

“Crossing Cultures” Symposium: Literatures and Cultures of the Asia-Pacific Regionに参加して

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オーストラリアは、過去の白豪主義や、第2次大戦前後の対日感情の悪さ、反共による中国への嫌悪感やインドネシアからの脅威を経て、60年代よりアジア地域への関心を向け始めた。英米への政治・経済的依存から、日本をはじめアジア市場の将来性への期待に軸が移動し、地理的な近さによるこの地域との観光、移民などの人的交流が活発になっている現在では、アジア・太平洋国家としての自らの位置づけが、オーストラリア社会の主流となっている。

この傾向は文化・芸術面にもよく現われており、アジア・太平洋に主題をとった文学や美術作品、映画の創作、またその研究が活発になっている。アデレード、メルボルン、パースといった各地のアート・フェスティバルにおいても、この地域の芸術を紹介するプログラムが盛んに組まれている。またアジアの文学作品の英語翻訳も進み、作家が招聘され、市場は狭いながらも南半球における英語文学の中心的役割も果たし始めているといえる。学校教育でも、外国語学習においてアジアの言語の占める割合がますます増え、インドネシア語、日本語、中国語の人気が続いており、アジア文化を受容する下地ができつつある。

今回私が出席したのは、そのようなオーストラリア社会の傾向をよくあらわしている Crossing Cultures: The Seventh Biennial Symposium on Literatures and Cultures of the Asia-Pacific Region という、地域こそ限定されているが、カテゴリーに制限ない文化、芸術に関する研究発表のシンポジウムである。7回目を迎えるこのシンポジウムは、1982年にウエスタン・オーストラリア大学 (W.A.) で第1回目が開催された後、毎回異なったテーマで、隔年に W.A. とシンガポール国立大学で交替に行なわれてきた。これまでのシンポジウムの成果は *The Writer's Sense of the Contemporary*(1982), *A Sense of Exile*(1988), *The Writer's Sense of the Past, Perceiving Other Worlds*(1991), *Myths, Heroes and Anti-Heroes*(1992) といった本にまとめられ出版されている。

今回はアジア・太平洋研究プログラムが新たに始められたオーストラリア・ディフェンス・フォース・アカデミー (ADFA) が初めての会場になった。キャンベラにあるこの ADFA は、日本では防衛大学にあたるが、ここにニュー・サウス・ウェールズ大学の一部であるユニバーシティ・カレッジがおかれ、両大学に共有されるという格好になっている。

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アジア・太平洋研究課程が始められたのはこのユニバーシティ・カレッジで、シンポジウム委員であるブルース・ベネット教授 (Bruce Bennett) が WA から移って設立に加わっている。

シンポジウムの参加者は、シンガポールやマレーシア、スリランカ、インド、韓国、インドネシア、アメリカ、イスラエル、オーストラリア、日本からの、研究者や作家、編集者、ジャーナリストである。参加者は、今回の表題が示している、“Cross Cultures” という、いわゆる異文化体験と文学、芸術の関わり — 人々がさまざまな機会や動機、経緯によって、どのように地理的またはそれ以外の境界を越え、異文化に遭遇し、それがいかに文学、芸術に表現されているか、またそこにあらわれる効果、成果はどのようなものであるか — についての考察を報告した。プログラムには、シンガポール国立大学英文科主任教授のエドウィン・タンブー (Edwin Thumboo) の基調講演の他、地域別セッションとテーマ別のセッション、また作家による討論や朗読が含まれた。以下にどのような発表があったか、いくつか例として挙げてみたい。(それぞれ演題の訳ではなく、おおまかな内容を示す。)

地域別セッション

- ・フィリピン「フランキー・ホセの小説における土地と権力について」、「ニック・ホアキンのフィリピン芸術家の描写」
- ・中国「1930年代のオーストラリアの中国観」、「中国からみたオーストラリア：中国のフィクションにおけるオーストラリア人像」
- ・シンガポール「オーストラリア人からみたシンガポール英語」、「ロバート・イエオの詩について」
- ・オセアニア「パトリシア・グレイスの小説」、「オーストラリアからみたニューギニア」

テーマ別セッション

- ・理論と実践「移民と帝国主義」、「文芸批評における不確かさ：異文化交流と異種混合」、「自由としてのナショナリズム」
- ・戦争「ヒュー・リンの作品にみる帝国と植民地」、「フランキー・ホセの小説にみる解放と社会正義」、「力の取引：戦争による異文化衝突」
- ・南洋旅行小説「ロバート・スティヴンソンとサモアの歴史」、「従順な旅行者：オーストラリアの太平洋旅行記」
- ・移民「インドからみたサルマン・ラシュデイ」、「インドネシアにおけるラーマヤナ」
- ・映画「マレー映画におけるインド的影響」、「映画にみるヴェトナム」
- ・翻訳「イー・ティアン・ホン、シャーリー・リムの詩と移民経験」、「劇作の翻訳について」
- ・追放・移住「スリランカの国外作家」、「オーストラリアの地理と劇作」 「サルマン・ラシュデイの多面性」

シンポジウムに参加してもっとも印象的だったのは、このようなアジア諸国とオセアニアの学術・文化交流、対話が頻繁に行なわれ、研究も進められているということだ。日本の場合、特に英語圏文学や文化の研究は、北／西に倣うのが主流で、南に目が向けられることは余りないのが現状である。一方東南アジアの諸国はひとつの英語圏をなしており、オーストラリアやニュージーランドといった近隣国々と、自由な文化交流、意見交換の場がつけられている。現在の豪日関係においても、投資、観光、貿易に関心が偏りがちで、この5月に東京で発表されたキーティング、村山両首相の豪日パートナーシップ共同宣言にもかかわらず、表層だけの理解にとどまっている状態である。文化面において、より開かれた、積極的なこの地域の異文化交流の機会に日本も参加していかなければ、オーストラリアのみならず他のアジア・太平洋の国々にとってますます顔の見えない、真意のはかりかねる国になってしまう気にさせられる。また、タンブーがその講演の中で、コロニアリズムがまだ現実として終わっていない国々にとって、ポスト・コロニアリズム文学という名称が何の意味をもつだろうかと訴えたが、実際に歴史的、政治的な理由により、書くことも読むことも批評することも唯事でない人々もいる。ただの時流現象でない、真摯な文章のもつ重みとは何か、あらためて考えさせられる。

私が発表したのは日本についてのセッションで、他に2名の発表者がいた。一人は演劇研究者で、伝統的に「型」を重んじる日本の演劇界で、物語性のあるシェイクスピアがさまざまに形をかえながら現代演劇で繰り返し上演されていることの意義について語り、もう一人は日本占領下における、マレーシア映画への日本映画の手法の影響について述べた。私は、オーストラリア文学における日本のイメージについて発表した。

異文化や異質の社会を理解するには、何か共通の基盤や経験を有することが必要であろう。ところが日本は、歴史的にみてもそういった経験があまりないまま近代化を迎えてしまった。「国際化」などということばがもてはやされ、宙に浮いているのも、その中途半端な現状をよく示している。豪日関係においても、先に述べたとおり実利面に偏って、おたがいの印象や認識、実像については、ずれがある。文学による豪日関係が戦争という始まりであるのも皮肉であり、その後のオーストラリア像、または日本像も、旅行記、随筆や案内本以外、文学作品には表わされていない。けれども文学には、その時代の印象が強く反映するのであり、少ない中にもそれを辿ることによって、両国間の歴史の一部も明らかになり、オーストラリア像、日本像の一面が浮かび上がってくる。

本稿では、日本を扱った数少ないオーストラリア作家であるハル・ポーター (Hal Porter, 1911-84) とロジャー・パルヴァース (Roger Pulvers, 1949-) を中心に、彼らが描く日本(人)像と、戦後50年間におけるその像の変化について考察した。シンポジウム委員会の好意により、発表論文をここに掲載する許可をいただいた。感謝申し上げます。

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Professor Bruce Bennett and the Symposium Organising Committee for their permission to print this paper in the *Bulletin of Meisei University*, No. 4, 1996, as well as for their kindness during the symposium.

Australian Literary Images of Japan: A Japanese Perspective

Megumi Kato

1. Introduction

Before two world wars, Australian images of Japan were vague. Part of the problem was Australia's uncertainty about this geographically close yet mentally far Asian country. In 1902 Japan became Australia's ally, in accordance with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty, however, after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 it became an uneasy alliance.¹⁾ Australia's interests in Japan remained limited mainly to politics, diplomacy and business. The number of Japanese immigrants in Australia was small compared with those of some other Asian countries, and those that did exist tended to keep themselves apart from the mainstream of Australian society. All of those factors failed to provide enough shared experiences between the two countries to give rise to identifiable literary themes or characters. While there was a japoniserie fashion in Australia in arts and crafts as happened in Europe, it was a different movement from the Australian general attitude which on the whole kept Japan and the Japanese at bay.

It is ironical that the first shared experiences between Australia and Japan were those of the war in which the two countries fought as foes, rather than as allies. Prison of war experiences and other memories of the time were perhaps the first major Australian images of Japan written in essays or fact-based fiction. After the war, for the first time, Australia started to look at Japan through its own eyes, not via the United Kingdom or the United States. It had been a clash of imperialism between Occidental and Oriental from an European perspective. The distance between Australia and Japan had been more than simply physical mileage. The war brought both countries into direct contact, with both realising just how close the other was.

Since the end of the war a close relationship between Australia and Japan has quickly been established and there have been many exchanges in the tourism, business, political and academic fields. Despite these exchanges, the pre-war images of each other (e.g. Australia's Oriental collectivist view of Japan or Japan's view of White Australia) remain as dominant as ever. Most written materials have focused on the superficial aspects of each country in order to satisfy the momentary necessity of mass consumers. Despite this tendency, there have been a few Australian writers who have tried to record their encounters with Japan and have recorded their own images of the new Japan in the last fifty years since the war. This paper looks at two such writers,

Hal Porter and Roger Pulvers, and examines how their ideas are influenced by time, place and circumstance described in their works.

2. Hal Porter

Hal Porter's (1911-84) Japan, before he went there, was an exotic Oriental country born out of his childhood fantasies. The dismay and shock he felt when he actually arrived in Japan, seeing how it looked and coming to know its people, society and culture was very evident in his writings. He suffered what has been called the "Hearn Syndrome".²⁾ Having fantasies and unrealistic expectations similar to Lafcadio Hearn but of a bygone era, Porter was disillusioned by what he experienced in present day Japan.³⁾ It was then, however, that Porter started to observe, casting watchful eyes on everything in Japan. Porter's style was to recall exact details of places and people, colours, shapes, smells and sounds, revealing the ugly and disorderly side of his once-fantasised Japan with minute and exact description.

Among Porter's prose works, the following three took Japan as their main subject: a novel called *A Handful of Pennies* (1958), a collection of essays *The Actors: An Image of the New Japan* (1968) and a collection of short stories *Mr. Butterfry and Other Tales of New Japan* (1970).

*A Handful of Pennies*⁴⁾ was based on the author's stay in Kure, Japan during the Occupation when he served as the schoolmaster to the Australian children of Army officers. Throughout the book is the dichotomy of West and East: the conqueror and the conquest, the powerful and the powerless, master and slave, the saviour and the saved, the orderer and the obedient, the authorised and the unauthorised is portrayed. Interestingly, power relationships described by Porter do not necessarily mean the stronger always win, and that is obvious in a number of episodes. Captain Dugald, who makes his employees obey by force, has his dog poisoned to death by them as revenge; Paula Groot, a teacher who seduces a Japanese college student, contracts syphilis and is dismissed; a young captain Truscott who has a brief affair with a Japanese girl Imiko and then abandons her in favour of a promotion, but with the result of Imiko using the experience as the stepping stone and gaining her true independence from the traditional frame of family and society; Major Everard-Hopkins, who knows and understands Japan and its people better than any other in the mess and who is attracted to this Oriental country, but who gets caught in a wheel of mesmerised dancers at a festival in a remote country village which he has visited, and who has a heart failure and dies a solitary death among the vague, unknown faces.

It is not only the Japanese but also his own people who come under the scrutiny of Porter: it is not under ordinary circumstances that the Australians are in Japan, and, being away from home, they become different, showing a hidden side of their personality. (p.93) Whether they originally had the intention of using the conquered or not, the

conquerors somehow become the victims of the conquered. (p.47) Porter often describes the Japanese under occupation as shamelessly avaricious, full of energy devouring even their conquerors. Major Everard-Hopkins, at his most critical moment, realises this — “these barbarians are differently stronger” (p.168) than him and his allies. In this novel Porter shows how the West is trapped by the East because of the former’s superficial optimism about the latter, which is often revealed in other Australian novels set in Asia, and that the occupants’ knowledge over the occupied does not really empower them to fully control that country if it is unbalanced knowledge.

A Handful of Pennies was written in the year the Japanese Crown Prince, the son of the deified Showa Emperor, became engaged to a girl from an ordinary family and soon after the economic white paper of Japan declared that Japan was no longer in its post-war period. (1956) Porter foresaw the post-war revival and reconstruction of Japan in the people he observed during his stay, with the Occupation Force being somehow used as a means for the new Japan to emerge.

Porter went back to Japan 17 years after his first encounter with the country. In the essays of *The Actors*⁵⁾ written at the time, Porter expresses further disappointment and disillusion with Japan becoming self-destructively Westernised and far too materialistic, with people who behaved like actors hiding true emotions under a mask and speaking in an ambiguous way. The essays were written in 1968, when Japan’s population went over a hundred million and its GNP became the second highest in the world. Two years later a collection of short stories based on this visit to Japan was published, entitled as *Mr. Butterfry and Other Tales of New Japan*.⁶⁾

The first story in the collection is “Mr. Butterfry” after which the book is titled. Mr. Butterfry, whose real name is Mr. Patience also called Blue, is an ex-corporal from the Occupation Force in Kure; he has remained in Japan with his Japanese wife, started a business in black markets, and who eventually became wealthy. To get to where he is now, Blue has trodden on thin ice and taken risks. However, despite being a con-man himself, Blue now feels trapped. It is his once “oh-so-sweet-and-cute housegirl” who has now turned into a woman who tortures her husband with her “self-defensive shrillness, the freakishness of her accent and verbal obscenity.” (p.26) He now lives a life “without consolations or myths” (p.14) of Japan, nor of his Japanese wife. Night after night Blue visits this bar and that calling hostesses names. What Blue’s wife has taken from him in addition to his money, are his daughters, whom she wants to make into popular models for commercial films and posters. This gives her the means to go up the social ladder, and she is absorbed with that idea both through maternal encouragement and her own ambition and greed. Blue, who was once the

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(74) conqueror, is now being used, as the victim of the conquered.

Inscrutableness of the Japanese is described in a chilly story called "Irrasshaimashi". A young Japanese girl called Fumiko, who works at a department store, stands at the foot of the escalator and bows to the customers, saying "Irrasshaimashi-Welcome!" everyday, all through the year. She is one of those many people who have fled their hometowns which are full of "fish guts and animism" (p.62) into the metropolis of Tokyo which the author has compared to a "Chimera", in order to be invisible in the obscurity of the city. Tokyo's abyss in which indifferent people come and go without direction eventually makes Fumiko lose her emotions and stability. Fumiko goes through a number of mental stages from hope, anger to despair until she eventually reaches her "inner vacuum". She is living as if she were an "automaton" or a "waxwork" which keeps saying welcome, until one day she is killed by someone and finally becomes enfranchised. (p.71)

Fumiko's mentally void state described as a "nirvana" or a "coma" may be something close to the state of those dancers' in the turning wheel of the Dance of the Dead at the festival in which the Australian major felt overcome in *A Handful of Pennies*. For the Western observer (i.e., the author) the true self of each Japanese of the time is hidden and too vague to reach and understand. The Japanese in question seem to be readily absorbed in the post-war force of Japan and its devouring energy to reconstruct and wish to prosper.

Porter's minute observation revealed a very crude inner side of Japan based on his first-hand experiences of the country and as a reaction to his former ideal images. What he has described, when his Australian characters meet the Japanese, is the development of a more than superficial relationship. However, there still remains an immense gap between the two people which Porter ascribes to the tradition which possesses the Japanese.⁷⁾ Porter's stories show that even when the author (or the West) has 'textual' knowledge it does not necessarily mean he/she can reconstruct what they know about the East. Japanese speech which only "blurs" things,⁹⁾ their readiness to give up on certain matters,⁸⁾ and their mass silence are among the causes for the author to declare the gap and he shows it with such comments spoken as a "Westerner cannot expect to — and must not want to — see through Japanese eyes."¹⁰⁾ Porter's impression of the Japanese is that they know "en masse what they are about at the centre of reality"¹¹⁾ but in which Westerners can not participate. This is probably a similar view of Japan as held by the mainstream in Australia of that time.

3. Roger Pulvers

If Porter is a novelist who observes and retreats, Roger Pulvers (1949-) is a novelist who observes and experiments. As a prolific cosmopolitan author of plays, essays, and novels, Pulvers often chooses Japanese themes, characters, and settings, not from an outside point of view but rather from that of the inside. Porter has described

Japan with sometimes phantasmagoric or kaleidoscope-like images flowing throughout the stories. Pulvers, on the other hand, after observation and experience, writes from both a Japanese and non-Japanese point of view. His themes of the two countries are again of the shared experience: the war memories and the post-war reunion/resolution, which in turn shows how the war of the past has involved the present and people who did not even experience the war.

The first novel on Japan written by Pulvers is *The Death of Urashima Taro*,¹²⁾ which was published in 1981, one year earlier in Japan in translation. It is a story of an Australian called Ron who is sent to Japan as an agent to negotiate with the Japanese on the making of a documentary film on Cowra, a town in New South Wales, where, in 1944, about eleven hundred Japanese prisoners of war tried to escape the camp, and were recaptured or killed. Many of those who were killed have been buried there.

During his visit Ron becomes entangled in aspects of the aftermath of the war in Japan. He encounters a series of people who are involved in war-time secrets and hidden truths. A successful businessman called Inomata who gained wealth during the post-war period is trying to write a book which discloses the responsibility of the emperor for the atomic bombings. Inomata also suspects that an officer of the Imperial Household Agency called Kakuta killed his brother in the Cowra outbreak. Ron embarks on an investigation. However, before he can talk with Inomata, Inomata dies a mysterious, sudden death. Professor Baba, who is collecting materials for Inomata, is falsely accused of plagiarism. Professor Inomata, Inomata's son-in-law, admits to his wife's adultery with a member of the Japan National Broadcasting Corporation which represents another organisation defending the untouchableness of the imperial system. Inomata's xenophobic wife is supposed to have killed her own father. Kakuta, protected by the organisations and system, never appears in front of Ron. Eventually Australia and Japan conspire with each other to prevent Ron from approaching the centre of whole mystery. Ron, in his quest for the truth and the key person Kakuta, finally decides to go to the core which is in the Imperial Household Agency, but before he can reveal the truth, Ron is shot dead. This faceless Kakuta still remains in the core, thus acting as the symbolic reference to Japanese consciousness of the war.

Being written like a thriller or a detective story with its development of an enigmatic plot and a reconstruction of a picture of what might have happened, *The Death of Urashima Taro* is a novel which dwells on certain subjects that the Japanese tend not to look at directly: the extent of the emperor's responsibility for the war and the role of the people who have surrounded him. Because Ron is not Japanese he is able and has a will to pursue that which has been hidden, that which many Japanese try to overlook, ignore, or forget. At one stage Ron says of the Japanese that if they

are confronted with the reality "they will withdraw to the periphery, leaving nothing at the centre where all cause and responsibility reside".(p.96) The very centre of Japan here is the imperial system, to which the Japanese devote themselves and yet try to keep a distance like unspoken censorship. Like Porter's dancers in the Dance of the Death at the festival, Japanese people go round and round the core. Even when someone ventures to go further inside, he is unable to grasp the whole circle. He is only able to reach the "voidness" of the core, and in Ron's case, his own death.

The voidness here is symbolic. Before World War II it was in the name of the emperor that Japan proceeded with its industrialisation and militarisation; when the centripetal force lost its power when the imperial system lost power, the emperor was demystified but the periphery remained without much change in its nature. As many social critics have observed in the last 50 years, many people have sought to replace their centre in the organisation like companies or other institutions, other in new religions and cults, while others have simply lost direction.

The title URASHIMA Taro is the name of a figure in a popular Japanese folk story. Urashima saves an abused turtle, which, in repayment for his kindness, entertains him in a paradise under the sea. Three years pass and Urashima wishes to return home. He is given a gift which he is told never to open and is sent back. Finding his home town totally changed and strange to him, Urashima opens the box. In doing so a white smoke emerges and blows away. Urashima turns into his real form — a doddering old man. As Pulvers suggests, there seems to have been a prisoner who, because of the shame of being captured, employed a pseudonym, like Urashima Taro. Perhaps many of the prisoners of war in Cowra felt like this — a person in a strange country lamenting his misfortune of being far from his country. Likewise Ron, several decades after the end of the war and in a sense in more advanced circumstances, dies in a strange country not knowing what he really was anymore. The after effects of the war still influence the present.

General Yamashita's Treasure, which was again translated and published in Japan (1986) prior to its Australian release in 1994,¹³⁾ is also a novel based on the aftermath of the war. Twenty years later, those who were the assailants and the victims are drawn together again to Nihill, Victoria in order to "end the war".

Hirose, one of the main characters, is a Japanese cram-school teacher who used to be called 'Oliver' during the Occupation when he served as an interpreter. Stick, who was an Australian major in the Occupation Forces and who had abused Hirose and a Japanese girl, is now a professor of Japanese culture in Victoria. Kakuta was a lieutenant colonel who was responsible for the slaughter of prisoners of war in the Philippines. He stole diamonds confiscated from the prisoners, and is now trying to take them out of Japan to sell.

Although written like a slap-stick comedy, *General Yamashita's Treasure* bears again the theme of the war and the conflict and suffering it has caused since then. Because of the experiences like trauma both in the Philippines and in Japan during the Occupation, Hirose has no ambition nor hope in life. He is living with numb feeling until he learns of Stick's revisit to Japan, when his wounds reopen and he begins to hurt again. Stick is the symbol of the conqueror who humiliated the servile Japanese. Kakuta, on the other hand, is the symbol of the atrocity of Japan. Both are eventually drawn to Nihill to be killed by Hirose. Hirose, the assailant and victim who survived the war may be regarded as the symbol of the post-war Japan itself, which has never overcome its fear, anger, confusion, and still suffers from repentance. He has to come back to Nihill — nil, or the starting point — and destroy his own experiences of his own so that he can “end the war for all Japanese.” (p.222)

4. conclusion

Porter's writing written in the fifties and sixties concentrates on the rapid transformation of Japan from the defeated to the vulgarly Westernised economic animal. The eighties, on the other hand, was the decade when the Japanese started to face the war, its aftermath, and its responsibility. Pulvers' two novels written toward that decade, as well as his other stories and plays, reveal the inside of Japanese feelings on the war as shared experiences.

If, as Kingsmill says, one's culture “is a way of limiting experiences”, and that “we cannot cope with too many alternatives”,¹⁴⁾ to cross cultures has the risk of freeing the pluralisation of meaning not only of the observed but also of the observing. Porter and Pulvers have, refraining from mere exoticisation of Japan, crossed two (or more) cultures and created different effects. Toni Morrison once said that her fellow writers' job was not to explain but to bear witness and to record.¹⁵⁾ Porter and Pulvers, in their respective ways, have a vision of Japan and have recorded it, thus helping to generate a part of Australian impressions of Japan after the war, which in turn contribute to the ideas and attitudes that people in both countries have of each other. The important change in Australian images of Japan relates not only to the way the Japanese are presented, but also to the position that the authors take: Porter from outside through cultural clashes, and Pulvers from the inside with the help and knowledge of the Japanese language. The differences in both writers' perspective indicate that the differences in the way cultures are crossed at different times.

Although the war and its grim memories have given rise to the shared experiences of Japan and Australia, they have enabled the growth of literature. Literary works, because of their plural modes of reading and possible changes in criticism and evaluation, may change in their meaning during different times. However, fiction, which originates out of the author's imagination, creates a vivid picture of a time which can

be recorded as part of history, and which cannot be substituted by exchanges in tourism, commerce or politics. The limited number of Australian fictional works on Japan and vice versa shows the lack of cultural crossings between the two countries. Hopefully, as the two countries grow closer in mutually dependent relationships, the number of 'cultural crossings' will increase. This will be true not only for the Australia-Japan relationship but also for the relationship between any other country.

Notes :

- 1) Bill Hornadge, *The Yellow Peril*, 98, Alison Broinowski, *The Yellow Lady: Australian Impression of Asia*, 7-10.
- 2) *The Yellow Lady*, 103.
- 3) Mary Lord, *Hal Porter: Man of Many Parts*, 48-51.
- 4) Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1958.
- 5) Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1968.
- 6) Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970.
- 7) *The Actors*, 86.
- 8) *ibid.*, 158.
- 9) *ibid.*, 130.
- 10) *ibid.*, 131.
- 11) *The Paper Chase*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1966, 282.
- 12) *The Death of Urashima Taro*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1981, *Urashima Taro no Shi*, Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1980. Page references are to the English version.
- 13) Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1994. Translation in Japanese: *Yamashita Shogun no Takara*, (Or *Three Goals to Nihill*,) Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1986. Page references are to the English version.
- 14) "New Chinese Writing in Australia", *Riding Out*, 239.
- 15) Cited in the book review in *Time*, 18, June, 1979.