



Moving Beyond the Nation State? Reflections on European Environmental History

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Before coming to the United States, I had heard little about environmental history. Although I was very much aware of its diversity in ideas, perspectives, and theories from my own discipline of history, I had never been exposed to *Umweltgeschichte* or environmental history at my home institution in Germany. It was a graduate course focusing on American environmental history that eventually introduced me to the

field,¹ a circumstance less probable given recent developments and an increasing visibility of European environmental history today.

The evolution of European environmental history makes a survey a worthwhile endeavor and invites reflections on the state of the field. Such a survey and discussion can be nothing more than a broad and incomplete overview. This admission has much to do with variances in discussions, complex language barriers, and my own focus, bias, and limited language competence. As a result, my overview is an incomplete status report and a flawed inventory, meant as a possible starting point for those in need of an introduction to the field. It relies on the support of various colleagues and experts, making it a collaborative effort.² At the same time, I also want to reflect on the use of nature as a vehicle to move beyond European boundaries. After all, as American historians Richard White and Donald Worster argued, environmental history is transnational and possibly even international by nature.³ Many recent trends within Europe point in that direction, as scholars and disciplines increasingly collaborate across national borders. The growth and broader appeal of forums

¹ Thankfully, George Lubick (Northern Arizona University) first exposed me to environmental history. According to Sörlin and Warde, “the geographical features of a low population density, large stretches of ‘wilderness’, a mobile ‘frontier’, and a strong tradition of the ‘outdoors’, have all been significant for the reception and growth of environmental history in North America”. S. Sörlin, P. Warde, *The Problem of the Problem of Environmental History: A Re-Reading of the Field and Its Purpose*, Center for History and Economics, University of Cambridge, Cambridge 2005, 2, accessible at www.histecon.magd.cam.ac.uk/envdoc/docs/turkku_keynote_warde_sorlin.pdf, last accessed September 8, 2013. On U.S. American environmental history, see most notably the work of Carolyn Merchant, Alfred Crosby, William Cronon, J. R. McNeill, and Jared Diamond.

² I thank all those who kindly assisted me in framing this paper, many of them simply by responding to one of my emails on h-environment a very long time ago.

³ R. White, “The Nationalization of Nature”, in *The Journal of American History*, 86, 9, 1999, pp. 976-986. D. Worster, “World Without Borders: The Internationalizing of Environmental History”, in *Environmental Review*, 6, 2, 1982, pp. 8-13. Id., “World Without Borders: The Internationalizing of Environmental History”, in *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective*, K. Bailes (ed.), University Press of America, Lanham 1985, pp. 661-669.

like the European Society for Environmental History (ESEH) bear further witness to attempts to institutionalize these discussions. It is vital to continue along this path, thus keeping the interdisciplinary and transnational appeal of environmental history in mind.⁴

Though hoping to move beyond the nation state as a unit of analysis, the following survey relies on exactly that entity as an organizational category. Given the way in which environmental history has come of age in Europe, denying the existence of national conversations seems counterproductive. This essay thus aims to broadly capture major trends in numerous geographic regions, and within broad national contexts, before reflecting on exciting interdisciplinary and transnational conversations. To start from nations that developed their own environmental histories early on is one way to create context and chronology, all the while acknowledging the various coinciding and overlapping layers of conversations within and outside these geographic areas.

The British Isles

British environmental history originated in landscape history and historical geography. According to historian Matt Osborn, “in part, landscape history is rooted in the nostalgia of an industrialized society that has lost an identifying connection to the land”.⁵ Following

⁴ For some concise historiographical overviews, see V. Winiwarter et. al., “Environmental History in Europe from 1994 to 2004: Enthusiasm and Consolidation”, in *Environment and History*, 10, 2004, pp. 501-30. Sörlin, Warde, *The Problem of the Problem of Environmental History* cit. J.D. Hughes, *What is Environmental History?*, Polity, Malden 2006. F. Uekötter, *Umweltgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, R. Oldenbourg, Munich 2007. J.R. McNeill, “Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History”, in *History and Theory*, 42, 4, 2003, pp. 5-43. Id., *Something Under the Sun. An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*, W.W. Norton, New York 2000. On holistic conceptions, see, for example M. Teich, R. Porter, *Nature and Society in Historical Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997.

⁵ M. Osborn, “Sowing the Field of British Environmental History”, available at www.h-net.org/~environ/historiography/british.htm, last accessed December 15, 2012.

some early and very descriptive scholarship,⁶ W.G. Hoskins' publication *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955) established the field in many ways. As Osborn notes, Hoskins traced the "historical evolution of the landscape as we know it and simultaneously he traced the outlines of a new interdisciplinary field."⁷ Whereas his publications continue to influence the field of landscape history down to this day, other scholars helped to diversify the discipline as a whole.⁸ The objective of historical geography "has been to reconstruct past environments and landscapes."⁹ Apart from influential publications like Robin Butlin's *Historical Geography: Through the Gates of Space and Time* (1993) and H.C. Darby's Domesday geographies of England,¹⁰ "recent scholarship in historical geography is more environmentally sensitive and [...] firmly grounded in ecological science".¹¹ More recent publications support this interpretation, even if historical geography remains a prime influence on British environmental history.

During the 1980s and 1990s, British environmental history evolved into a more self-aware sub-discipline of history. Geographer I.G. Simmons helped pave the way towards a synthesis of numerous discussions. Along with his earlier book, *Changing the Face of the Earth* (1989), his book *Environmental History: A Concise Introduction*

⁶ One example of such an early descriptive study is J. Hawkes, *A Land*, Cresset Press, London 1951.

⁷ Osborn, *Sowing the Field of British Environmental History* cit.

⁸ See, for instance, M.W. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England*, Lutterworth Press, London 1954. Id., *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales, and Gascony*, Lutterworth Press, London 1967. O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*, J.M. Dent, London 1976. N. Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape*, Yale University Press, Yale 1994. O. Rackham, *An Illustrated History of the Countryside*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1994.

⁹ Osborn, *Sowing the Field of British Environmental History* cit.

¹⁰ H.C. Darby, *Domesday England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York 1977. Id., *A New Historical Geography of England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1973.

¹¹ Debates touching on broader objectives and practices within historical geography have been widely apparent. See, for example, A. Baker, D. Gregory, *In Explorations in Historical Geography: Interpretive Essays*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York 1984.

(1993) helped frame major themes. The self-awareness of the discipline also owes a lot to the work of Scottish historian T.G. Smout. As environmental historian Verena Winiwarter, among others, rightly observed, Smout was “one of the founding fathers of environmental history in Britain in the modern era”.¹² He established the Institute for Environmental History at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland in 1992, thus founding a space to house and institutionalize the discipline. Ever since he has also been involved in further framing environmental history in Great Britain, most notably with his publication *Nature Contested* (2000).¹³ In this volume he describes encounters with the natural world by illustrating how the countryside is historically structured around use and delight. Although the book is essentially a local case study focusing primarily on Scotland and Northern England since 1600, Smout paints a broader picture of landscapes, woods of imagination, waters, and fragile hills as features that describe environmental history within this region.¹⁴

British environmental history also addressed the relations between humans and nature. For example, the impact of humans on nature led to scholarly discussions regarding protection and conservation. John Sheail,¹⁵ in particular, illustrated the history of these aspects in *Nature in Trust: The History of Nature Conservation in Britain* (1976) and *Nature Conservation in Britain: The Formative Years* (1998). Connections to and distinctions from urban history and industrialization are apparent within this field.¹⁶ The impact of nature on humans, on the other hand, was to the fore in several studies

¹² Winiwarter, *Environmental History in Europe from 1994 to 2004* cit., p. 505.

¹³ T.G. Smout’s influence on the institutionalization of environmental history continues with more recent publications on Scottish lands. See, for instance, T.C. Smout, A. MacDonald, F. Watson, *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1520-1920*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2005. F. Watson, *Scotland: From Prehistory to Present*, Tempus, Stroud 2003.

¹⁴ The institutionalization of environmental history is also apparent in various publications, most notably the interdisciplinary journal *Environment & History*.

¹⁵ John Sheail continues to work on historical ecology and is currently documenting environmental change at the Center for History and Economics at King’s College (University of Cambridge).

¹⁶ H. Taylor, *A Claim on the Countryside: A History of the British Outdoor Move-*

on natural history. Gilbert White's *The Natural History of Selborne* (1778) remains, in many regards, the founding text for British naturalists, along with more recent publications.¹⁷ Keith Thomas's *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (1983) and Peter Coates's *Nature: Western Attitudes since Ancient Times* (1998) provide a broader framework for this kind of work, underlining recent trends that move beyond national contexts.

Imperialism played a major role within environmental history due to the importance of the British Empire. Scholars like Richard H. Grove, Peter Coates, and others repeatedly underscored the importance of encounters with nature abroad, and its effects on the British homeland.¹⁸ Grove in particular "insisted on the importance of the colonial enterprise, especially in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean, for shaping European knowledge of nature".¹⁹ The seeming abundance of resources away from home differentiated Great Britain from continental Europe, making imperialism a more embedded discourse. It also opened up broader discussions regarding dominating attitudes, as described in *Nature: Western Attitudes since Ancient Times* (1998) and other publications.²⁰

British environmental history also focused on pollution. Tied to the importance of the Industrial Revolution and urbanization,²¹ the influ-

ment, Keele University Press, Edinburgh 1997. D. Evans, *A History of Nature Conservation in Britain* Routledge, London/New York 1997.

¹⁷ C. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1967.

¹⁸ R. Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire. Colonialism and Global Environmental History 1400-1940*, The White Horse Press, Cambridge 1997.

¹⁹ Sörlin, Warde, *The Problem of the Problem of Environmental History* cit., p. 4.

²⁰ See, for example, J. MacKenzie, *Empires of Nature and the Nature of Empires*, Tuckwell Press, East Linton 1997. A. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1986. R. Drayton, *Nature's Government. Science, Imperial Britain, and the "Improvement" of the World*, Yale University Press, New Haven/London 2000.

²¹ Works on this subject are generally grounded in E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1842.

ence of economic history is apparent throughout, and embodied most notably by B.W. Clapp's *An Environmental History of Britain Since the Industrial Revolution* (1994). The city of London and the Thames received lots of scrutiny,²² though industrial hubs like Manchester have seen some attention as well.²³ Along with the pollution of water²⁴, dirty air played a key role. Since studies like *The Politics of Clean Air* by Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson, published in 1981, much has been written on air pollution, most notably Peter Brimblecombe's *The Big Smoke: A History of Air Pollution in London since Medieval Times* (1987), Stephen Mosley's *The Chimney of the Word* (2000), and Peter Thorsheim's *Inventing Pollution* (2006).²⁵ More recent scholarship has been more receptive towards comparative analysis, an aspect apparent in publications on the history of waste like *The World Turned Inside Out* (2009) by John Scanlan and John F.M. Clark.²⁶

Environmental history in the Republic of Ireland follows similar trends. Consequently, overlaps are frequent, notably in the work of T.C. Smout.²⁷ Historical specificities including a complicated relationship

²² B. Luckin, *Pollution and Control: A Social History of the Thames in the 19th Century*, A. Hilger, Boston/Bristol 1986. D. Porter, *The Thames Embankment: Environment, Technology, and Society in Victorian London*, University of Akron Press, Akron 1998. S. Mosley, *The Chimney of the World: A History of Smoke Pollution in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester*, Routledge, New York 2008. C.F. Mathis, F. Walter, J.-P. Poussou, *In Nature We Trust: les paysages anglais à l'ère industrielle*, Presses de l'Univ. Paris-Sorbonne, Paris-Sorbonne 2010. J. Galloway, *Tides and Floods: New Research on London and the Tidal Thames from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Centre for Metropolitan History/Institute of Historical Research, London 2010.

²³ See, for example, H. Ritvo, *The Dawn of Green: Manchester, Thirlmere, and Modern Environmentalism*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2009.

²⁴ A.S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain*, I.B. Tauris, New York/London 1983. L. Breeze, *The British Experience with River Pollution, 1865-1876*, P. Lang, New York 1993.

²⁵ P. Thorsheim, "The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London", in *Environmental History*, 16, 2011, pp. 38-68.

²⁶ J. Scanlan, J.F.M. Clark (eds), *The World Turned Inside Out: Waste in History and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008. See also J. Scanlan, *On Garbage*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2005.

²⁷ Smout, *Nature Contested* cit. See also A. Peace, "Environmental Protest, Bureaucratic Closure: The Politics of Discourse in Rural Ireland", in *Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology*, K. Milton (ed.), Routledge, London/New York 1993.

with England and severe rural poverty clearly influenced Irish scholarship.²⁸ The Irish Environmental History Network, based in Trinity College in Dublin, recently organized, coordinated, and partially institutionalized efforts in Ireland. According to its own description, “the primary goal of the Network is to act as a contact point for researchers in diverse disciplines focusing on the different aspects of Irish environmental history.”²⁹ Such efforts seem fruitful given the diversity of research, scholarship, and disciplines coming together to study environmental history in Ireland, even though little has been done on a variety of environmental topics have not been explored in detail as yet.

Scandinavia, Iceland, and the Baltic States

Amongst the Scandinavian nations, and their Nordic relatives Iceland and the Baltic States, environmental history has been on the forefront for several decades.³⁰ This is especially true of Finland, which is not surprising, given that, as noted by economic and social historian Timo Myllyntaus, “in terms of the wilderness, Finland is a European superpower”.³¹ Unlike many other European nations, Finland has an element of wilderness (*Erämaa*) ingrained in its na-

²⁸ For specific studies granting a similar importance to geography, see, for instance, *The Historical Geography of the Ownership and Occupation of Land in the Barony of Fassadinin, Kilkenny, c.1600-1850*. This was later published in 1979 as *Fassadinin: Land, Settlement and Society in Southeast Ireland c.1600-1850*. G.B. Prato, “Environmental Protest, Bureaucratic Closure: The Politics of Discourse in Rural Ireland”, in *Environmentalism: The View From Anthropology*, K. Milton (ed.), Routledge, London/New York 1993. The Irish Famine plays a key role within scholarship. See, for example, W.C. Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early 14th Century*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1996.

²⁹ The Irish Environmental History Network, Trinity College in Dublin, information accessible at, www.tcd.ie/longroomhub/iehn, last accessed August 26, 2012. On specific research activity, see www.tcd.ie/longroomhub/iehn/audit.php, last accessed August 26, 2012.

³⁰ M. Cioc, B-O Linnér, M. Osborn, “Environmental History Writing in Northern Europe”, in *Environmental History*, 5, 3, 2000, pp. 396-406.

³¹ T. Myllyntaus, *Writing about the Past with Green Ink: The Emergence of Finnish Environmental History*, accessible at www.h-net.org/~environ/historiography/finland.htm, last accessed December 16, 2012.

tional identity.³² The country's environmental history (*ympäristöhistoria*) has a long tradition, and Finnish scholars have been investigating relations between humans and nature since the eighteenth century. According to environmental historian J. Donald Hughes, over the decades Finnish scholars focused on "climate, forests, water resources, and landscape",³³ producing some intriguing, diverse, and internationally oriented scholarship down to the present day.

Timo Myllyntaus divides this long environmental tradition in Finland into three periods. First, there was "the embryonic phase from the 18th century to the mid-20th century".³⁴ Early climate history in connection to the Little Ice Age (1500-1870) sparked interest, as did lessons learned regarding the destruction of forests in neighboring Denmark.³⁵ Finnish scholar and statesman Ernst Gustaf Palmén critiqued historiographical trends stressing the need for dredging in his study of the impact of lowering lake levels.³⁶ Landscape history has also been important in Finland. Zacharias Topelius' study on Finnish landscapes titled *Das malerische Finnland* (1845) is still a milestone in this field. Beginning in the 1950s, Finnish scholars became increasingly interested in foreign models, notably the *Annales* school,³⁷ a trend that eventually defined the second period in Finnish environmental history. This lasted until the limits-of-growth debate, a general turning point for environmental history. The current phase, as Timo Myllyntaus describes it, remains diverse, with forays into new fields such as urban environments and catastrophes.³⁸ The in-

³² As Timo Myllyntaus points out, the literal translation of *Erämaa* is "hunting ground", a remote and nearly uninhabited area. Myllyntaus, *Writing about the Past with Green Ink* cit.

³³ Hughes, *What is Environmental History?* cit., p. 60.

³⁴ Myllyntaus, *Writing about the Past with Green Ink* cit.

³⁵ On forest destruction in Denmark see T. Kjærgaard, *The Danish Revolution, 1500-1800. An Ecobistorical Interpretation*, D. Hohnen (trans), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994.

³⁶ E.G. Palmén, "Suomessa tapahtuneista järvenlaskuista", in *Valvoja*, 23, 1903, pp. 365-385.

³⁷ See, for example S. Jaatinen (ed.), "North American Influence: Symposium on Man's Influence on Nature in Finland", Special Issue, in *Fennia*, 85, 1960.

³⁸ Myllyntaus, *Writing about the Past with Green Ink* cit. See, for instance,

stitutionalization of Finnish environmental history advanced significantly in the last decades, most notably through the creation of the bilingual *Ympäristöhistoria Finnish Journal of Environmental History (YFJEH)*, published by the University of Tampere. There have been significant efforts to connect to international discussions, notably in the form of two conferences held in Finland in 1992 and 2005,³⁹ and a widespread participation of Scandinavian scholars at international venues. This symbiosis of regional interests and international connections should serve as a model in many ways, because it opens up intriguing new discussions beyond national boundaries.

As in Finland, debates on forests, rivers, growth, and ways to institutionalize a growing discipline dominate Swedish environmental history. Institutionalization moved forward more quickly in Sweden than elsewhere in Scandinavia. At the moment, there are three major centers for environmental history in Sweden: the Department of Environmental History at Umeå University, the Center for Environment and Development Studies at Uppsala University, and the Human Ecology Division at Lund University. Leading scholars like environmental historian Sverker Sörlin and L. Anders Sandberg continue to produce exciting scholarship on Scandinavia that focuses on sustainability, biosphere stewardship, and other discourses, showing a remarkable ability to connect and cooperate across borders.⁴⁰

Trends in Denmark followed in the wake of Finland and Sweden, although clearly emphasizing forest history. Thorkild Kjaergaard's publication *The Danish Revolution 1500-1800* (1994) regarding the cutting down of trees and its effects on the environment was key

S.-E. Åström, *Natur och byte: ekologiska synpunkter på Finlands ekonomiska historia*, Söderström, Helsingfors 1978. Id., *From Tar to Timber: Studies in Northeast European Forest Exploitation and Foreign Trade, 1660-1860*, Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, Helsinki 1988.

³⁹ 1992: Lammi in the Lake District. 2005: Turku. See also: Hughes, *What is Environmental History?* cit., p. 60.

⁴⁰ L.A. Sandberg, S. Sörlin, *Sustainability, the Challenge: People, Power and the Environment*, Black Rose Books, Montreal 1998. See also A. Kander, *Economic Growth, Energy Consumption & CO2 Emissions in Sweden 1800-2000*, Almquist & Wiksell International, Stockholm 2002.

within this discourse, and scholars like Bo Fritzbøger continue to add valuable elements and nuances to this focus.⁴¹ Conservation was also a contested issue early on, which is not surprising, given the long tradition of several environmental institutions in Denmark. The Danish Society for Nature and Conservation, for instance, has been around since 1911, making it one of the oldest naturalist and environmental organizations. More recent contributions, like Copenhagen-based scholar Bjorn Lomborg's *The Skeptical Environmentalist* (2001) and *Cool it* (2007), focus on global warming, an issue that provides space for trans-national connections.

Environmental history in Norway, Iceland, and the Baltic States is less advanced. Whereas policy-makers in Norway show some interest in environmental resource management, scholarship is surprisingly sparse.⁴² The same can be said for Iceland, although connections to the Atlantic resulted a broader range of scholarship. Most notably, historian Karen Oslund's *Iceland Imagined* (2011) fueled discussion about this seemingly remote and, in her view, imagined Other. Scholars recently voiced their interest in the Baltic States, as manifested by a call for publications on Baltic food history and a publication on environmental issues in the region.⁴³ Other examples for such focus include scholarly papers on Latvian Salmon⁴⁴ and a panel on "idealized landscape" in Estonia at the annual conference of the American Society of Environmental History in 2009. The future thus looks hopeful for scholars studying this region.⁴⁵

⁴¹ B. Fritzbøger, *"A Windfall for the Magnates": The Development of Woodland Ownership in Denmark c. 1150-1830*, University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense 2004.

⁴² For references regarding Norway within English scholarship see, for example, P. Josephson, *Industrialized Nature: Brute Force Technology and the Transformation of the Natural World*, Island Press/Shearwater Books, Washington D.C. 2002. T. Falola, A. Genova, *The Politics of the Global Oil Industry: An Introduction*, Praeger, Westport 2005.

⁴³ For details, see: eseh.org/cfp-baltic-food-history-conference, last accessed, December 18, 2012.

⁴⁴ European Society of Environmental History, conference 2003, panel: "History of Latvian Salmon (16th-20th Centuries)".

⁴⁵ American Society of Environmental History, conference 2009, panel: "Perils of the Idealized Landscape: The Estonian Case".

Germany, Austria, and Switzerland

In many ways, the German-speaking region remains on the forefront of environmental history in Europe. Grounded in diverse naturalist experiences,⁴⁶ trends within Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are deeply intertwined. More transnational cooperation would be desirable, and indeed, recent developments point towards a shift in this direction.

The so-called *Neue Soziale Bewegung* (new social movement) played a key role in the evolution of environmental history in Germany. Deeply intertwined with the anti-nuclear paradigm that developed prior to the catastrophe of Chernobyl, the protests of the 1960s and 1970s, in combination with traditional environmentalism and the fight for conserving the German *Heimat* or homeland, played a key role shortly after WW II.⁴⁷ In her study *Nature of the Miracle Years* (2008), historian Susan Chaney, in particular, illustrates how grassroots movements in favor of environmental conservation emerged in the 1950s. A focus on pre-1945 trends, and most notably on National Socialism and environmentalism, spawned further interesting studies.⁴⁸ Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), *Waldsterben* or forest

⁴⁶ A. Goodbody (ed.), *The Culture of German Environmentalism: Anxieties, Visions, Realities*, Berghahn Books, New York 2002. C. Riordan (ed.) *Green Thought in German Culture: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1997.

⁴⁷ F.-J. Brüggemeier, *Tschernobyl, 26. April 1986. Die ökologische Herausforderung*, Deutsches Taschenbuch, Munich 1998. K.-W. Brand, D. Büsser, D. Rucht, *Aufbruch in eine andere Gesellschaft: Neue Soziale Bewegungen in der Bundesrepublik*, Campus, Frankfurt/New York 1983. P. Kupper, "Die '1970er Diagnose': Grundsätzliche Überlegungen zu einem Wendepunkt der Umweltgeschichte?", in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 43, 2003, pp. 325-348.

⁴⁸ J. Radkau, F. Uekötter (eds), *Naturschutz und Nationalsozialismus*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt 2003. F.J. Brüggemeier, M. Cioc, T. Zeller, *How Green were the Nazis? Nature, Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*, Ohio University Press, Athens 2005. On notions of *Heimat* as landscape see F. Zelko, S. Scala, *From Heimat to Umwelt: New Perspectives on German Environmental History*, German Historical Institute, Washington D.C. 2006. W.H. Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement, 1904-18*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1997.

dieback, along with the limits-of-growth debate, helped strengthen a variegated movement, from which *die Grünen*, the German Green Party, eventually originated, at least in part.⁴⁹

The ultimate success of the Green Party as a political institution solicited lots of scholarship over the years. Petra Kelly's *Um Hoffnung Kämpfen* (1983) became widely read, just as political scientists drove themselves to exhaustion trying to analyze every twist and paradox of a complex and heterogeneous green movement. The contributions of political scientist Gene Frankland remain crucial in this context,⁵⁰ as do some more recent publications.⁵¹ Other disciplines, including history, contributed more sparsely and with inadequate theoretical underpinnings.⁵² Using existing theoretical frameworks, including *Umweltgerechtigkeit* (environmental justice), could be one way to connect to international discussions.⁵³

⁴⁹ For recent contributions on forest history and *Waldsterben*, see mainly J. Wilson, *The German Forest: Nature, Identity, and the Contestation of a National Symbol, 1871-1914*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2012. R. Hölzl, "Historicizing Sustainability. German Scientific Forestry in the 18th and 19th Centuries", in *Science as Culture*, 19, 4, 2010, pp. 431-460. M. Stuber, *Wälder für Generationen*, Böhlau, Cologne 2008.

⁵⁰ G. Frankland, D. Schoonmaker, *Between Protest and Power: The Green Party in Germany*, Westview Press, Boulder 1992.

⁵¹ M. Mayer, J. Ely (eds), *The German Greens: Paradox Between Movement and Party*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia 1998. E. Kolinsky (ed.), *The Greens in West Germany: Organisation and Policy Making*, Berg, Oxford/New York/Munich 1989. T. Poguntke, *Alternative Politics: The German Green Party*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1993. R. Dominick, *The Environmental Movement in Germany: Prophets and Pioneers, 1871-1971*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1992.

⁵² T. Scharf, *The German Greens: Challenging the Consensus*, Berg, Providence 1994. Thomas Scharf is Professor of Social Gerontology and Director of the Centre for Social Gerontology at Keele University in the United Kingdom. M. Klein, J. Falter, *Der lange Weg der Grünen: Eine Partei zwischen Protest und Regierung*, C.H. Beck, Munich 2003. F. Zelko, C. Brinkmann (eds), *Green Parties: Reflections on the First Three Decades*, Heinrich Böll Foundation North America, Washington D.C. 2006. C. Lees, *The Red-Green Coalition in Germany: Politics, Personalities, and Power*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2000.

⁵³ See namely www.umweltgerechtigkeit.de, last accessed December 17, 2012.

The environment in former East Germany has seen surprisingly little attention. Although the country itself has been extensively dealt with in post-1990 historiography, discussions on nature in the German Democratic Republic remain limited. Political scientist Christiane Olivo's study *Creating a Democratic Civil Society in Eastern Germany* (2001) remains a good starting point, while more dated overviews and recent case studies add some details and nuances.⁵⁴

Given an overall rich tradition of environmental thought, attempts to move towards a synthesis are apparent in various publications.⁵⁵ German historian Joachim Radkau's *Nature and Power* (2008) and historian David Blackbourn's *The Conquest of Nature* (2006) emphasize the importance of nature in modern Germany in more recent times. Their studies, along with the work of Thomas Lekan and Frank Uekötter,⁵⁶ provide concise and useful overviews. Attempts at defining *Umweltgeschichte* or environmental history more clearly are also apparent, most notably in the work of Verena Winiwarter and Frank Uekötter.⁵⁷ The conference of the European Society for Environmen-

⁵⁴ H. Behrens, G. Neumann, A. Schikora (eds), *Wirtschaftsgeschichte und Umwelt. Hans Mottek zum Gedenken*, BdWi-Verlag, Marburg 1995. European Society of Environmental History, conference 2003, panel: "Protecting 'Valuable Property of the People': Conservation in East Germany, 1950-1970".

⁵⁵ See, for example, K.G. Wey, *Umweltpolitik in Deutschland: Kurze Geschichte des Umweltschutzes in Deutschland seit 1900*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen 1982.

⁵⁶ T. Lekan, T. Zeller (eds), *Germany's Nature: Cultural Landscape and Environmental History*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick/London 2005.

⁵⁷ V. Winiwarter, M. Knoll, *Umweltgeschichte: Eine Einführung*, Böhlau, Cologne 2007. F. Uekötter, *Umweltgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, R. Oldenbourg, Munich 2007. See also N. Freytag, W. Siemann (eds), *Umweltgeschichte. Themen und Perspektiven*, Beck, Munich 2003. B. Herrmann, *Umwelt in der Geschichte: Beiträge zur Umweltgeschichte*, Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, Göttingen 1989. W. Abelshäuser, *Umweltgeschichte: Umweltverträgliches Wirtschaften in historischer Perspektive: Acht Beiträge*, Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, Göttingen 1994. Attempts to capture the history of policies are also apparent in J.I. Engels, *Naturpolitik in der Bundesrepublik. Ideenwelt und politische Verhaltensstile in Naturschutz und Umweltbewegung*, Schöningh, Paderborn 2006. K.G. Wey, *Umweltpolitik in Deutschland. Kurze Geschichte des Umweltschutzes in Deutschland seit 1900*, Opladen 1982. Another overview study: C. Mauch (ed.), *Nature in German History*, Berghahn, New York 2004. W. Siemann, N. Freytag, *Umweltgeschichte. Themen und Perspektiven*, C.H. Beck, Munich 2003. Uekötter, *Umweltgeschichte des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts* cit.

tal History at the Rachel Carson Center in Munich can help such endeavors. This “international, interdisciplinary center for research and education in the environmental humanities and social sciences”⁵⁸ is playing a major role in the institutionalization of the field.

Environmental history in Austria followed similar trends. As Verena Winiwarter shows, it is catastrophe and protests that originally defined environmental history in this Alpine republic. Martina Lehner’s study and overview titled *Und das Unglück ist von Gott gemacht: Geschichte der Naturkatastrophen in Österreich* (1995) demonstrates this clearly, while specific events like a limestone slide that followed an earthquake in 1348 repeatedly capture scholars’ interest.⁵⁹ Protests against nuclear power plants in the late 1970s have also drawn scholarly attention.⁶⁰ Studies concentrating on national parks have been controversial, while sustainable development remains a key discourse within the recent Austrian environmental historiography. Forest history, of course, had its share of attention, as illustrated by an overview by Christoph Sonnlechner and Verena Winiwarter published in an edited volume in 1999.⁶¹ More recent publications attempt to extend Austrian environmental history beyond national state borders,⁶² as does Alison Frank in her discussion of the prosperity of Austrian Galicia in connection to oil.⁶³

⁵⁸ Rachel Carson Center, accessible at www.carsoncenter.uni-muenchen.de/about_rcc/index.html, last accessed September 8, 2013. See also Interdisciplinary Environmental History Research Training Group (University of Göttingen, Germany), accessible at www.anthro.uni-goettingen.de/gk/english.html, last accessed September 8, 2013.

⁵⁹ A. Borst, “Das Erdbeben von 1348: Ein historischer Beitrag zur Katastrophenforschung”, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 233, 1981, pp. 529-569.

⁶⁰ M. Preglau, “The State and the Anti-nuclear Power Movement in Austria”, in *States and Anti-Nuclear Movements*, H. Flam (ed.), Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1994.

⁶¹ C. Sonnlechner, V. Winiwarter, “Recht und Verwaltung in grundherrschaftlichen Waldordnungen Niederösterreichs und Salzburgs”, in *Naturschutz und Naturschutz in der europäischen Rechts- und Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Nomos, Baden-Baden 1999.

⁶² O. Veichtlbauer, M. Schmid, *Vom Naturschutz zur Ökologiebewegung: Umweltgeschichte Österreichs in der Zweiten Republik*, Studienverlag, Innsbruck 2007.

⁶³ A. F. Frank, *Oil Empire: Visions of Prosperity in Austrian Galicia*, Harvard

Also dominated by the Alps, Swiss environmental history remains closely tied to neighboring Austria.⁶⁴ A wide concern for the Alpine environment and scenery in both Swiss and Austrian society translated into a keen interest in environmental protection. Issues like air pollution and environmental destruction also resulted in some studies in Switzerland. Historian Christian Pfister's work remains the most influential on many topics regarding the history of the environment in Switzerland.⁶⁵ *Klimageschichte* (history of climate) and the debate on catastrophes are also prominent in the country.⁶⁶ Although partially outdated, François Walters's study *Bedrohliche und bedrohte Nature* (1990) still provides the most succinct overview of environmental history in Switzerland.

University Press, Cambridge 2007. See also S. Hahn, R. Reith, *Umwelt-Geschichte. Arbeitsfelder, Forschungsansätzen Perspektiven*, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Vienna 2001. K. Brunner, P. Schneider (eds), *UmweltStadt. Geschichte des Natur- und Lebensraumes Wien*, Böhlau, Vienna 2005.

⁶⁴ A. Borsdorf, J. Stötter, E. Veulliet (eds), *Managing Alpine Future: Proceedings of the Innsbruck Conference, October 15-17, 2007*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2008. R. Netting, *Balancing on an Alp: Ecological Change and Continuity in a Swiss Mountain Community*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1981. C. Rohr, *Extreme Naturereignisse im Ostalpenraum*, Böhlau, Cologne 2008. O. Zimmer, "In Search of Natural Identity: Alpine Landscape and the Reconstruction of the Swiss Nation", in *Nature's Past: The Environment and Human History*, P. Squatriti (ed.), University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 2007, pp. 240-269.

⁶⁵ C. Pfister, "The 'Syndrome of the 1950s' in Switzerland: Cheap Energy, Mass Consumption and the Environment", in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, S. Strasser, C. McGovern, M. Judt (eds), Cambridge University Press, New York 1998.

⁶⁶ C. Pfister, P. Brimblecombe, (eds), *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*, Springer-Verlag, Berlin/New York 1990. C. Pfister, *Am Tag danach: Zur Bewältigung von Naturkatastrophen in der Schweiz 1500-2000*, Haupt, Bern 2002. C. Pfister, W. Behringer, H. Lehmann (eds), *Kulturelle Konsequenzen der 'Kleinen Eiszeit' / Cultural Consequences of the 'Little Ice Age'*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2005.

The Benelux Nations

The Dutch are the leaders in environmental history in the so-called Benelux nations (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg). This is apparent in the fact that until 1999 a combined Dutch-Flemish initiative published the *Tijdschrift voor Ecologische Geschiedenis* (*Journal for Environmental History*) through Academia Press in Gent, Belgium. Most recently, a new outlet was created, the by now well-established *Jaarboek voor Ecologische Geschiedenis* (*Yearbook of Ecological History*), dominated by Dutch environmental history (*milieugeschiedenis* or *ecologische geschiedenis*).⁶⁷ The 2007 conference of the European Society for Environmental History in Amsterdam and the *Net Werk* network also underlines Dutch prominence in environmental history in recent years.

Thematically, environmental historians in the Netherlands remain interested in their nation's struggle against the sea.⁶⁸ G. P. Van de Ven's study on lowlands and the history of water management is a key example for such discussions. The location of Holland at the mouth of various rivers, most notably the Rhine, has attracted significant scholarship as well. Richard Tol and Andreas Langena, for instance, provide a broad overview of rivers in their article "A Concise History of Dutch River Floods", while Petra Dam and P.H. Nienhuis focus more specifically on certain waterways.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Neither Belgium nor Luxembourg have an entry in the *Encyclopedia of World Environmental History*.

⁶⁸ See, for example, T. Dietz, P. Hoekstra, F. Thissen (eds), *The Netherlands and the North Sea*, Netherlands Geographical Studies 325, KNAG, Utrecht 2004. G.P. Van de Ven, *Man-made Lowlands: History of Water Management and Land Reclamation in the Netherlands*, Uitgeverij Matrijs, Utrecht 1993.

⁶⁹ P.J.E.M. van Dam, *Vissen in Veengebieden: De sluisvisserij op aal tussen Haarlem en Amsterdam en de ecologische transformatie in Rijnland, 1440-1540*, Verloren, Hilversum 1998. W. TeBrake, *Medieval Frontier: Culture and Ecology in Rijnland*, Texas A & M University Press, College Station 1984. R.S.J. Tol, A. Langena, "A Concise History of Dutch River Floods", in *Climatic Change*, 46, 2000, pp. 357-369. P.H. Nienhuis, *Environmental History of the Rhine-Meuse Delta, An Ecological Story on Evolving Human-Environmental Relations Coping with Climate Change and Sea-Level Rise*, Springer Verlag, Dordrecht/ London 2008.

Dutch scholarship also frequently connects environmental history to urban environments, industrialization, and landscapes. Paintings encapsulated the importance of landscape early on, leading scholars from numerous disciplines to focus on the construction of nature within this framework.⁷⁰ Continuing contributions of scholars to environmental policies⁷¹ in regard to land-use and other issues show similar influences, while at the same time demonstrating how broader discourses and conversations can influence actual policy-making.

The rich traditions of environmental history in the Netherlands ultimately led to broader overview studies. S.W. Verstegen and J.L. Zanden authored a green history in 1994, followed by an *Environmental Chronology of the Netherlands* (1997) by Henny van der Windt and Nigel Harle three years later. Comparative analyses of environmental consciousness plus the ability to draw on popular images like the Dutch Herring mark recent attempts to reach a broader audience.⁷²

⁷⁰ See, for example, A.M. Lambert, *The Making of the Dutch Landscape: An Historical Geography of the Netherlands*, Seminar Press, New York 1971. H.J. Keuning, *Kaleidoscoop der Nederlandse landschappen: de regionale verscheidenheid van Nederland in historisch-geografisch perspectief*, Nijhoff, The Hague 1979. On land use, see: E. de Groot, H. Kerkhof, L. Veening, *Land-use Changes in the Netherlands: Description and Analysis of Developments in Land-Uses in the Past 40 Years*, LUW, Wageningen 1988. Issues of pollution have played a role in these discussions, notably focusing on topics beyond pollution due to industrialization. See, for example, H. van Zon, *Een zeer onfrisse geschiedenis: Studies over niet-industriële verontreiniging in Nederland, 1850-1920*, Ministry of Housing, Planning and Environment Conservation, The Hague 1986.

⁷¹ G. Bennett, "The History of the Dutch National Environmental Policy Plan", in *Environment*, 33, 1991, pp. 6-9. H. Diederiks, C. Jeurgens, "Environmental Policy in 19th-Century Leyden", in *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History*, C. Pfister, P. Brimblecombe (eds), Springer-Verlag, New York 1990.

⁷² S.W. Verstegen, J.L. van Zanden, *Groene Geschiedenis van Nederland*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1994. H. van der Windt, N. Harle, *Environmental Chronology of the Netherlands*, Biologiewinkel RUG, Haren 1997. P. van Dam, "Sinking Peat Bogs: Environmental Change in Holland, 1350-1550", in *Environmental History*, 6, 2001, pp. 32-45. A. Jamison, R. Eyerman, J. Cramer (eds), *The Making of the New Environmental Consciousness: A Comparative Study of the Environmental*

The situation in Belgium and Luxembourg is comparatively less developed. Discussions in Belgium followed the general trend of environmental history in the Netherlands. Luxembourg has seen little in the way of environmental historical debate, but this is hardly surprising considering the size and environmental makeup of this Western European nation.

France

Surprisingly, environmental history in France seems to be a rather recent phenomenon. As Geneviève Massard-Guilbaud stated in 2004, “while for years or even decades disciplines like geography, economics, law, history of sciences or philosophy have all seen the environment as a valuable topic, it was not before the end of the 1990s that the phrase ‘history of the environment’ appeared in this country, with a very small number of earlier exceptions”.⁷³ Massard-Guilbaud herself challenges assertions that the *École des Annales* was pioneering this field, although she does not dismiss its overall contribution to history and its focus on nature.⁷⁴ Others question this view, as well as the whole notion of the backwardness of French environmental history,⁷⁵ thereby leaving room for debate.

Topics within the growing field of French environmental history are diverse. Traditional themes like forest history played key roles early on, an interest notably embodied by the Groupe d’histoire des forêts

Movements in Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1990. B. Poulson, *Dutch Herring: An Environmental History, c. 1600-1860*, Aksant Academic Publishers, Amsterdam 2008.

⁷³ Winiwater, *Environmental History in Europe from 1999 to 2004* cit., p. 513. G. Massard-Guilbaud mentions the special issue of *Annales E.S.C.* (29, 3, 1973), dedicated to environment and history, and C. Beck, R. Delort (eds), *Pour une histoire de l’environnement et des phénomènes naturels*, CNRS, Paris 1993.

⁷⁴ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper & Row, New York 1973. Id., *The Identity of France*, Harper & Row, New York 1988. See also V. Winiwater, M. Knoll, *Umweltgeschichte* cit., pp. 43-44.

⁷⁵ C. Ford, T.L. Whited, “Introduction”, in *French Historical Studies*, 32, 3, 2009, pp. 343-352.

français.⁷⁶ Some of these discussions even incorporate the imperial experience, as exemplified by Caroline Ford's article "Reforestation, Landscape Conservation, and Anxieties of Empire in French Colonial Algeria" (2008). Other fields of interest include national parks⁷⁷ and the Alps, the latter being in part connected to the scholarship of neighboring Alpine nations.⁷⁸ Some recent publications focus on rivers, notably the book *Confluence: The Nature of Technology and the Remaking of the Rhône* (2011), by historian of technology and the environment Sara Pritchard. Apart from providing a stunning, detailed, and coherent study, Pritchard makes a powerful argument for environmental analysis, understood as the "confluence of two fields, environmental history and the history of technology".⁷⁹ Connections to industrialization and urbanization are apparent when talking about water.⁸⁰ Such discussions generally build upon previous studies, most

⁷⁶ See also L. Badré, *Histoire de la forêt française*, Les Editions Arthaud, Paris 1983. P. Acot, *Histoire de l'écologie*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1988. A. Corvol, *L'Homme aux bois: Histoire des relations de l'homme et de la forêt, XVIIIe-XXe siècles*, Fayard, Paris 1987. T.L. Whited, *Forests and Peasant Politics in Modern France*, Yale University Press, New Haven 2000. C. Ford, "Reforestation, Landscape Conservation, and Anxieties of Empire in French Colonial Algeria", in *American Historical Review*, 113, 2008, pp. 341–62.

⁷⁷ E. Leynaud, *L'Etat et la Nature: l'exemple des parcs nationaux français*, Parc National des Cévennes, Florac 1985. N. Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1990.

⁷⁸ On the Alps see R. Favier, A.-M. Granet-Abisset, *Histoire et mémoire des risques naturels, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme-Alpes*, CNRS-MSH-Alpes, Grenoble 2000. R. Favier, *Une école à la mesure des Alpes: Contribution à une histoire de l'enseignement secondaire*, Presses universitaires de Grenoble, Grenoble 2009. On earthquakes see: G. Quenet, *La naissance d'un risque. Les tremblements de terre en France XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Champ Vallon, Seyssel 2005.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁰ A. Guillerme, *Bâtir la ville: Révolutions industrielles dans les matériaux de construction: France-Grande-Bretagne (1760-1840)*, Champ Vallon, Seyssel 1995. C. Bernhardt, G. Massard-Guilbaud (eds), *Le Démon moderne: La pollution dans les sociétés urbaines et industrielles d'Europe*, Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand 2002. S. Frioux, "Assainissement urbain et vie politique à Limoges, 1849-1914", in *Cahiers d'histoire*, 47, 1-2, 2002, pp. 73-92. On urbanization see also T. Le Roux, *Le laboratoire des pollutions industrielles: Paris, 1770-1830*, Edi-

notably André Guillerme's *The Age of Water* (1988). Ecological movements after WW II are the focus of Michael Bess's *The Light-Green Society* (2003), which connects to similar trends within Germany, especially concerning the importance of the anti-nuclear movement and the development of environmental policies.⁸¹ An enduring scholarly interest in ways to synthesize discussions is evident in several more recent publications, showing that French environmental history has matured dramatically over the last years.⁸²

Italy

In Italy, environmental history began to emerge as a distinct field of research, as early as the 1980s.⁸³ Yet even before environmental studies began to take their place among “hobbies for the well-to-do”,⁸⁴ divisions along political lines had emerged, as Marco Armiero

tions Albin Michel, Paris 2011. The discussion of the Great War and the environment is of particular interest within French scholarship. See namely H.D. Clout, *After the Ruins: Restoring the Countryside of Northern France after the Great War*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter 1996. C. Pearson, “The Age of Wood: Fuel and Fighting in French Forests 1940-1944”, in *Environmental History*, 11, 4, 2006, pp. 775-803. See also: T. Keller, “The Mountains Roar: The Alps during the Great War”, in *Environmental History*, 14, 2, 2009, pp. 253-274. P. Coates, T. Cole, M. Dudley, C. Pearson, “Defending Nation, Defending Nature? Militarized Landscapes and Military Environmentalism in Britain, France, and the United States”, in *Environmental History*, 16, 2011, pp. 456-491.

⁸¹ G. Hecht, *The Radiance of France: Nuclear Power and National Identity after World War II*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1998. J. Szarka, *The Shaping of Environmental Policy in France*, Berghahn, New York 2002.

⁸² J.M. Drouin, *Réinventer la nature: l'écologie et son histoire*, Desclée de Brouer, Paris 1991. R. Delort, F. Walter, *Histoire de l'environnement européen*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 2001. F. Charvolin, *L'invention de l'environnement en France*, La Découverte, Paris 2007. Winiwater, *Environmental History in Europe from 1999 to 2004* cit., p. 514.

⁸³ M. Bess, M. Cioc, J. Sievert, “Environmental History Writing in Southern Europe”, in *Environmental History*, 5, 4, 2000, pp. 545-556. P. Bevilacqua, “The Distinctive Character of Italian Environmental History”, in *Nature and History in Modern Italy* Ohio University Press, Athens 2001, Armiero, Hall (eds), pp. 15-32.

⁸⁴ M. Armiero, M. Hall (eds), *Nature and History in Modern Italy* cit., p. 4. D. Paccino, *L'imbroglione ecologico*, Einaudi, Turin 1972.

and Marcus Hall⁸⁵ recently demonstrated. Agricultural history, for example, is deeply influenced by Marxism, as exemplified by the work of Emilio Sereni and, more recently, Piero Bevilacqua,⁸⁶ with his focus on food and the food supply. Other scholars stand on the opposite end of the political spectrum, adopting a distinctively anti-Marxist and stance in their works.

The focus of environmental historians in Italy has been “a combination of landscape and humanscape, natural and artificial”, with little debate on wilderness.⁸⁷ Scholars focus on gardens,⁸⁸ as well as forests. Mario Agnoletti “was, and continues to be, the leading forest historian”.⁸⁹ New scholarship continues to emerge. An example is the work of Stefania Barca on industrial hazards, labor, and the environment.⁹⁰ Some scholars also began to address the theme of the construction of nature. James Sievert, for example, does so in *The Origins of Nature Conservation in Italy*, published in 2000.⁹¹ These recent trends reflect a wish to diversify the field of Italian environmental history.

A combination of urban and environmental history also had a long tradition in Italy. Embodied by Ercole Sori and others,⁹² discussions focusing on the city of Venice continue to mesmerize scholars well beyond Italy. Lidia D. Sciamà’s *A Venetian Island: Environment,*

⁸⁵ Armiero, Hall (eds), *Nature and History in Modern Italy* cit., pp. 4-5.

⁸⁶ E. Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, Laterza, Bari 1961. P. Bevilacqua, *La mucca è savia: Ragioni storiche della crisi alimentare europea*, Donzelli, Roma 2002. Id., *Tra natura e storia: Ambiente, economie, risorse in Italia*, Donzelli, Roma 1996.

⁸⁷ Armiero, Hall (eds), *Nature and History in Modern Italy* cit., p. 5.

⁸⁸ A. Taglionini, *Storia del giardino Italiano*, Las Cas Usher, Florence 1988.

⁸⁹ Hughes, *What is Environmental History?* cit., p. 63.

⁹⁰ S. Barca, “Bread and Poison: The Story of Labor Environmentalism in Italy, 1968-1998”, in *Dangerous Trade. Histories of Industrial Hazards across a Globalized World*, C. Sellers, J. Malling (eds), Temple University Press, Philadelphia 2012, pp. 126-139.

⁹¹ J. Sievert, *The Origins of Nature Conservation in Italy*, Peter Lang, Bern 2000. See also L. Piccioni, *Il volto amato della Patria: il primo movimento per la conservazione delle natura in Italia, 1880-1934*, Università di Camerino, Camerino 1996.

⁹² E. Sori, R. Rozzi, H. MacLean, *Ascoli and its Territory: Urban Structure and Settlements from the Origins to the Present Day*, Silvana, Milano 1984.

History, and Change in Burano, for example, combines ethnography and archive research to capture how the local environment, along with other factors, helped inhabitants to construct their identity;⁹³ Karl Appuhn, instead, uses environmental arguments to explain how Venice moved from its original isolation to becoming a highly dependent city-state.⁹⁴ Finally, Salvatore Ciriaco addresses the construction of landscapes by focusing on conflicts over water in Venice and Holland, pushing existing scholarly discussions towards a more comparative approach.⁹⁵ These studies, along with those discussing tourism and transportation, plus the 2005 conference of the European Society of Environmental History conference in Florence, Italy, bear witness to a trend in Italian environmental historiography to look beyond the country's national boundaries.⁹⁶

The Iberian Peninsula

Environmental history in the Iberian Peninsula (Portugal, Spain, Andorra) have followed the general European trends, emerging more clearly by the early 1990s.⁹⁷ Iberian scholars have spent much time on forests, fire, and desertification, given the aridity of the region.⁹⁸

⁹³ L. Sciamia, *A Venetian Island: Environment, History, and Change in Burano*, Berghahn, New York 2003.

⁹⁴ K. Appuhn, *A Forest on the Sea: Environmental Expertise in Renaissance Venice*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2009.

⁹⁵ S. Ciriaco, *Building on Water: Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times*, J. Scott (trans), Berghahn, New York 2006.

⁹⁶ See, for example, F. Paolini, "'Salting fresh waters.' Industries, Tourism and the Environment on Tuscany's Central-Southern Coast", in *Storia e Futuro*, 29, 2012, pp. 1-20. Id., *Storia del Sindacato ferroviari italiani, 1943-1958*, Marsilio, Venezia 1998.

⁹⁷ A notable exception is N. Varillas, *Para una historia del movimiento ecologista en España*, Miraguano, Madrid 1981. For an overview see also S. Casado, "Early History of Ecology in Spain, 1868-1936", in *Ecology Revisited: Reflecting on Concepts, Advancing Science*, A.E. Schwarz, K. Jax (eds), Springer, Dordrecht/New York 2011.

⁹⁸ J. Bentley, "Bread Forests and New Fields: The Ecology of Reforestation and Forest Clearing Among Small-Woodland Owners in Portugal", in *Journal of For-*

Water was, accordingly, a central focus of early scholarship, such as T. F. Glick's study of irrigation in medieval Valencia, published in 1970.⁹⁹ There is an ongoing debate on pastoral lands, which are rarely featured in English publications.¹⁰⁰ Such discussions reflect the widespread economic backwardness of the Iberian region, as emphasized by J. Donald Hughes. More recently, however, scholars have also been foregrounding debates on the construction and use of nature, as apparent, for instance, in the work of Martí Escayol and Maria Antònia.¹⁰¹ Surprisingly little is available regarding the influence of the policies of General Franco on the environment, leaving room for additional scholarship in the future.¹⁰²

estry, 33, 4, 1989, pp. 188-195. G.M. Silvers, "The Natural Environment in Spain: A Study of Environmental History, Legislation, and Attitudes", in *Tulane Environmental Law Journal*, 5, 1, 1991, pp. 285-316. R. Brouwer, *Planting Power: The Afforestation of the Commons and State Formation in Portugal*, Eburon, Netherlands 1995. A. Sánchez, J.G. Latorre, "Dealing with Aridity: Socio-Economic Structures and Environmental Changes in an Arid Mediterranean Region", in *Land Use Policy*, 18, 1, 2001, pp. 53-64. J.G. Latorre, A.S. Picón, J.G. Latorre, "The Man-Made Desert: Effects on Economic and Demographic Growth on the Ecosystems of Arid Southeastern Spain", in *Environmental History*, 6, 1, 2001, pp. 75-94.

⁹⁹ T.F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1970. Id., *Irrigation and Hydraulic Technology. Medieval Spain and its Legacy*, Variorum, Aldershot 1996. See also M. Hernández, "Les Îles Canaries, 1480-1525. Irrigation et première colonisation atlantique: le domaine de l'eau", in *Eau et développement*, S. Ciriaco (ed.), Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris 2004.

¹⁰⁰ One exception is R. Calderon, "Genetic Structure of the Basque Herders of Northern Spain", in *Human Biology of Pastoral Populations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002.

¹⁰¹ M.G. de Molina, J. Martínez-Alier (eds), *Naturaleza Transformada: Estudios de Historia Ambiental en España*, Icaria, Barcelona 2001. M. Escayol, M. Antònia, *La construcció del concepte de natura a la Catalunya moderna*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2004. D. Guillet, "Co-Management of Natural Resources: The Long View from Northwestern Spain", in *Environment and History*, 8, 2, 2002, pp. 217-236.

¹⁰² American Historical Association, conference 2010, paper by S. Hamilton, *The Rain in Spain: Franco, the Hydraulic Paradigm, and Environmental Reality, 1939-75*.

The Atlantic Ocean plays a key role within environmental history in the Iberian Peninsula. Historically, it embodies the connection of the region to the rest of the world, most notably in the time of the Iberian Expansion.¹⁰³ Still, reflections on empires coming out of Spain or Portugal are rare. Instead, various institutions in the region have been using the Atlantic Ocean as a narrative vehicle. The Center for Studies of the Atlantic on Madeira produced several intriguing studies in this vein. A conference on the Atlantic organized by Alberto Viera in 1999 resulted in an extensive volume.¹⁰⁴ Discussions on fisheries, for instance, as found in an essay by Ernesto López Losa,¹⁰⁵ impart to these recent conversations a more localized character.

Greece

The Encyclopedia of World Environmental History has no entry for Greece, and indeed, the country only recently embraced the field of environmental history. To quote J. Donald Hughes, “The environmental history community in Greece is in the process of formation as of this date of writing”.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, since 1981 a research project on the “Historical geography of the Greek territory during the Byzantine period” is in place at the Department of Byzantine Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation.¹⁰⁷ A conference titled “The Environment in Greece: Historical Dimensions”¹⁰⁸ helped spark interest, resulting in a showing of scholars at the 2003

¹⁰³ The work of Environmental Historian Alfred W. Crosby concerning the Columbian Exchange and ecological imperialism is of key importance in the larger context.

¹⁰⁴ A. Viera (ed.), *História e Meio-Ambiente: O Impacto da Expansão Europeia, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico*, Funchal, Madeira 1999.

¹⁰⁵ European Society of Environmental History, conference 2003, paper by E.L. Losa, *Informal Property Rights and Common Management in the Northern Spanish Fisheries until the Twentieth Century*.

¹⁰⁶ Hughes, *What is Environmental History?* cit., p. 63.

¹⁰⁷ For more information, see: eseh.org/about-eseh/regions/greece/, last accessed December 18, 2012.

¹⁰⁸ This conference took place in Athens, and its official language was Greek.

Environmental Society of Environmental History conference in Prague and the 2005 conference in Florence. The growing need for some institutionalization has been met by postgraduate courses available at the University of Athens since 2009, where research and teaching generally focus on the environmental history of the south-eastern Mediterranean in the early modern period. An international workshop with the University of Minnesota titled “The Mediterranean and its seas: natural, social, political landscapes and environments” in 2009 underlines such growth of environmental history in Greece,¹⁰⁹ which hopefully will translate into more publications, especially in English.

Eastern Europe

Environmental history in Eastern Europe (here under this heading I will be referring mainly to the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland) evolved in a significantly different manner than in the ‘West’. After being influenced by totalitarian state structures and collective environmental polices, the end of the so-called Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union marked a turning point for environmental history in this region.¹¹⁰ Until then, courageous scholars and individuals had repeatedly critiqued flaws in environmental policies and denounced pollution, environmental degradation, and other hazards behind the Iron Curtain.¹¹¹ Referring to this area collectively as Eastern Europe seems thus appropriate, while accounting for vast geographic, cultural, and political differences.

The Czech Republic and, to a certain extent, Slovakia, currently

¹⁰⁹ For more information, see: eseh.org/about-eseh/regions/greece/ cit.

¹¹⁰ J.R. McNeill, C. Unger (eds), *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013.

¹¹¹ F.W. Carter, D. Turnock, *Environmental Problems in Eastern Europe*, Routledge, New York 1993. In some nations, dictatorial structures and widespread poverty remain prevalent, making environmental issues less of a concern. Z. Gille, “Two Pairs of Women’s Boots for a Hectare of Land: Nature and the Construction of the Environmental Problem in State Socialism”, in *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 8, 4, 1997, pp. 1-22.

play a leading role in Eastern European environmental history. Environmental history grew remarkably in each individual national context throughout the 1990s. Leos Jelecek first introduced environmental history in the Czech Republic after his research fellowship with Donald Worster in Kansas.¹¹² Long-term studies on land-use and land-cover changes, as well as climatology, also saw increasing attention, as J. Donald Hughes points out. Attempts by Charles University in Prague to capture all of these developments reflect recent desires to institutionalize and accommodate a growing field.¹¹³ The conference of the European Society of Environmental History in Prague in 2003¹¹⁴ and continuing international participation of leading scholars from the Czech Republic in the annual conference of the American Society for Environmental History¹¹⁵ demonstrate a continuing commitment to the growth of the field.

In Hungary, environmental history grew out of a long tradition of historical geography. Scholars like Pal Beluszky, Sandor Frisnyak, among others, widely influenced the field.¹¹⁶ Interdisciplinary approaches including geography, geology, meteorology, and history illustrate the potential of environmental history in the Carpathian Basin. Apart from the importance of Hungarian geologist Laszlo

¹¹² L. Jelecek, Z. Bohac, "Mountains, Forests, Rivers: Medieval Bohemia in the Context of Central Europe", in *Montagnes, feuves, forêts dans l'histoire: Barrières ou lignes de convergence?*, J.F. Bergier (ed.) Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, St. Katharinen 1989.

¹¹³ B. Moldan, T. Hak, *Czech Republic 2000: Ten Years on: Environment and Quality of Life after Ten Years of Transition*, Charles University, Prague 2000.

¹¹⁴ L. Jelecek, P. Chromy, H. Janu, J. Miskovsky, Lenka Uhlírova (eds), *Dealing with Diversity? Second International Conference of the European Society for Environmental History Prague 2003*, 2 vols., Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Science, Prague 2003.

¹¹⁵ American Society of Environmental History, conference 2011, panel: "The Transformation of Czechia 1990-2010 and Environmental Aspects of the Rural Landscape Changes".

¹¹⁶ P. Beluszky, *The Spatial Differences of Modernisation in Hungary at the Beginning of the 20th Century*, Centre for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Pécs 2002. Id., *Historische Geographie der Grossen Ungarischen Tiefebene*, Schenk, Passau 2006. S. Frisnyák, *Magyarország történeti földrajza*, Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest 1990.

Kordos,¹¹⁷ an emphasis on landscape and forests defined as historical ecology continues to characterize the field as a whole. In many ways, historical ecologist Péter Szabó embodies this approach.¹¹⁸

Water history with specific reference to the Danube River resulted in lots of scholarship in Hungary. Though more research is necessary, the most recent study by John Fitzmaurice, titled *Damming the Danube* (1996), underlines the possibilities of this approach. To utilize the Danube River as medium for discussing Eastern European history would help scholars to think outside national categories.¹¹⁹

Similarly to the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary, environmental history in Poland only fully evolved in the last decades. Influenced by geography and its continuing prevalence at Jagiellonian University in Kraków,¹²⁰ forest history plays an important role in Poland. Tomasz Samojlik, for instance, focuses on the environmental history of forests within the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania.¹²¹ Scholars from the department of plant ecology in Gdansk,¹²²

¹¹⁷ L. Rác, *Climate History of Hungary Since the Sixteenth Century: Past, Present, and Future*, MTA RKK, Pécs 1999. A. Vadas, *Weather Anomalies and Climatic Change in Late Medieval Hungary: Weather events in the 1310s in the Hungarian Kingdom*, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, Saarbrücken 2010.

¹¹⁸ P. Szabó, R. Hédl (eds), *Human Nature: Studies in Historical Ecology and Environmental History*, Institute of Botany of the ASCR, Brno 2008. Id., “Socio-Economic Demands, Ecological Conditions and the Power of Tradition: Past Woodland Management Decisions in a Central European Landscape”, in *Landscape Research*, 38, 2, 2013. J. Laszlovszky, P. Szabó (eds), *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, Central European University Press, Budapest 2004.

¹¹⁹ Cousteau Society (ed.), *The Danube: For whom and for what?*, Cousteau Foundation, Paris 1993.

¹²⁰ K. Trafas, “Air Pollution in Southern Poland”, in *Atlas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe*, P. Jordon (ed.), Gebr. Borntraeger, Berlin/Stuttgart 1991. J. Warner, “Poland: The Environment in Transition”, in *Geographical Journal*, 165, 2, 1999, pp. 209-221. Geographers from Jagiellonian University in Kraków (e.g. Dominik Kaim) continue to work on the landscape history of southern Poland.

¹²¹ P. Daszkiewicz, B. Jedrzejewska, T. Samojlik, *Puszcza Białowieńska w pracach przyrodników 1721-1831*, Wydawn. Warszawa 2004. J. Brincken, P. Daszkiewicz, B. Jedrzejewska, Tomasz Samojlik, *Mémoire descriptif sur la forêt impériale de Białowieża, en Lithuanie*, Editions Epigraf, Paris 2004.

¹²² For recent developments, including a collaborative project, see, for exam-

historians, and archaeologists from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw continue to diversify the field.¹²³ The interest of the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry in the field at large¹²⁴ and the recent addition of climate history¹²⁵ indicate that there are possibilities for growth in the coming years.

Russia

Russian environmental history remains important within the general framework of the historiography of Eastern Europe. Historically, geography played a key role in the development of Russia. Not surprisingly, historical scholarship addressed environmental aspects early on. Local as well as non-native scholars originally focused on the environmental impact of totalitarianism, giving rise to a diverse and complex field of study focusing on the legacy of the Soviet state.¹²⁶ Scholarship diversified even more after the fall of the

ple, www.biology.ug.edu.pl/ker/html/Latalowa_EN.html, [last accessed, August 29, 2012].

¹²³ For more information on the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology see, www.iaepan.edu.pl/index.php?lang=en, last accessed, December 18, 2012.

¹²⁴ Ministry of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry (ed.), *National Environmental Policy of Poland*, Ministry of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry, Warsaw 1991. See also J. Clarke, D.H. Cole, *Environmental Protection in Transition: Economic, Legal and Socio-Political Perspectives on Poland*, Ashgate, Aldershot 1998.

¹²⁵ R. Przybylak, J. Majorowicz, R. Brázdil, M. Kejan (eds), *The Polish Climate in the European Context: An Historical Overview*, Springer, Dordrecht 2009.

¹²⁶ M. Goldmann, *The Spoils of Progress: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1972. B. Komarov, *Unichtozhenie prirody v sovet-skom soiuze*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk 1980. On the destruction of nature in USSR see T. Gustafson, *Reform in the Soviet Union: Lessons of Recent Politics on Land and Water*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1981. M. Lemeshev, *Bureaucrats in Power: Ecological Collapse*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1990. D.J. Peterson, *Troubled Lands: The Legacy of Soviet Environmental Destruction*, Westview Press, Boulder 1993. A.-M.S. Ahlander, *Environmental Problems in the Shortage Economy: The Legacy of Soviet Environmental Policy*, Edward Elgar, Aldershot 1994. P.R. Pryde (ed.), *Environmental Resources and Constraints in the Former Soviet Repub-*

USSR. The leading foreign scholar on Russian environmental history remains historian Douglas Weiner,¹²⁷ although there have been other important contributors to this field.¹²⁸ A recent overview study published by Cambridge University Press titled *An Environmental History of Russia* (2013) promises to give the field a push. The Institute for the History of Science and Technology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,¹²⁹ and a budding Russian Green movement outline current trends; these developments may open up new paths,¹³⁰ or at least lead to new ways to frame coherent overviews of Russian environmental history.¹³¹

Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Balkans

Beyond these Eastern European nations, environmental history has seen little attention. The disaster in Chernobyl persists as the most important focus within discussions in the Ukraine and

lics, Westview Press, Boulder 1995. M. Feshbach, *Ecocide in the USSR: Health and Nature Under Siege*, Basic Books, New York 1993. S. Brain, "The Great Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature", in *Environmental History*, 15, 2010, pp. 670-700. For a recent overview see P. Josephson, et al (eds), *An Environmental History of Russia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013.

¹²⁷ D. Weiner, *Models of Nature: Ecology, Conservation, and Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia*, 2ed Indiana University Press, Bloomington 2000. Id., *A Little Corner of Freedom: Nature Protection from Stalin to Gorbachev*, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1999.

¹²⁸ C. Ely, *The Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia*, Northern Illinois Press, DeKalb 2002. D. Moon, "The Environmental History of the Russian Steppes: Vasilii Dokuchaev and the Harvest Failure of 1891", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15, 2005, pp. 149-174.

¹²⁹ On the Russian Academy of Science and Technology see www.ras.ru/en/index.aspx, last accessed, December 18, 2012.

¹³⁰ O.N. Yanitsky, *Russian Greens in a Risk Society*, Kikimora Publications, Helsinki 2000.

¹³¹ A. Rosenholm, S. Autio-Sarasma, *Understanding Russian Nature: Representations, Values and Concepts*, Kikimora Publications, Helsinki 2005. A. Karimov, I. Merzliakova, *Russia: An Environmental History* (forthcoming).

Belarus,¹³² while Romania and Bulgaria have seen little scholarship focusing on the environment. The Balkans witnessed some early studies and discussions, most notably by historical geographers.¹³³ This trend endures in locations like Croatia, where comparatively advanced discussions of environmental history are to the fore.¹³⁴ In Serbia, on the other hand, the field is in its embryonic stage, making scholars like Jelena Mrgic a lonely voice in what is still a growing discipline.¹³⁵

Moving Beyond the Nation State?

This brief and in many ways incomplete overview highlights at least three points. First, environmental history clearly experienced a major boost in the 1990s. This is when it was institutionalized in universities and networks, and increasingly in the ESEH. The end of the Cold War, the continuing sway of U.S. environmental history, and more specific and localized events may help to explain this bloom. Second, discussions amongst scholars within different nations are surprisingly similar in regard to chronological developments and themes. Though still diverse in many aspects, topics like forest history, climate history, and a discussion of environmental movements are present in almost all national contexts. This makes comparative discussions across borders possible.¹³⁶ Take, for example, forest history. In Great Britain, this field

¹³² Z.A. Medvedev, *Nuclear Disasters in the Urals*, W.W. Norton, New York 1979. Id., *The Legacy of Chernobyl*, W.W. Norton, New York 1990.

¹³³ F.W. Carter (ed.), *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*, Academic Press, London 1977.

¹³⁴ As rightfully pointed out by Hrvoje Petrić, the pioneering article remains: M. Bertoša, “L’iniziativa ecologica di un rettore veneto dell’Istria negli anni 1623-1624”, in *Atti del Centro di Ricerche Storiche*, 9, 1978-1979, pp. 489-502.

¹³⁵ J. Mrgic, “Wine or *Raki*: The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia”, in *Environment and History*, 17, 2011, pp. 613-637. Id., “Some Considerations on Woodland Resource in Medieval Serbia and Bosnia”, in *Beogradski Istorijski Glasnik/Belgrade Historical Review*, 1, 2010, pp. 87-101.

¹³⁶ D. Schott et al (eds), *Resources of the City: Contributions to an Environmental History of Modern Europe*, Ashgate, New York 2005. U. Lehmkuhl, H. Wellenreuther (eds), *Historians and Nature: Comparative Approaches to Environmental History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London 2007.

connects primarily to landscape history, while in Scandinavia there is a trend to categorize forests as wilderness. While “comparative and transnational projects remain rare”,¹³⁷ recent research has been encouraging for scholars working in a comparative and transnational perspective. J.R. McNeill’s statement that environmental history is “as interdisciplinary as intellectual pursuits can get”¹³⁸ is applicable to European environmental history in many ways. Third, while scholars in other fields generally fear to sit between two different disciplinary chairs,¹³⁹ from the start the rise of environmental history in various academic settings invited more collaboration across disciplines. Such an ability to transcend disciplinary frameworks and, at times, isolationist academic approaches, is a key advantage that needs to be preserved within emerging institutions. The RCC in Munich, the ESEH, and other institutions underline the opportunities ingrained in this approach. The ESEH in particular is playing an increasingly important role and should continue working on ways to connect scholars in Europe.

Recent attempts to give major trends a transnational format are indeed encouraging. Edited volumes like *Shades of Green* (2006), *Common Ground* (2010), and *Soils and Societies* (2010) are useful, as are thematically organized volumes like *The Turning Points of Environmental History* (2010). The latter, for instance, focuses on agriculture, forest history, desertification, and urban history, transcending artificial national boundaries.¹⁴⁰ In other cases, promising vantage points are apparent. As J. Donald Hughes pointed out, “the Mediterranean is a unique ecological region with the central sea as its unifying feature. [...] The environmental history of the Mediterranean as a whole has been well treated”.¹⁴¹ Connecting discussions to tourism, irrigation,

¹³⁷ Uekötter, *Umweltgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* cit., p. 44.

¹³⁸ McNeill, *Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History* cit., p. 5 and p. 9.

¹³⁹ Winiwarter, Knoll, *Umweltgeschichte* cit., p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ For holistic conceptions, see also, for example M. Teich, R. Porter, *Nature and Society in Historical Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997.

¹⁴¹ S. Barca, *Enclosing Water. Nature and Political Economy in a Mediterranean Valley, 1796-1916*, White Horse Press, Cambridge 2010. J.R. McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

and other issues seems worthwhile, and would help moving even more towards a transnational history.¹⁴² At the same time, other water bodies and oceans have still seen less scrutiny. This includes the Baltic and North Seas, although some publications on them have seen the light since the early 2000s.¹⁴³ Mountain regions provide a similar starting point, and some areas, like the Alps and the Pyrenees, have seen some scholarly discussions.¹⁴⁴ Scholars rightfully underscore embedded possibilities when discussing a geographical region like the Pyrenees, noting how “through interpreting landscapes as inextricable combinations of social and natural valuable and of social and natural chronologies, we attempt to overcome the all-too-familiar nature-society dichotomy”¹⁴⁵ and move beyond the nation state.¹⁴⁶

1992. D. Hughes, *The Mediterranean: An Environmental History*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara 2005. A.T. Grove, O. Rackham, *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History*, Yale University Press, New Haven 2001. P. Hordon, N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Blackwell, Oxford 2000. D. Hughes, *Pan's Travel: Environmental Problems of the Ancient Greeks and Romans*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1994.

¹⁴² See, for example, American Society of Environmental History, conference 2009, panel: “The White Ecstasy of the Alps: Alpine Skiing in the Austrian Tyrol during the 1920s”. Id., panel: “Landscape, Global Tourism, and the Boundaries of Nature”. According to Salvatore Ciriaco, “there is a lot more research to do on this region, particularly in the way of comparative studies of irrigation”. S. Ciriaco, *Building on Water. Venice, Holland and the Construction of the European Landscape in the Early Modern Times*, Berghahn, Oxford/New York 2006, p. 2.

¹⁴³ A. Küster, *Die Ostsee. Eine Natur-und Kulturgeschichte*, C.H. Beck, Munich 2002. R. Pott, *Die Nordsee: Eine Natur-und Kulturgeschichte*, C. H. Beck, Munich 2003.

¹⁴⁴ J. Mathieu, M. Vester, *History of the Alps, 1500-1900: Environment, Development, and Society*, West Virginia University Press, Morgantown 2009. I. Vaccaro, O. Beltran (eds), *Social and Ecological History of the Pyrenees: State, Market, and Landscape*, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek 2010.

¹⁴⁵ Id., “Introduction: Matching Social and Ecological Chronologies in the Pyrenees”, in Vaccaro, Beltran (eds), *Social and Ecological History of the Pyrenees* cit., p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ On connections to landscapes, see H. Küster, *Geschichte der Landschaft in Mitteleuropa. Von der Eiszeit bis zur Gegenwart*, C.H. Beck, Munich 1995. P. Brimblecombe, C. Pfister (eds), *The Silent Countdown: Essays on European Environmental History*, Springer-Verlag, Berlin 1990.

Institutionalizing such transnational cooperation is key to producing studies on larger geographical and environmental units. Scandinavia is, in many ways, on the forefront of this effort. Rooted in Umea, the Nordic Environmental History Network has become a powerful organizational structure. According to its self-description, “this network proposal aims to support knowledge exchange and learning across borders and institutions. Since Nordic environmental historians are often located in an institution with few other environmental historians, there is a need to build stronger external networks and a sense of academic community”.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, through a series of workshops it plans to “discuss how to grow environmental history as a discipline, discuss how Nordic environmental history can and should be written, make a concrete plan for educating our future researchers, and identify future collaborative projects and funding sources”.¹⁴⁸ These recent developments show that J. Donald Hughes was right when he predicted a “rapid growing activity in environmental history” within Scandinavia.¹⁴⁹ Attempts to return to a more transnational focus by discussing, for instance, the Baltic Sea,¹⁵⁰ would certainly help the evolution of the field at large.¹⁵¹ An approach of this kind has been adopted in the Balkans, where the project *Triplex Confinium* adopted such an approach, connecting Croatia, Austria, and Hungary, and thereby also opening up new possibilities for research from an environmental historical angle.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ <http://www.idesam.umu.se/english/research/show-research-project/?code=663¤tView=base&doSearch=&scbCode=&searchString=>, last accessed May 10, 2013.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Hughes, *What is Environmental History?* cit., p. 60.

¹⁵⁰ See also K. Kononen, E. Bonsdorff, E. Kessler (eds), “Man and the Baltic Sea”, in *AMBIO*, 30, 2001, pp. 4-5. J.L. Lozan, R. Lampe, W. Matthäus, E. Rachor, H. Rumohr, H. v. Westerhagen (eds), *Warnsignale aus der Ostsee*, Parey, Berlin 1996.

¹⁵¹ T. Whited, J. Engels, R. Hoffmann, H. Ibsen, W. Versteegen (eds), *Northern Europe: An Environmental History*, ABC CLIO, Santa Barbara/Denver/Oxford 2005.

¹⁵² See, for example D. Roksandić (ed.), *Microhistory of the Triplex Confinium*, CEU, Budapest 1998. D. Roksandić, N. Štefanec (eds), *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, CEU, Budapest 2000. D. Roksandić, I. Mimica, N.

Apart from specific regions, certain vehicles continue to offer useful narratives to transcend national boundaries. Christof Mauch and Thomas Zeller, for example, discuss rivers and waterways in Europe and North America.¹⁵³ The contributions in their edited volume, along with excellent historiographical introductions by the editors themselves, underline the usefulness of rivers. The Rhine and the Danube have seen such scrutiny, while other waterways have still gone largely unnoticed.¹⁵⁴ Cities also offer scope for useful storylines and comparative discussions, as apparent in Dieter Schott, Bill Luckin, and Genevieve Massard-Guilbaud's edited volume *Resources of the City* (2005).¹⁵⁵ Specific narratives framed around themes like fire, climate, animals, food, or disease further highlight the potential of transnational frameworks.¹⁵⁶ Studies on disease, in particular, remain limited, as rightly noted by Sverker Sörlin and Paul Warde in

Štefanec, V. Bužančić (eds), *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800)*, Ekohistorija, Split/Zagreb 2003. E. Ivetić, D. Roksandić (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium. Approaching the "Other" on the Borderlands. Eastern Adriatic and Beyond, 1500-1800*, CLEUP, Padova 2007. Zagreb University plays a major role within Croatian Environmental History. See also M.N. Todorova, *Imaging the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York 1997.

¹⁵³ C. Mauch, T. Zeller (eds), *Rivers in History: Perspectives on Waterways in Europe and North America*, University of Pittsburg Press, Pittsburgh 2008. Id. (eds), *The World beyond the Windshield: Roads and Landscapes in the United States and Europe*, Ohio University Press, Athens 2008. T. Zeller, *Driving Germany: The Landscape of the German Autobahn, 1930-1970*, Berghahn, Oxford 2010.

¹⁵⁴ M. Cioc, *The Rhine: An Eco-Biography, 1815-2000*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 2002. See also recent projects of the Center for Environmental History in Vienna, Austria.

¹⁵⁵ See also American Society of Environmental History, conference 2012, panel: "Waste Scavenging in London, Berlin, and Cairo".

¹⁵⁶ Piero Bevilacqua's discussion of food and the food supply are important within such conversations, and open up ways to connect to other national contexts. S. Pyne, *Vestal Fire: An Environmental History, Told Through Fire, of Europe and Europe's Encounter with the World*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 2000. R. Glaser, *Klimageschichte Mitteleuropas. 1000 Jahre Wetter, Klima, Katastrophen*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 2002. Fascism would also be a useful topic to investigate: F-J Brüggemeier, M. Cioc, T. Zeller (eds), *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature, Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*, Ohio University Press, Athens 2005. Armiero, Hall (eds), *Nature and History in Modern Italy* cit.

2005. As they put it: “for Crosby the coming of smallpox and other diseases to the New World was part of ‘ecological imperialism’, yet to our knowledge no-one has seriously analysed the Black Death as the result of reconfigured trade relationships, social mobility, or a phenomenon related to environmental history”.¹⁵⁷ This is also true of discussions of war and imperialism, although both themes have seen some encouraging new conversations.¹⁵⁸ In sum, European environmental history shows a promising trend towards interdisciplinary, increasingly transnational, and certainly exciting inquiry.

¹⁵⁷ Sörlin, Warde, *The Problem of the Problem of Environmental History*, cit.

¹⁵⁸ On warfare see, for example, R. Tucker, E. Russell (eds), *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally: Toward an Environmental History of Warfare*, Oregon State University Press, Corvallis 2004. American Society for Environmental History, conference 2012, panel: “Making Nature Strategic: Landscapes of Modern Warfare.” On imperialism see, for instance, J. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2003. See also European Society of Environmental History, conference 2002, paper by James H. Lide, *Water and the French Colonizing Mission in Morocco*. American Society for Environmental History, conference 2012, panel: “Imperial Food Ecologies: Feeding Britain and Germany 1850-1945.” See also T. Lekan, *Saving the Serengeti: Tourism, the Cold War, and the Paradox of German Nature Conservation in Postcolonial Africa, 1950-1985*, manuscript/ forthcoming. On warfare see, for example, M. Lumsden, “Conventional War and Human Ecology”, in *Ambio: War and Environment: A Special Issue*, 4, 5-6, 1975, pp. 223-228. R. Lahtinen, T. Vuorisalo, “It’s War and Everyone Can Do As They Please! An Environmental History of a Finnish City in Wartime”, in *Environmental History*, 14, 2, 2009, pp. 253-274. C. Closmann (ed.), *War and the Environment: Military Destruction in the Modern Age*, Texas A&M University Press, College Station 2009. On imperialism see: J.M. Diefendorf, K. Dorsey (eds), *City, Country, Empire: Landscapes in Environmental History*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 2005.