscultural Encounters and the Science of Race, 1768–1888' and DP110104578 'The Original Field Anthropologist: Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay in Oceania, 1871–1883'. We would also like to acknowledge assistance from the University of Frankfurt Junior Professorship Appointment Fund for the translation of the diary and for providing for additional editing and research by Vicki Low, Jennifer Noto Siswo and Kim Wehner. The final translation is based on the text in Maclay's *Collected works,* published in the 1950s (Miklukho-Maklai 1950–1954, II: 116–201, 230–6), hereafter referred to as old *Collected works* (OCW). This publication was heavily edited and had numerous textual differences in comparison with the original manuscript, which is now available in the new *Collected works* (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 5–67, 81–91) hereafter NCW. A publication of the full journal and scholarly commentaries on its contents is planned for 2015. Lastly, the authors would like to thank Christina Skott and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions.

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how it was once commonly seen as part of the greater Oceanic world prior to the late 19th century. This article presents excerpts from the diary that illustrate this major theme while framing the material within the history of anthropology of Orang Asli and of colonialism in the area.

Keywords: anthropology; Malay Peninsula; Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay; racial science; Orang Asli

Introduction

> In the following pages I propose to give, as briefly as possible, an account of the Anthropological and Ethnographical results of my wanderings through the Malay Peninsula. At some future time I shall probably publish my Journal . . .
>
> (Mikluho-Maclay 1878b: 205)

Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay[1] (1846–1888) is not a name usually associated with the Malay Peninsula or with the Malay world. While he is a well known figure in anthropological circles of Australia and the Pacific, his writings on the Malay Peninsula remain fragmented and little studied. His best known publications in English were translations of his articles about the indigenous peoples of the Malay Peninsula, originally published in German (1875b), which appeared in the *Journal of Eastern Asia* (1875a) and two issues of the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1878a, 1878b) – the quotation above is drawn from the latter. These articles were based on two extensive fieldwork trips to the Malay Peninsula. In the first expedition, undertaken from mid December 1874 to early February 1875, Maclay explored the southern part of the peninsula, in what is today the states of Johor and Pahang (see Figure 1). In the second expedition (June–October 1875), he traversed the peninsula from the south to the northeast coast and then to the west coast. Unlike the documentation on his Melanesian travels,[2] which can be reconstructed only on the basis of fragmentary records, the original materials produced during his trips to the Malay Peninsula, especially the first one, are well preserved (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 5–67). This article is based on a newly annotated translation of the original Russian diaries of his first expedition to the Malay Peninsula, as well as on his published writings in Russian and German, on his time in Malaya. Due to the fragmentary nature of information concerning the second expedition, we will concentrate on the journal and material related to his first expedition.

From the time of British scholar-official John Crawfurd's (1783–1868) publication of the *History of the Indian archipelago* (1820) which informed the Western world about the presence of two indigenous races in the Malay archipelago, the brown (Malays) and the black (Papuans), to Maclay's expedition in the 1870s, there was a relative surge in

[1]In this article, we will use Maclay, the second part of his name, in reference to the explorer, while keeping the original spelling of his names as stated in respective publications.

[2]Melanesia typically refers to the area from New Caledonia to the Admiralty Islands in the Pacific. See Figure 2.

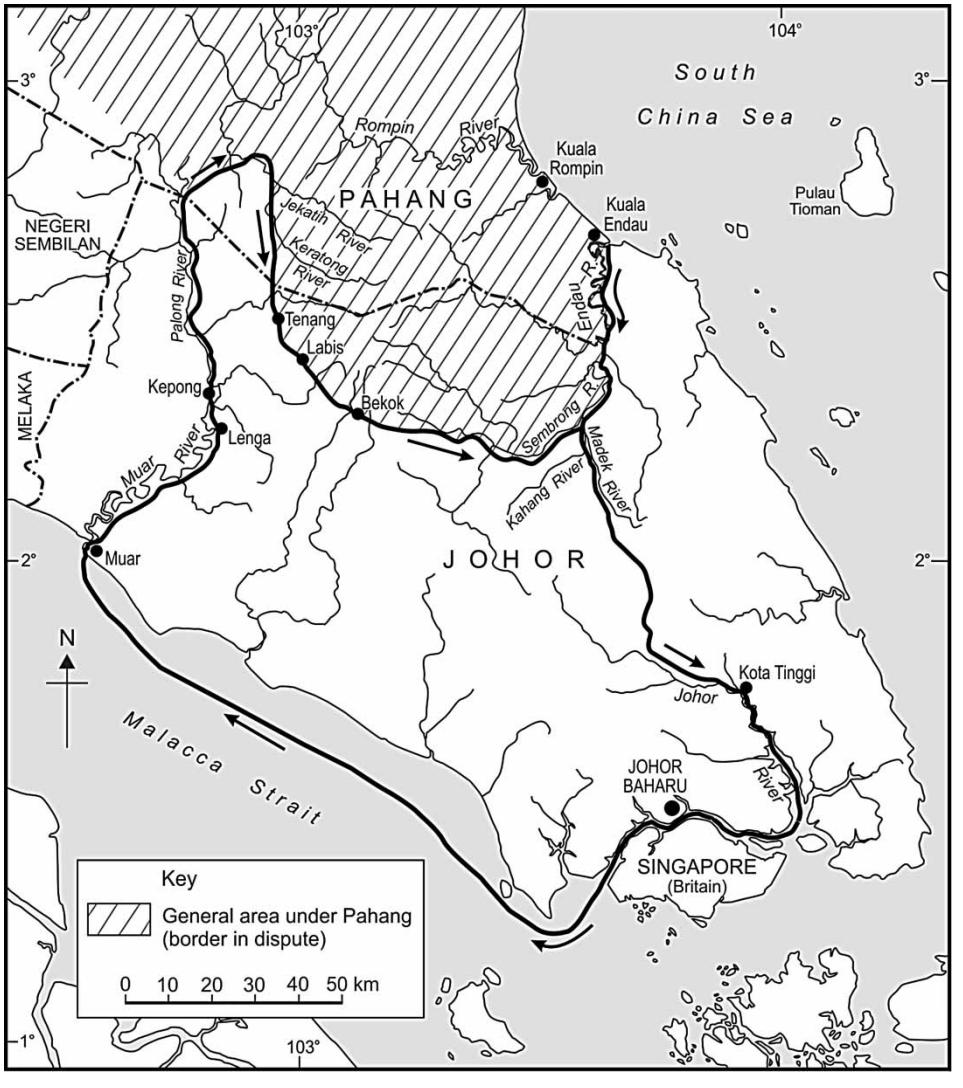

FIGURE 1. Maclay's journey in Johor and southern Pahang, 1874–1875. Cartographer: Lee Li Kheng, GIS and Map Resource Unit, Department of Geography, National University of Singapore.

information about indigenous peoples of the Malay Peninsula. British anthropologist of Malaya W.W. Skeat (1866–1953), in a summary of the field until the publication of his and co-author C.O. Blagden's seminal work, *Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula* (1906), placed Maclay in the second of three phases of knowledge acquisition relating to the aboriginal tribes, as indigenous peoples were then called. The first phase spanned 1800 to the 1850s and included scholars such as Crawfurd, John Leyden (1811) and Stamford Raffles (1818) who did not have anthropological training but expanded the scholarship on indigenous peoples by publishing comparative language studies and ethnological observations.[3] The second phase, in which Skeat placed Maclay, started from 1850 to 1890 and comprised 'personal investigations' by J.R. Logan (1819–1869),

a British lawyer turned ethnologist and founder of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, and reports by missionaries such as the French missionary Father Favre (1848, 1865) and other British scholar-officials including Frank Swettenham (1880) and William Maxwell (1879) in whose work traces of anthropological theories can be found. Interestingly, Skeat did not place Maclay in the category of 'anthropologist', but only in the 'traveller' category perhaps due to the fact that Maclay was perceived as a scholar whose main interest was the Pacific and who only wrote on the Malay Peninsula as a secondary project. According to Skeat, the period of modern anthropological investigation only began around the time of his own investigations, from 1890 to the early 1900s (Skeat and Blagden 1906: xxv–xxvi).

The tendency to dismiss Maclay's work as peripheral to the study of Malaya's indigenous people was not unusual. Other prominent anthropologists such as Swiss physical anthropologist Rudolf Martin (1905) and later anthropologists of Negritos in Malaya Ivor H.N. Evans and Paul Schebesta, were aware of Maclay's writings but did not regard him as a racial theorist whose ideas about the connections between groups within and without the Malay Peninsula were important enough to consider. This is understandable seeing as how Maclay himself was reticent to offer global racial theories and Skeat's widely accepted three groupings of Malaya's indigenous peoples into Jakun, Sakai and Semang quickly eclipsed earlier hypotheses by other scholars.

In light of the hegemony of the tripartite classification of Orang Asli (a general term encompassing the indigenous peoples of Peninsular Malaysia) today, older theories of racial connections appear to be wayward attempts at categorising on the path to an 'objective' and 'correct' classification. Yet, classification is historically specific and undergoes changes according to the scientific norms and trends of the day. The uncertainty in classification around the time of Skeat and Blagden's book (see Manickam 2012) attests to the contestations surrounding indigenous categories that were purposefully glossed over in order to present a coherent racial theory. Maclay's work and his earlier theories of racial connections do not merely comprise a forgotten path on the road to a 'proper' Orang Asli classification. Rather, they are part of the history of racial theories of the Malay archipelago and the Pacific Ocean during a period when questions of racial connections were far from settled. This article explores Maclay's diaries and his Oceania-linked racial theories of the Malay Peninsula and place them as part of the evolving concepts surrounding Malay Peninsula's indigenous peoples.

Maclay's Malay Peninsula materials

For a mere 'traveller' who was seldom considered a scholar of the Malay Peninsula, Maclay's materials that deal with this area are surprisingly abundant. The full corpus of Maclay's Malay Peninsula studies and materials currently exists only in Russian, published in the 1990s in his new *Collected works* (NCW). While there have been a handful of key publications in English that deal more or less comprehensively with the explorer and his work, the focus of these publications is usually not the Malay Peninsula; if it is, they refer only to one version of the diaries, the old *Collected works* (OCW, see note 1) of 1950–1954 (see Putilov 1982: 239; Webster 1984: 395). Maclay's Malay Peninsula

[3]See Martin Müller (2014) in this special issue of *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42 (123).

materials are in fact a collection of published and unpublished materials, including diaries, articles and drawings. Most of the unpublished manuscripts are kept in the Russian Geographical Society archives in Saint Petersburg (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 450–2). The major record of his first expedition through the Malay Peninsula from the end of 1874 to early 1875 is his untitled journal, containing handwritten text and drawings. It fills a notebook in black bookbinder calico, with the years '1874–1875' imprinted in gold on the cover (6–1–47, ff. 1–61). This journal was published for the first time in Russian in 1939 (Miklukho-Maklai 1939: 217–58) and later reproduced in Maclay's OCW in the 1950s (Miklukho-Maklai 1950–1954, II: 116–229). These initial publications were heavily edited. Only recently, in the publication of Maclay's NCW, has the original text of his journal been published without amendment (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 5–67). This latter text is in Russian. The Australian scholar Charles Sentinella, the first translator of Maclay's New Guinea journals into English (Miklouchо-Maclay 1975), translated some of Maclay's Malay Peninsula materials in the 1970s, based on their earlier and extensively edited Russian versions. Sentinella's typed translations are preserved in the Mitchell Library in Sydney. His translations were used as the basis of the current publication, although it was amended according to the original archived version of the journal.

The notable articles relating to the Malay Peninsula are several publications in German which were translated into English. First published was Maclay's overview of the first expedition 'Ethnologische Excursion in Johore (15 December 1874–2 Februar 1875)', which appeared in *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1875b: 250–8) and almost simultaneously in an English translation in the *Journal of Eastern Asia* (1875a: 94–100). In the second German paper, 'Ethnologische Excursionen in der Malayischen Halbinsel (Nov. 1874 – Oct. 1875) (Vorläufige Mittheilung) [Ethnological excursions in the Malay Peninsula (Nov. 1874 – Oct. 1875) (preliminary communication)]', Maclay wrote an overview of both expeditions. It was published in *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1876c: 1–26) and in an English translation in *JSBRAS* in 1878 (1878b: 205–21). Maclay also wrote a manuscript in German about his second Malay expedition, entitled 'From Ulu Pakhang to Ulu Kalantan (Brief itinerary compiled on the basis of the journal I held during a trip on the Malay Peninsula in 1875)'; its original is published in the NCW in Russian (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 88–91). The abridged and revised version of this text was published by A.M. Skinner, the honorary secretary of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, as a section of his paper 'Geography of the Malay Peninsula', in 1878 (Skinner 1878: 60–62).

Besides the foregoing scholarly output, which focused on ethnographic observations and physical anthropological details in writings and drawings, Maclay also published two papers concerning the languages of the indigenous population of the Malay Peninsula, based on his field notes: 'Sprachrudimente der Orang-Utan von Johor [Rudiments of the language of the Orang-Utan of Johor]' and 'Einiges über die Dialekte der melanesischen Völkerschaften in der Malayischen Halbinsel [Some words about the dialects of the Melanesian tribes in the Malay Peninsula]' (1876a, 1876e). In the same year, these were published as a booklet, *Einiges über die Dialekte der melanesischen Völkerschaften in der Malayischen Halbinsel (Zwei Briefe an Otto Böhtlingk in St. Petersburg)* [Some words about the dialects of Melanesian tribes in the Malay Peninsula (two letters to Otto Böhtlingk in St Petersburg)] (1876b). A copy of this booklet is held in the Russian Geographical Society archives (6–1–99); it contains valuable handwritten corrections and additions

made by Maclay. This study was the basis of the English translation 'Dialects of the Melanesian tribes in the Malay Peninsula' (1878a).

Maclay ceased writing on the Malay Peninsula after he moved to Australia in 1878 and concentrated his scholarship on that continent. However, he did plan to publish his Malay materials, and when he died in 1888 at the age of 41, a contemporary commented that, while on his deathbed, Maclay had grieved there would be no one who could complete the task of preparing his journals for publication, since many entries were in foreign languages, including Malay (Elpe 1898). Tragically, his grief-stricken Australian widow, Margaret, burned a significant part of his archives, including probably, some of his field journals from the second expedition to the Malay Peninsula (Putilov 1982: 203–4). Nevertheless, a significant amount of his materials has survived and was studied by Russian and, to a smaller degree, Western scholars (for instance, Martin 1905; Skeat and Blagden 1906; Endicott 1979). In Russia, the centre of these studies was the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) in Saint Petersburg. Since the 1980s, research has been conducted by Russian scholars from the MAE, particularly Elena Vladimirovna Revunenkova, an anthropologist specialising in the Malay and indigenous peoples of Malaysia. The results of their painstaking research are available as papers in Russian (Revunenkova 1994; 2010: 391–416) and as rich commentaries accompanying Maclay's journals and accounts in the NCW, on which we also draw for the present article.

This introduction and the translation of the diary that follows will hopefully contribute towards bringing Maclay's Malay Peninsula scholarship to light as a source of the history and anthropology of the Malay archipelago. More importantly, Maclay's work shows that scholars' interpretation of the affinities of Malaya's indigenous peoples depended on their points of comparison which often related to a prior familiarity with other parts of the world. In Maclay's case, his obvious interest in New Guinea proved the starting point for his search for the limits of the Melanesian race in the Malay Peninsula, further west into the Malay archipelago than had hitherto been thought.

Oceanic connections: From New Guinea to the Malay Peninsula

> I believe it is important to see *myself* as many as possible varieties of Melanesian tribe. Several days, even several hours of personal observation of the natives at their birthplace and in their everyday surroundings have more importance than double reading of everything written about them.
> (Letter to Rudolf Virchow, Sydney, 12 March 1879, Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 233; italics in original)

Maclay's interest in the races of Oceania led him first to New Guinea and later to the Malay Peninsula, where he could personally observe the people. His study of the racial affinities between what is today considered island Southeast Asia, and Australia and the Pacific, is part of the 19th-century European scholarly enterprise that saw wider affinities among the peoples of this region, which was known during this time as Oceania (see Crawfurd 1820; Logan 1847a). 'Oceania' was a 19th-century term that

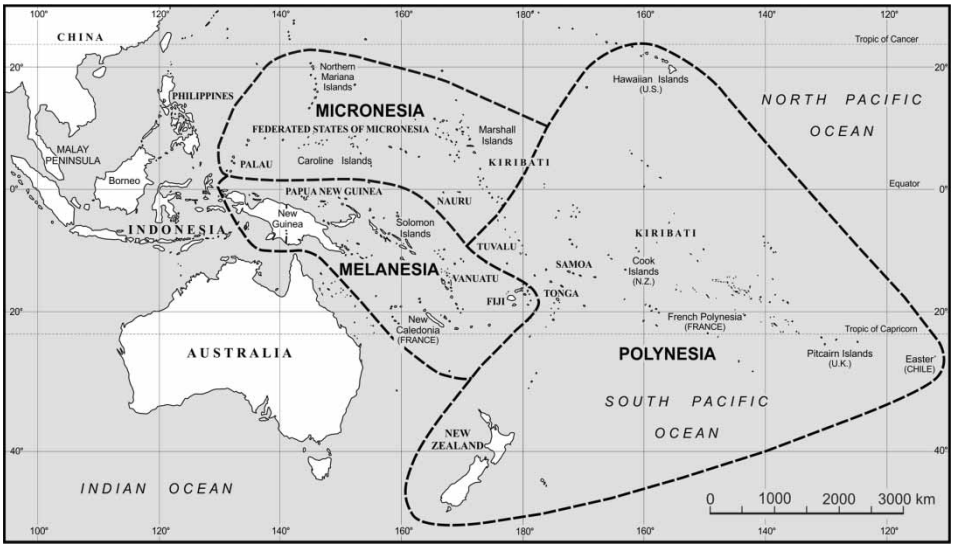

FIGURE 2. Insular Southeast Asia, Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, Australia and the Pacific. Cartographer: Lee Li Kheng, GIS and Map Resource Unit, Department of Geography, National University of Singapore.

encompassed both island Southeast Asia, and that of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific but today the separation is between insular Southeast Asia, and Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific (see Figure 2). As Douglas and Ballard (2012: 247) have commented, the term originated among 19th-century French scholars and is at odds with today's regional definitions, which tend to separate Oceania into two or more sections of the globe. Maclay's understanding of the Malay Peninsula, and the archipelago in general, was intricately linked to his familiarity first and foremost with its neighbours to the east, and with what he saw to be similarities between racial types in Oceania.

For the study of races in Oceania, two main racial types were identified in the 18th century by German naturalist Johann Reinhold Foster during his voyages with Captain James Cook, which later came to be known as Melanesians and Polynesians (Ballard 2008: 157; see Skott 2014).[4] For the Malay archipelago specifically, 19th-century scholars were more concerned with delimiting the division between the 'brown' and 'black' races, represented by Malays and Papuans from the island of New Guinea respectively. Scholars such as Crawfurd, George Windsor Earl and Alfred Russel Wallace wrote about their impressions of the defining characteristics, whether moral or physical, of the two races (Ballard 2008: 158). Crawfurd (1820: 14, 18) famously declared them both to be 'original' to the archipelago, an unusual situation that was not found, he said, in any other place in the world except in southern Africa. In the Malay Peninsula, local politics and the power struggles between the British and Siamese encouraged a positioning of Malays as the later, but more civilised, migrants to the peninsula, and the inhabitants of the coasts and forests as the earlier, though savage indigenes. Thus, John Anderson (1824: xxx–xxxi) could call the latter group 'aborigines' with the

[4]In this special issue of *Indonesia and the Malay World* 42 (123).

accompanying connotations of autochthony and savagery. Maclay's interest in the indigenous peoples of Malaya stemmed from an interest in determining the limits of the Melanesian race in places as far west as the Malay Peninsula.

His interest in Oceania was influenced by his connections to German academia. Before arriving in New Guinea at the age of 25, he had studied natural sciences and medicine in Heidelberg, Leipzig and Jena. During this time, he met Rudolf Virchow, the German biologist and patron of anthropology to whom the opening remark above was addressed. In Germany, Maclay added to his common Russian name, Miklukha, a second and enigmatic part, Maklai. In his passport, his name was recorded using the French convention as N. de Miklouho-Maclay and in the German convention as N. von Miklucho-Maclay (Miklouho-Maclay N., de. Papers, Mitchell Library, A2989–1). As his first publications were in German-language journals, the second version of his name was initially more commonly known. However, after he moved to Australia in 1878, he consistently used the French version of his name: it became the major form of his name outside Russia, often reduced to just Maclay. The name was also corrupted in several other spellings.

It is difficult to place Maclay into one particular anthropological tradition. As noted by George W. Stocking, Jr. (1991: 25) the celebrated historian of anthropology, Maclay is often seen in an anthropological 'dreamtime', in which the lone and noble anthropologist conducted fieldwork among indigenous peoples whom he hoped to protect and uplift. This idealised image has been for the most part shattered, with the awareness of the colonial alliances and the threats of force used in conducting his fieldwork. In this sense, Maclay is part of the larger tradition of anthropology, with its complicities and complications.

Maclay may be placed within a European, specifically, German-language tradition of anthropology, having been trained at universities in Germany and through his close associations with intellectuals there such as Virchow and, later, Karl Ernst von Baer, whom he met in 1869. Baer was a Russian-German biologist, today considered the father of Russian anthropology and craniology. It was Baer's armchair study 'Über Papuas und Alfuren [Concerning Papuas and Alfuras]' (1859) that attracted Maclay's attention and interest in the study of races. Baer, discussing two racial types found in New Guinea, supported the idea of a unity of different races of humankind and criticised Anglo-American polygenists.

The intellectual debt to Baer may be seen in Maclay's choice of New Guinea as a place to conduct research into the process by which the racial groups of Oceania took shape and became differentiated, as well as in his commitment to a monogenist outlook (Stocking 1991: 17–18). The issue of whether current humans were thought of as having one single origin (usually glossed as a monogenist view) or many (a polygenist view) had been a long-standing controversy since the early days of anthropology (Levine 2010: 44). Yet, the simple division between monogenism and polygenism does not do justice to the more complex positions held on human difference, whereby scientists of the 19th century would hold to a unity of humankind while also embracing a Darwinian viewpoint (see Howes 2012: 35). Maclay, for instance, believed that various races had differences in brain and vocal chord structure (Stocking 1991: 18). His use of physical anthropological methods of collecting human remains and measuring physical differences in individuals alive and dead was in keeping with those of German scholars such as the anatomist Virchow (Massin 1996: 106; Penny 2008: 85).

Maclay first participated in scientific expeditions to the Canary Islands, North Africa and the Red Sea in 1866–1867 and 1869 (Govor 1990: I, 23–4; Putilov 1982: 10). Maclay was further encouraged to visit New Guinea after meeting the famous naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1905: 34–5) in London in 1870 and after reading Wallace's newly published account *The Malay archipelago* (1869), about his travels in the area from 1854 to 1862. In his unfinished paper 'Why I chose New Guinea as the field for my studies' (1990–1999, III: 9), which he started writing aboard the ship that took him to New Guinea, Maclay commented on Wallace's distinction between Malays and Papuans based on their appearance and their character. Wallace's writings became popular among German speakers in large part due to the translations of these works by Adolf Bernhard Meyer, a naturalist who was in the region at the same time as Maclay (see Howes 2012: 21–2). Wallace, in trying to prove that there was a clear line dividing the flora and fauna of the Malay archipelago into two distinct types, had categorised Malays as Asian and considered Papuans to be closer to Polynesians. Maclay wanted to ascertain for himself which racial connections to endorse; his project entailed finding out the anthropological relationship between Papuans and other races, and studying the boundaries of the Papuan 'race' beyond the territory of New Guinea island. Later, he planned to expand his field work 'to study dark [i.e. dark-skinned] inhabitants of the Malay and Melanesian archipelagos' (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, III: 8–9).

His exploration of New Guinea was approved and partially funded by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. The Russian corvette, *Vityaz*, sent to join the Russian Pacific Squadron, crossed the Atlantic and then the Pacific before reaching Easter Island in June 1871 and Astrolabe Bay in September 1871 (see Figure 3). In 1871–1872, Maclay stayed for 15 months on the northeast coast of New Guinea; this area soon became known in Russia as Maclay Coast (Miklоucho-Maclay 1975; Miklouho-Maclay 1982). On 19 December 1872, the Russian clipper *Izumrud*, sent by the Russian government to find him, reached New Guinea. Maclay was persuaded to go with it to Batavia. He made his first comparative study of peoples of the Malay archipelago during this voyage, when he briefly undertook an excursion to the mountain areas of Luzon island to visit the Aeta people. In December 1873, while recuperating in Bogor (known during Maclay's time as Buitenzorg) and preparing his first New Guinea accounts for publication, he embarked on a second trip to New Guinea, this time to the Kowiai coast on the southwest of the island, with the aim of carrying out further comparative racial studies of different groups of Papuans (Miklucho-Maklai 1876d: 150). On route, he visited the islands of Sulawesi, Banda, Ambon and Seram, and Geser and Kilwaru east of Seram, and studied individuals in whom he noted Papuan and Malay mixture, paying close attention to their physical characteristics (Miklucho-Maklai 1876d: 174–6; Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999: I: 267–337) (Figure 4). The following year, Maclay undertook an expedition across the Malay Peninsula to study its indigenous peoples and to compare them with New Guinean Papuans. He arrived in Singapore from Batavia on 22 November 1874 and set off to Johor from there.

Before considering Maclay's ideas on Melanesian racial admixture in the Malay Peninsula, we will first describe his route through the Malay Peninsula, and his reliance on colonial power structures which allowed him to meet indigenous people. Maclay's expedition began at the end of 1874, the same year that the Pangkor Treaty was signed in the western Malay state of Perak; the treaty marked the beginning of

FIGURE 3. Places visited by Maclay in the eastern Malay archipelago and New Guinea. Cartographer: Lee Li Kheng, GIS and Map Resource Unit, Department of Geography, National University of Singapore.

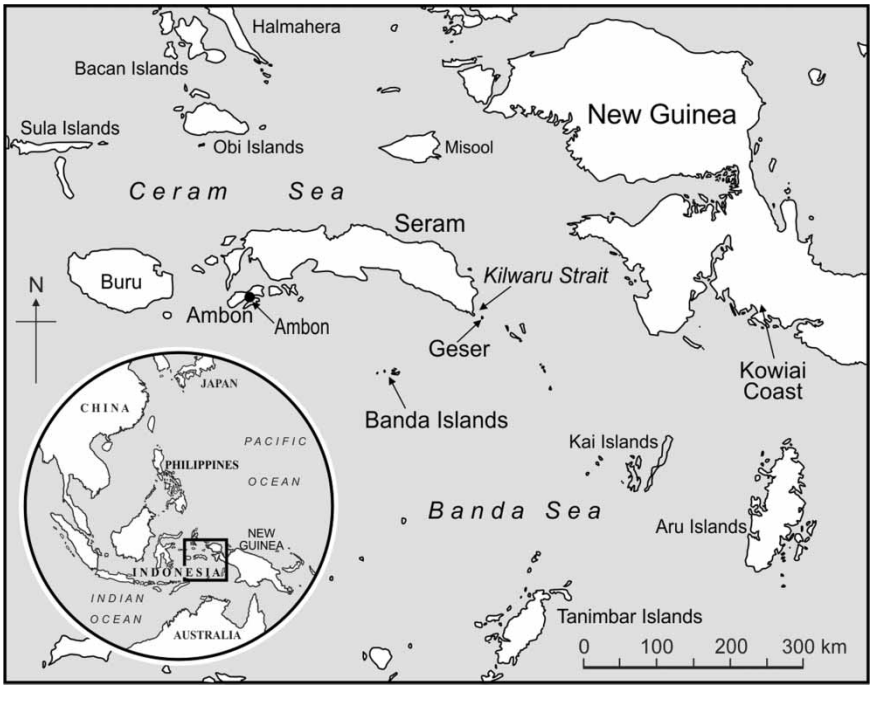

FIGURE 4. Places visited by Maclay, detail of Maluku area. Cartographer: Lee Li Kheng, GIS and Map Resource Unit, Department of Geography, National University of Singapore.

formal agreements between the British and the Malay states (Harper 1999: 18). The areas covered in his first expedition, namely the state of Johor and southern Pahang, were not under British treaties as yet. However, the relationships between Johor royals such as Sultan Abu Bakar and British officials in Singapore were already long established (Trocki 1979: xviii). Indeed, Maclay's expedition was largely facilitated by his links to British colonial officials and their relationships with Johor royalty. His diaries of his time in the Malay Peninsula thus illustrate a crucial period in the history of the Malay Peninsula, when local sultanates still were powerful and wars between neighbouring states were the main obstacles to his research.

Maclay in the Malay Peninsula

The first entry of the journal is for 22 November 1874, written in Batavia as Maclay was leaving for Singapore. The last entry is for 31 January 1875, written in Kota Tinggi, Johor, where he visited an ancient tomb site. In all, the diary covers 71 days of travel, during which he went from Batavia to Singapore, to the residence of the maharaja of Johor in Johor, and then travelled throughout Johor and southern Pahang on ship, boat and foot (see Figure 1). The Malay Peninsula at this point was not commonly known by the term 'Malaya', which came into fashion only at the turn of the 20th century, as the British concluded more and more treaties with sultanates on the peninsula. Maclay's diaries of the first expedition have no title or reference to the entire peninsula, an ambiguity that later editors have sought to clarify by inserting 'Malay' or 'Malacca Peninsula' into the title. Rather, specific places on the peninsula were mentioned, such as Singapore and Johor. After only five days in Singapore, Maclay went to Johor, where he hoped to work in a quieter environment and start his research. He stayed with Maharaja Abu Bakar (1833–1895), who frequently hosted Europeans:

> 29 November. Johor.[5] After a journey of an hour and a half, including transport on a small steamer I arrived in Johor [from Singapore], the residence of the Maharajah (Emperor), where I was received very graciously. I was not mistaken; the house or palace of the Maharajah has a good view and I settled in very comfortably.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 7)

The maharaja facilitated Maclay's research by introducing him to other Europeans and by giving him an official letter with the royal seal as an introduction to whomever he met along the way in asking for (or, in most cases, demanding) assistance.

In general, Maclay had three types of exploratory encounters. The first was where he lived in one place near his source community and gradually learned the language in order to explore various aspects of its life such as during his stay on the Maclay Coast in New Guinea. The second type of encounter was aboard vessels where he had to comply

[5]The excerpts are taken from longer diary entries written by Maclay. Where a place is mentioned in the entry, it is inserted at the beginning of the excerpt for clarity. The places are marked on the accompanying Figure 1 in cases where the authors were able to locate them. The spelling of certain place names and words in Malay have been changed to reflect the modern spelling.

with the itinerary and purpose of the vessel and could undertake only brief shore visits, mostly without go-betweens, armed with a limited list of subjects to explore. This kind of encounter was most typical of his voyages in Micronesia, Melanesia and along the south coast of New Guinea. Lastly, there were overland expeditions which involved local guides and carriers, of which his Malay Peninsula expedition was one.

While the first type of exploration did not involve much expense, the second and third involved significant outlays. From the very start, Maclay's expeditions had very little financial support from Russian academic institutions. In a few cases he was supported by his friends and the Russian public at large; in several cases he borrowed money from bankers. His debt increased to quite a substantial amount before it was finally underwritten by the Russian emperor Alexander III, not long before Maclay's death (Putilov 1982: 46–7, 99–101; Tumarkin 2011: 453–54). For Maclay, the support and patronage of local officials and dignitaries who wanted to help him 'for the sake of science' was a matter of survival. In the case of his Malay expeditions, the fact that he easily 'penetrated' into Malay power structures is noteworthy. When in Singapore, he visited the governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, and his wife at their house. Thereafter, the Maharaja of Johor was host to Maclay, even allowing him to follow official expeditions:

> 14 December 1874. Johor Baru. A few months ago several inhabitants of Singapore (Orang Bugis) were killed in Johol [in the vicinity of Melaka]; they were traders and the murderers were men of Pahang and Johol. Since the people killed were people of some substance and as the Maharajah had not apprehended the guilty ones (he had promised the Governor [Sir Andrew Clarke] he would get them) he was equipping a third expedition. As this expedition was traversing a considerable part of Johor I have thought about going with it.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 11)

The maharajah facilitated Maclay's transportation by giving written orders that the people of Johor should assist him. Maclay seemed to prefer utilising Malay power structures to European colonial ones, perhaps because the former were more powerful at this time or because of his animosity towards the colonising power (see Howes 2013: 281). In a 1882 Russian Geographical Society lecture, Maclay said, 'I purposely took no letter and recommendation from the Governor of Singapore, fearing to be taken for an English agent and meeting difficulties from the Malays who, in general, do not like the English' (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 435). His tactics served him well, as the maharajah's letter was more than enough to require compliance from the locals:

> 16 December 1874. Lenga. We were met by the master, Inchi Anda (Inchi is a title) who led us on to a verandah of a still higher hut where we all sat around a circular. After reading the letter from the Maharajah, Inchi Anda informed me that he had to do anything that I would require of him.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 11)

A motley crew of people were instructed to help Maclay. He initially left the maharaja's residence with one or two *perahu* (small boats), two servants (a young man from Papua called Achmat and a Javanese cook) and a crew of 20 men (Greenop 1944:

132). Along the way, his crew was supplemented by Malay villagers and indigenous Orang Utan.[6] The threat of force was often used as an incentive to help Maclay:

> 3–4 January 1875. Up the Segamat River. I told Abdul Rahman [the *penghulu*'s nephew] to read out the letter from the Maharajah. The letter was read. 'You have heard: if, within an hour, there are not enough men to carry my things to Tenan I shall be very angry and when I tell the Maharaja he will be very angry. Now get to it and call the men.'
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 29)

Various arrangements were made for Maclay, by very powerful people, who put weaker members of their community at his disposal; he used them to his benefit, all in the name of collecting knowledge. This differed from earlier years such as when he first arrived in Astrolabe Bay. By the time he was in Malaya, he had made a name for himself, and had the colonial machinery on both sides of the Straits of Melaka to help him.

Through his colonial connections, he was able to meet local headmen or leaders who located settlements of indigenous peoples and obtained information about them:

> 29 December 1874. Upstream Rompin River, towards Pahang. About three o'clock, we approached a small settlement of the Orang Utan. I got out of the pirogue and went up to a hut in which a man was working who had a very Malay physiognomy, although he was an Orang Utan. I went on then to another hut which consisted of only three walls. Here a whole family were housed . . . I was told that at the present time, apart from these Orang Utan there was no one else. I decided to go on, and so we came to this place where the *penghulu*'s nephew lives. He knows all the locations around very well and so I decided to wait for him.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 22)

The people he met were called various names. 'Orang Utan' and 'Orang Rakyat' were the two most frequent names Maclay used to refer to indigenous people. Following naming conventions at the time, most likely taken from Malay speakers, the generic Malay term for person or people, *orang*, would be supplemented by an adjective such as *utan/hutan*, meaning forest or jungle, or *rakyat*, meaning followers, subjects or simply people (for more examples of names, see Skeat and Blagden 1906: 20). When he found an interesting settlement, Maclay would set up camp or order that accommodation be set up for him. He would then gather people for observation, questioning and drawing:

> 30–31 December 1874. Up the Jekatih River, tributary of the Kraton River. Abdul Rahman [the *penghulu*'s nephew] went ahead so that the people [Orang Utan], scared by my sudden appearance, did not run away. Near two huts, I saw several unprepossessing almost completely naked people. One, dressed Malay fashion was presented to me as the *batin* [leader of the indigenous group]. In a large hut which belonged to him, they fenced off a considerable area making quite comfortable quarters for me and soon brought my things there. I at once ordered that

[6] 'Jungle people', often used as a synonym for indigenous or tribal peoples.

tomorrow as many as possible of the Orang Utan be gathered here.
(Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 23)

While travelling, Maclay used field notebooks in which he would, throughout the day, record data, note observations and make sketches. Later, he transferred some of these materials into the main body of his diary. Most of the diary entries are made in ink, although some are written in pencil. Drawings were sometimes incorporated into the text, or text was arranged around the drawings. The journal was not intended by Maclay for publication in its raw form. This was his personal diary, where anthropological observations were intermingled with his records of the ordeals of the expedition and his personal, often intimate, feelings and reflections. In many cases, the original field notebooks provide additional information in comparison with the diary; they were used for the commentaries on the journal in the NCW. Such textual and visual account is unique among the early explorers of the Malay Peninsula, and allows us to see not only the process of research and exploration but also Maclay's involvement with the objects of his study in their 'messy actualities' (Thomas 2003: xxxiii), including his sexual attraction to an indigenous woman:

30–31 December. Up the Jekatih River. I drew two Orang Utan who were somewhat different from the others. Ashar was very embarrassed to show me her breasts, whereas the majority of the other females, it is true they were married, went about all day with their breasts dangling. She was not bad looking although somewhat heavily built and not more than 1.41 metres tall.
(Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 25)

Maclay often found himself acting as a messenger for various parties, first safeguarding letters from the maharaja to his men in other parts of Johor, and then relaying events and conditions back to the maharaja. As there was conflict between Johor and Pahang, Maclay had to ensure that he did not give the impression of aligning himself too closely with either side. His research activities were, however, met with suspicion, as he posed as a disinterested European:

15 January 1875. Endau River. He [a Pahang chief] questioned me with curiosity: where had I come from? Where was I going and why? I deliberately took on a very serious air and showed him my instruments (compass, aneroid, thermometer) and notebook and told him that I was travelling to see people, animals, plants, to see mountains, how high they were, and rivers, where and how they flow.
(Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 46)

Nonetheless, during his travels he found himself in contested areas, with settlements empty from people being killed or fleeing the war. The war over territory also entailed a war over names, with different groups calling major waterways by dissimilar names:

13–14 January: Kuala Endau . . . the people of Pahang say that they will not renounce their claim to the *rumah pasung* [jail, police station or barracks], for the right bank of the Endau River belongs to the Maharajah of Johor and the *rumah pasung* stands on the left bank which belongs to Pahang. In fact they insist on

> calling the Endau the River Kahan (or Sombron as they call it here) which the Johor people dispute. I know only that when I was travelling along the Kahan River I never once heard the Orang Utan say it was the Endau.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 45)

Maclay was not above using his position as 'the white man' in situations that would benefit him. He already recognised his privileged position as protector of his men in the disputed area between Johor and Pahang:

> 16 January. Pelandok, village of Panglima Kecil. By a curious concatenation of circumstances both men who have accompanied me yesterday and today are men who would not dare to appear here without risking their lives unless they were with me or at least accompanying a white tuan. Yesterday it was a deserter who formerly lived in Pahang but now serves the Maharajah. Today it is a Johor man who they already wanted to kill once but he managed to escape. Here, they have more than once and quite recently too, felt the power of the white man and they fear it.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 48)

Towards the end of Maclay's journey, he made his way south of Johor, where his last diary entry was on 31 January 1874 in Kota Tinggi. There were more and more clearings in the forest and evidence of gambier plantations and tin mines. When approaching the developed portions of Johor in which many Chinese labourers worked, he found himself no longer commanding the same fear and respect as inland. His anger at a Chinese man who worked ceaselessly and did not respond to his calls shows how used he had become to his position of power:

> 29 January. Along Johor River. Their [The Chinese] relationship to white men is quite different to that of the Malays, and not entirely without its reasons, although their attitude . . . today annoyed me very much. Today, in order to find my way I and my companions stopped near a Chinese who was sawing boards ten paces away. We were separated by a strip of open forest. I called to him to ask the way, he continued to saw paying no attention. I asked him once more and got no answer. This angered me and raising my gun I said that I intended to shoot him if he did not come at once, which finally had the required effect, and I did not need to go to extremes.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 62–3)

This incident and Maclay's paternalism towards indigenous and Malay subjects has been characterised by Stocking (1991: 61, 25) as Maclay's 'darker Kurtzian impulse to power', a reference to Joseph Conrad's protagonist in the novel *Heart of Darkness* (1899). Stocking's description captures the many facets of Maclay's engagement with people in the Malay Peninsula – his empathy for indigenous life as well as his impetuousness at not being obeyed.

Maclay's last entry about the future of Johor was thoughtful:

> 31 January 1875. Kota Tinggi. It is highly likely that in a decade, Johor will be very changed, if the current maharaja remains living; if not, then everything might yet vanish. In any case the movement of the Chinese is important. The population of Johor is very timid, but the river communications are very useful and easy to set

> up: it is likely that the mineral wealth of the area can greatly transform the country.
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 65)

Already on 2 February 1875, a note by Maclay about his travels in Johor appeared in the *Singapore Daily Times,* which he cut out and glued into his notebook. The expedition had taken him 50 days, on boat and by foot. Untiring, he was already planning for a second expedition across the Malay Peninsula that would eventually take place from June–October 1875 (A.A. Anfertyev in Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 460).

Maclay and Melanesian admixtures

> Purely anthropological observations and considerations lead me to accept the supposition of a *Melanesian* element (a remnant of the original race) which, through intermixture with the Malays, is being more and more supplanted.
> (Miklucho-Maclay 1878a: 39; italics in original)

At first glance, the use of the term 'Melanesian' in writing about Malaya seems incongruous. Indigenous peoples of Malaya have been linked to Papuans from New Guinea, Negritos from various parts of the worlds, other indigenous groups in Asia and to Malays. The Malay Peninsula and New Guinea were previously connected in Crawfurd's racial distribution where Malays and Papuans were both indigenous to the Malay archipelago, and indigenous tribes were rationalised in terms of mixtures of these two races. While the presence of Papuan elements in the Malay Peninsula was in Leyden's (1811) work, the introduction of the term Melanesian evokes wider linkages to an Oceanic world that encompassed more than New Guinea. Due to Maclay's familiarity with New Guinea and his studies on peoples categorised as 'Melanesian', he brought these theoretical tools with him when studying indigenous peoples of Malaya. His comment above was directed at the Orang Utan of Johor, a category whom he said Malays used to refer to as 'the wandering tribes in the interior of the Malay Peninsula' (Miklucho-Maclay 1878a: 38 note 1).

In previous studies of indigenous people in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, the term Melanesia was not used. The French missionary Pierre Favre (1812–1887) and English publisher Logan (1819–1869) contributed most to our understanding of indigenous peoples in the 19th century prior to Maclay. In 1846, Favre travelled to the interior of the peninsula to learn more about the Jakun (as he called all the inland people of that region) in order to better evangelise to them (Lombard 1976: 3–4). The details of his journey through Johor appeared in a 1865 Paris publication. Logan was also active during the 1840s in Johor. The reader is provided with the bodily measurements of aborigines in some detail, sketches of their physiognomy and hypotheses on their racial connections on a worldwide scale which focused on the Asian and African aspects to the study of peoples of the Malay archipelago (Logan 1847b; 1847c; 1847d; 1851).

For Maclay, Papuans, and the greater Melanesian race of which they were supposed to be part, were foremost in his mind in keeping with his interest in determining the extent of a Papuan-like race outside New Guinea. Unlike many explorers from Europe, Maclay went 'the other way around', via the Atlantic Ocean, and sailing by

Brazil, Polynesia and Melanesia before arriving at New Guinea. The direction of his travels is important to note. Many other travellers went to Oceania via the Middle East, through India and the Straits of Melaka to areas further east. In many of these writings, the mode of comparison when it came to the 'races' encountered was usually from the point of view of the 'normative' 'Malay race', which was supposed to be ubiquitous in the Malay archipelago (a false conflation of language and 'race'); the assumption was of subsequent degeneration as travellers moved eastwards into the area of 'black races' (see, for example, Crawfurd 1820). Breaking the mould of these savants, Maclay (1878a: 42, 43) came across the Polynesian and Melanesian 'races' before the 'Malay' and inland peoples of the Malay Peninsula – hence his comparison of the indigenous peoples of Malaya with the groups he met in New Guinea, and his labelling them as 'Melanesian tribes'. This 'cardinality of comparison', a phrase coined by Chris Ballard (2008: 160), sets the framework for Maclay's subsequent theorising on the differences and similarities between races in the Oceanic area.

Maclay's first encounters with indigenous people occurred in Johor Baru. At the maharaja's residence, he met a Mr Hole, who knew the area and suggested that they visit a group of Orang Utan employed in felling timber nearby:

> 1 December 1874. Johor Baru. In about an hour and a half's rowing on the river called Sungai Melayu we met the first pirogue of the Orang Laut Seletar. Seletar is a locality on Singapore Island where, according to oral tradition, these people formerly lived, which has now been turned into a police post. These Orang Utan or, as they are also called here Jakun Laut, have no permanent dwelling place. They live in their pirogues roaming along the rivers and seashore. They feed on anything they can find, they even eat their dogs.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 7)

The Orang Laut Seletar (Sea People of Seletar) was a community that had been written about by Logan (1847c) some 30 years earlier. 'Jakun Laut' was another name that married a common term for indigenous people, *jakun*, with a place adjective, *laut* (sea). The state of racial theorising in the Malay Peninsula of the 1870s had by then expanded to include indigenous people who were neither Negrito/Papuan nor Malay (Manickam, forthcoming *a*). However, Maclay continued to see Papuan or Melanesian infusion in Malaya's indigenous people. During an initial meeting with indigenous people in Johor, Maclay had already been struck by what he saw to be similarities between them and the people he met in New Guinea:

> 1 December 1874. Johor Baru. . . . of the three or four women and several children I saw, the hair seemed half-Papuan type, just like the Papuan mixed breeds who I frequently met around Seram. Many of them had thick lips. I came to the conclusion that there existed here *a definite infusion of Papuan blood*, in spite of the fact that the heads proved to be brachycephalic and [the colour of the skin] no darker than other Malays.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 8; italics in original)

Often, however, Maclay had difficulties telling apart indigenous people with Papuan admixture from Malays. As a mode of comparison, he had with him his porters, who

sometimes consisted of both Malays and Orang Utan. Here, he put forth his theory of mixture between original Malay and Papuan/Melanesian races to account for similarities between Malays and those he called Orang Utan, Orang Rakyat or Orang Jakun:

> 24 December 1874. From here (Nanka) I went to the southwest to the settlement (temporary) of the Orang Badun or Badon, which I reached in an hour and a half . . . Badon, a settlement of the Orang Rakyat, has seven huts scattered over a quite considerable area . . . Many of their physiognomies could not be sufficiently distinguished from those of the Palong Malays who had accompanied me, so that I could [not] discriminate with confidence between them. But there were, however, elements of some as if alien admixture. This similarity to the Malays can be explained by crossbreeding over a long period of time. But it seems to me quite definitely that it is not the Orang Jakun who are similar to the Malays, but the Malays having Orang Jakun mothers have acquired here some features of the latter, which make both sides somewhat similar.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 14, 15, 18–19)

This research was undertaken at a time in racial science where physical differences were used as a basis for arguing that there were different species of people, some of whom had more 'apelike' characteristics, as asserted by supporters of Darwin within Germany, such as the leading evolutionist Ernst Haeckel (Marks 2010: 222). Maclay himself did not endorse such theories in his writings. Unlike some researchers of his day, Maclay was avowedly monogenist and argued for similarities between Papuans and Europeans in the quality of their hair and skin (Miklucho-Maclay 1873). Despite his steadfast belief in common human origins, he nonetheless sought to distinguish people on bodily features such as facial shape. When such differences were absent, other elements tipped Maclay off to indigeneity, such as clothing:

> 30–31 December 1874. Up the Jekatih River. The general facial type of these people is not different from the Malay. If I did not know about the people called Orang Utan, I would have thought that I was among a different population. Thick lips, a broad nose, frequently frizzy hair and generally speaking coarse features and particularly the absence of clothes distinguish the Orang Utan from the Malay, but I have not met one among them with a specific type of face.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 25)

Towards the end of his journey, Maclay became convinced of a Papuan admixture in the indigenous populations of Malaya, just as he had theorised while in Kilwaru in eastern Seram (Miklucho-Maklay 1876d: 174–6). By this theory, he explained the similarity of hair type between the indigenous peoples of Malaya and of New Guinea:

> 6–7 January 1875. Beko River. A not inconsiderable number of the people had curly hair which made me think of a Papuan mixture. The hair of an old woman reminded me particularly of the hair of women I saw at Kilwaru [see Figure 4] . . . I am beginning to be convinced of the necessity of admitting the *admixture* of Papuan blood, an idea which I formerly regarded very critically.
>
> (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 32; italics in original)

Comparing the people whom he said had such admixture with Achmat, his servant from New Guinea, vindicated his theory:

> 21 January 1875. Made. I was observing my companions the Orang Utan today, comparing them with Achmat, for me there is no doubt about the admixture of Papuan blood. These faces with protruding lips and the flat broad nose were very similar to Achmat, particularly the profile, even the colour of the skin was identical. (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 55)

The notion of mixtures of races relies upon the assumption of an original base of racial groups, Papuan on the one hand and Malay on the other, from which these mixtures came. Maclay's conception of racial affiliations in the Malay archipelago, as essentially being varieties of original brown and black races, has a long history. The British scholars John Crawfurd and George Windsor Earl had earlier expressed such ideas (Ballard 2008: 160). In Virchow's scholarship, the black races, understood as a homogenous Oceanic race and synonymous with Papua/Papuans, formed the very bottom of the racial hierarchy (Howes 2012: 36). That Maclay would see Papuan or Melanesian 'admixtures' in the Malay archipelago, from Kilwaru in the east to the Malay Peninsula in the west, is thus not unusual given his direction of travel and his primary interest in Papuans. But unlike the earlier writers, of whom Maclay mistakenly or deliberately wrote that they did not actually meet any Papuan or Negrito individuals, Maclay's contact with indigenous people who could be classified as Melanesian was far greater than that of any earlier European scholar (Miklukho-Maklai 1990–1999, II: 432; Greenop 1944: 122).

Positing racial connections that encompassed the western part of the Malay archipelago all the way to the Pacific became more infrequent closer to the turn of the 20th century. Logan, another scholar who studied indigenous peoples in Johor, also hypothesised on racial connections that went far and wide and that were similarly ignored by later scholars (Logan 1851). This state of affairs could be explained by the increase in specific knowledge on indigenous people in Malaya and the interest in determining the number of 'races' or 'tribes' of aborigines and their relationships to each other and to Malays. These were the questions asked by the participants in the Cambridge expedition to the Malay Peninsula in 1899–1900 led by Skeat (Manickam 2012). Arising from the findings of the expedition, Skeat put forth a simple and elegant solution to the multiplicity of racial connections posited by Logan and other scholars. Partially based on Martin's earlier classification (1905), Skeat proposed a simple tripartite classification of Jakun, Sakai and Semang, with their respective associations to larger racial groups such as Malays from the Malay Peninsula, Veddas from Sri Lanka, and Negritos in the Andaman Islands and the Philippines respectively. Even though there were differing opinions from experts such as fellow anthropologist Nelson Annandale, and indigenous people themselves did not always fit the categories neatly (see Manickam 2012), this scheme endures to this day. Furthermore, the politics of knowledge production in the Malay archipelago was such that British and Dutch-controlled areas were taken as boundaries of study not for theoretical reason but the practicalities of fieldwork, thereby separating people on the Malay Peninsula from archipelago-wide inquiries (Manickam, forthcoming b). Thus for Skeat and Blagden (1906) and the expeditions on which their publication was based, the areas studied encompassed

the Malay Peninsula proper including what is today southern Thailand, but excluded territory under Dutch influence.

Conclusion

Maclay is an oft forgotten part of the history of Orang Asli studies because of the language in which he mostly wrote and the direction of his racial theories, which looked to Oceania for connections. Yet, Maclay's detailed fieldwork and his attempts at coming to an anthropologically-based racial grouping was a precursor to Skeat's 'modern' studies on Orang Asli at the turn of the 20th century. As one of us has argued elsewhere (Manickam, forthcoming b), racial theories of Orang Asli were often pulled in various directions depending on which theories were considered the most relevant or up-to-date. Though Skeat, the authority on indigenous people of Malaya at the turn of the 20th century, dismissed Maclay's theories, aspects of the Oceanic orientation of indigenous studies continue to assert themselves, particularly in biological studies of Orang Asli today (Skeat and Blagden 1906: 26–7; see Jinam *et al*. 2012: 3523). The interpretation of Maclay's diaries, and the process of understanding its relationship to ideas about indigenous peoples then and now, will be an ongoing endeavour.

From Maclay's diary, the reader receives impressions of dynamic indigenous lives, ones that are connected to neighbouring peoples and politics, and ones that are changing in the late 19th century. Lye (2011: 24–25), the anthropologist of Malaysia's indigenous peoples, recently commented on the paucity of 19th-century materials on the peoples known today as Orang Asli. This article has attempted to add to the small corpus of knowledge on indigenous lives in the 19th century by presenting the writing of a unique Russian in the Malay Peninsula, in all its richness and complexity, and to pave the way for additional research into the history of racial science, anthropology and indigenous people in the Malay world.

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