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A History of Boundaries: Redefining the Bordering Process

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A HISTORY OF BOUNDARIES: REDEFINING THE BORDERING PROCESS

by

CUONG LE

Under the Direction of Jared Poley, PhD

ABSTRACT

Societies throughout time and space have shaped their interactions with each other and their environments by forming boundaries. The function of boundaries, constructed through the process of bordering shape whether boundaries exhibit monologic or dialogic qualities. Boundaries expressed as enacted or discursive depending on their relations with others. Current scholarships use *boundaries* and *bordering* inconsistently, or as simplified monoliths. In order to overcome imprecise definitions, the study tests a set of theories by Denis Cosgrove, Etienne Balibar, Erin Williams, Harvey Starr, and G. Dale Thomas about geographic knowledge, periphery, and proximity. The theories are challenged or confirmed through analyzing their relevance found in the writings of historians, philosophers, and explorers found in ancient history, eighteenth century, and twentieth century. The study establishes boundaries and bordering as possible units of analysis using theory sets for historians that reveal how societies project and shape their identities across space and time.

A HISTORY OF BOUNDARIES: REDEFINING THE BORDERING PROCESS

by

CUONG LE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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A HISTORY OF BOUNDARIES: REDEFINING THE BORDERING PROCESS

by

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DEDICATION

For my parents and family, I am forever thankful for your everlasting love and support in my

journey. To Stephany, thank you for your encouragement and love during this adventure.

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1   INTRODUCTION

A 15-foot high fence snakes around the Rio Grande, cutting through sand dunes and towns that organically grow around the unnatural feature and marking the border between the United States and Mexico. On February 24, 2016, approximately 2,000 miles away from Rio Grande, President Trump exclaimed at the Republican National Convention: "We've defended other nations' borders while leaving ours wide open, anybody can come in. We're going to build a wall, don't worry about it. We're building the wall." The crowd cheers in agreement. Over 2,000 years earlier, Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi of China ordered the construction of the Great Wall for protection against Xiongnu raids and the Berlin Wall divided people and political ideologies for nearly 40 years. President Trump's words expressed that bordering is a way humans have always interacted with each other and their environment. Bordering also brings attention to the differences that emerge when communities develop and interact together. The understanding that results through bordering becomes the human experience, and the accumulation of such experiences has a history.

President Trump oversimplified the description of borders and walls in his speech which makes it more difficult to discern between bordering as a process and borders as a static feature defined in textbooks and maps. In this thesis, I argue that boundaries and bordering are dynamically complex constructions undertaken throughout time by societies as a way to reflect their center and better understand the world by partitioning it through writing. I assert more precise definitions for the terms *border, bordering, and boundaries. Bordering* and *to border* denote an action and process by which societies disperse towards or withdraw from each other and the natural environment based on varying degrees of friendly and hostile interactions. I argue that the term *boundary* describes the real or imagined distinctions formed by societies bordering

each other or the natural environment. Thus, I assert it is possible for one society to *border* against another society or the environment to construct *boundaries* as a way to demonstrate an understanding and reaction from their engagements. Additionally, I argue that boundaries constructed by bordering may be characterized as enacted, discursive, monologic, and dialogic depending on how the boundaries formed. After studying the evidence, I also assert that boundaries are composed of geographical knowledge, peripheries, and proximities which become the three components of analysis. Perhaps most important, bordering is a process that is historical. Borders change over time, and the practice of bordering is a historical one.

Multifaceted boundaries are constructed by society with the function to preserve components of its center such as identity, economics, and government. The projection of the center demonstrates ideas of inclusiveness and exclusiveness between communities; therefore, boundaries articulate the identities of societies. Based on the relationship that societies have together, boundaries also have the possibility to be enacted or discursive. Enacted boundaries are practiced and acknowledged which are typically constructed between societies with strict interactions and regulations. On the contrary, discursive boundaries are unclear and blurry as a result of relaxed and cooperative relationships between societies. A synthesized set of ideas, definitions, terms, and understandings from different scholarships would promote a better understanding of the relationships between boundaries and their societies throughout history.

1.1   Methodology and Structure

Focusing on the components of boundaries and bordering clarifies misunderstood definitions and characteristics throughout time and space. The development of communities is impacted by how they construct boundaries and engage in bordering, thus there are three main components of bordering as a process: 1) production of geographical knowledge, 2) construction

and understanding of peripheries, and 3) crafting relationships through proximity. The three components provide the frame in which the differences found in current scholarship may be standardized, thus allowing historians to possibly use boundaries as a tool for analyzing the way societies develop over time, project themselves to others, and how different societies understand their world.

Taking into consideration the scope and frame of the thesis, I have chosen to focus on writings from Ancient Greece and Han China, the eighteenth century, and twentieth century to demonstrate that societies have always partitioned their world and other communities as a mean to manage knowledge, identity, and relationships. While there are numerous time periods that would have been applicable for the project, to include more than the prescribed limit would over complicate, and delineate from the scope and length of the study. The three periods chosen demonstrate a pivotal moment or peak in human development that shifted how societies interacted with others and understood themselves. Ancient Greece and Han China between the fifth and second century BCE produced some of earliest major historiographical works in Eurasia by Herodotus and Sima Qian, thus it is significant for the study to examine how ancient societies bordered their worlds through recorded descriptions of historical events and ethnographic descriptions. Although there is a large span of time between the first two time periods, the eighteenth century demonstrated a pinnacle in intellectual writings about politics, economics, philosophy, and exploration towards the end of the mechanical age in which Europeans explored further into previously undiscovered and unrecorded areas. Moving on to the early twentieth century, the electromagnetic age marked the intersection between major parts of the world that were globalizing together and parts struggling to catch up. Therefore, it is important for the study to focus on the period of the early twentieth century during the

electromagnetic age where major powers such as the United States stepped further onto the global stage as both an economic and political power. Together, the three time periods present the opportunity to engage in comparative analysis coupled with interdisciplinary theories to demonstrate the function, reasons and ways societies construct boundaries to understand their world.

The focus of the project seeks to discover whether bordering, boundaries and, boundary maintenance function idiosyncratically or analogously across time, space and cultures within the framework of five major inquiries. First, it is important to ask how societies use previous articulations of boundaries to reflect their understanding of the world and relationships with neighboring communities which would express the flow of knowledge between geographic regions and time. The flow of geographic knowledge requires a destination which raises the question of how consistent and accurate boundaries are in projecting the center of societies. Furthermore, if boundaries express their centers towards other communities, does bordering always function to preserve a society's identity, or does the function of boundaries change across space and time? Relationships with other societies are shaped while boundaries project the center; therefore, it is important to inquire how bordering and boundaries express and maintain discursive or enacted qualities? Finally, it is important to ask whether the boundaries constructed by societies are monologic, i.e. created with terrestrial landscape and mythical elements, or dialogic, i.e. expressed mutually between multiple societies. These questions shape the analysis framework for the sources and theories, thereby providing the opportunity to triangulate a set of ideas that demonstrate how boundaries and bordering can be used as reliable aspects of historical analysis.

The thesis consists of four central chapters representing separate studies, but together the four chapters comparatively presents a historical image of boundaries and bordering. While I briefly introduce the scholarship and theories used throughout the project, chapter one provides more in-depth discussion about the premises and arguments, and how the theories will be applied in subsequent chapters. Chapters two through four will engage in a close reading of the primary sources to provide a comprehensive analysis of writers and their respective society perceived and portrayed geographical knowledge, peripheries, and proximity. Additionally, chapters two through four is characterized by a different time period and geographical location. Chapter two is a comparative study in Ancient History between the works of Herodotus from Ancient Greece and Sima Qian from Han China. Chapter three examines the eighteenth century European writings of Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Mungo Park, and Johann Forster. Chapter four examines Fredrick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis and the Great White Fleet during the twentieth century. Throughout each case study, the writings will be closely read and analyzed to reveal how each author and their society constructed boundaries by bordering to partition their world and make meaning from it that characterizes their identities, history, culture, and ways of understanding their world.

Based on reading contemporary scholarship about boundaries and bordering, the component of boundaries, geographical knowledge, peripheries, and proximity could be used as tests in two primary ways to demonstrate whether they hold consistently for analyzing boundaries and bordering across time and space. The theories will be applied individually and then examined together as a set which through triangulation could prove more effective as a tool for analyzing borders when studying societies. While it is understandable that some readers may be critical of the selected theories and scholars, going beyond the selection would exceed the

current project's scope. However, such limitation opens up the opportunities for future studies. Thus, the project is limited to three theories, each representing one of the core components that make up characteristics of boundaries and bordering. Denis Cosgrove's book, *Geography and Vision* discusses the construction of geographical knowledge in a collection of essays about dynamic definitions of geographic landscape and vision from different points in time. Theories pertaining to the periphery and development were studied by Etienne Balibar and Erin M. Williams who examined the interactions of European states dispersing towards peripheral zones which preserves the center rather than limit it by promoting the construction of identity and citizenship through in overlapping peripheral zones. Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas conducted a multidisciplinary study about proximity that demonstrated interactions between "actors or units or states" within a measureable distance were impacted by their stage of development which ultimately impacts a society's willingness to interact with others.

The basic structure of each case study chapter begins with closely reading and examining the sources in order to clearly understand how each society constructed and perceived boundaries and bordering. Following the source analysis, the next step is to test the theories and determine how well each theory holds true and then the theories would be tested together as a set to determine how well triangulating the theories hold true. For instance, Cosgrove's theories about the construction of geographical knowledge would be tested by determining whether ancient societies constructed geographical knowledge in a similar manner. Furthermore, the analysis and test would have to determine whether the source and theories are applicable based on the initial close reading of primary sources. Applicability of theories is defined by whether the primary sources present enough evidence about geographical knowledge, periphery, and proximity to be supported by the respective theory. Qualities of institutions such as politics, economics,

technology, and even religion would be taken into consideration during the close reading of sources. Ancient societies differ greatly from modern European nations, but may share similar characteristics found in their social functions and interactions with other societies at the periphery; therefore, the source analysis would also be used to determine theoretical applicability. While this method does not guarantee the successful applicability of modern theories in all cases, it would reveal possible limitations of current theories about how societies construct boundaries and their intended functions for bordering. Upon the conclusion of all three case studies, modern scholarship and theories may have proved inadequate to use as a constant for analyzing boundaries and bordering across different time periods and geographies which opens the opportunity for suggesting new theories more applicable for examining boundaries across different studies.

1.2   Sources

One of the goals of the thesis is to examine closely the works of thinkers and writers from three periods to clarify the ways, perspectives, and reasons societies understood their world through bordering. The cases were chosen based on historical segmentation of time and development in human society rather than geographical area to reflect upon how stages of development may alter the way that humans experience the world, and thus construct boundaries. Geographical location was the secondary consideration of each case study.

The *Histories* written by Herodotus during the 5th century BCE in Ancient Greece and the *Shiji* or *Records of the Grand Historian* written by Sima Qian throughout the 2nd century BCE in Han China are two of the earliest historiographies concerned with recording and preserving events in human history. While there are other works from ancient Greece such as Strabo's *Geography* that could arguably be more accurate, Herodotus' work was significant in that it

included accounts that were imaginative during the 5th century which reveal more about how Ancient Greeks perceived their world and neighbors. The *Shiji* was one of the first and few major pieces of recorded Chinese history commissioned by the Han emperor for the purpose of preserving history and political control.

Despite being three centuries apart, the *Histories* and *Shiji* promote a comparative examination about two ancient societies loosely connected by distant trading posts across Eurasia. Furthermore, the comparative analysis will form the foundation for subsequent chapters and studies about how later societies might use previous articulations of boundaries to reflect their current understanding of the world and relationships with neighboring communities. The boundaries of Ancient Greece and Han China were dynamically changed during the bordering process, thus, the chapter seeks to examine how accurate each society's center was projected during the process. While the identities of Greece and China are projected through bordering, the close reading reveals whether their identities were preserved. The preservation of identities is significant in that the two historiographies would reveal if ancient boundaries had similar or different functions from boundaries constructed at a later time. Additionally, boundaries may combine discursive, enacted, monologic, and dialogic attributes that might be determined in similarly or different ways between ancient and later periods. Combining the findings from the close reading in ancient historiography would shape a more complete understanding about the function and role of boundaries and bordering for ancient societies.

Following the study in ancient historiography, the second case focuses on the eighteenth century which was a pivotal point in the development of modern disciplines such as political science, philosophy, and science that were used to extend European nations beyond their center. Writers and thinkers such as Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were engaged in a variety

of philosophical writings, but for the purpose of a diverse and interdisciplinary analysis, the current study chose to focus on their political writings which reflect the relationships between societies and governments. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws* was concerned with government's limits and expansion while promoting the rights of the ruled and regulation on the ruler. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762) and *Considerations on the Government of Poland* (1771) were focused on the formation of government between people and subsequent construction of nations. Together the two philosophers and their works contribute ideas about how societies construct their internal identity and external boundaries with various functions aimed at foreign relations and preserving identities.

Meanwhile, explorers such as Mungo Park continued to push the limits of discovery. Mungo Park was one of many to explore Europe's periphery by relying on the improvements in the natural sciences and philosophy to record his journey into the interior of Africa in 1794. Park's journey was published as *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* in 1799 shortly after his return to London. The account is significant for the study of boundaries and bordering because it expresses European ideas and perspectives about identity, civilization, and barbarism: in other words, differences erected through bordering and boundaries between Europeans and non-Europeans. However, not everyone who embarked on travel was an explorer, Johann Reinhold Forster accompanied James Cook on his second voyage (1772-1775) to the South Sea Isles, modern-day French Polynesia, was a naturalist and scientific observer. Forster's *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World* (1778) remained true to his background as a scientist, and presented observations and descriptions with a more standardized style resembling the improvements in scientific standards of the past century. Thus, Forster's account is noteworthy for providing descriptions that adopted the terms of philosophy, botany, and

science to establish a sense of proximity between Europeans and non-Europeans. When Forster's and Park's accounts of their journeys are considered together, the European perspective about others become a catalyst for the formation of boundaries.

The focus of the thesis concludes with the electromechanical age in the early twentieth century which was a period of rapid technological improvements towards the efficiency of transmitted information and transportation. Simultaneously, distinctions in spaces become more blurred as physical boundaries and proximity decreased. Fredrick Jackson Turner's "The Frontier Thesis" (1893) reflected the beginning of the call for American nationhood at the turn of the century. The thesis shaped American identity with ideas about nativism and exceptionalism in response to the closing of the American West and increased waves of new European immigrants. While Turner's work was not technically in the twentieth century, his ideas carried over for several decades by influencing American identity. The early twentieth century witnessed the United States' emergence as a major power when President Roosevelt deployed the Great White Fleet to visit ports around the world. Displaying both military might and American identity, ships and sailors traveled the world redefining American boundaries.

1.3   Outcomes

Although the thesis presents a small set of theories and time periods used, the methodology of triangulating a set theories in historical analysis demonstrates a more effective approach to historical research. Additionally, standardizing components and definitions from similar theories regardless of field illustrates the possibility of the method being used as an analytical tool that supplements more traditional research approaches. The culmination of research conducted in this thesis presents an interdisciplinary study of recorded sources that demonstrate humans throughout history have used bordering and boundaries actively to partition

their world into manageable and comprehendible sectors. While historians constantly examine relations between peoples, applying a bordering analysis to their study presents an additional cosmopolitan perspective about how societies constructed geographical knowledge in relation to their proximity and peripheries to shape relationships with each other and the earth.

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

One of the major components of the thesis relies on the use of theories about the construction of geographical knowledge, proximity between societies, and the periphery of communities. Denis Cosgrove, a leading scholar of geography, was a pioneer of studies about the construction of geographical knowledge that is the foundation of the three components of boundaries. Cosgrove's *Geography and Vision* discusses extensively the production, perspective, and functions of geographic knowledge leading to visionary order of the world throughout historical spaces, and therefore his ideas serve as the first component of boundaries and bordering. Compounding Cosgrove's discussion is Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas's study about proximity between actors from a political science perspective. Etienne Balibar, a French philosopher, and Erin M. Williams published a joint study about peripheries as extensions of their communities, which contributes the final component of the bordering process. By selecting theories that mirror the three components of boundaries and bordering, the study is set up to test their applicability across various case studies. The test follows a historical analysis of written sources from the three case studies to discover whether contemporary ideas about boundary construction, functions, and perceptions are applicable across a variety of periods, peoples, and situations or would contemporary theories need to be revised to accommodate historical studies in a variety of time periods. While it is not feasible to construct a universal framework that encompasses every condition and time period in the study of history, I argue that it is more realistic to use several theories together to triangulate an analysis of boundaries. The primary purpose of this chapter is to outline and closely examine each of the theories relevant to this study.

2.1   Geographical Knowledge and Order

Geography and Vision by Denis Cosgrove comprises of three sections regarding

relationships between visual and cognitive production of geographic knowledge. The first section

concerns the "historical role of images and imagination within geography" to create order and

the implications of cosmography from ancient history up till the collapse of cosmography that

resulted from geographical discovery in the seventeenth century.[1] The second focus of the book

discusses the "reciprocal relations between cartography and geographical vision," which is a

product of the nineteenth century, and the "active and creative role" of mapping in "shaping and

representing geographical imagination."[2] The final sections of the book concentrate on the

metageographical aspect of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically

with American perceptions of the Pacific related to shaping "American cultural and geographical

vision" of nationhood and America's global role. More generally, Cosgrove wished to discover

the "myriad ways in which the vast and varied earth known to humans, in whole or in part, and at

times in extension to spaces beyond the earth's surface, has been imagined and represented as a

place of human habitations, care and desire, and to do so through the medium of graphic

images."[3] Graphic images are a loose categorical combination of "maps, sketches, paintings, and

photographs" that "encompasses some written description" communicating "eyewitness

knowledge and interpretation of geographical realties," and "conveying the forms and ideas" of

imagined geographies.[4]

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[1] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision : Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World.*, International Library
of Human Geography: V. 12 (London ; New York : I.B. Tauris ; New York : In the United States of America and
Canada distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, 2008., 2008), 10.
[2] Cosgrove, 10.
[3] Cosgrove, 3.
[4] Cosgrove, 3.

According to Cosgrove, geographical inscriptions are "simultaneously material and imaginative, shaping landscapes out of the physical earth according to human intentions."[5] Written or pictorial geographical representation demonstrates the process of inscribing the human experience in occupied environments. Pushing further from inscribing the landscape as images, Cosgrove asserts that cultural geographers carefully read and interpret inscriptions, thereby accomplishing "humanity's goals of knowing the world and understanding ourselves."[6] By understanding ourselves through examination, vision is "more than optics and perception" and becomes the reworking of how people "experience the world through imagination's creation of images."[7] However, while *geographical vision* concerns space, Cosgrove theorizes that *geographical space* "exists in historical time, involving contingent relations between an active observer and the field of observation."[8] Psalm 19 from the Book of Psalms links vision to God's "order, his handiwork within geographical space", which can be observed by cosmographers such as Simon Girault, who illustrated psalm 19 as a machine.[9] However, heavenly order reaches as far back as the Ancient Greek idea of different temperate zones that order the earth surrounded by apeiron. Thus, Cosgrove theorizes that through cosmographic vision, the "world provides visual evidence of consistent order and design" that is historically a product of "human experience of chance, contingency and unpredictability."[10] Complementing cosmographic vision of human experience, chorographic vision captures the characteristics of landscape without concern for scales and measurements. Contrasting chorographic vision's divergence from precise mathematical measurements, modernists' vision of geographic order applies technology and

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[5] Cosgrove, 15.
[6] Cosgrove, 15.
[7] Cosgrove, 15.
[8] Cosgrove, 15.
[9] Cosgrove, 15.
[10] Cosgrove, 16.

science to "recapture the "natural order without abandoning" human progress such as harnessing rivers for hydroelectricity. [11] The modern landscape architect recreates order based on scientific potential and rationality in nature.

Considering the case of sources like the *Histories* and *Shiji*, neither sources are pictorial or geographical in nature, rather they are records of events and observations of landscapes and people. Therefore, these texts challenge Cosgrove's theories about the construction of order and geographical knowledge by offering cases of cosmographic order outside of geographic writing. The two historiographical works are more prominent in descriptions of lands and people, which Cosgrove defines together as geography and vision. Cosgrove asserts that ancient sources approached order through a cosmographic lens; however, it is not clear whether order equates to boundaries for ancient societies. Furthermore, do cosmographic boundaries generate different types of boundaries, and if so what function would cosmographic boundaries have for ancient societies when compared to more terrestrial bordering? Similar questions are also raised for the *Shiji*, which expresses more cosmographic cases of bordering between the Han dynasty and the mythic realm. Furthermore, Chinese traditions of relationships in Confucian teachings disperse through cosmographic bordering; therefore, by examining source examples using Cosgrove's assertion that vision reworks geographical space, it would be possible to determine whether his assertions are applicable. Additional questions about Chinese terrestrial and cosmographic boundaries emerge about whether the bordering methods demonstrate similar functions as those from Ancient Greece, or would the function and construction of boundaries change? Also, did ancient cosmography serve to preserve an identity, or define the differences between societies, or was it an internal tool for ancient societies to understand the world, as Cosgrove suggest? Such

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[11] Cosgrove, 29.

questions foreshadow some limits of Cosgrove's theories about ancient geographic knowledge beyond pictorial and geographic sources to ones that are written and fall under his categories of graphic images.

Cosgrove suggests that the ideas of cosmographic order and vision for constructing dimensions of geographic knowledge collapsed when empirical explorations dominated. However, Cosgrove skips over the eighteenth century in his book, thus leaving questions about what sort of vision and order existed other than scientific order. By using sources different from geographic writing again, Cosgrove's ideas about the collapse of cosmographic vision prior to the eighteenth century can be challenged and transformed to adopt aspects of it that explains the transition of order at the turn of the eighteenth century. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* challenges the current political space and order, but does political space impact geographical space and order? The eighteenth century was also a time of intellectual development in different fields of study such as mathematics, science, and politics. Therefore, focusing only on sources of geographic writing would not challenge Cosgrove's idea that vision comes from examining the self. *The Spirit of the Laws* and *The Social Contract* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau are two sources used in chapter four as examples of self-examination in relation to the rights of people and their relationship with ruling governments. Thus, instead of traditional geographic boundaries, political philosophy of the eighteenth century would provide the opportunity to examine internal order within a society.

Cosgrove shifts the discussion from cosmographic geography towards the collapse of cosmographic geography between the Renaissance and seventeenth century. The advancement in mathematics and science, which complemented explorations of the undiscovered world, also created new artistic concepts such as the garden. The garden from Thomas More's "imaginary

island of Utopia" contains "geometrically planned towns" at the heart of territory with "perfectly arranged landscape for a perfectly ordered body of politic."[12] Cosgrove theorizes that the garden was a "trope for Europeans' imaginative domestication of a new, global spatiality" characterized by "disruption of previous ethnographic and conceptual boundaries."[13] Cosgrove does not state explicitly what the previous boundaries were like other than using the gardening trope to suggest that gardening is the process of ordering between "wild and cultivated."[14] The gardening metaphor also applied to the human body and was evident most dramatically in discussion of medicine and disease. Boundaries between the wild (syphilis) and civilization (body) could be impacted from either sides. Unlike the Ganges and Indus, where boundaries could be eventually crossed by Europeans, syphilis was a wilderness that could infest cultivated European society suggesting that civilization was not impenetrable to outside – even wild – threats. While the gardening metaphor used by Cosgrove may be explicitly applied in the thesis, it promotes critical analysis about how Europeans at specific times may understand their world through experiences in relation to the body or terrestrial earth.

Gardening also expressed that Europeans have never seen "transoceanic lands and dissected bodies" "with their own eyes," instead "they were made known through the imagination found in literature and artistic renderings."[15] Despite such second hand accounts, the "landscapes did have real geographical referents."[16] Thus, geographic mapping played an essential role in realizing the imagination and inscription of human experiences into relationships between societies to shape boundaries. Diverting away from the traditional sense of mapping,

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[12] Cosgrove, 53.
[13] Cosgrove, 53.
[14] Cosgrove, 53.
[15] Cosgrove, 61.
[16] Cosgrove, 62.

mapping the imaginary such as Arcadia or the furthest reaches of the earth suggests that mapping is more metaphorical by drawing on connections between cartography and imagination. Cosgrove expands his definitions of mapping by connecting mapping with art to assert that mapping is an "active engagement that seeks to give form and meaning to an elusive and largely imaginary space."[17] Using the imaginary place, Arcadia, Cosgrove suggests that "poetic landscapes" can be mapped into actual geographies as cognitive mapping such as the accounts made about the indigenous people of Montreal by Jacques Cartier.[18] Imaginary spaces such as Arcadia reveal more about cultural geography and human experiences by reflecting "a complex geography of memory and desire."[19] While Arcadia might have existed and been inhabited, it remains elusive as an imaginary space that will not be mapped; therefore, imaginary space occupies the imagination of those that inscribe it into temporal locations instead of physical spaces.

While Arcadia might be imaginary, the wilderness existed in the realities of people. Cosgrove cites a world map drawn by Dra Mauro in 1459 that revealed the earth a single landmass of three continents. "This was the *oikoumene*," the ancient Greek concept of climatic zones ordering habitable land surrounded by the Ocean Sea, and beyond it lies the spaces of "monsters and marvels" such as those dating back to evidence found in ancient historiography by Herodotus.[20] Such spaces were home to mystical creatures or hybrid beings that guarded treasures and riches at the ends of the earth. Cosgrove asserts that in both "classical and biblical traditions," the city was the center and peak of territorial development with humans as its

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[17] Cosgrove, 68.
[18] Cosgrove, 69.
[19] Cosgrove, 70.
[20] Cosgrove, 103.

cultivators.[21] The lands beyond the known, cultivated, and civilized towns were unknown; however, the unknown was also what characterized the known world. Thus, geographical discourse of the wilderness beyond the *oikoumene* was formulated dialectically" from imaginative history and geographies.[22] By only relying on Greek or western ideas of worldly ordering, Cosgrove's ideas lack details about how societies such as the Han Chinese perceive the wilderness and civilization, or the order of their world. Deriving his analysis from Greek sources perhaps limits Cosgrove's theory of cognitive geography and mapping the imaginary to the Western context; closely applying Cosgrove's western ideas of worldly organization to Sima Qian's *Shiji* would express how the ancient Chinese bordered and perceived their world.

As territory expanded and empires shifted to nationhood, the geography and identity of Europe constantly was reshaped "into competing nation states."[23] Cosgrove refers to Kent's "garden of England" to express a gentle heartland while its margins are wild with "half-savage Celts, Scotch and Irish."[24] The marginal lands of ancient Britons are the locations of Britain's national parks, "areas of upland wilderness to be preserved for the nation."[25] From the unification of Germany to World War I, a flood of nationalism and self-awareness washed over Europe, replacing previous origin myths oriented around "Mediterranean heroes such as Aeneas or Brutus."[26] Instead, Europeans turned to expressions of revival and recovery of folk "customs, traditions and costumes" as the "innocent" aspect of nationalism while the darker side was expressed in the scramble for Africa which was the last "childlike/savage wilderness to be brought into the light of civilization" in the eyes of Europeans.[27]

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[21] Cosgrove, 105.
[22] Cosgrove, 106.
[23] Cosgrove, 109.
[24] Cosgrove, 109.
[25] Cosgrove, 109.
[26] Cosgrove, 111.
[27] Cosgrove, 111.

Contrasting with political writing during the eighteenth century are travel narratives published by Mungo Park and Johann Forster. Park's adventure into the interior of Africa follows observations from an outside perspective, similar to that of Herodotus and Sima Qian. However, unlike observatory writings from ancient history, Park and Forster engage in examining themselves and the world around them with psychological complexities of identity and nationhood. While Forster was a trained botanist on an exploration with James Cook, his scientific manner complicates Cosgrove's theory about vision from ocular registration of the earth and people to inscribing observations of societies in a scientific manner. Therefore, Forster's observations reveal a scientific ordering of identity that demonstrates a European transformation of cognitive boundaries and order of their world.

The United States was having an identity crisis while European perspectives shifted towards nationalism during the late nineteenth century. Americans established a continental empire that competed with Great Britain, France, and Germany in industrial manufacturing at the end of the Civil War; however, American identity was further complicated when immigration increased by approximately 1.29 million between 1890 and 1914.[28] Fredrick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" used wilderness as a catalyst to shape American identity and ideas of the frontier by suggesting that "European sophistication was stripped away" and "replaced by a healthy young democracy" which promoted the idea of "continuous origin.[29] However, Turner's essay alone was not enough to shape American identity; it was the acknowledgement of the "closing of the frontier in the minds of many Americans" during the 1890s. American nativism took root at the turn of the twentieth century and pressured the Dillingham Commission to shape immigration under a new movement to preserve "racial

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[28] Cosgrove, 111.
[29] Cosgrove, 112.

purity as the foundation of American national greatness."[30] Preserving the wilderness which Europeans once thought as destructive to civilization became the "gene-bank of America's national childhood—wild, innocent and free."[31]

The Pacific Ocean in the early twentieth century emerged as a "single geographic space" found in a geopolitical competition between imperial powers.[32] Transforming the perspectives about the Pacific arrived in stages because of its continuous expanse. Navigators such as "Cook, Bougainville and La Perouse" provided a gradual mapping of the Pacific through islands, but scale of the Pacific, "homogeneity of its oceanic space," and "time/space implications" that defined East and West dominated understanding the pacific between 1850 and 1945.[33] American whaling in the mid-1800s shifted the perspective from "linear expeditions" to territorial ownership, and Mathew Fontaine Maury's production of the "first wind and current chart of the Pacific" promoted American expeditions of the Pacific such as Commodore Perry's Japanese expedition (1852-5) while commercial whaling declined.[34] Fredrick Jackson Turner's 1892 paper further concerned western Americans who needed to reaffirm the frontier and expand outwards. "[S]eizure of the Philippines, Guam and Wake Islands in 1898" propelled American understanding of the frontier to construct a "political history of human kind" with the distribution of geographic elements such as the "lands, seas, climates natural resources and populations" in the Pacific.[35]

American geopolitical identity and position in the Pacific was less developed than its relationship with Europe. Following Turner's concern about the closing of American frontiers

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[30] Cosgrove, 113.
[31] Cosgrove, 113.
[32] Cosgrove, 185.
[33] Cosgrove, 186.
[34] Cosgrove, 187.
[35] Cosgrove, 187–88.

and the loss of identity as a result, the Pacific Ocean became the geographical space needed for Americans to cultivate a new wilderness. Analyzing Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet provided a military option as a solution for representing and expressing American identity across the Pacific and the world. If the western American frontier is the wild garden cultivated by Americans during westward expansion, then the Pacific Ocean is the revived wilderness of the early twentieth century that was cultivated by President Roosevelt's naval fleet. Thus, whether in agreement with Turner or as an expression of might directed at Asian countries west of California, the Great White Fleet's expedition across the Pacific, through the equator and Europe, reflected the complexities of reimaging America on the global stage.

While the Pacific provided an extension of the American frontier, the equator that divides the northern and southern hemisphere produced a different cosmographic vision of order. According to Cosgrove, the equator has many "geographies: mathematical, physical, cultural, [and] historical."[36] In the classical literatures of the Greeks and Romans, the equator evenly mirrored and mapped the northern hemisphere to the southern hemisphere to define a balance. In mathematics and astronomy, the equator bulges out the earth at the center to prevent widespread flooding. The equator refers to "elements of fire, water, and air" that characterize the zones around equator.[37] Classical literature divided the earth evenly into five climatic zones that deemed the equator uninhabitable, because it was closest to the Sun.[38] Such cosmographic order continued until the seventeenth century and further challenged by nineteenth-century isotherm measurements. Four-fifths of the equatorial currents that flow through the ocean are believed to be the center of life. Larger sea-creatures such as the leviathan whale and giant sea turtles were

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[36] Cosgrove, 203.
[37] Cosgrove, 205.
[38] Cosgrove, 205.

discovered within these regions.[39] The air above the equator fluctuates between war, low

pressure air and massive storms, causing devastation.[40] The equator appeals to the imagination,

the geographer desires to "see" and visit the non-existent location which when mapped structures

societies at the turn of the twentieth century. Intersecting both physical and imaginative

geography, the equator expresses the dialogue between "physical observation and graphic

representation, between the field and the laboratory, [and] studio or classroom" The equator

constantly inscribes in physical and cognitive maps, through diverse landscapes and zones that

characterize the active process of geographically ordering discoveries and knowledge.

2.2   Periphery

The spatial configuration of people and communities in the form of dynasties, empires, or

nations often leads them to imagine themselves as the center while marginalizing other societies

as a result of foreign or terrestrial landscapes. While some actors remain on the periphery of

others, many communities may band together, meshing boundaries to lessen their peripheral

status. In the case of European unification, Etienne Balibar and Erin M. Williams studied the

boundaries of Europe and Greece as the peripheral focus. They hypothesized that the term

border is "profoundly changing in meaning" and function.[41] The "[boundaries] of new politico-

economic entities" that were previously meant to "preserve the functions of the sovereignty of

the state" are no longer found in the outer limits, instead the boundaries are "dispersed a little

everywhere, wherever the movement of information, people, and things is happening and is

controlled."[42] Since the functions of boundaries are dispersed, Balibar and Williams assert that

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[39] Cosgrove, 206–7.
[40] Cosgrove, 207.
[41] Etienne Balibar and Erin M. Williams, "World Borders, Political Borders," *PMLA* 117, no. 1 (2002): 71.
[42] Balibar and Williams, 71.

peripheral zones are where "secular and religious cultures that confront each other." This results in "the differences in economic prosperity" becoming more defined and more strained, thus shaping the "formation of a people (*demos*)," which in turn becomes the core of citizenship (*poletia*).[43] Therefore, "border areas- zones, countries, and cities-are not marginal to the constitution of a public sphere but rather are at the center."[44] For Balibar and Williams, the most significant function of bordering is shifting attention to the periphery, a more representative center of a community.

Rethinking the center of societies reflects how the periphery expresses that the center is also differently characterized by the periphery. The center reflects two paths: it is the "concentration of power, the localization of virtual or real governing authorities" or the site where "a people is constituted through the creation of civic consciousness."[45] Balibar and Williams cite the "aftermath of the war in Kosovo, the Balkans, or Yugoslavia" to demonstrate that the difference in names and perspectives "for the war that just took place is an unequivocal sign" that the concept of European unification hinges on "modes of *inclusion and exclusion* in the European sphere, as public sphere."[46] Thus, the Balkans to some present an impasse to European unification, while it is overlooked by others who consider the Balkans as excluded from Europe. The concepts of interiority and exteriority form "the basic representation of the border" experiencing "a veritable earthquake" when considering the peripheral zones.[47] Balibar and Williams argue that the studies of European history "are dealing with triple points or mobile overlapping zones of contradictory civilizations rather than with the juxtapositions of monolithic

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[43] Balibar and Williams, 72.
[44] Balibar and Williams, 72.
[45] Balibar and Williams, 72.
[46] Balibar and Williams, 72.
[47] Balibar and Williams, 74.

entities."[48] Therefore, when examining a public sphere such as Europe, there is a multiplicity of "religious, cultural, linguistics, and political affiliations with the rest of the world."[49] Thus, identity and boundaries are byproducts of overlapping peripheries, rather than concentrated centers.

As to ancient sources such as the *Histories* and *Shiji*, which originate from major civilizations in the ancient world, their peripheries are subjected to perspectival distortions. Thus, by positing Balibar and William's assertions about the center of societies, evidence from Herodotus and Sima Qian would suggest that the centers of ancient Greeks and Chinese were more concentrated in foreign relations with a mixed combination of landscape and people. Furthermore, both sources demonstrate a mythical component of geography, which extends beyond reality. While Balibar and Williams did not consider their hypothesis in relation to ancient history, based on close reading of sources the *Histories* and *Shiji* might express a preservation of their society's centers through a mixture of cosmographic and territorial bordering.

Turning to the concept of citizenship and political boundaries, Balibar and Williams remind their audience that "sovereignty is historically bound up with the questions of [boundaries]" and that the name Europe was a product of the confrontation between the "hegemonic conception, represented by the French monarchy, and the republican conception" represented by the sense of "formal equality between states", which was "embodied by the coalition put in place by the English and Dutch."[50] The replacement of *Christendom* with *Europe* was a way of creating political boundaries to "divide up the earth; thus, it was a way at once to

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[48] Balibar and Williams, 74.
[49] Balibar and Williams, 74.
[50] Balibar and Williams, 74–75.

organize the world's exploitation and to export" the periphery using characterizations of exclusions and inclusions. Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings during the eighteenth century concerned rights, equality, but most importantly the relationship that people have with governing authorities. While Balibar and Williams's ideas concern political boundaries of modern Europe, their assertion that political boundaries divide the earth for the sake of order carries over to Rousseau's call for ordered social collectivity against corrupted authority. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* contrasts with Rousseau by turning the attention to actions of governing bodies, what Balibar and Williams define as the first conception of the center. Neither writer was concerned with terrestrial peripheries, but both writers reexamine internal centers of European authorities and suggest an intellectual periphery in the eighteenth century: the justification and equality of governing authority and its citizens.

The conclusion to Balibar and William's study of political boundaries shifts focus to the "evolution of people" which is a process of confrontation between "cultures, languages, [and] genealogies."[51] The process is defined as a "reciprocal interaction" between "*ethnos*, the "people" as an imagined community of membership" and "*demos*, the "people" as the collective subject of representation, decision making, and rights."[52] Balibar and Williams's theory of interiorized boundaries applies to the political philosophy of Montesquieu and Rousseau as well as accounts of expeditions by Johann Forster and Mungo Park by asserting that "individuals represent their place in the world by tracing in their imaginations impenetrable [boundaries] between groups to which they belong or by subjectively appropriating [boundaries] assigned to them from on high, peacefully or otherwise."[53] In the case of travel accounts, the peripheral

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[51] Balibar and Williams, 76.
[52] Balibar and Williams, 76.
[53] Balibar and Williams, 76.

boundaries are imagined by both the explorer and the audience. The dispersal of information in the form of published accounts further expands the boundaries of identity at the periphery of discoveries, which further preserves identity.

2.3   Proximity

We turn now to Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas's study of conflict relations between contiguous actors. Specifically, the study moves beyond a "dichotomous view of contiguous land [boundaries]" and focuses on how [boundaries] operationalize proximity or distance". [54] The study conducted by Starr and Thomas asserts that international politics is dependent on "[h]ow far or close-how proximate-actors or units or states are to one any other." Their research follows an "opportunity and willingness" framework which suggests that societies that are closer together have a greater chance to interact.[55] According to Starr and Thomas, political nations or units are "spatial arrangements of units" indicated by dynamic distance.[56] Since distance is dynamic, the authors suggest that the movement and communication of information throughout varying stages of technology impact the dispersal of people towards the periphery of territory. Territory serve to encourage national identity and the accumulation of economic resources that drive the willingness between groups to interact. Starr and Thomas's framework and theory about proximity raises the questions about whether their claims can be applied to societies across space and time to help understand whether the qualities of bordering are consistent.

Starr and Harvey quantitatively measure proximity by considering it as a categorical and binary to create dummy variables that allow them to test the hypothesis suggested by Vasquez and Lemke, and Deutch in Table 1. Vasquez and Lemke, and Deutch are scholars of international

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[54] Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas, "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2005): 123.
[55] Starr and Thomas, 124.
[56] Starr and Thomas, 125.

conflict selected within Starr and Harvey's study to test their hypothesis. Starr and Harvey argue that there exists an underlying utility and cost curve as shown in Figure 1. The curve for Vasquez's hypothesis suggests that "as the ease of interaction increases (opportunity), the costs of projecting a state's power across a border decreases" which decreases the cost of violent conflict. Vasquez's hypothesis suggest that "the value of highly salient border areas makes an actor's marginal cost of escalating conflict" (willingness) "much lower when such territory is threatened.," while "low border salience increases an actor's marginal costs of violent conflict."[57] The intersection of the cost curves indicate "the region with the lowest cost for a militarized interstate dispute" which Starr and Thomas suggest that both Vasquez and Deutchian theories are "independently incomplete."[58] Therefore, Starr and Thomas suggest that the relationship is concave, which means that the "lowest levels of opportunity and border region salience should correspond to proportionally low" conflict while "middle range of opportunity and salience should have proportionally the highest incidences of conflict."[59] Most importantly, the historical arguments for each case would express the curves as dynamically shifting over time depending on the historical context. Thus, the process and functions of bordering would maintain its flexible and dynamic nature through different historical arguments.

Table 1 Border Dispute Hypotheses

Vazsuez/Lemke	Deutch
The easier a border is to cross, the greater the likelihood that the border will be a dispute border	The easier a border is to cross, the less likelihood that border will be a dispute border.
The more salient a border is, the greater the likelihood that the border will be a dispute border	The more salient a border is, the less likelihood that the border will be a dispute border

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[57] Starr and Thomas, 127.
[58] Starr and Thomas, 127.
[59] Starr and Thomas, 128.

High

Ease of
Interaction
and
Salience

——— Vasquez Hypotheses

- - - - Deutsch Hypotheses

Low   High
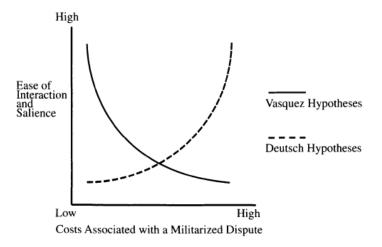
Costs Associated with a Militarized Dispute

Figure 1 Possibility of Conflict

Returning to the opportunity and willingness framework, *opportunity* was derived from Starr and Thomas' examination of three factors, "the existence of roads, railroads, and the steepness of terrain."[60] Willingness is "represented by the salience dimension of [boundaries]" which questions the value of territory in a boundary zone. Since willingness is dependent on the salience variable, salience is defined as the "importance of a border area", which is "determined by places of population concentration" such as "capitals, airports, and cultural centers.[61] Using a combination of maps of highly populated centers, Starr and Thomas assign a value 1 to 4 based on the other features nearby in a 4km range. The four value scale assigns four with the greatest salience, and one with the least amount of salience. The scale allows the study to quantitatively calculate the saliences of a specific location using an overlay map that matches population data to conclude that higher concentration of people within an area generate higher salience and possibly conflict.

Harvey and Starr draw several major conclusions about conflict along boundary zones based on proximity. First, the study determines that "governments appear less likely to act/react

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[60] Starr and Thomas, 128.
[61] Starr and Thomas, 129.

in a conflictual manner" over areas of low salience. On the contrary, "high border salience makes

dispute escalation to military conflict unlikely." The higher the salience, the less likelihood of a

military dispute occurring because "governments rely on other means of resolving disputes."

Finally, as boundary "interactions become easier, transactions flows" increase, forming a

community along the boundary.[62]

Proximity exists as a category of analysis in many studies, but the challenge that Starr

and Thomas overcame in theirs was the need to quantify aspects of proximity using data sets,

maps, and statistical theories. While their hypotheses and conclusions were well supported by the

statistical analysis and examination, the scope of their study limited the type of historical studies

to modern nations. Thus, it was uncertain whether their theories will be applicable to pre-modern

societies relying only on written sources. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, instead of

applying similar quantitative methods, their conclusions and assertions about salience and

conflicts will be used instead.

The most challenging case for applying Starr and Thomas's theories would be in ancient

history for the *Histories* and *Shiji*, which often measure distances inaccurately and inconsistently.

However, since Starr and Thomas conduct their study using the opportunity and willingness

framework, it would be possible to qualitatively test their ideas by examining the descriptions

about the centers of communities described by Herodotus and Sima Qian. While such

descriptions contain Greek or Chinese bias, they reveal the function of proximity in shaping

boundaries with respect to how their society approached relations with nearby neighbors.

Moving forward to examining sources of the eighteenth century, the conclusions and

theories suggested in Starr and Thomas' theory will be split into two approaches. One approach

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[62] Starr and Thomas, 136.

would examine an internal proximity between the governing authorities and the people from political philosophy written by Montesquieu and Rousseau. The second approach would resemble international relations by examining how travel accounts construct both geographic and cognitive proximity in the minds of Europeans. Both approaches intersect with the common theme of shaping boundaries with functions to create and preserve identity of a nation and people. The statistical analysis was inclusive, which leads to the call for a more literary analysis of sources, especially those that are pre-modern.

How proximity applies to the early twentieth century continues to raise more questions. In the case of Fredrick Jackson Tuner's essay about the closing of the frontier in America, how would proximity be internalized in the minds of people within a contiguous land mass that grappled with shaping an identity among a diverse group of citizens? Harvey and Starr were not clear in their study about the nations or societies involved in their study; thus, it would be challenging to compare both cases regarding population diversity and proximity; however, using their conclusions about salience level, it would be possible to examine the territory in which Jackson writes about in relation to forming an American identity. The Great White Fleet, while not a written source, was an active process by the United States to extend territory, shifting ideas of proximity. Therefore, it would be stimulating for the research to adapt theories about proximity to a less literary source and determine whether ideas of boundaries could be constructed through geographic spaces such as water and how it would be accomplished in terms of proximate distance between the United States and nations such as Australia and Japan

3   ANCIENT BOUNDARIES

Ancient Greece and Han China were major societies that developed at opposite geographical ends of the Eurasian landmass. These two societies shaped the surrounding territories and people through their expansion and withdrawal over the course of their existence. The ancient Greeks and Chinese societies recorded events and people of their known world, thus providing evidence of their relations, interactions, and perspectives. For the Greeks and Herodotus, their world revolved around the relationships with ancient Mediterranean societies in Egypt, Libya, and Scythia. The Greek islands remained in the center. The Han Chinese Empire, politically uniting the controlled territory in the 3rd century BCE occupied the eastern edges of Eurasia. The Chinese named their empire *zhongguo*(中國) which is roughly translated as the center nation or central empire, a geographical expression of how they perceived their place in the world. Surrounding China were mixtures of nomadic societies that did not adhere to permanent geopolitical boundaries, instead their occupation of land was fluid and shifted dynamically. In the case of the *Shiji*, Sima Qian wrote predominantly about the nomadic Xiong Nu threat dispersed around the Mongolian Steppes, north of the Han Empire. The Greeks and Chinese demonstrated the ancient mode of bordering by shaping boundaries through relationships and interactions with nearby societies. Ancient boundaries therefore express possible Greek and Chinese centers through their focus on peripheries of the controlled territory instead of their established capitals and economic centers.

Herodotus' *Histories* was compiled around the mid-5th century BCE from a diversity of first and second hand accounts, or even hearsay, from the edges of the known world. The *Histories* was primarily an account of the Greco-Persian Wars, combined with surveys about surrounding geographical landscapes, people, culture, economies, and topography. Herodotus'

account more generally express how ancient societies in Western Eurasia perceived their

surroundings through forming an identity of what it meant to be Greek, and what type of

relations ancient Greeks had with communities around the Mediterranean. Such relations would

include the conflict with Persia, or distant relations with China at Bactria, a midpoint between

the two civilizations. The *Histories* express the Greek dispersion or withdrawal based on their

knowledge of other societies, their proximity to neighbors, and their relation with peripheral

regions of their world.

Sima Qian, indicates in his work a deliberate need to record snapshots of the empire's

past and present. *The Shiji* or *Records of the Grand Historian* was a convergence of perceptions

about Han China's rulers, nobles, events, geography and surrounding societies. Sima Qian's *Shiji*

serve as the primary source for examining how ancient societies in Eastern Eurasia interacted

with others to border themselves and maintain boundaries across time. Both historians

characterize similar modes of boundary formation through their work that reveal the ancient

model of bordering, which promotes their understanding and order of the ancient world.

The history of boundaries is the history of human experience, as recorded in Herodotus'

Histories and Sima Qian's *Shiji.* Boundaries and the bordering process define or clarify

differences between peoples, thus allowing societies to examine themselves as well as their place

in the world. Examining the self or being aware of one's place questions how consistent and

accurate boundaries are in projecting the center outwards. This fundamental inquiry about

consistency of boundary projection concerns how dynamically Greek and Chinese boundaries

shift over the course of the sources. Furthermore, as the boundaries shift and alter based on

interactions, does the bordering process always preserve the Greek or Chinese identity, or does

the function of the boundaries change according to different purposes? The purpose of ancient

Greek and Chinese boundaries may be adopted by other societies or later stages of Greek and Chinese development; therefore it is important in this chapter to determine how boundaries functioned as monologic or dialogic in nature. Monologic boundaries in ancient history refer to the characteristics of creating a boundary that is between a society and the terrestrial landscape or mythical elements rather than with another group of people. Dialogic boundaries express the contrary notion that borders were mutually constituted by ancient societies on both sides of a boundary zone.

The *Histories* begins with Herodotus' account of the causes of the Persian Wars which is a significant reflection of how relations and interactions shifted from discursive and friendly to enacted and hostile between the Greek, Persian, and Phoenician societies. Herodotus claims the causes are debatable between the Phoenician and Persian perspectives, but declines to support one side over another. At the geographic center of the Persian Wars is Argos, an economic center for surrounding societies. Argos "surpassed other places in all things," which drew together all types of societies from all over the ancient Mediterranean to engage in economic activities. (1.1.2)[1] In the case of the Persian account of the war, the Phoenician merchants arrived in Argos to conduct business at the markets. (1.1.2) On the "fifth or sixth day after their arrival," many "women came down to the sea, in particular the king's daughter," Io. (1.1.3) The women intended to purchase items when the "Phoenicians, inciting each other, rushed upon them," seizing and carrying some off, including Io. While "[t]he greater part made their escape," Io and other captive women sailed to Egypt aboard the merchant ship. (1.1.4) In retaliation, the Hellenes, specifically the Cretans, "abducted the king's daughter Europa" from the port of Tyre

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[1] References from the *Histories* throughout the chapter will be from the following source: Herodotus, Robert B. Strassler, and Andrea L. Purvis. *The Landmark Herodotus : The Histories*. New York : Pantheon Books. 2007.

in Phoenicia which further exacerbated relations. (1.2) The Phoenicians, however, claimed that "Io had intercourse with the captain of the ship in Argos" and became pregnant, She "was ashamed to face her parents," and "voluntarily sailed away." (1.5.2)

The port of Argos was highly valued territory characterized by overlapping interactions between ancient Mediterranean societies engaged in economic transactions at the markets. Persians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Greeks formed a dialogic point at Argos based on mutual market exchanges which promoted discursive boundaries between the different groups. Argos' port reflected the blurring of distinct boundaries despite it being Greek territory, but the disappearance of Io shifted the cooperative and friendly economic relationship between the Greeks, Persians, and Phoenicians towards a more hostile and enacted boundary.

The Herodotean world consisted of Europe occupied by the Hellenes, Asia claimed by the Persians, and Egypt inhabited by the Egyptians. The proximity of societies around the Mediterranean Sea used it as the center of interaction which shifted the attention of Persia, for the time being to Argos and Hellas. Io's abduction was a catalyst that changed relations and perspectives to be more hostile between Greeks, Persians, and Phoenicians because Europa's kidnapping aggravated tensions between the societies. According to Herodotus, the "Hellenes were largely responsible for offenses" because they "began to make war on Asia before they made war on Europe." (1.4.2) According to Herodotus, the Persians believed the "abduction of women is certainly an act only unjust men would perform," but once the kidnapping occurred, it was "senseless to make a fuss over seeking vengeance." (1.5.2) Thus, the Persians "thought nothing of the women being abducted;" however, the Spartans contrasted deeply from the Persians and believed that for "the sake of a woman" it was worth a "huge expedition" to Asia to destroy Priam. Herodotus' descriptions highlights the cultural differences to conclude that from

the destruction of Priam in Asia, the Persians "have considered the Hellenes to be their enemies," and anything "Hellenic is separate and divergent from themselves." (1.4) The Persians considered the Greeks to be completely different, and the sack of Troy by the Greeks further proved their reasoning correct. Therefore, the Greeks and Persians mutually constructed a dialogic, enacted boundary which discouraged economic and social cooperation previously experienced at Argos.

When Herodotus traverses the land beyond Greece, he turns his attention away from the Persian conflict to topographic observations and ethnographic descriptions from Libya, Egypt, and Scythia. This shift by Herodotus demonstrates a shift in discussion about dialogic bordering to monologic boundaries constructed by the Greeks. As the audience cognitively follows Herodotus across the Mediterranean world, the descriptions blend real topographic with imaginary mythic elements from the peripheral regions of the known Greek world. Herodotus' use of topography in the *Histories* has multiple purposes. Topography can refer to real terrestrial features such as flora and fauna, or topography is used as a tool that distinguished societies from each other by describing the land on which they lived. For example, Herodotus describes the Phoenicians settling and inhabiting the Erythraean Sea despite it being approximately 500 miles south of where Phoenicians historically lived. (1.1) While geographical accuracy was not one of Herodotus' strengths, the Erythraean Sea was a Greek landmark for where Phoenician society was located. Waterbodies and rivers are given particular attention and role in the ancient Greek perception of the world by cutting the land, and dividing it with landmarks and regions to form boundaries that constitute a world order.

According to Herodotus, the Greeks' perception of the world was inspired by the Ionian cosmic order. The outer peripheral zones of the ancient world was surrounded by the Ocean

while the Ister borders most of the known world by flowing "through the whole of Europe" and ending "at the Euxine Sea, where colonists who came from Miletus inhabit Istria." (2.33) The Ister reflects a monologic boundary for the Greeks who used it as a topographic landmark to references between the known and unknown parts of the world. Herodotus has "no certain knowledge that such a river Ocean exists" and dismisses it as one of Homer's inventions. (2.23) According to Cosgrove, it was suggested by Plato's *Timaeus* and Pythagoreas's arguments that the earth was rendered "*visible* by mathematics, specifically geometry" and geometrical 'harmony' " was visible to human eyes- geographical vision.[2] Ancient societies used geographical vision or geometry to map the "celestial order onto terrestrial space and [make] visible divine handiwork"[3] through the human imagination. Thus, the idea of bordering and partitioning the earth using boundaries is not only an active process, but also an ancient process.

Scythia was one of the most significant peripheral regions that bordered the known Greek world. The modern day equivalent of Scythia covers the region of southern Russia, Ukraine, the northern Caucasus Mountains, parts of Georgia, and the western steppes of China. Throughout Greek literature, Scythia maintained a reputation as a wasteland furthest from the known world. In "Prometheus Bound" by the Athenian playwright Aeschylus, Prometheus was sentenced by Zeus to be chained to a mountain in the middle of Scythia for giving fire to mankind. In general, Scythia seems to earn more of Herodotus' attention than Egypt; this is perhaps because it specifically bridges the boundary between the Greek and non-Greek worlds.

Within the various topographic descriptions that appear in the *Histories*, Herodotus presents rivers as having multiple roles, such as sources of livelihood, boundaries between known and unknown, or the identifier of societies. Herodotus discusses Scythian rivers and

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[2] Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision : Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World.*, 16.
[3] Cosgrove, 16.

bodies of water at length in Book IV. The five rivers mentioned are the Ister, Tyras, Hypanis, Borysthenes and the Tanais.[4] The river Ister, first introduced in Book II, is compared to the Nile. While Herodotus seems to understand the Ister's source and role in organizing the known world, he is less confident about the Nile's source. Herodotus reasons that, "[w]hile the Ister is well known because it flows through inhabited territory, no one can say anything about the sources of the Nile" (2.34). Herodotus demonstrates the ancient process of bordering as a form dependent on social relations, thus he concludes the Nile has no origin when he knows of no society that lives near it. Therefore, rivers characterized the landscape regardless of inhabitants. As Herodotus associates people with their inhabited land, he creates knowledge about it through a combination of ethnographic and geographic observation. The opposite is also true of Herodotus' logic, where the lack of inhabitants associates a mythical element with it. Herodotus then goes on to assume that because each of the rivers "traverse the whole of" a broad area ("Europe" in the case of the Ister, "[Africa]" in the case of the Nile), they must be the same length.

Herodotus' survey of Scythian geography and rivers in Book IV are analogous to his survey of Egypt by providing an extensive account of Scythian rivers. The Ister, being the grandest of the Scythian rivers, follows his suggestion that the Ister borders the known world. The comparability of the Nile and Ister is carried over into accounts about Scythia. Although the Ister is not as rich as the Nile in terms of providing fertile soil, its qualities are reliable and consistent. The Ister "is the largest of any river we know of, and it flows with equal volume in summer and winter" (4.48). The river's stability provided the ultimate security to agricultural societies nearby. Thus, to Herodotus, the Ister deserves to be described in a way that was similar to his description of the Nile, in an almost epic narrative style. The Ister is "coming from the

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[4] Modern river equivalents of the Danube, Dniester, Bug, Dnieper and Don.

west and is therefore the most voluminous since" five smaller rivers -- Pyretos, Tiarantos, Araros, Napris, and Ordessos – feed into and empower it. The descriptions of the Ister and Nile Rivers are comparable to modern concepts of longitude and latitude lines that partition the earth into manageable chunks, define limits to geographical locations, and identify differences between peoples and places. Herodotus adheres to the Ionian perception of global symmetry, reasoning that the Nile flows west to east and cuts Libya horizontally while the Ister bisects Europe vertically.

The rivers generally serve as landmarks for travel and points that form a boundary. In the case of the *Histories,* Herodotean observations express Greek relations with other non-Greeks such as the Scythians that supposedly inhabit lands east of the Greek islands. The boundary function of rivers is to distinguish between "territories" of different people within Scythia. According to Herodotus, crossing the river Panticapes brings one into the territory of nomad Scythians, who "occupy the country to the east for a journey of fourteen days, as far as the river of Gerrhus." (IV.19) The observation also shapes ftemporal boundaries in the minds of ancient Greeks by counting the days needed to journey pass the nomadic Scythians. The Greeks represented internal divisions of the Scythian population following the geographical divisions of territory created by different bodies of water: "across the river Gerrhus" are the "Royal" territories, where "the best, and the most, of the Scythians," live. (4.56) Herodotus notes that these same "best" or "Royal" Scythians regard the other Scythians as their slaves (4.56). These internal lines of division are further solidified by Herodotus' attempts to relate them to other topographical features, specifically those with a story attached to them. For example, when Herodotus discusses the territory of the non-Royal Scythians, he claims that their territory stretches to the south "as far as the Tauric country and, to the east, to the trench that was dug by

the children of the blind slaves and, on the Maee-tian lake, to the trade station called Cremnoi" (IV.20).

Herodotus distinguishes the inhabitants of territory by inscribing their customs and culture to geography, which expresses a form of geographic and ethnographic knowledge that the Greeks understood about their world. Throughout the *Histories*, Herodotus refers to Scythians, Lydians, and Cimmerians as barbarians in a non-pejorative manner to mean non-Greek. He discovers that "the names of the gods came to Hellas from barbarians" and concludes that the names "derive specifically from Egypt." (2.50) This short account of the presumed origins of Greek gods suggests that the Greek center was actually a product of surrounding societies adopted by forerunners of the Greeks, the Pelasgians. (2.53.3) According to Herodotus, the Pelasgians asked the first oracle whether they should accept the Egyptian names and gods; this resulted in the formation of a Greek center through a heightened awareness of belonging. The sense of Greek identity erects boundaries of Greek inclusion which are characterized as dialogic against other non-Greeks to restrict their inclusion using enacted boundaries. Simultaneously as Greek identity and modes of exclusion became more clearly defined, other societies such as the Persians and Egyptians also clearly defined their own identities through focusing of the differences.

Scythia is essentially at the end of the world according to Herodotus, and it is considered the region furthest from the Greeks. Scythians claimed a divine lineage from Targitaos, who was the son of "Zeus and the daughter of the River Borysthenes;" Herodotus claims that "this doesn't seem credible. (4.5.1) However, the account returns to the act of associating topographic features with mythic elements and people. The Hellenes of the Pontic region claim that Scythians were the descendants of Herakles and "a creature that was half girl, half viper." (4.9) However,

Herodotus subscribes to his own claim that the Scythians were nomads from Asia "pressured by the Massagetai," left Asia, and invaded "Cimmerian" territory. Herodotus blended the myths of locals with his own excursions to demonstrate his belief in the importance of land and origins. Despite having their own mythical story of Scythia, the Hellenes of the Pontic were aware of Scythian activities in Cimmerian lands. In addition to associating landscape with identity, Herodotus goes to the extent of documenting origin myths and providing his own origin theories that created agency for the societies he came across.

Libya, Europe, and Asia provided Herodotus with more than geographic knowledge about the world beyond Greece. These major areas served as boundaries between the known and unknown world. Herodotus mocks the theory about Ocean surrounding the world in a circular formation and explains that the boundaries of Europe, Asia, and lands to the north have not "been ascertained by anyone at all." (4.45) Book IV might have been intended to survey Scythian lands and customs, but Herodotus' descriptions ultimately constructed boundaries between Greeks, Scythians and the unknown. Furthermore, Herodotus prescribed characteristics of inclusive Greek identity by describing the peripheral Scythian lands and customs.

We turn now to the examination of Sima Qian's *Shiji*, which has few references to physical topography in comparison with Herodotus' *Histories*. Most of the topographic details in the *Shiji* are associated with agriculture, ethnography, politics, and military campaigns; thus, the bordering process of ancient China relied on human experiences and dialogic bordering. Sima Qian differs from Herodotus by demonstrating that ancient Chinese subconsciously constructed and maintained boundaries, meaning that physical landmarks may not be as significant. However, this does not mean that concepts of boundaries did not exist. The *Shiji* embodied the Chinese concept of *guanxi* (关系) which roughly translates as a passive network of relationships

that influence daily interactions between people and societies. These networks are filled with

ganqing (感情), emotional feelings towards others characterized by varying degrees of

hospitality ranging from friendliness to hostility. *Guanxi* and *ganqing* are subconscious traits that

balance between passive and active uses. For example, such traits can be observed as taking

place during business meetings to connect relationships, and between friends and family for

assistance during difficult times. *Guanxi* inscribed human behavior into interactions, as, for

example, how the Han Chinese interpreted foreign relations with the Xiongnu. Interpretations of

foreign relations with the Xiongnu impacted how the Han Chinese perceived geographic realities

characterized by the push and pull relations with the nomadic Xiongnu to ultimately shape

boundaries of Chinese identity, landscape, and politics.

       One of the few, but significant, topographic features mentioned in the *Shiji* is Mount Tai.

It was one of five sacred mountains located north of modern day Tai'nan in Shandong province.

This location would have been to the extreme northeast for the vast majority of ancient China,

signifying its peripheral locale. Mount Tai was formed as a fault-block mountain with the highest

point towards the south and lowest point towards the north. Its physical qualities made it a grand

physical landmark to the Chinese, but its significance was found in the Feng and Shan sacrifices

carried out by the emperor. Sima Qian described the Feng and Shan sacrifices to the best of his

knowledge, but ultimately admits that many of the details are lost to time. According to the *Shiji*,

when "each dynasty attains the height of its glory, then the Feng and Shan are celebrated, but

when it reaches a period of decline, they are no longer performed."[5] Therefore, the ceremonies

have been separated by "periods of as many as a thousand or more years and at least by several

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[5] Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian of China.*, trans. Burton Watson, vol. 2 (New York: New York, Columbia University Press, 1962), 4.

hundred years"[6]. Thus, Mount Tai is a physical feature inscribed with a cosmographic point of intersection between the real and imaginary realms, while the Feng and Shan sacrifices inscribed temporal boundaries between peaks of dynasties.

The earliest account of the Feng and Shan sacrifices are presented in the *Shangjing*, or *Book of Documents* in which it recounts how Emperor Shun (2294 BCE-2184 BCE) climbed Mount Tai and "attended to the five rites and the five kinds of jewels and received the three kinds of silk, the two living offerings, and the one dead one."[7] The two live sacrifices were lambs and pheasants. According to Chih Kwang Chang, the lamb symbolized the virtue of gentleness, while the single pheasant was a symbol of dynastic rule for the emperor.[8] By accepting the offering, the emperor recognized that both animals reflected the qualities of a ruler approved by *tian ming* (天命), or Mandate of Heaven. Through the physical act of offering the animal to the mountain, the emperor becomes directly associated with Mount Tai. Consequently, the emperor established a connection between a physical locale, geographic locale and the supernatural space represented by *tian* (天), the Heavens. The direct relation between *tian* and the physical earth suggests a cosmographic order in Chinese minds that blurred boundaries between the physical and supernatural world. Furthermore, *tian* acts as a supernatural periphery in the lives of Chinese.

Turning away from ancient Chinese monologic bordering of physical and supernatural features, the Han Chinese were constantly in dialogue and struggles with non-Chinese nomadic groups. 'Non-Chinese' is understood as any group who is different from the Han Chinese and are

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[6] Qian, 2:4.
[7] Qian, 2:4.
[8] Kwang-chih Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual : The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983), 59.

often presented as barbarians, as for example in *The Analects*, which is the compilation of conversations and teachings of the Chinese philosopher, Confucius. *The Analects* often refer to a specific group of non-Chinese known as the *Yis* and *Dis* (3.5). *Yis* are the groups of "barbarians" living to the south of the Han Empire while the *Dis* refer to the group in the north, the same group mentioned in the *Shiji*, the Xiongnu. These non-Chinse groups reside on the outskirts of the Han Chinese Empire, shaping its boundaries in dynamic manners because of their nomadic lifestyles and interactions. The dialogic boundaries that are erected from a push and pull type relationship becomes synonymous with the northern Han boundaries.

The early description of the Xiongnu describes them as what modern historians call non-sedentary nomads: "[t]hey move about in search of water and pasture and have no walled cities or fixed dwellings, nor do they engage in any kind of agriculture."[9] Sima Qian described how it was the Xiongnu's custom "to herd their flocks in times of peace and make their living by hunting, but in periods of crisis they take up arms and go off on plundering and marauding expeditions."[10] According to chapter 110 of the *Shiji*, "as early as the time of Emperors Yao and Shun and before, we hear of these people, known as Mountain Barbarians, Hsien-yun, or Hun chu, living in the region of the northern barbarians and wandering from place to place pasturing their animals." The leader of the Xiongnu was given the titled of *Chanyu*,

Chanyu Touman's oldest son Maodun trained and led his troops without leniency, practices that characterized the strength of the Xiongnu. For example, Maodun used whistling arrows during training and commanded his troops from horseback to "[shoot wherever you see my whistling arrow strike" and anyone "who fails to shoot will be cut down!"[11] Testing his

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[9] Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian of China.*, 2:129.
[10] Qian, 2:129.
[11] Qian, 2:134.

soldiers, Maodun fired his arrows into several targets of value such as "his favorite wife" and "his father's finest horse" that led some of the men to hold their fire, and then killed on the spot.[12] Those that fired subsequently after Maodun were to be trusted in battle. Sima Qian characterized the brutality of the Xiongnu in comparison with the customs of the Han Chinese, his audience, and thus his writing was used to erect social dialogic boundaries that highlight cultural differences and relationships between distinct societies. For example the leader of the Xiongnu was decided by strength instead of the Chinese concept of the Mandate of Heaven. Maodun joined his father, Chanyu Touman, on a hunt where he "shot a whistling arrow at his father and every one of his followers aimed their arrows in the same direction" and killed the Chanyu."[13] After killing the rest of his family members and any resistance, Maodun rose to be the new Chanyu.

Chanyu Maodun embarked on a campaign that conquered the neighboring tribes of "Hunyu, Qushe, Dingling, Gekun, and Xinli" to form a Xiongnu into a confederation on the northern frontier of the Han Empire which was recently unified by Emperor Gaozu.[14] Hann Xin, the former king of Hann, was transferred by the emperor to Mayi which was surrounded by the Xiongnu. After surrendering, Hann Xin joined Chanyu Maodun, and together they led "troops south across Mt. Juzhu" to attack Taiyuan and the city of Jinyang.[15] The threat on the periphery of the empire emboldened Emperor Gaozu, who personally led an army against the traitor and the Xiongnu threat. Misled by Chanyu's use of weak troops as bait, Emperor Gaozu's pursuit into the freezing snow caused his troops to suffer frostbite. Further deteriorating Gaozu's position in the campaign, Maodun "swooped down with 400,000 of his best cavalry" and trapped

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[12] Qian, 2:134.
[13] Qian, 2:134.
[14] Qian, 2:138.
[15] Qian, 2:138.

them on White Peak Mountain for seven days until Emperor Gaozu secretly presented Maodun's consort with gifts.[16] Speaking with Maodun, the consort asked "[w]hy should the rulers of these two nations make such trouble for each other? Even if you gained possession of the Han lands, you could never occupy them." Then she begged Maodun to reconsider his decisions and soon he agreed to a peace agreement after numerous Han generals defected to join Chanyu.[17] "The Han agreed to send to send a gift of specified quantities of silk floss, and cloth, grain and other food stuffs each year." This concluded a dialogic boundary in the northern frontier of the Han territory, and the "two nations were to live in peace."[18]

The military campaign between Emperor Gaozu and Chanyu Maodun highlights important details of how ancient Chinese boundaries were created according to Sima Qian. The account of Maodun's rise directs the attention to a dialogic bordering between two societies, Han China and the Xiongnu Confederation. The dialogic boundary exists in a complex environment in which towns such as Jinyang on the edge of the Han territory become the center of attention, and thus the center of the empire as Emperor Gaozu led his troops to quell the Xiongnu threat. Unfortunately, the campaign falls through for Emperor Gaozu and his goals were crushed by the Xiongnu's baiting strategy which held the emperor captive at White Peak Mountain. The center of the Han Empire may have physically been located in Changan, but it was embodied in Emperor Gaozu who was trapped by Chanyu Maodun. The close proximity between Xiongnu territories and Chinese cities provided the opportunity for Chanyu Maodun to pressure Han Chinese responses which ultimately pulled the Han center, Emperor Gaozu, into Xiongnu territory. The value of Han Chinese gifts persuaded the Xiongnu of the value in Han plundering

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[16] Qian, 2:138.
[17] Qian, 2:139.
[18] Qian, 2:139.

missions, thus the consort that persuaded Maodun to stand down after trapping Gaozu demonstrated the Xiongnu's need of resources and supplies found in the Han territory. The supposed "peace" deal guaranteed a steady supply of gifts while the Xiongnu threats continued to hold the Han periphery captive which pushes the Han boundaries further south during plundering campaigns.

Plundering and marauding acts dialogically shaped the northern boundaries of the Han Chinese. In one instance, the *Shiji* accounted the defensive maneuvers and campaigns against the Xiongnu that reflected a dialogic bordering combined with terrestrial features to erect political boundaries. The Xiongnu "seized the region of Chiao-huo from the Chou, [after which they] occupied the area between the Ching and Wei rivers, and invaded and plundered the central region of China."[19] In this case, geographical features like rivers help express the destruction of what the Xiongnu acknowledged as political Han boundaries and the creation of political Xiongnu territory by their act of settlement there. More importantly, the geographical contextualization of this event demonstrate how the concept of a boundary for the Chinese were not closely tied to physical topography, but rather to the Xiongnu's actions against or over topography. In many ways, Chinese-Xiongnu boundaries are moving targets shifting with the various political interactions between the two groups. The Xiongnu's expansion and retraction of territory was variable and unpredictable, often corresponding to the Xiongnu's nomadic lifestyle.

Overall, the *Histories* is a grand accumulation of knowledge in which Herodotus attempts to preserve what he believed to be significant Greek events. While the study did not cover all of Herodotus' accounts, it focused on significant descriptions that demonstrated the existence of an ancient model of bordering used by the Greeks. Specifically, the first instance the audience

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[19] Qian, 2:130.

encounters is the cause of the divergent relations between the Greeks and the Persians stemming from the abductions of Io, Europa and other high-status women. Herodotus, a Greek observer, claims no bias; however, critically observing his accounts of other societies reveal Herodotus leans in favor of a Greek perspective. For example, Herodotus claims on behalf of the Persians that since they claim Asia, they also claim "the barbarian tribes living there as their own" and rejecting all Hellenic associations. (1.5) Reviewing the claim, it was perhaps Herodotus' way of pushing Persians into Greece's periphery since they are also drawn to Argos' economic market. According to Etienne Balibar, the spatial configuration between Greece and Persia may have allowed Herodotus to centralize Greece in his writing, thus shifting Persia to both the physical and cognitive periphery. Increasing the geographic distance through literary description alters the cognitive landscape of the audience, thus creating more enacted boundaries after the abduction of women and destruction of Priam.

Balibar and Williams are more concerned with the peripheral zones, places that extend beyond the reach of the center, but maintain the focus of the society. For example, Scythia qualifies as the furthest geographical reaches of the known Greek world in both physical and imaginative formats. Herodotus considers Scythia to be culturally distant because of their origin stories deriving from Herakles or Targitaos. Ideas of Greek inclusiveness is therefore shaped by their difference from other societies, demonstrating that the center of Greek identity may not exist in minds of Greeks in Hellas, but is rather shaped by the acknowledgement that other customs such as those from Scythia are not Greek. Herodotus demonstrates a method of identifying the "Greek" through observations and descriptions of what is not Greek in culture, customs, and even such interests as the Persian conflicts. Lacking in Balibar and William's study was the opposite which demonstrated Greece as the periphery of Scythia, such that anything

Hellenic in nature was not Scythian. Therefore, Hellenes were not Scythian, and existed on the western edge of Scythian lands which represented an overlap of Scythian periphery with Greek peripheries. According to descriptions from the Greek perspective of Scythia, the overlap demonstrated the sense that both societies were knowledgeable of each other which dialogically shaped their respective concepts of boundaries and identities.

Beyond the eastern peripheries of the known and unknown Greek world is Bactria, a Greek outpost that is also known as Daxia to China. The *Shiji* extends its account to concern the relationship the Han Empire has with its immediate neighbors, the Xiongnu and beyond towards Bactria, Dayuan, and Ferghana. In the mind of Sima Qian, these people and places reflect the outer peripheral reaches of the Chinese people. Similar to the Histories, the *Shiji* contains a mythical and physical periphery that characterized how the Han Chinese shaped their identity. The mythical periphery consisted of the cosmic relationship that the Chinese, specifically the emperor had with Heaven as evident in the Feng and Shen sacrifices on Mount Tai. Physical peripheral zones were territories occupied by the Xiongnu, and non-Chinese nomadic tribes at the edges of Chinese territory.

Sima Qian inscribed stark differences between Chinese and Xiongnu by describing the culture of the nomadic tribes and their brutal leadership. Simply by highlighting that the Xiongnu "move about in search of water and pasture" and not have any fixed place to stay supports Sima Qian's belief in Chinese superiority, an attempt to distance themselves. The Xiongnu exist as a cultural peripheral zone that constantly interact with Chinese territory by plundering it. Erecting a cultural boundary between the two groups, Sima Qian pushes the Xiongnu further into the periphery of the Chinese mind by describing how Maodun rises to power through the murder of the Chanyu, his father. Chinese Confucian teachings embedded within the minds of Han Chinese

rely on relationships between people in society to shape a harmonious balance. Father and son is one relationship that is significant in Confucian teachings, and a relationship that was unfathomable in the minds of Chinese observers such as Sima Qian. Thus, the center of the Han Chinese may have been located in Changan physically, but the dialogic relation with the Xiongnu to the north shifts the center to the edges of the empire. The struggle between Chinese and Xiongnu troops on the edges expressed the overlap of peripheral zones that Balibar and Williams suggest as a catalyst for shaping in this case, Chinese and Xiongnu identities. The Xiongnu established a sense of *demos* but lack the political structure of a territorial state which allowed for boundaries between the two groups to fluctuate and shift based on the rate of Xiongnu plunders on Chinese towns on the periphery.

The periphery of the Han Empire consisted of a dialogic relationship between the Xiongnu and Chinese who plundered and defended on the southern edge of the Mongolian Steppes touching the northern Han territory which promoted a dialogic boundary between the two groups. The attention of Emperor Gaozu was drawn to Chanyu Maodun, and the military campaign led by Emperor Gaozu reflected the northern Han territory as the center of China because it was the point of overlap between two societies that highlighted their differences and thus shape their modes of inclusion and exclusion. The instance with the loss of the region between the Ching and Wei rivers demonstrated the dynamic process of overlapping peripheral zones between Xiongnu and Han Chinese. The Chinese concept of a geopolitical boundary determined modes of excluding Xiongnu from their society through a reactionary effort that expands and contracts outposts at the edge of the empire. The Chinese-Xiongnu boundary dynamically shifts to construct territories that are fragile, yet defined enough to be defended.

Overlapping boundaries and zones in the periphery of societies raises the question of proximity's role in the ancient mode of bordering. Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas suggest that the proximity between societies and the "actors" or "state units" impacted the construction of boundaries by following an "opportunity and willingness" framework. Take for example the kidnapping of Io from Argos, the intersection of societies produced a highly contiguous and salient point of interaction. However, despite Starr and Thomas' conclusion that high salience should yield low military conflict, Cretans escalated tensions by abducting Europa. Furthermore, the boundary between Persia and Greeks were not easily contiguous because of the Mediterranean Sea, but Priam and Troy which was near the coast was targeted.

In light of Thomas and Starr's conclusions about conflict interaction in overlapping zones, it was unlikely that Scythia became a conflict zone with the Greeks given their distance and differences. Most importantly, ancient Greeks perceived Scythia as unknown and a wasteland; therefore, there was no salience for occupation. The lack of salience lessens the chance of military conflict and disputes according to Thomas and Starr. Instead, the theory about salience and how Greeks perceived valued military disputes should be reserved for disagreements between societies that interact constantly and in various situations such as with Greeks, Phoenicians and Persia prior to the Persian conflict. Furthermore, Thomas and Starr's theories may be better examined in regard to Herodotus' account of Darius' campaign in Hellespont in Book V or the Battle of Thermopylae in Book VII. However, this would exceed the scope of this project and should be reserved for a specific in-depth study of ancient Greek interactions.

Shifting the theatre of conflict eastward to Han China, the Xiongnu and Emperor Gaozu reflect a prime case of a contiguous and highly salient zone that was engaged in near continuous

conflict. While the territory at the northern edge of the Han Empire might have been highly salient, according to Starr and Harvey's ideas, it still warranted military resolution. However, when Emperor Gaozu was ambushed by Chanyu Maodun's strategy, it seems that the point of salience greatly increased for the Xiongnu. While Sima Qian describes it as Gaozu's strategy to convince Maodun's concert, perhaps the Chanyu realized the high value of Gaozu and the resources the Han Empire could supply. The peace deal negotiated by Chanyu Maodun guaranteed gifts and tribute including princesses, which shifted the Xiongnu's nomadic lifestyle. While Sima Qian fails to notice the change based on Maodun's decision, Starr and Thomas' idea about using alternative solutions in a high salient zone is expressed by the relationship that endured past Emperor Gaozu's lifetime.

The ancient model of bordering reflected in the accounts by Herodotus and Sima Qian summarize what Cosgrove describes as humanity's goal to examine and understand ourselves. Whether it was through conflict or exploration, the *Histories* and *Shiji* demonstrate that ancient societies accumulated knowledge of each other to express ideas of inclusion or exclusion based on places of interaction such as Argos or Han Chinese territory to shape boundaries that were dialogic. Regardless of geographic location, both ancient Greeks and Chinese engaged in a form of monologic bordering that comprised mythical elements, typically in the periphery of the physical world. For the ancient Greeks, Scythia and the lands beyond it expressed a one-sided boundary, while for Han China, *tian* functioned in a complementary fashion with the lives of the people. The physical and imaginative geography constructed through the accumulation of experience shapes each society's order and understanding of their world.

4 EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Human interaction within webs of networks prevailed as civilizations continued to grow and change from the exchange of information between new powers such as the Romans, Ottomans, Mongol, and Mughal Empires. Each new iteration of territorial occupation accumulated knowledge that promoted additional opportunities to reorder the world. To construct order for each society was to parse the world in different manners and layers which also widened the network of relations. The Mongols established multiple khanates extending from the Mediterranean to China and controlled by different khans. The Chinese khanate, the Yuan Dynasty, established a connection with Western Eurasia by allowing Marco Polo an audience with the emperor. Around 1492, towards the end of the European Renaissance, Martin Benhaim constructed one of the earliest extant terrestrial globes known as the Nuremberg Terrestrial Globe or *Erdapfel* (earth apple).[1] The globe was meticulously constructed from plaster and paper, then painted with a modern representation of Europe. However, it loses accuracy with the Americas missing, and it drew on Ptolemy's *Geography*.[2] Benhaim's globe reflected not only the acquisition of knowledge but also the application of it for pragmatic purposes such as the promotion of new sea routes. The globe became an artificial order that was inscribed with centuries of information collected from discoveries. Benhaim's globe conveyed that at each major iteration of human experience, or time period, a new form of world order and partitioning takes place.

During the eighteenth century, a focus on reason and logic promoted the shift from cosmographic order of the terrestrial world towards a reliance on empirical observations to order

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[1] Jean-François Gauvin and Edward H. Dahl, *Sphaerae Mundi : Early Globes at the Stewart Museum, Montreal* ([Sillery, Qué.]: MQUP, 2000), 18.
[2] Gauvin and Dahl, 18.

the world. The shift challenged previous ideas of political authority and identity as well as social

order in a continuously expanding knowledge about the world. Thus, the deviation from the

ancient mode of bordering in which societies relied on optics or natural and cosmic order to

perceive the world in favor of an order justified and validated constructed an eighteenth century

mode of bordering. The period of time is also referred to as the Enlightenment for rapid

intellectual accumulation of knowledge and application in multiple places around Europe such as

Naples, Germany, and France. European philosophers, cartographers, and explorers blended

expanding fields of study to characterize the eighteenth century model of bordering that was

reliant on empirical data produced through systematic methods of inquiry, research, testing, and

record keeping.

The Erdapfel was the highlight of the fifteenth century cartographic creations, but it was

still part of traditional terrestrial cartography. Cartographers in the eighteenth century started to

apply cartography systematically by replacing artistic design for pragmatic labels and symbols

with political or economic value which was unfamiliar to traditional cartographers of past

centuries. Guillamume Delisle was a cartographer during the seventeenth and early eighteenth

century renowned for his accurate maps and his role as the tutor to a young King Louis XV.

Delisle lived and worked at the start of the eighteenth century, which exposed him to the

intersection of two worlds, one in which the map drawings were a technical instrument to

represent order in the world and the second in which maps clarified complex boundaries and

administrative control over territory to permit the intervention of authorities into the "territory

and thus establish control of it."[3] In 1700 Delisle published a highly detailed map of Europe

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[3] Marco Petrella, "Guillaume Delisle's Carte Du Duche de Bourgogne: The Role of Central and Peripheral Authorities in the Construction of a Provincial Territory in France in the Early 18th Century," *Journal of Map & Geography Libraries* 5, no. 1 (January 2009): 22.

(Figure 2) which depicted a striking contrast between Western and Eastern Eurasia. Beginning at Western Eurasia on Delisle's map, one can observe that symbols and labels greatly increased in number as one reads towards Eastern Eurasia. Delisle's map of Europe presented western parts of Eurasia that were well documented with labels and symbols, while Eastern Eurasia lacked the same accuracy and represented a demarcated Eurasia into two parts.[4] Numerous labels and symbols assured that Western Eurasia was well documented while the lack of labels conveyed unreliable information about Eastern Eurasia, pushing it towards the periphery. Delisle experienced the convergence of two worlds that perceived the purpose of cartography and maps differently. Delisle grew up in the first world where maps affirmed the terrestrial and cosmic order. The Enlightenment brought forth the second world to Delisle in which he grappled with maps being used as a systematic order for political and economic expansionism and territorial control by rulers.

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[4] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe : The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), 154.

Figure 2 L'Europe 1700 by Guillaume Delisle

While maps visually constructed boundaries, the political divisions between Western and

Eastern Europe were never formally acknowledged. Travelers and communication networks

continued to reach as far as Japan, mainly due to Jesuit missionaries, who blended terrestrial with

political boundaries. Thus, blurred boundaries promoted confusion and complexities for early

political states and prompted new purposes ascribed to cartography. The Burgundian Estates

commissioned Delisle to draw a map that met the "functional requirements of both the central

power and the local elites" so that it would be used to monitor all taxpayers, feudal ties,

territorial domains, and central and local administrative systems.[5] While Delisle admitted that

such a task was beyond the scope of the payment, the project that took about a year promoted a

form of political bordering and partitioning during the Enlightenment. Commissions to

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[5] Petrella, "Guillaume Delisle's Carte Du Duche de Bourgogne: The Role of Central and Peripheral Authorities in the Construction of a Provincial Territory in France in the Early 18th Century," 23–24.

cartographers such as Delisle promoted the concept of maps and geographic vision as a means to order both the terrestrial and political world.

Cartography reflected one aspect by visually affirming terrestrial and political order while philosophy reflected the second dimension of bordering by constructing meaning and significance of belonging within the boundaries of territories from the perspective of the collective individual. Political writings challenged absolute rule in favor of rights of the governed; however, commissioned maps visually displayed territorial power. Thus, writing that called for collective people to restructure cognitive order of authority

The combination of individuals constructed the collective mentality, a general populace, and acknowledgments of boundaries formed through the reason and logic of philosophy. Montesquieu was an early voice for political reform in the first half of the eighteenth century when he published *The Spirit of Laws*, which blends both theories of government and human development based on natural sciences. While lengthy, Montesquieu's piece highlights a geographic vision that incorporates the climate as a mold for the temperament of people within a geographical area. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings about political order in the *Social Contract* (1762) and *Considerations on the Government of Poland* (1771) examine the application of political philosophy with a focus on the collective individual that inspired a form of political order without the dependence on geographical or cartographical medium.

Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws* question the limits and extensions of government by suggesting regulation on powers and rights between the ruler and the governed. Additionally, Montesquieu's Book 14 discussed the laws based on nature and climate, an integration of natural science and philosophy of human development which demonstrate one manner in which Europeans understood geography and climate in relation to the character of human development.

The character of "the spirit and the passions of the heart are extremely different in various climates;" therefore, the laws should "be relative to the differences", suggesting that terrestrial location should be proportional to the laws and a connection between perspectives of climate and politics.[6] Additionally, Montesquieu asserts that a single set of laws would not be applicable over a large span of territory.

The Europeans understood the world in relation to others and differences. Knowledge accumulated from expeditions resulted in knowledge that was both debatable and fascinating for thinkers like Montesquieu. Equipped with such information, Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* offers one perspective on European cognitive boundaries based on the character of man's development using climate zones as a frame of order of social, political, and economic development. In general, Montesquieu theorized that the world was organized around the hot equatorial regions of the earth contrasted with the cooler climates of Europe.

Montesquieu argues that cold air shortens the "body's surface fibers" meaning that "men were more vigorous" when the heart and fibers were closer together.[7] Thus, cold climate promoted confidence, courage, and "better knowledge of one's superiority" while lessening the vices such as vengeance because the heart is working at its optimal level, whereas veins supposedly contract closer in cold climates.[8] His descriptions favor towards the cool climate of Europe, constructing the cognitive order of temperate zones of the world, a European perspective of judging societies in different regions of the world. In warmer countries, Montesquieu suggested that hot weather induced "a great slackening of heart" in man because "he will fill he

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[6] Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge Cambridgeshire, 1989), 231.
[7] Montesquieu, 231.
[8] Montesquieu, 232.

can do nothing," thus leaving a "discouragement in his soul."[9] The descriptions and suggested order of the temperate zones perceived a meteorological boundary between societies that also ascribed positive and negative characteristics to development.

The Spirit of the Laws cognitively map terrestrial boundaries based on climate to shape European identity. The temperatures in the tropics were believed to affect human development negatively; therefore, societies in those regions were less capable of managing themselves. According to Montesquieu, the Indians are "by nature without courage" and even the children of Europeans born in the Indies "lose the courage of the European climate."[10] However, in the instance of China, warmer weather has a positive effect. The emperor of China is praised for personally identifying the "plowman who has most distinguished himself in his profession", which improves the spirits and hearts of people cultivating the land in hot weather.[11] Weather and climate shape civility, superiority, and identity. While warm climates are detrimental to human development, it is possible to deter the negative impact through correct and positive governing. Ordering the people means an order through laws, and Montesquieu's origins of laws are impacted by different elements that are both terrestrial and intellectual.

Rousseau's *Considerations on the Government of Poland* published late in his life in 1771 as his last major contribution to political theory forms a contrast to Montesquieu's ideas about government by suggesting that law and order are subjected to a unified collective. Using the individual as the foundation for the collective, Rousseau presents the Poles with suggestions about resisting Russia and fostering internal instability. Furthermore, Rousseau is writing without having been to Poland, which expresses the ability of cognitive projection about geo-

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[9] Montesquieu, 232.
[10] Montesquieu, 234.
[11] Montesquieu, 237–38.

political arrangements. Poland was experiencing its first partition at the time of Rousseau's writing. Russia, Austria, and Prussia were external aggressors that combined with the destruction of internal politics to destabilize the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was once a major European power. Russian victories against the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774) provided the military support needed to control political elections within the commonwealth, dictating its eventual partition in 1772.

Rousseau describes Poland as falling into "decrepitude, menaced by an impending death."[12] The people are "depopulated, devastated, oppressed," a perfect invitation to an aggressive Russian neighbor.[13] However, Rousseau displays some of his more flowery language and perhaps personal opinions that Poland "still shows all the fire of youth" who were "worthy" of freedom against "a powerful and cunning aggressor."[14] Rousseau's thoughts about Poland apply his version of the *Social Contract* published in 1762. Rousseau's writing of the *Social Contract* drew criticism from Fredrick the Great of Prussia, and invited greater disdain from Catherine the Great .[15] Rousseau framed the writing in the *Social Contract* and about Poland using the gardening metaphor. He compared Russia to a French garden with "rigorously forced designs, finally challenged in the eighteenth century by the 'natural' values of English taste."[16] Rousseau suggests that the Polish "garden" needs the intellectual cultivation found in Western Europe to prevent eastern European barbarism (i.e. Russia, Prussia, and Austria) from taking over.

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[12] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Plan for Perpetual Peace, on the Government of Poland, and Other Writings on History and Politics* (Hanover, N.H.: Hanover, N.H. : Dartmouth College Press : University Press of New England, 2005), 170.
[13] Rousseau, 170.
[14] Rousseau, 170.
[15] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe : The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, 236.
[16] Wolff, 236.

Book I, Chapter 9 of the *Social Contract* discusses the purpose of owning property as an individual and as the state, while the first five chapters of Book II discuss the will of the individual to bring about the contract to form a government. Applying Rousseau's *Social Contract* to Poland demonstrates the use of political philosophy as a method of ascribing physical landscape with political power to create an early vision of the nation-state. However, Rousseau admits that the work of political advice would be "better entrusted to the Poles," or to "someone who has studied well on the spot the Polish nation and those which neighbor it."[17]

Rousseau imagines people reaching a point when "impediments that endangered their survival in the state of nature" prevented the human race from surviving unless "it changed its mode of existence."[18] Rousseau's description of Poland alludes to the chaotic state of nature, in which he called upon the young Poles to rise together to form "by aggregation a sum of forces which may prevail over the resistance."[19] Only then, according to the theory of the *Social Contract*, can the Poles "defend and protect with the whole force of the community the person and property of every associate."[20] Rousseau suggests that people, on leaving the state of nature to form the civil state, gain possession which is "the result of force or the right of first occupancy" and "property, which can be based only on a lawful title."[21]

Within the civil state, Rousseau expresses the ancient mode of bordering which defined territories by the inhabitants rather than "lawful title." Monarchs of the eighteenth century called themselves the kings of France, Spain, and England, which denotes the process of "holding the land" and inhabitants rather than using the concept of "first occupancy" used by "kings of

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[17] Wolff, 236.
[18] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, First and Second Discourses (New Haven : Yale University Press, 2002), 163.
[19] Rousseau, 163.
[20] Rousseau, 163.
[21] Rousseau, 167.

Persians or Scythians or Macedonians" and that prevented them from being "masters of their country." However, Rousseau's argument is weak, as both the ancient kings and the monarchs of his time applied a blanket name (Scythians, England) over lands and inhabitants which ancient societies such as the Greeks and Chinese conveyed in their writings. What differs is how Rousseau explains that monarchs owned the land instead of the inhabitants. The people are given "lawful possession", which changes "usurpation," a reference to ancient territorial conflicts, "into true right, enjoyment into ownership."[22] According to Rousseau, the right to own land is "respected by all members of the State, as well as defended by all its power against foreigners;" therefore, the civil state should establish and protect the rights of the territory and people.[23] Considering Poland's first partition, Rousseau's prescription of a united civil state by the youth demonstrated the need to strengthen both terrestrial boundaries and political boundaries of the civil state.

Rousseau's political writing during the eighteenth century suggest that people and leaders struggled together to destroy and restore boundaries about land, rule, law, and freedoms that ultimately shaped the internal order state with relations to other neighboring states. While Rousseau was confident in Polish nationalism, he was skeptical about Poland's political division between the equestrian order, the senate, and the king. The three divisions are better characterized by Rousseau as "the nobles, who are everything, the bourgeois, who are nothing, and the peasants, who are less than nothing."[24] According to Rousseau, government required a "natural order" where the "individual will should be null, the government's corporate will very

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[22] Rousseau, 168.
[23] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Major Political Writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau : The Two Discourses and the Social Contract* (Chicago: Chicago, 2012), 167.
[24] Rousseau, *The Plan for Perpetual Peace, on the Government of Poland, and Other Writings on History and Politics*, 184.

subordinate," and "the sovereign will always dominant."[25] Thus, the case of Poland represents both the destruction and restoration of boundaries that called upon the Polish to rise together under the banners of a civil state to strengthen the nation-state against Russia's aggression.

While writings in political philosophy expanded intellectual discourses during the eighteenth century, explorers such as Mungo Park continued to reflect the ancient mode of bordering by documenting his experience in Africa in 1794-1796. At the end of the eighteenth century, Mungo Park was one of many explorers of the periphery of Europe who was influenced by improvements in the natural sciences and philosophy. His writing therefore expresses ideas of European perspectives of identity, civilization, and barbarism, which constructed modes of inclusion and exclusion in his descriptions. His journey was published as *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* in 1799 shortly after returning to London. Park's work followed the travelogue narrative style of the eighteenth century, often notated with dates and measurements. Park's published personal and direct experiences with Africans expressed the dispersion of European ideas of commerce, society, and distinctions. Cartographers and scholars benefited from explorations such as Park's that brought back more accurate data to replace older texts such as the one by Leo Africanus in 1600. However, the significance of Park's account was the assertion of European identity and notions of civility versus barbarism towards different African societies, but specifically the Moors.

The cultural and geographical boundaries inscribed European superiority through civility and in opposition to African cultures. European experiences with the Moors was one case in which Park articulated boundaries based on European standards, development, manners, and customs. In 1776, Park arrived in Jarra, a town located in the kingdom of Ludmar. Before

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[25] Rousseau, 210–11.

continuing, Park was convinced by his guide to exchange the "beads and amber for gold" because it "was more easily concealed from the Moors" which immediately the Moors as a less welcoming society.[26] Further raising boundaries between Park and the Moors occurred when they got closer and his attendants were "completely frightened" by the "savage and overbearing deportment of the Moors" and ran away. [27]

African society was organized in the minds of the readers by their relation to Park's account as a European which suggested a cultural divergence and peripheral perspective of Africa by Europeans. Thus, to Park's audience, an articulated discursive boundary was constructed through his account of his travels that placed African societies as inferior to European society. Mungo Park's account held bias in perceiving and understanding African development; thus, his portrayal of the Moors in Africa formed a vision of Africa bordered against a vision of Europe characterized by the way each society ordered itself. The peripheral location of Africa to Europe further expanded the distant relationships for the audience to refute or question Park's account.

Despite Park's general characterization of the Moors as non-European, he included descriptions of specific activities that suggested otherwise. On March 4[th,] 1776, Park stayed at the house of a gunpowder maker that bought his sulfur from the Moors and which demonstrated a developed society that engaged in local economic trades contrary to some of Park's descriptions about the Moors' barbarism.[28] Despite Park's account of the Moor's civility, he continues to describe the Moors in terms of "rudeness, ferocity, and fanaticism" that distinguishes them "from

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[26] Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa in the Years 1795, 1796, & 1797, by Mungo Park. Abridged from the Original Work.* (London: printed by J. W. Myers, 1799), 141.
[27] Park, 141–42.
[28] Park, 144.

the rest of mankind."[29] The Moors are represented as "very powerful and warlike" controlled by a chief who had "absolute jurisdiction over his own horde which differed from Park's European ideals of civility by gentle manners.[30] To deepen Park's perception of the Moors as a barbaric and savage African society, he recounts the "predatory excursions" used by Moors to obtain slaves as part of their commerce.[31] After staring into the "wildness of their eyes," Park concludes that they were an excluded "nation of lunatics."[32] Park's scientific observations of the Moors as bestial resembled taxonomic descriptions introduced during the eighteenth century to categorize newly discovered plants and animals from explorations. European and African societies formed enacted boundaries from Park's descriptions of Moor's perceived barbarism. The proximity and attachment to African geography furthered widened the division between both societies.

Upon arrival in the town of Benown in Ludmar, Park was immediately surrounded by curious Moors. Christianity and Islam quickly became the point of interaction for Park who was forced to repeat "there is one God, and Mahomet is his prophet" despite being Christian.[33] The source of tension most likely arose from misunderstandings and misinformation among both groups; however, Park's published accounts continued to convey his perception of Islam as a religion that was stricter than his Christian practices. Once the crowd around Park subsided, King Ali instructed Park to kill a hog for dinner. When Park refused to kill the hog, the Moors to release the hog "in hopes that it would run immediately" towards Park out of the belief that "a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians."[34] However, the hog started attacking its captors and ran away. Park also observed that the "severe fasts which their religion enjoins, and

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[29] Park, 144.
[30] Park, 164.
[31] Park, 166.
[32] Park, 171.
[33] Park, 167.
[34] Park, 170.

the toilsome [journeys]" across the Sahara was most likely the pilgrimage to Mecca.[35] Religion became a significant reference point for both societies by either expressing discursive or enacted boundaries. In the case between Islam and Christianity, the boundary was discursive through Park's experience of Islam during his times with the Moors. Furthermore, the account presents Islam from a Christian perspective and understanding, which demonstrates the construction of dialogic boundaries between the two groups.

The festivities before Park's planned departure were interrupted by Ali's attendants, who forced him to remain in captivity because Ali's wife "had heard so much about Christians, that she was very anxious to see one."[36] The Moors are described as curious about European whiteness and cautious of it. Park awoke suddenly on March 12th while in captivity to the sounds of a Moor attempting to rob him. The Moor's screaming woke up the entire tent and drew the attention of Ali who came running from a different tent other than his own. Park comments that Ali was "tyrannical and cruel" because no one knew where he slept.[37] After his interrupted night's sleep, Park concludes that "every spark of humanity" was driven away from "the heart of a Moor because he was a stranger, unprotected and Christian."[38] Park's published interactions with the Moors construct boundaries between Islam and Christianity, conveying the idea that other Christians and Muslims would have similar struggles to understand each other. Since Park was an explorer, he focused on lands and the people that live there. Therefore, his perceptions and conclusions about religious interactions characterize a discursive boundary by articulating a disconnection between Christianity and Islam.

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[35] Park, 165.
[36] Park, 145.
[37] Park, 149.
[38] Park, 149.

Park's account of his travels project incompatible European expectations onto African societies . This provides Park and his readers with the opportunity to construct biased social, religious, and terrestrial boundaries between European and African societies. This relationship was an exchange of knowledge between societies that ultimately lacked accuracy because of barriers in cultural customs, preconceptions of culture, and having an understood identity. However, despite the incomplete understanding, Europeans and African societies engaged in a global exchange that constructed cognitive boundaries of Africa and Africans in the minds of Europeans. The biased perception constructed a discursive boundary between European and African society through discriminations and assumptions that promoted visions of European superiority. Africa was represented as the periphery of Europe, distant from its centers of development, culturally remote enough to be explored, and separated by both discursive and enacted boundaries. Park's descriptions of religious tension between Christianity and Islam furthered constructed European visions of inclusion and exclusions. Park's account pushed a docile and gentle nature found in his Christian Europe as the expectation for civilized society. Thus, monologic boundaries were constructed by a public wide reading and reception of Park's account between Islam and Christianity that. The monologic boundary shaped through the public reception of Islam preserved their center in Europe and identity of Europeans as docile and gentle.

Around the same time as Park's expedition to Africa, Johann Reinhold Forster accompanied James Cook on his second voyage (1772-1775) to the South Sea Isles, modern-day French Polynesia, as a naturalist and scientific observer. Cook was tasked with discovering whether a great southern continent existed. After the original naturalist, Joseph Banks, backed out of the voyage, Forster was recommended by the Royal Society. Forster admitted that he was

initially reluctant to join the voyage because he had a "fair prospect of getting a place at the British Museum," but was hoping to make "great discoveries in Natural History."[39] Forster adapted the travelogue style of record keeping that focused on blending natural history, philosophy, botany, and zoology together for analyzing non-European societies. *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* published in 1778 returned to the ancient mode of bordering by relying on the human experience with inhabitants and topography. However, Forster's background and studies in the natural sciences and philosophy systematized his account which conveyed a methodical tone and analysis.

On the island of O-Taheitee (i.e. Tahiti), the largest in the Southern Sea Isles, Forster constructed relationships between the inhabitants' temper and body type, climate, and geographical coordinates. "The mild and temperate climate, under the powerful, benevolent, and congenial influence of the sun, mitigated by alternate sea and land breezes" helped the cultivation of animals and vegetables for the inhabitants, but more significantly, the climate "improves the human frame." [40] The description of different "varieties" of "human species" used language and descriptions typically found in scientific lab observations and reports.[41] Such language suggested that the inhabitants of French Polynesia were specimens within a lab, a method of making sense of the discovery of indigenous inhabitants rather than a great continent.

Forster applied ideas of nomenclature and taxonomy by Carl Linnaeus to systematically organize the inhabitants of Tahiti into two general races that were further broken down into "varieties."[42] The process of categorizing and ordering represents the bordering process which

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[39] Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), LV.
[40] Forster, 145.
[41] Forster, 153.
[42] Forster, 153.

Forster uses to make sense of information new to him, similar to the partitions of the quadrants on a map. However, unlike mapping the earth, Forster is partitioning people, a method which reflected his training as a naturalist. Forster reasoned that the division between the two races was divided into variations to "form the gradations towards the other race" which signified justification and reasoning for racially partitioning, and profiling the inhabitants.[43] Forster represented an example of methodological and racial bordering using the theories and process found in the natural sciences of the eighteenth century. The first race found in O-Taheitee and Society-Isles (Friendly Isles) were observed to have rich topography and the "common people are most exposed to air and sun" because they do "all kinds of dirty work" such as agriculture, fishing, and building.[44] The second race consisted of the "better sort of people" who are "full lustre and perfection."[45] Just as the climate could "improve the human frame," Forster concluded that the "relaxation of their solids, under a powerful sun, causes a great indolence" in addition to an attention deficit because they were lively with brisk tempers.[46] Forster believed in the natural sciences of the eighteenth century in which climate, location, and weather shaped the development of people.

Specific geographical coordinates and locations further systematized the manner in which Forster described the inhabitants of French Polynesia. The members of the second race, the Marqueas, were "more tawny" because they were situated "in the latitude of 9° 57`."[47] The location in which the Marqueas lived and the physique they possessed suggested to Forster that "they are also more accustomed to go without any covering", which reinforced European

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[43] Forster, 153–54.
[44] Forster, 154.
[45] Forster, 154.
[46] Forster, 155.
[47] Forster, 155.

expectations of social representation and habits.[48] Tierra del Fuego was distinguished from New Zealand because of its proximity to the poles. Distance from the poles "degenerated and debased from that original happiness, which the tropical nations more or less enjoy."[49] Forster concluded that "human creatures" closer to the extremities of the globe "appeared to us to be wretched, but to be themselves conscious of their own misery" based on their lack of sufficient clothing. Forster's interaction with the people of Tierra del Fuego was the most unpleasant because of their "highly offensive" smell from "rancid train oil" and the "rotten seals flesh which they eat."[50] Forster described the New Zealanders' "uncleanliness, abhorrence of bathing, and sitting exposed to smoak and nastiness" because they lived "in the temperate zone from 34 ° to 47 ° South latitude."[51] Descriptions of "wretched human creatures" were given with geographical coordinates that distanced them from tropical societies in the Southern Sea Isles and Europe; therefore, these societies were located in on the periphery most remote from Europe. Additionally, Forster measured the temperature to be "46 to 50 Fahrenheit" which contrasted greatly from the heated climate of the Southern Sea Isles to suggest that the colder the temperature, the more uncivilized the society. [52]

Forster's background as a natural philosopher, combined with his accounts about the societies in Polynesia, moved him to ascribe models of inclusion and exclusion based on the interactions with each society. Applied scientific methodology reflected the influence of advancements in natural science on Forster's classification of inhabitants into two categories based on their living habits. While Forster was writing and recording to make a living, his

[48] Forster, 155.
[49] Forster, 192.
[50] Forster, 192.
[51] Forster, 177.
[52] Forster, 192.

remarks on the development of the societies conveyed racial ordering. By ascribing geographical location and specific coordinates as well as measurements, Forster shaped the boundary that excluded the inhabitants on the terrestrial map. Forster's publication constructed modes of bordering the Southern Sea Isles based on natural science, cartography, philosophy of human development, and his own experiences with the inhabitants of each society.

The eighteenth century mode of bordering extended the characteristics typical of the ancient mode of bordering by removing reliance on cosmographic vision in favor of empirical reasoning and logic to determine order of the world through writing and cartography. Guillaume Delisle standardized and expanded the construction of maps by providing consistent reliability for explorers and rulers to track and control their land. Delisle grappled with two worlds of cartography throughout his career that shaped both visual and intellectual understandings of the expanding world. Cosgrove's idea of geographic vision continued to be represented by Delisle's cartography and his advancement of it as a way to construct order. The order that cartography provides remains consistent with Cosgrove's ideas of terrestrial order; however, during the eighteenth century, cosmographic order was being replaced with reliance on reason and logic. The shift away from religious and supernatural explanations about earthly order was replaced with empirical ordering. Cartographers like Delisle relied on measurements and comparisons rather than religious scriptures to craft their geographic vision of the word.

The examination of writings by Rousseau and Montesquieu revealed that political writings such as the *Social Contract* could shape and influence terrestrial boundaries by acting on social and political suggestions. Montesquieu's theories about climate and weather expressed the European perspective on the global ordering of societies; misunderstandings of the cognitive and political development of humans affected the relations European explorers had with other

societies. While ideas about location determining character development have been disproven today, such ideas of geographic barbarism and civility shaped how Europeans constructed boundaries of inclusion and exclusion with supposed less civil Eastern Europeans and undeveloped societies in French Polynesia and Africa.

The Americas, Polynesia, and Africa were considered peripheries to Europe; however, these places also defined Europe's identity and fueled early ideas of nationalism. Cartography helped visualize distance, and philosophy which signified the importance of distance. Recalling Delisle's map from earlier in the chapter, Eastern Europe was insufficiently labeled when compared to Western Europe that was filled with details. The division was both cognitive and visual on Delisle's map, which conveyed a European center located in the west. Etienne Balibar's argument that the peripheries are better suited in defining the center of societies suggested European identity was further preserved by accounts of other societies in newly rediscovered places such as Polynesia. Societies in the periphery such as the Moors also confirmed Europeans in their identities by being different from Europeans. Thus, it may suggest that the eighteenth century model of bordering was Eurocentric because of their awareness of belonging to a European identity. Interactions in the peripheral zones of the European center formed *demos* and *politia*; therefore, European identity was simultaneously dispersed and preserved to form Eurocentric modes of inclusion and exclusion.

Explorations between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries recognized that there was a need to explore unknown peripheries and interact with both the land and people there. Thus, the opportunity and willingness framework suggested by Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas increased the chances of interactions in the periphery. The proximity between Europe and other societies was decreased by the advances in transportation and navigation driven by the

willingness to risk lives and resources for the opportunities to learn and gain from explorations

such as those into Africa and Polynesia. Johann Forster's motivation for agreeing to join James

Cook was the increased opportunities to make a better living, which meant factors that fueled

explorations did not rely on larger, national causes. Oceans once represented the boundary

between Europe and other societies. The accounts of successful explorations destroyed the

oceanic boundaries and made them more valuable by providing access to other territories.

According to Starr and Thomas, the salience of boundaries impacts whether interactions remain

friendly or hostile. The "opportunity and willingness framework" increased chances of

interactions and resulted in more salient oceanic and terrestrial boundaries—reflected in the

long-distance journeys conducted by James Cook to the Southern Sea Isles. While old

boundaries became more salient, new boundaries were erected intellectually through the

accounts of explorations that concluded misconceptions and assumptions about non-European

societies and non-Christians.

     The eighteenth century experienced a multivariable model of bordering in which

cartography, explorations, and philosophy were factored into the bordering process. The

replacement of cosmographic order with reason, while maintaining a drive for human experience

through exploration held onto characteristics from the ancient model of bordering. Because of

the multivariable nature of bordering, additional writers in different fields were examined to

better understand how well the current set of theories applied to the eighteenth century.

Guillaume Delisle's cartography provided geographical and political order to the human

experience by rulers that used maps to strengthen their political agenda and power. Philosophy

constructed the identity Europeans by focusing on the individual rights, and then focusing on the

collective community of individual rights. Montesquieu's ideas suggested human development

was dependent on geographical locations that could be measured and mapped using cartography, thus strengthening European identities against others in a dialogic bordering. Although inaccurate, Montesquieu presented the idea of external factors, climate and the weather, as shaping whether a specific society would need assistance in organizing politically and socially. Rousseau changed the focus from external factors to internal elements that impacted the political and social development of societies. In the *Social Contract* Rousseau suggests that the individual collectively agrees to organize, thus constructing a political boundary around their lands. Land was a common theme for both philosophers. Montesquieu uses the land to construct order as a determinant of human development, while Rousseau uses land as the foundation to promote a political collective of people.

The account of explorers constructed identities of the people they encountered through a dialogic bordering process, but their published accounts processed in a monologic manner to Europeans who read it. The eighteenth century model of bordering continued to rely on the human experience through exploration. Explorations consisted of long distance sailing such as Johann Forster's travels to the South Sea Isles, and Mungo Park's travels into Africa. Similar to Herodotus and Sima Qian, both individuals relied on geographic and ethnographic observations to construct their accounts. The human experience continued to be a centerpiece in constructing ideas of inclusion and exclusion through relationships with societies. Relationships could turn hostile, as was the case with Mungo Park and the Moors, or it could be more welcoming and neutral as with Forster in the Polynesian islands. Each interaction and relationship in the periphery through human experience formed boundaries that were more discursive if welcoming and enacted if hostile. Furthermore, the written accounts of both explorers highlighted the differences of other societies from European notions of development, religion, and manners. The

religious boundary between Christians and Muslims was enacted and practiced after Park's struggle with understanding the Moors' treatment of him as a Christian while Forster had less hostile interactions. Forster's journal constructed boundaries that were discursive and acknowledged from differences in cultures and proximity with Europe. Combining the accounts by explorers with the visualized map of the earth, Europeans, and philosophers constructed their identities based on relationships with each other and non-Europeans more rapidly through its printed accounts and maps. Eighteenth century boundaries preserved an acknowledged European center by explorers published accounts about their travels to the peripheries.

5 EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The early twentieth century built upon previous modes of bordering by relying on the human experience as the foundation for bordering. Boundaries continued to be influenced by improvements in technology, transportation, and communication. Boundaries became more international in relation to infrastructure improvements in the United States. However, despite international boundaries, echoes of previous ways of thinking and reasoning endured to influence new writers and explorers. While geographical boundaries in America redefined nationhood and identity, ethnocentric boundaries that were prominent during the eighteenth century continued to prevail in writing. Fredrick Jackson Turner's thesis about the closing of the American West and the future of American identity reflected a nativist thinker grappling with the identity crisis of nationhood. President Theodore Roosevelt's Great White Fleet sailed around the world with sailors embodying American ideas of politics, society, religion, and economics. Boundaries can be constructed in a variety of forms or reorganized to become transnational.

Boundaries in early twentieth century American history were measures of American identity, political and economic power, and a signifier of nationhood. Fredrick Turner Jackson published his theories about the connection between the nation and territorial space in 1893. While there is much criticism of Turner's broad generalization of American identity against the backdrop of forced colonization and slavery, his essay reveals how early twentieth century Americans grappled with identity through spatial boundaries that reflected the process of monologic bordering. The West was romanticized as a space where European settlers slowly conquered the wilderness to create order, becoming less European.

Turner reflected a sense of chronographic vision which demonstrate the shifting of geographical understandings or boundaries over time. The western "wilderness" was reshaped

and "mastered" by settlers to become a symptom of American exceptionalism. Turner drew upon the ideas of progress and development to explain his understanding of American boundaries, limits, and frontiers. Eventually, the wilderness grew and replaced the colonist's "garments of civilization" and placed him in the "log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois" where the colonists were completely dominated by the "frontier environment."[1] Turner's comparison of the frontier with wilderness resembles the eighteenth century perspectives on Eastern Europe as a territory that was uncivilized when compared to Western Europe. Turner described the frontier as having a wild and uncontrolled atmosphere that was alive, and thus could even dominate the pioneers. The wilderness therefore, was a monologic boundary that dynamically changed in accordance with the settler's development. The western frontier was the "the meeting point between savagery and civilization," and overlap of interactions between pioneers and the Native Americans.[2] While the west represented a monologic boundary, the interactions between Native Americans and European settlers demonstrated the construction of dialogic and enacted boundaries. The highlight of differences that emerged through conflicts and disputes to shape ideas of American and non-American such as the qualities of exploration that could dominate the uncultivated wilderness and its inhabitants. The "advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe" which reaffirmed Turner's attempt to engrain a monolithic American identity, politicized nationhood and national history while overshadowing the complex and diverse boundary relations that settlers had since their arrival.[3]

The frontier consisted of space west of the settlements inhabited by Native Americans, which were characteristically non-European and rudimentary when compared in technological

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[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, *History, Frontier, and Section : Three Essays* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 60–61.
[2] Turner, 60.
[3] Turner, 62.

advances. According to Turner, the boundaries were described through the landscape furthest settled, a method that Cosgrove describes as embodying "engineering and imagination."[4] Cosgrove argues that European portrayal of the landscape was a trope for the "imaginative domestication of a new, global spatiality" which disrupted "previously established spatial, ethnographic and conceptual boundaries."[5] By presenting Bellini's painting of Aircastle, Cosgrove suggests that the metaphor of gardening exposes the "engineering and imagination" of cultivating the wild plants and trees in the background is juxtaposed with a "humanized landscape" in the foreground. Thus, the early twentieth century mode of bordering in Turner's perspective reflects the gardening metaphor which describes the transformation of the wilderness by the colonist to become "a new product that is American."

American identity took shape through a dialogic bordering process, the accumulation of western land through conflicts and disputes with Native Americans. Gardening the American wilderness, the West, and the Native Americans became the "meeting point between savagery and civilization" which immediately and imaginatively bordered Americans against Native American cultures.[6] The imaginary boundary becomes more concrete as the European frontier pushed from the Atlantic deeper west, ultimately constructing an organic boundary from landmarks such as the Alleghany Mountains, Mississippi River, ninety-ninth meridian and the Rocky Mountains. The natural boundaries constructed simultaneously with the imaginary boundary between savagery and civilization becomes what Cosgrove called an imagined landscape.

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[4] Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision : Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World.*, 53.
[5] Cosgrove, 53.
[6] Turner, *History, Frontier, and Section : Three Essays*, 12.

Cosgrove defined imagined landscapes as a combination of graphic images published in writing, atlases and maps that coincided with real geographical locales that could be studied safely in a library or home. Therefore, except for pioneers who pushed into Native American lands to expand settlements, those who stayed in the original or older frontiers of America perceived the West as an imagined landscape based on the information returned by pioneers. Whether Turner was consciously aware of such a method was unclear; however, his use of imagined landscapes romanticized the West in American history and promoted American identity.

Fredrick Jackson Turner attempted to portray continuous and natural expansion as a means to construct American identity, which results in reimagined boundaries based on settlements rather than actual interactions between Americans and the wilderness. Turner's final lines in his thesis argue that the "frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history" and conjure the panic of losing or forgetting the American identity as a product of struggling with the wilderness.[7] Turner treats the wilderness as a personified entity, imaginatively creating a dialogic process by calling for the preservation of American identity by conquering the wilderness.

At the time of Turner's writing, the Native American threat to American identity and expansion was replaced with immigration, specifically the influx of European immigration at the turn of the century. Turner claimed that the "advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe;" however, the "later tides of continental immigration" such as the Germans in Wisconsin threatened American nativism.[8] The wilderness, according to Turner, has closed and the process of Americanizing the European was also

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[7] Turner, 88.
[8] Turner, 62,75.

declining. These twin processes blurred the boundaries between Europe and America. Turner argued that western expansion created a border between American identity and European identity; therefore, the immigration influx of the early twentieth century presented a less American identity in favor of multicultural European diversity.

Cosgrove suggests that Turner's ideas inspired the preservation of the west through President Roosevelt's creation of the National Park System. This coincided with the creation of the Dillingham Commission based on the belief of "scientific racism" because of new types of people that were arriving in the United States who were different from older immigrants. These new immigrants were "transient young men, largely from southern and eastern Europe or (in California) from China and Japan."[9] Turner touches on the intersection between his immediate American boundaries and the periphery; however, he fails to discuss the role the periphery played in bordering American identity and boundaries with other nations, people, and immigrants.

Turner's paper carries ideas of scientific racism from the past century as a way of constructing and justifying the origins of American identity and history. According to Turner, the peripheral West was central to the formation of both an American people and political nation. Thus the West in Turner's paper was a center of power that bordered minority ethnic groups politically and culturally. Etienne Balibar suggests that centers of power are found in the periphery where "the localization of virtual or real governing authorities"[10] exist. He further suggests that these centers of power validate the concept of a collective "civic consciousness" in

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[9] Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision : Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World.*, 112.
[10] Balibar and Williams, "World Borders, Political Borders," 72.

addition to the "collective resolution of the contradictions that run through it," such as the

diversity of a population identifying itself as a homogenous people.[11]

Turner did not present the frontier as a periphery or what it meant for the West to be

outside of the politicized states. Discussions about the American Western frontier placed the

center of power in Native American territory, which legitimized their original rights to the land.

Turner portrayed the wilderness as a resource that pioneers transformed "little by little" to create

"a new product that is American."[12] Creating a new identity that was American meant the

consumption of the west as a resource to shape modes of inclusion and exclusion. Ultimately,

when the west was settled nationhood and history took the form of American identity.

Turner expressed the west as land, a factor of production, and juxtaposed groups of

people which increased its importance, thus becoming an overlapping zone.[13] The interaction

between Americans and Native Americans on contested lands were chorographic in nature by

shifting the American boundary westward over time. The dialogic boundaries between pioneers

and Native Americans placed the center of both groups at overlapping zones such as the

Mississippi River and Rocky mountains. The locations in these cases were overlapping in the

sense of interaction and expressing monologic qualities for being terrestrial landmarks, and

dialogic qualities for being the locations of disputes between Native Americans and pioneers.[14]

Together, both groups interacted at the center of power, the western wilderness which resulted in

Cosgrove's chronographic shift of the American boundaries westward. The frontier represented a

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[11] Balibar and Williams, 72.
[12] Turner, *History, Frontier, and Section : Three Essays*, 62.
[13] Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas, "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2005): 125.
[14] Balibar and Williams, "World Borders, Political Borders," 74.

center of power constructed from overlapped groups interacting which contributed to Turner's thesis about the formation of American identity.

During the early twentieth century, the Immigration Act of 1924 was an attempt to control and limit the flow of immigrants from Europe and Asia. The act favored people from "northern and western Europe" over "eastern and southern Europe" which mirrored similar language used by Turner in his warning about the "new types of immigrants."[15] President Herbert Hoover's approved the immigration quota on March 22, 1929, which limited immigration from countries proportional to their respective ethnicity in the United States with an admitted "element of error" by the Quota Board's research team.[16] Turner's call for the preservation of American history and identity as the western frontier closed was echoed by the voices of nativists such as the American Legion, the Grange, and the Daughters of the American Revolution in favor of the origins quota. These patriotic voices publicly argued that the origins quota did not discriminate against anyone. However, the quota reflected an enacted boundary by expressing a strict limitation for immigration.

According to Starr and Thomas, territorial units created "spatial arrangements of units" based on dynamic measurements of temporal distance and provide an identity or symbolic importance to people which is a real resource in the minds of American nativists, politicians, and citizens. A movement emerged in the first two decades of the twentieth century to maintain an American identity in the face of the new immigrant threat that Turner warned would alter the identity and history of America. American boundaries expressed expansionism on a contiguous land mass which allows a close examination about how the spatial relationships affect the

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[15] Mae M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924," *The Journal of American History*, no. 1 (1999): 69.
[16] Ngai, 68.

construction of real and imagined boundaries of nation, identity, politics and economics in the twentieth century as immigration and international relationships increased. Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas suggest that based on the spatial organization of territorial units or states, the degree of contiguity would determine the formation of boundaries. They also suggest that based on the degree of contiguity, the opportunity for interactions or conflict was directly proportional. Turner's paper can be used to test whether Starr and Thomas' theory holds for early twentieth century America and whether the increase in international relationships blurs or enhances the degree of contiguity. While their study was able to quantify datasets and conclusions, it would be difficult and beyond the project's framework to quantify available datasets; however, the existence of numerical data demonstrates the advancement in infrastructure technology, which enhances the opportunities for people to interact.

Throughout Turner's paper, his focus is the spatial expansion of early European pioneers who landed on the North American Atlantic coast. The examination of spatial organization coincides with examining the proximity of territorial units Turner focused on physical geography, Native Americans, European settlers, the wilderness, and political government. Starr and Thomas suggest that these states or territorial units construct dynamic "spatial arrangements of the units indicating the physical/geographic distance" based on "time-distance", which is determined by the level of infrastructure.[17]

Turner dedicates the first part of his paper to tracing the geographical advance of early American pioneers into the western frontier while interacting with the wilderness and Native Americans as a way of determining spatial occupation. The wilderness simultaneously occupies physical space as uncultivated land in the mind of the pioneer when it "masters the colonist," and

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[17] Starr and Thomas, "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory," 2005, 125.

is personified as Native American culture that puts the colonist "in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois." The "frontier" and the "wilderness" are used interchangeably by Turner, but the frontier represents the more physical dimension of expansion while the wilderness reflects the imagined landscape. Essentially, Turner portrays the boundaries of America before and during his time as an urban development project where settlers and contemporary Americans continuously modified real and imagined elements of the landscape to parse it into managed territorial states that ended up under political control. As the temporal-distance element shifts to dictate the organized lands, the level of infrastructure also shifted from trading posts that destroyed Native American organization in favor of a Eurocentric bordering by railroads and turnpikes, which improved capitalistic goals. Contiguity relied on spatial distance between states; therefore, the use of more effective transportation improved how Americans decreased the temporal distance between territorial states, which Turner expressed as stages in frontier occupation.[18]

The Atlantic coast, Allegheny Mountains, the Mississippi, the Missouri, 99th meridian, and the Rocky Mountains were organized into spaces that reflected the boundary of America characterized as imagined landmarks by Turner's thesis. Most importantly, these locations represent an American monologic boundary. The wilderness heightened the importance of boundaries, and each boundary was "won by a series of Indian wars" which revealed a form of hegemonic bordering.[19] The addition of western states conquered the wilderness and frontier through the politicalized bordering of lands, people and imagined landscape. Contiguity within the United States was geographically determined, Native American lands and settlements were always touching at economic points which provided a high degree of opportunity for

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[18] Starr and Thomas, 125.
[19] Turner, *History, Frontier, and Section : Three Essays*, 65.

interactions. The dynamic time-space measurement that Starr and Thomas used to measure contiguity was dependent on technology in transportation and trade that affected both Americans and Native Americans. Turner acknowledged that early trading posts left "unarmed tribes at the mercy of those that had purchased firearms" and consequently trading relations with settlers made "tribes ultimately dependent on the whites."[20] At the time of Turner's writing, the railroad continued to revolutionize the infrastructure system in the United States while blurring the distinctions and limitations of natural boundaries that pioneers had to struggle with during their frontier campaigns. Proximity between physical territories were decreased by the railroad, which would increase the chances and willingness for groups of people to interact. The movement of information and knowledge would also increase with the decrease in proximity.

Each of Turner's frontiers were advanced by winning conflicts with Native Americans which suggested that contiguity was proportional to the degree of saliency. Starr and Harvey conclude that the more salient a boundary is, the higher the opportunity that it will be a disputed boundary. [21] Similar to the degree of contiguity based on economic opportunity, saliency is reflected by Turner as American growth in the consumption of land and resources. While saliency might be based on perceptions of the territorial units involved, it is more accurate to suggest that Turner's reflection of saliency was embedded within a nationalistic drive to construct an American boundary using the strength of history and identity.

While Fredrick Jackson Turner was concerned with the identity, history, and nationhood of the United States, his ideas were limited to domestic perspectives to construct boundaries even though the country was not isolated from foreign relations. Theodore Roosevelt's investment in

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[20] Turner, 68.

[21] Starr and Thomas, "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory," 2005, 127.

and expansion of the navy shortened the proximity between the United States and foreign nations, specifically those in the west such as Japan. Roosevelt's Grand Fleet, later dubbed the Great White Fleet, altered the identity of the United States in both domestic and international spheres by deconstructing previous boundaries of nationhood, identity, and relationships. In the place of older perspectives of boundaries such as those presented by Turner, the Great White Fleet redefined the American role in the world while still focusing on preserving American identity.

The Great White Fleet's voyage represented political and military power by restructuring American boundaries from the sea through travel and celebration parties around the world in distant places such as Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. The fleet was a physical moving reflection of the political center in Washington, D.C. across previously restricted ocean. Furthermore, the Great White Fleet consisted of physical ships with sailors who carried a snapshot of American ideals to their destinations. The fleet's interaction with multiple national territories was a reaction to Americans pushing against the increase of foreign immigration. However, the most significant aspect of the bordering process is the dialogic boundaries that the Great White Fleet constructed during its voyage to the different ports of foreign nations to conduct relation building festivities. While Turner's thesis drew nativist ideas together to build American identity, the Great White Fleet shaped American identity through dialogic boundaries using festivities.

In 1906 the *Dreadnought* was developed as the next stage of naval strength in the Anglo-German arms race.[22] The United States saw this event as a need to improve its failing Pacific relations with Japan. whose expansion into Manchuria would slowly replace the enacted

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[22] James R. Reckner, *Teddy Roosevelt's Great White Fleet* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1988), 5.

boundaries with Japan for more discursive relations. The 1905 Taft-Katsura informal agreement became fragile, and immigration tension over the fear of preferred cheap Japanese immigrant laborers on the West Coast exacerbated racial relations domestically.[23] Taking proximity and relations between actors into account, the Japanese immigrants and nativists shared the same economic landscape, and such overlap provided the perfect conditions for disputes over job opportunities, which were of great importance to both groups. Spreading the tension between the United States and Japan outward, Roosevelt's fleet was invited by nations to come visit. News of the Atlantic Fleet awed local observers as it sailed around South America to join the Pacific fleet in San Francisco in 1907. Troubles with fueling and colliers were early challenges, but refueling and stops along ports provided the opportunity for the United States to close the proximity that existed before the fleet's visit and improve the dialogic boundaries with locals.

From Trinidad to Punta Arenas and Madalena Bay, the Atlantic fleet expanded American military and diplomatic relations on a new frontier, the sea. Compared with the physical restrictions of Turner's frontier, the sailing voyage of the Atlantic fleet was an extension of American identity without the violent disputes witnessed during American westward expansion into Native American lands. The lack of conflict on the sea resulted from the lack of overlapping disputed boundaries in the ocean between the United States and foreign nations. Thus, the United States was able to extend an imaginative and dialogic boundary with other nations through the oceans. The South American tour invited other nations to request a visit from the Great White fleet. Invitations from Australia, New Zealand, and Japan were accepted by Roosevelt at cabinet meetings, which further promoted a defined identity for American military might and nationhood.[24]

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[23] Reckner, 5.
[24] Reckner, 77–82.

In February of 1908, Roosevelt accepted an invitation from New Zealand and Australia, while predicting that "[s]omeday the question of the Pacific will be a dominant one and it will be necessary to know the sentiment of Australia and New Zealand."[25] Australia's Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, was thrilled to hear of Roosevelt's acceptance, and Australians mirrored the same enthusiasm as they were as concerned as some American nativists with increased Japanese immigration. The ocean served as both a physical and imagined landscape, which also introduced the struggle of conquering its vastness and difficulty of travel. However, the Great White fleet reduced the proximity to increase American strength. American support for the "white Australia policy" when Roosevelt's fleet traveled to Australia and New Zealand boosted Australian and American boundary relations, bringing the two nations politically closer.[26] Australia reimagined their boundaries by using America's naval fleet as the opportunity to border itself together with the United States against Japanese immigration. The visit to Australasia also suggests that the Great White Fleet was representative of racial order to Australians. The *Melbourne Herald* commented that the visit reflected a "new entente" and was the "greatest and most momentous possibility[y]" when two states "stand in the Pacific for dominance of the white race." [27]The attempt at racial bordering in Australia reproduced the same tension felt on the West Coast of the United States, when Japanese school children were threatened by segregation as a way of curbing immigration and maintaining a racial and economic quota in favor of nativist white people.

Elements of nativism were conveyed in local newspapers and sentiments of nativist Australians to racially border themselves using political alliances. The high tensions at home and

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[25] Reckner, 77.
[26] Reckner, 78.
[27] Reckner, 78.

abroad did not deter President Roosevelt from accepting Japan's invitation. On March 18, 1908, Baron Kogoro Takahira's invitation to Japan was quickly accepted under the condition that the fleet would visit only one port, Yokohama.[28] Australia, New Zealand, and Japan were officially archived as diplomatic missions which further supports the idea that the Great White Fleet served a multifaceted role in its voyage. Tensions in Australia and New Zealand were renewed when New Zealand's *Weekly Graphic* published a cover depicting Japanese dominance over Russia, Korea, Manchuria, and China.[29] The lack of military preparedness in the region increased concerns in Australia and New Zealand.

The visit to Auckland, New Zealand was met with splendor, and about 100,000 people gathered in celebrating sixteen battleships led by the *Connecticut.*[30] The visit to Sydney was more intense than in Auckland with over 5,000,000 people gathering without sleep from the entire region to witness the fleet's arrival. Rear Admiral Sperry was aware of the "yellow peril" that Australasia was engaged with, but was reluctant in giving speeches that discussed the topic. To the dismay of supporters of a white Australasia, Sperry spoke about the United States' push for mutual friendship and cooperation in the region.[31] Admiral Sperry's speeches reflected an overlap of political territory on both land and sea. To maintain a stable periphery and relation with the United States, Sperry spoke cautiously about tense topics which reflected the political center of power in Washington, D.C. Sperry represented a case in which the center of power for the United States could physically and imaginatively travel towards oceanic peripheries that constructed political boundaries regardless of proximity. The boundary was a combination of speeches by Admiral Sperry and interactions of the crew with locals at celebration parties.

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[28] Reckner, 79.
[29] Reckner, 98.
[30] Reckner, 93.
[31] Reckner, 93.

While the fleet continued from Australia to Japan, the *New York Times* published an article on August 16, 1908 that reported "widespread American distrust of Japan's motives in China and suggesting that Japan's ally, England, could not be included in any plan to curb Japanese ambitions."[32] Fully aware of the tension, President Roosevelt initially suggested a great limit on the amount of libertymen allowed to shore but was convinced by Sperry that any "obvious departure" of behavior might be detrimental to relations. Even though Sperry pushed back, he still limited the on shore activities to only first-class libertymen who were extensively briefed about Japanese customs. The fleet arrived on October 17, 1908 in dense fog, but was welcomed by six merchant ships with the words 'WELCOME' painted on them.[33]

The fleet had arrived safely at the opposite side of the Pacific Ocean and anchored in a political state that overlapped with domestic ideas of nativism and racism. However, despite the underlying tensions, boundaries are also determined by whether territorial states are welcoming or hostile. Yokohama received the crew with organized lantern parades and fireworks, while the citizens and children sang patriotic songs such as "Hail Columbia" and the "Star-Spangled Banner."[34] For the next four days, months of carefully planned programs and banquets were held. Based on the accounts and reports, cultural boundaries seem to have disintegrated compared to the anti-Japanese sentiments at home as a result of friendly interactions. President Roosevelt declared that his policy "of constant friendliness and courtesy toward Japan coupled with sending the fleet around the world, has borne good results."[35] Peripheral zones, such as the fleet's location in Japan represented the preservation of the American center instead of limiting it

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[32] Reckner, 107.
[33] Reckner, 113.
[34] Reckner, 113.
[35] Reckner, 113.

because of its proximity by allowing President Roosevelt through the representation of Admiral Sperry to reflect the center in the United States.

Denis Cosgrove's ideas about geographical vision and the landscape focus on the localized perception of the western frontier in Turner's thesis, which constructs the monologic boundary between pioneers and the wilderness. Furthermore, both Cosgrove and Turner suggest that the terrestrial western boundaries could be conquered and cultivated similar to the garden of the Renaissance. Thus, the west reflected an imaginative domestication of land by pioneers to shape westward shifting boundaries. Since the western boundary shifted over time through won disputes, this classified them as chorographic according to Cosgrove. Balibar argues that each new iteration of a boundary explained by Turner redefined the American center within the peripheral zones that were places of interaction with the land and Native Americans. Turner's mode of nativist bordering was highlighted with more complex modes, actors, and dimensions than he wrote about in an attempt to define American identity at the turn of the twentieth century.

Following ideas of national identity in the early-twentieth century, President Roosevelt authorized and promoted the empowering of America's naval fleets. The Great White Fleet pushed the periphery of America beyond Turner's west at the beginning of the twentieth century to the Pacific Ocean. Thus, the early twentieth century engaged in a monologic bordering process while maintaining dialogic relations when the fleet visited Australia and Japan on critical diplomatic missions. No longer was there an order by terrestrial landscapes, including the ocean as Cosgrove suggested, but the fleet expressed the ability of American military to transcend previous physical limitations to expand the nation's influence. The voyage demonstrated the destruction of monologic bordering that was previously reflected by oceans, specifically the Pacific Ocean, and is replaced with dialogic bordering with foreign nations. However,

domestically, social boundaries between immigrants and older generations of Americans shaped

enacted boundaries as quotas and discrimination erupted on the western coast.

      The fleet expressed a form of political bordering, but also functioned as a moving

American boundary used to maintain close proximity with Japan, the source of immigration and

economic concern from Americans living on the west coast. Even though the Great White Fleet's

voyage closed terrestrial frontiers, it opened up new peripheries and replaced terrestrial order

with overlapping zones of political relations. The ships and the crew on board reflected the

center of the United States during celebrations by locals at all the ports visited, a form of identity

construction while maintaining a distance from home and being isolated on ships. The Great

White Fleet shattered geographical boundaries that the oceans once presented and established

greater opportunities for dialogic boundaries that promoted international relations. The twentieth

century consisted of numerous shifts in the understanding of boundaries that started with

Turner's essay as a call for active American nativism to Roosevelt's need to secure the Pacific

Ocean using the Great White Fleet.

6   CONCLUSION

Human experience and relationships throughout recorded human history have been through the process of bordering, or constructing boundaries across time and space. Boundaries represent a snapshot of relationships between humans while bordering is the dynamic process of constructing and destroying boundaries through human experiences. Further organizing boundaries are qualities of being discursive or enacted. As societies mutually acknowledge and interact cooperatively, discursive boundaries are shaped that not only highlight differences between people, but also allow the distinctions to regulate daily interactions such as trade and politics with little conflicts. Thus, discursive boundaries are "softer" in enforcement. However, conflicts exist throughout human experiences; therefore, discursive boundaries often shift to become enacted boundaries which are practiced to highlight restrictions between societies as to limit or hinder interactions due to conflict.

The bordering process is dynamic; therefore, instead of single theories, examining it will require a set of theories to understand better the manner in which societies engaged in constructing boundaries across time and space. A set of theories triangulate the examination of the component of boundaries while maintaining a consistent method of measuring how boundaries change in space and time. Denis Cosgrove, Etienne Balibar, Harvey Starr, and G. Dale Thomas are contemporary scholars that examined boundaries and bordering between societies across a variety of cases; however, their theories are limited by narrow geographies or time periods which limited their flexibility when applied individually. The theory set triangulates towards an examination of the three components of boundaries. The first component is geographic and cosmographic order and vision. The second component consists of peripheries

that the preserve and project the center of societies. The final component of boundaries involves proximity and the likeliness of interactions based on proximity.

Contemporary theories are partially successful in expressing the nature of boundaries and their process of construction or destruction at different points when applied to writers, thinkers, and explorers in each case study. Cosgrove's theories of geographic and cosmographic ordering were most applicable across different times and spaces. Regardless of period or geography, Cosgrove suggested that graphic images such as paintings, maps, and writing represented order. Graphic images also recorded the perception of how societies constructed and destroyed boundaries through their interaction. Ancient societies such as the Greeks were expressed through Herodotus to be constantly engaged in monologic bordering with the terrestrial features such as the Nile or Ister. In the case of the Persians, dialogic boundaries shifted from discursive to enacted during the abduction of women, and Sparta retaliated by attacking Persian cities. In both cases, boundaries defined identities through experiences of the Greeks. Han China expressed similar conditions through by Sima Qian's descriptions of the Xiong Nu interactions. The constant raids on the northern Han frontier demonstrated a fluid dialogic boundary that shifted after each successful raid or defense. However, the Chinese maintained cosmographic order through relations with the Heavens, earth, and people. Such relationship was expressed in the sacrifices on Mount Tai by the emperor to maintain successful governance. With both ancient societies, Cosgrove's ideas of cosmographic order and the formation of knowledge through experiences provided geographic knowledge that was used to construct and destroy boundaries.

Cosgrove's theory of order falls short when examining eighteenth century when writing by philosophers limited ideas of cosmographic order by relying less on the supernatural in favor of reason and logic. The shift in worldly order took the shape of political order which was

missing from Cosgrove's study. Deslie's map of Europe expressed the cartographic visual order of the world that was consumed by the general public. Through expressing confirmed knowledge of Western Europe through visual labels, Deslie's map also expressed the lack of sufficient information in Eastern Europe through the lack of map labels when compared with Western Europe, thus causing a division.

The eighteenth century which was also part the Enlightenment further expressed Western European identity through political writings by Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws*. Montesquieu suggested that European development and superiority was climatically dependent when compared to other parts of the world. Montesquieu connected the blood vessel expansion and contraction due to temperature with the temperament of people living in different climate zones as a means to shape boundaries between Europeans and other societies. Such characterization would later be disproven by modern science, but the expressions were effective in creating monologic climatic boundaries around Western Europe. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's suggestion for Poland's need to rise against external aggressors combined with his belief that authority should follow the social contract. The blend of political perspective identified Europeans through political authority, instead of geographic knowledge and order.

Moving on to Balibar and William's theory about the importance of peripheries in shaping the identities of communities suggested that the dispersal of multiple societies through travel, writing, and conflict projected their center into overlapping peripheral zones. As these societies dispersed and interacted, they became increasingly aware of belonging to a group of people, *demos*, and citizenship, *poletia*. Etienne Balibar suggested the awareness formed modes of inclusion and exclusion to determine whether people were a part of a specific group. The case with the *Shiji* provided accounts of the northern Han periphery where the Xiongnu dispersed and

raided the villages which prompted a mode of exclusion between the two societies. However, unlike the Persian War, the Chinese and Xiongnu overlapped at the periphery which also blurred boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Sima Qian described accounts of offerings and gifts to improve *guanxi* between the two groups which would deconstruct the boundary and construct a more symbiotic relationship between the two groups.

In the sense of the ancient mode of bordering, the study demonstrated peripheries through their perceived descriptions of texts by Herodotus and Sima Qian to be both terrestrial, supernatural, and social. The characterization of peripheries shaped and highlighted the differences between groups of people, thus leading to the construction of identities through boundaries. Ultimately, as communities bordered each other within peripheral zones according to Balibar and Williams, their center is projected as is the case during the eighteenth and twentieth century. The Moors experienced Mungo Park's European identity and center during his visit and the world experienced the American projection of their political center through the Great White Fleet's voyage. In each case, the motivations were different; however, the conclusion of both cases expressed an overlap within European or American peripheries that presented a projection of boundaries through their interactions.

Proximity represented the final component of boundaries examined as part of the triangulation method. It was possible to test Starr and Thomas' theories about proximity and its impact on bordering by examining how dispersed societies used an "opportunity and willingness" framework. The framework explained that boundary saliency shaped the interactions that occurred between "actors" and "states" to determine the actions or choices societies make in determining whether a boundary would be discursive or enacted. Turner's call for American nativist identity by conquering the wilderness expressed the fluid nature of

bordering. Interactions with Native Americans who were close in proximity, oscillated between hostile and cooperative which shifted boundaries between enacted and discursive. In the case of the terrestrial wilderness, support of Cosgrove's theory about gaining geographic knowledge, the American Western frontier was subject to a shift from an enacted to discursive boundary as pioneers conquered it. Turner's thesis expanded the ideas of proximity by demonstrating that the increase transportation and communication decreased distance and allowed for more salient boundaries that became points of interaction.

Proximity plays a significant role in the early twentieth century with the supposed closing of the western American frontier; however, Roosevelt's Great White Fleet shifted the frontier further past California towards the Pacific Ocean. The oceans have been frontiers in human history, but the Pacific garnered specific attention with the influx of immigrants from Asia in addition to immigrants from Eastern Europe. Thus, relations with imperial Japan and Australia were part of the new form of political bordering introduced in a globalizing world. Roosevelt's belief that the Great White Fleet was diplomatic encouraged the construction of dialogic and discursive boundaries with Pacific nations. Furthermore, the fleet's travels to South America and Europe promoted the projection of American diplomacy, identity, and power by closing the proximity between Washington D.C. and other nations.

Boundaries and the process of bordering have always existed as a means of human interaction, or as a representation of human experience. Thus, as a constant, boundaries could be used as a tool for measuring and analyzing societies. However, the geographic knowledge, peripheries, and proximity, the three components of boundaries would best be analyzed through triangulating a set of theories. Identities of pre-modern and modern societies were dependent on cross-boundary interactions and relationships. The movement of information demonstrated an

infrastructural factor between the three case studies that impacted the manner in which people interacted. Pre-modern societies constructed boundaries based on incomplete, or incorrect information; therefore, they relied more on personal experience than transmitted knowledge. Additionally, some societies such as those in French Polynesia presented by Forster's account did not have the opportunity or willingness to disperse and interact in the peripheral zones which excluded them from forming relationships with others based on their technology, communications, or the lack of knowledge.

Development does not measure societies when discussing boundaries. Instead, development served as an explanation of interactions or lack thereof. Through a textual examination of sources, the study revealed that the inefficient transmission of information and knowledge in societies negatively impacted the construction of boundaries that were free from bias or conflict; however, such societies compensated such obstacle through reliance on human experiences with others or the terrestrial earth. While the early twentieth century model of bordering culminates in America, this model is not the final framework in which modern nations use to shape their boundaries since bordering is dynamic. Instead, the model demonstrated a snapshot of how writes writers such as Fredrick Turner was still impacted by nativist ideas of the previous century which demonstrated that while improved development could predict fewer biased boundaries, it does not guarantee a society to be free from incorrect misconceptions and projection onto its constructed boundaries with others.

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