In *A Global History of Literature and the Environment*, an international group of scholars illustrate the immense riches of environmental writing from the earliest literary periods down to the present. It addresses ancient writings about human/animal/plant relations from India, classical Greece, Chinese and Japanese literature, the Maya *Popol Vuh*, Islamic texts, medieval European works, eighteenth-century and Romantic ecologies, colonial/postcolonial environmental interrelations, responses to industrialization, and the emerging literatures of the world in the present Anthropocene moment. Essays range from Trinidad to New Zealand, Estonia to Brazil. Discussion of these texts indicates a variety of ways environmental criticism can fruitfully engage literary works and cultures from every continent and every historical period. This is a uniquely varied and rich international history of environmental writing from ancient Mesopotamian and Asian works to the present. It provides a compelling account of a topic that is crucial to twenty-first-century global literary studies.

**John Parham** is Associate Head (Research) and Principal Lecturer in Media and Cultural Studies in the Institute of Humanities & Creative Arts at the University of Worcester (UK). He has written the books *Green Media and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (2016) and *Green Man Hopkins: Poetry and the Victorian Ecological Imagination* (2010), edited *The Environmental Tradition in English Literature* (2002) and has co-edited *Literature and Sustainability: Exploratory Essays* (forthcoming). He has published extensively on 'Victorian ecology' (including studies of Dickens, Mill, Gaskell, and Zola) and green popular culture.

A GLOBAL HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

EDITED BY

JOHN PARHAM
University of Worcester

LOUISE WESTLING
University of Oregon
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19.2. Photograph by Marc Atkins, from series *Vacant Histories* by Marc Atkins and Rod Mengham (2013)  
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Contributors

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Steven Hartman is Professor of English at Mid Sweden University, where he also leads the Eco-Humanities Hub (ECOHUM) and chairs the Nordic Network for Interdisciplinary Environmental Studies (NIES). He coordinates the Circumpolar Networks program of IHOPE (Integrated History and Future of People on Earth), a core project of Future Earth. His most recent work focuses on mapping environmental consciousness and environmental memory in literature; integration of environmental humanities in global change research and policy; and collaboration between artists and academics in mobilizing public action on climate change.

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Chronology of Major Works Discussed

I. Beginnings

(Dates for ancient literary texts are approximate, since most were oral for centuries before being written down. Even later written versions went through many forms as cultures developed.)

Australasia

25,000 BCE – the present Dreamtime stories/songlines of indigenous Australian and New Zealand peoples preserve memories of major geological transformations from volcanic eruptions to rising and falling sea levels.

Mesopotamia

- c. 2600 BCE Sumerian Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave
- c. 2100 BCE Early Sumerian stories of Gilgamesh
- c. 2000 BCE Sumerian Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave
- c. 1700 BCE Babylonian Epic of Atrahasis
- 714 BCE Letter of Sargon II King of Assyria

Egypt

2100–1700 BCE Narrative literature created

China

1045–221 BCE Shijing (Classic of Poetry)
206 BCE–220 CE Han Dynasty poetry of cities and royal palaces
### Chronology

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<tr>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>222–589 CE</td>
<td>Six Dynasties poetry of landscapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618–907</td>
<td>Tang Dynasty poetry by writers such as Du Fu and Liu Zongyuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>772–1101</td>
<td>Tang and Sung Dynasties imperial poets</td>
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<tr>
<td>1368–1912</td>
<td>Poets of Ming and Qing Dynasties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>712 CE</td>
<td><em>Kojiki</em> (Record of Ancient Matters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>759 CE</td>
<td><em>Man'yoshū</em> (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1130–40</td>
<td><em>Konjaku monogatarishū</em> (Tales from Times Now Past)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1212</td>
<td>Kamo no Chômei, <em>Hōjōki</em> (Ten Foot Square Hut)</td>
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<td>1332</td>
<td>Yoshida Kenkō, <em>Tsurezuregusa</em> (Essays in Idleness)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1694</td>
<td>Matsuo Bashō, <em>Oku no hosomichi</em> (Narrow Road to the Deep North)</td>
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<td>1500–1200 BCE</td>
<td><em>Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur-Veda, Atharva-Veda</em> (Sanskrit scriptures and hymns passed down orally until almost the Common Era). Include the <em>Ara-nyakas</em> (Wilderness Texts or Forest Treaties) composed by recluses meditating in forests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900–700 BCE</td>
<td><em>Brahmanas</em> (originally transmitted orally for centuries, while written codification occured around 600 BCE)</td>
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<td>900–400 BCE</td>
<td><em>Mahabharata</em> (oral transmission; authorship ascribed to Vyasa, with written versions from 400 BCE to 400 CE). Includes the earlier <em>Bhagavad Gita</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>700 BCE</td>
<td><em>Upanishads</em> (earliest originally passed down orally, while later ones composed from around the Common Era through the medieval period)</td>
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<td>c. 550–450 BCE</td>
<td><em>Ramayana</em> (oral transmission; authorship attributed to Valmiki, with surviving written versions from 6th–11th centuries CE)</td>
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<td>c. 750 BCE</td>
<td>The <em>Iliad</em> and the <em>Odyssey</em> (transmitted orally at first; attributed to Homer)</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 700 BCE</td>
<td>Theogony (attributed to Hesiod)</td>
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<td>c. 522–443 BCE</td>
<td>Pindar, Odes (a Greek copy attributed to Polykleitos c. 440 BCE)</td>
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<td>429 BCE</td>
<td>Sophocles, Oedipus the King</td>
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<td>406 BCE</td>
<td>Euripides, The Bacchae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 CE</td>
<td>Ovid, Metamorphoses (fragments of the manuscript survive from the 9th century, but the earliest full manuscript dates from the 11th century)</td>
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<td>c. 9th century BCE–post-70 CE</td>
<td>The Hebrew Bible (Torah: books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, final form c. 5th century BCE; books of the Prophets, c. 2nd century BCE; and Writings, 167 BCE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 2nd century BCE–1558 CE</td>
<td>Popol Vuh (K’iche’-Maya text composed in pre-Columbian times from probable earlier oral traditions, but texts destroyed by Spanish invaders until recreated by Maya nobles between 1554 and 1558)</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 609–32 CE</td>
<td>The Qur’an or Koran (revelations to the Prophet Muhammad over a period of years until his death and compiled by companions who were scribes)</td>
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**II. The Development of Humanism and the Industrial Age**

**Iceland**

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>1122–33 CE</td>
<td>Ari Thorgilsson the Learned, Islendingabók (or Book of Icelanders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th century</td>
<td>Landnámabók (or the Book of Settlements)</td>
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Chronology  

13th century  
Sagas of the Icelanders (esp. Njál’s Saga, Laxdæla Saga, Sturlunga Saga, Egil’s Saga, Saga of Hen-Thorir, and Saga of Bishop Guðmundur Arason)

Medieval and Early Modern Britain

1370–90  
William Langland, *Piers Plowman*

Late 14th century  
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

Late 14th century  
Pearl

1516  
Thomas More, *Utopia*

Enlightenment and Eighteenth-Century Europe

1664  
John Evelyn, *Sylva, or, A discourse of forest trees and the propagation of timber in His Majesties dominions*

1669  
Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *Grand Ordonnance sur le fait des eaux et forêts*

1684  
Aphra Behn, “On a Juniper Tree, Cut down to make Busks”

1733–34  
Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*

1749–1804  
Louis Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*

1781  
Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (*Critique of Pure Reason*)

1789  
Gilbert White, *Natural History of Selborne*

1790  
Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*

1792  
Thomas Taylor, *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes*

1799  
Thomas Campbell, “The Pleasures of Hope”

1801  
Andre Michaux, *Histoire des chênes de l’Amérique septentrionale*

1803  
*Flora Boreali-Americana* (2 vols.)

Nineteenth-Century Europe

1805–08  
Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Youth’s Magic Horn*)

1807  
Alexander von Humboldt, *Essay on the Geography of Plants*

1808  
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*

1813  
Georges Cuvier, *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*
Chronology

1814 William Wordsworth, *The Excursion*
1830–33 Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*
1845 Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*
1845–47 Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos*
1853 Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*
1859 Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*
1867 Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*
1871 Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection According to Sex*
1883–84 Wilhelm Raabe, *Pfister’s Mühle*
1887 W.H. Hudson, *A Crystal Age*
1890 William Morris, *News from Nowhere*
1899 Ernst Haeckel, *Kunstformen der Natur (Art Forms of Nature)"

Nineteenth-Century North America

c. 1809 Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (Bamewawagezhikaquay), “To the Pine Tree”
1838 Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*
1850 George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh), *Recollections of a Forest Life*
1851 George Copway, *Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*
1854 Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*
1861 Reverend Peter Jones (Kakewaquonaby, or Sacred Feathers), *History of the Ojebway Indians*
1864 George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature: or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*

Nineteenth-Century Australasia

1819 William Wentworth, *A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales, etc.*
1849 Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonisation*
1859 Louisa Atkinson, *Cowanda, the Veteran’s Grant*
Chronology

III. The Anthropocene

Australasia

1872
Samuel Butler, *Erewhon*

1883
W.A. Brodribb, *Recollections of an Australian Squatter*

1922
Alec H. Chisholm, *Mateship with Birds*

1938
Hilda Bridges, *Men Must Live*

1942
Jock H. Pick, *Australia's Dying Heart: Soil Erosion in the Inland*

1959
Mary Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*

1987
George Turner, *The Sea and Summer*

1990
Gabrielle Lord, *Salt*

2005
Steven Lang, *An Accidental Tourist*

2009
Jim Sampson, *The Apocalypse Rising*

2013
Alexis Wright, *The Swan Book*

North America

1947
John W. Campbell, *The Mightiest Machine*

1957
Loren Eiseley, *The Immense Journey*

1962
Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*

1966
Isaac Asimov, *Foundation Series: Foundation, Foundation and Empire, and Second Foundation*

1972

1993
Kim Stanley Robinson, *Red Mars*

1995
Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination*

1996
Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*

1997
Gary Paul Nabhan, *Cultures of Habitat: On Nature, Culture, and Story*

2004
Michael Crichton, *State of Fear*

2007
Alan Weisman, *The World Without Us*

2009
Dipesh Chakrabarty, “The Climate of History”

2010
Brett Clark, Richard York, and John Bellamy Foster, *The Ecological Rift: Capitalism's War on the Earth*

2015
Jeffrey Sachs, *The Age of Sustainable Development*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Pope Francis</td>
<td>Encyclical Letter Laudato Si’ of the Holy Father Francis: On Care for Our Common Home</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>Ernst Haeckel</td>
<td>Die Natur als Künstlerin (Nature as Artist)</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>E.M. Forster</td>
<td>A Passage to India</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>Virginia Woolf</td>
<td>To the Lighthouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Alma Toom</td>
<td>Vilsandi Linnumik (Vilsandi Bird Kingdom)</td>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>Franz Xaver Graf Zedtwitz</td>
<td>Vogelkinder der Wai-kariffe (Birdlings of Vaikas)</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>August Mälk</td>
<td>Lugusid lindudest (Bird Stories)</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>Johannes Piiper</td>
<td>Pille ja hääli kodumaa looduest (Pictures and Sounds from the Nature of Homeland)</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>Jakob von Uexküll</td>
<td>A Stroll Through the Worlds of Animals and Men (Eng. trans. pub. in 1957)</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer</td>
<td>The Dialectic of Enlightenment</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>Maurice Merleau-Ponty</td>
<td>Le Visible et l’invisible suivi de notes de travail (published in English as The Visible and the Invisible, 1968)</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>Brian Aldiss</td>
<td>Earthworks</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Fred Jüssi</td>
<td>Kajakad kutsuvad (The Call of the Gulls)</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>Michael Moorcock</td>
<td>The Warlord of the Air</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Gregory Bateson</td>
<td>Steps to an Ecology of Mind</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Günter Grass</td>
<td>Die Rättin (The Rat)</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Max Frisch</td>
<td>Der Mensch erscheint im Holozän (Man in the Holocene)</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>Ulrich Beck</td>
<td>Risikogesellschaft (published in English as Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity, 1992)</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Christa Wolf</td>
<td>Störfall (Accident)</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Arne Naess</td>
<td>Ecology, Community, and Lifestyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Frank Schätzing</td>
<td>Der Schwarm (The Swarm)</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>W.S. Graham</td>
<td>New Collected Poems</td>
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Chronology

2005 Alice Oswald, *Woods, etc.*
2009 Thomas A. Clark, *The Hundred Thousand Places*
2011 Slavoj Žižek, *Living in the End Times*
2014 Peter Larkin, *Give Forest its Next Portent*

China

1932 Mao Dun, *chunchan* (*Spring Silkworms*)
1933 Ye Lingfeng, *meiyan* (“Coal Smoke”)
1935 Xiao Hong, *shengsichang* (*The Field of Life and Death*)
2015 Chai Jing, *qiongdiling zhi xia* (*Under the Dome*)

Japan

1975 Ariyoshi Sawako, *Fukugō osen* (Compound Pollution)
1981 Karō Yukiko, “Umibe gurashi” (Living by the Sea)
2001 Ogata Masato, *Rowing the Eternal Sea*
2013 Taguchi Randy, *Zōn nite* (In the Zone)
2014 Kimura Yūsuke, *Seichi Cs* (Sanctuary Cs)

Caribbean

1907 Stephen Cobham, *Rupert Gray*
1969 Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger*
1975 V.S. Naipaul, *Guerrillas*
1996 Earl Lovelace, *Salt*
2011 Earl Lovelace, *Is Just a Movie*
2013 Oonya Kempdoo, *All Decent Animals*

West Africa

1992 Ken Saro-Wiwa, *Genocide in Nigeria: The Ogoni Tragedy*
1995 Ken Saro-Wiwa, *A Month and a Day: A Detention Diary*
2005 Ogaga Ifowodo, *The Oil Lamp*
Chronology

2006  Kaine Agary, *Yellow-Yellow*
2007  Tanure Ojaide, *The Tale of the Harmattan*
2010  Helon Habila, *Oil on Water*

India

1955  Satyajit Ray, *Pather Panchali* (Song of the Road)
1961–67  Satyajit Ray, Stories in *Sandesh*
1988  Baldev Singh (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru on Science and Society: A Collection of His Writings and Speeches*
1998  Satyajit Ray, *Childhood Days*
2008  Satyajit Ray, *The Diary of a Space Traveller and Other Stories*

Brazil

1915  Gilka Machado, *Cristais partidos* (Broken Crystals)
1978  Gilka Machado, *Poesias completas* (Complete Poems)
1995  Arriete Vilela, *O ócio dos anjos ignorados* (The Leisure of the Forgotten Angels)
2008  Conceição Evaristo, *Poemas da recordação outros movimentos* (Poems of Memory and Other Movements)