GREEK-AUSTRALIAN LITERARY PUBLICATION

By Greek-Australian literature I mean that subset of Australian literature written in the main by those who are (or have been) Greek migrants or by those who were brought up in a Greek migrant household. I say “in the main” because one must consider the position of such writers as Gillian Bouras and Beverley Farmer who married Greek migrants and lived in Greek villages. There is strong evidence to suggest that this experience made Bouras into a writer. There is also Patrick White whose long relationship with Manolis Lascaris suggests some relevance to the category. I would suggest that these writers are a “marginal” group of the subset even though their position might be central in the field as a whole, i.e. Australian literature.

It is necessary to state that not all of Greek-Australian literature deals thematically with questions of migration or growing up in a migrant environment. By no means all of the writers who are classified as within the subset are one-subject writers. However, I believe it can be shown that in the work of them all — either in the themes, the language, or the formal characteristics — either Greece or migration or both has (or have) left traces.

Some of this literature is written in Greek, some in English. It is a reasonable generalisation, although not an entirely accurate one, to state that those writers born and educated in Greece write in Greek, the others in English. Some of the works written in Greek have appeared in English translations, in some cases in bilingual editions. A smaller amount of the Anglophone works has been translated into Greek.

To view such writing as a subset of Australian literature is to take a broader view of the national literature than has hitherto been the case. It involves an attempt to dismantle Anglo/Celtic dominance of this

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1This is a slightly amended version of a paper given at the “History of Australian book publishing” conference held in Melbourne in October 1992 and jointly organised by Melbourne University Press and the Australian Centre, University of Melbourne.
literature — a dominance which has reached at times almost to the point of exclusivity — and a multiculturalist repositioning of the fences that close it in and mark out the sites of the canon. This campaign has been under way for some years now and has some successes to show, such as the Literature Board’s special funding of the journal *Outrider* in 1984, and *The Macmillan Anthology of Australian Literature* (Goodwin and Lawson, 1990) which gives a fair representation to such writing.

Having defined this concept I can move to the main purpose of my paper which is to discuss the forms of publication that have occurred in Greek-Australian literature. The Australian publishing industry is a complex field of activity about which it is not easy to make useful and enlightening generalisations. However, I would like to suggest that there is value in a simple binary divide, putting on the one side what Michael Wilding calls “the conglomerate publishers” (Wilding, 1978: 18) which “are all UK or USA owned” and on the other all the rest under the heading of “alternative publishing”. Sally Dennison defines this in a way that suits my purposes. Adapting her definition slightly we get the following:

> [...] in this [paper] “alternative publishing” is used to denote all methods of reaching an audience other than through [the conglomerate publishers]. It includes self-publishing, small press and university press publishing, little magazine publishing, publishing through a bookstore. [...] (Dennison, 1984: 3)

Alternative publishing as thus defined goes all the way from self-publication to publication by a moderately large, though Australian owned, commercial publisher. I would want to argue that although there is clearly a diversity of aims and procedures in this grouping, it is justified in terms of the major contestation that characterises the present period of our cultural history: that between our “struggle to incarnate a [national] culture” (Semler, 1973: 50) and our progressive absorption into a world-wide English-language culture in a marginal and subaltern role. It would be untrue to say that the conglomerate publishers show no interest in our national culture; but the major conclusion that the research I have done for this paper drives me to is that they show little interest in what is currently marginalised within that culture.

The most common form of publication in Greek-language writing in Australia is self-publication. Two traditions join together to produce this result. The first is that self-publication is quite a respectable practice in Greece where it has never carried the stigma that its confusion with “vanity publication” has so unfairly given it in the English-speaking world. Just how unfair can be seen by consulting Sally Dennison’s *Alternative Literary Publishing* (1984) and for the Australian picture Bill Hornadge’s *How To Publish Your Own Book* (1983). Self-publication has played, and continues to play, an important part in literary progress and change.

But to return to the Greek literary publishing scene. Given the small size of the Greek-language market (approximately a population of nine millions in Greece, and perhaps as many again scattered to the four corners of the earth) and the strong tradition of oral poetry, which in modern times has metamorphosed into a wish by a great number to publish at least one collection of verse, self-publication by a large number is inevitable. Furthermore, there is the example of Constantine Cavafy, one of the greatest poets in any language in the twentieth century, who remained self-published throughout his lifetime.

The second tradition is not a specifically Greek one. It is the well-attested fact that minority cultures and elite practices have always had to fall back on self-publication or other closely related forms of alternative publication practices. Perhaps I am dressing this point up rather fine clothes by talking of a tradition: for most such writers the choice often is, at least at certain points in their career, either to self-publish or not be published.

The number of self-published Greek-language literary works in Australia is in excess of one hundred, most of them appearing since 1970. For the most part, a person issues a couple of books and is done. But not always. Some of the self-publishers deserve the description of

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2For details of this, see Shapcott, 1988: 237–9.

3Sally Dennison discusses the cases of T.S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, Anaïs Nin, and Vladimir Nabokov, all of whom at some stage were published by alternative publishers. Bill Hornadge gives an impressive list in the chapters on “Studies in self-publishing”, “Self-publishing in Australia” and “A personal note” (Hornadge, 1983: 16–22).
genuine authors, that is, they have written and published over a period of years. A very interesting case is the oral tradition poet Stathis Raftopoulos who has self-published seven books in 1943, 1952, 1971, 1974, 1979, 1986, and 1990.\(^4\) It is no accident that five of the seven have appeared since 1971 as the multicultural climate that has prevailed since the Whitlam years has been an encouragement to ethnic minority writers. Raftopoulos’ books circulate among the Greeks of Melbourne (and to a lesser extent elsewhere) although he is better known for his oral performances at community occasions.

Also worthy of mention as an achievement is the publishing activity of Dimitris Katsavos of Melbourne. Between 1986 and 1990 he self-published fourteen books: six plays, a novel, a volume of verse, three grammar books, and students’ guides to two of his plays and his novel. As a teacher he has been able to tap into the school-book market and so get a return on his work.

The two Greek-language writers who have received most recognition from Australian literary institutions and their establishment, Dimitris Tsaloumas and Vasso Kalamaras, both began their publication career in Australia with self-published books. With Tsaloumas this eventually led to the publication of bilingual editions and English-language poems by the University of Queensland Press, one of the largest and most prestigious of the alternative publishing houses. Vasso Kalamaras has had two books published by the Freemantle Arts Centre Press. Both have won awards for a book published by these houses: Tsaloumas’ bilingual poetry collection \textit{The Observatory} was awarded in 1983 the first prize of the National Book Council; Kalamaras’ \textit{The Same Light} gained the prose fiction award in the West Australian literary awards of 1990.

Kalamaras had her stage play \textit{The Bread Trap} (1986) published by Eliki Books. This publishing unit was established by the journalist Stavros Messinis, who has worked on the Melbourne Greek papers \textit{Néoς Κόσμος} [\textit{Neos Kosmos}] and \textit{Νέα Ελλάδα} [\textit{Greek Times}] to provide the Greeks of Australia with their own publisher. Its first book, a collection of a few works from each of six Melbourne poets, appeared in 1984. Perhaps its most significant publication was the anthology \textit{Reflections} (1988). Altogether (to the end of 1993) Eliki published eleven books: one novel, two plays, one life story, four volumes of verse, one anthology, one book of literary criticism, and a book of political philosophy. A large volume of essays by a prominent Greek-Australian politician was well advanced but never reached publication. The novel, one of the plays, and the book of criticism received the support of the Literature Board while the anthology received a grant from the Bicentennial Authority. In addition to this, three authors were able to use Eliki’s facilities to self-publish four titles at reasonable cost. One was Michael Pais with a bilingual collection of poetry, \textit{From the Diary of Centuries} (1987), the second Sotiris Mantalvanos with \textit{To 13ο ευρωγγέλιο} [\textit{The Thirteenth Gospel}] (1988), a very witty prose satire in Greek on the life of migrants, and the third Georgia Xenophou who produced both a Greek-language version of her life-story and an English version in a separate volume. The English title is \textit{The Valley of Butterflies} (1987). In all Eliki was involved in the appearance of fifteen titles.

Sadly, Messinis became discouraged as a result of several disagreements he had with his authors and has now virtually discontinued all publishing activity. This is a major set-back, for Messinis was mastering the art of what is essentially desk-top publishing; each book published was, in physical terms, an improvement on the ones that went before, and he was giving promise of excellent production. However, his story is not an unusual one in the history of alternative publishing. On the other hand I would express the wish that one day he might return to the field and develop Eliki Books into a publishing house that can rival Pella, by far the most successful of the Greek-American publishers, which has issued a steady stream of literary (and other) works over the years as well as several academic journals.

A related kind of enterprise appeared for a short time in the late 1980s. This was the creation by Effie Rizou of a publishing unit, Spring Books, in conjunction with her bookshop, Greek Educational Supplies, in Richmond (Melbourne). She published a collection of stories and a collection of aphorisms by Dina Amanatidou who has self-published a number of her books through the eighties and the...
nineties. An unusual venture was the publication of a Greek translation of Gillian Bouras’ *The Foreign Wife* which had originally been published by McPhee Gribble. This translation received financial support from the Literature Board of the Australia Council, and most of the print run has been distributed in Greece, thus making the work of an Anglo-Australian known to readers in Greece. Also published by Spring Press was a book *Η Ελληνίδα στη μετανάστευση* [Greek women and migration] (1988) edited by a Greek scholar, Kassiani Panoutisopoulou, with many contributions by Greek-Australian migrant women. It is essentially a work of oral history, a genre that lies close to literature. Finally this press published English translations of several Greek children’s books by arrangement with an Athenian publisher. The venture has been a worthy one but like Elikia Books has been scarred by conflicts. Mrs Rizou is at present in Greece and she is dormant as a publisher.

Another bookseller, Themelio of Sydney, has engaged in a publishing venture, producing a volume of short stories as a by product of a national competition. This volume entitled *Εμείς* [Us] was published in 1988, with the help once more of a grant by the Literature Board. A third books, Greek Book Importers of Brunswick, Melbourne, has ventured into publishing under the imprint Dionysos. Although there might be more, I have at this time seen only one book with this imprint, a companion for scholars for a Greek-Australian play.

In my opinion the most talented Australian prose writer in Greek is Dimitris Tzoumacas who has so far published two novels. The first is the surrealistic *Merry Sydney* — or The Earth is Hollow. *Merry Sydney* was published by Philip Grundy’s Leros Press in a bilingual edition in 1988. This press has published a number of bilingual editions but this is the only one from Greek-Australian literature. I shall discuss the second novel later.

I return now to Tsaloumas and Kalamaras. Both have been published by Greek publishers; Tsaloumas’ *Ο άρσος του μπαρμπέρη και άλλα πρόσωπα* [The sick barber and other characters] (1979) by the very prestigious Ikaros (which has two Nobel poets on its lists), and by the small Thessalonian publisher, Nea Poreia, two series of *Το βιβλίο των επιγραμμάτων* [The book of epigrams] (1981 and 1982), the

*Publication of Greek-Australian Literature*

satiirical *Ο γιος του κυρ Σάκη* [The son of kyr Sakis] (1984), and the anthology *Contemporary Australian Poetry* (1985), selected and translated by Dimitris Tsaloumas. Kalamaras’ *Άλλα χώρατα* [Other earth] (1980) was issued by Estia, as number 237 in its important Modern Greek Literature series. Estia publishes the leading Greek literary journal, owns a large bookshop, and publishes a long list of Greek writers. However, the following quotation from John Lucas will put this matter into its proper perspective:

> Athens has some ten established and reputable publishing houses, although not even the biggest comes anywhere near the kind of business organisation that is the norm among London houses. They exist on a much more modest scale of staff and output. (Lucas, 1985: 28)

In the way in which I have defined the term, almost all literary publishing in Greece is alternative. There are fewer writers making a living out of it than there are in Australia, which is not surprising given that the great achievements of modern Greek literature are almost all in poetry.

Several other writers, beside Tsaloumas and Kalamaras, have had some work published by Athenian houses. Although I do not know this for a fact, I believe that in most cases the authors have paid the publishers to do so. As all but the most famous do this, this carries no stigma. The real problem is that the Greek-Australian writer, being on such distant margins, can participate fully in the system only with great difficulty. Here is Lucas’ description of that system:

> If you leave aside such notable exceptions as Elytis and Ritsos, poets, no matter how well known, do not expect to make a living by their writing. Most of them are in the professions [...] Poetry is for “after hours”. Much the same as in England (and Australia, I would add), you may say. But there are differences. In the first place, starting out as a poet in Greece can cost you money. In England no self-respecting writer will make use of the “vanity presses”. But in Greece a young poet who wants to put together a collection of his work may well have to pay a publisher to bring out his volume. The print run of such a volume is likely to be between 500 and 1,000 copies and the majority of these will be hawked around the bookshops. But a sizeable minority will be sent to
older poets, to the editors of magazines, to critics and publishers. This inevitably means that a great deal of bad writing finds its way into print. [...] However] this tradition guarantees that a young poet can bring his work to the attention of interested readers, themselves usually poets; and if he is any good or shows signs of real talent his name begins to be mentioned. In addition literary editors take note. (Lucas, 1985: 28)

It will be obvious that this is not a process that can be exploited to the full from a distance. One Greek-Australian poet who has had some success in this area is Stylianos Harkianakis, who is also the Orthodox Archbishop of Australia. He began as a self-published poet but has made the transition to being published by others. His eminent position and connections in Greece and his regular visits back "home" have undoubtedly given him a better chance than more humbly placed writers. However, more than one Greek-Australian has tried to get into the game. Let me give a few examples. In 1991 there appeared a collection of lyrics by Dina Kalos entitled *Ta tragoudia miaς γυναίκας* [A woman’s songs] and a volume of poems by Ioanna Liakakou entitled *Me agápsi* [With love] and both published by Govostis, an Athenian publisher who in recent years has published a small number of literary works. The books look alike and they have one other point in common: both are introduced by one of the foremost Greek lyricists Akos Daskalopoulous who had come to Melbourne in 1990 to conduct workshops. Physically the books are paperbacks of a high standard (although not in a style that will appeal to everyone’s taste). The Preface to the Kalos book provides insight into the situation. After explaining that the poet has used the lyric to write of the joys and sorrow of daily life, he continues (p. 9):

"Kai na, μέσα σε 2–3 χρόνια 400 τουλάχιστον τραγούδια που μου τα 'φερε' ένα πρώτο στο ξενοδοχείο στη Μελβούρνη κι έγω τρελάδηκα. — "Τι είναι αυτά", τη ρωτάει. — "Τραγούδια", μου λέει. "Πάρτα να τα κάνεις βιβλίο στη Αθήνα. Θα σε πληρώσω, μη φοβάσαι". Κι εγώ να λέω μέσα μου: "τι να πληρώσεις που εγώ θα πινγά μέσα στη στιχομανία"... Κι άντε τώρα να ξεχωρίσεις τα καλά. Κι αυτά τα καλά ή ας...

He reduced the poems to about eighty and produced a book of about ninety pages. Clearly both Kalos and Liakakou had come under the patronage of Daskalopoulos who used his connections to have the books published although I am sure the poets bore (and bore gladly) the expense, and, I believe, paid him a fee. Unfortunately I cannot tell you what kind of reception either book received.

Two Greek-Australian writers have established a connection with one of the larger Athenian publishers, Gutenberg. John Vasilakakos has published the play *H tautótēta* [The I.D.] (1982), a narrative *Káta Iωάννην: απομνημονεύματα νεοέλληνα μαθητή* [According to John: memoirs of a Modern Greek student] (1985), a psychological study of the migrant *Ψυχογραφία Έλληνα μετανάστη* [Psychography of a Greek migrant] (1985), and a book of literary criticism. The second is Joanna Paroulaki, for whom Gutenberg published two volumes of poetry, Επίλογες [Choices] in 1984, and Παραστάσεις [Performances] in 1986. She dedicated the first one to Yiannis Ritsos who was then one of the two living "giants" of Greek poetry (he has since died). It is a beautifully produced paperback with a Marc Chagall painting on the cover. The second volume also has a poem to Ritsos. She has also had a third book of verse *H anássas tou déntrou* [The breath of the tree] published by an Athenian publisher, Σύγχρονη Εποχή [Contemporary Epoch], in 1987.

A brief word about a new venture. The Greek Australian Archives of what was formerly the Phillip Institute of Technology have been absorbed into the RMIT Press and have plans to continue with their bibliographical publications. Hopefully the Archives will also develop...
in other directions and give Greek-Australian literature a direct connection with a university press.

There is a problem that arises in this area of study although I am not sure that it has great significance. I mentioned earlier the poet Michael Pais for whom Elikia produced a bilingual volume of poetry. In 1990 a second bilingual volume of his verse appeared, with the title *The Adventures of the Sun*. The English translations are by Pavlos Andronikos and the book was published by Mt Copper Press. Is this a small publisher owned by someone other than the poet, or has the poet simply decided to set up and name his own publishing firm? There is, as far as I can see, nothing wrong with such a practice, and a little questioning will undoubtedly reveal the situation. It enables us to see how the different forms of alternative publication merge into one another — self-publishing into a very small publisher, small publishers into medium-sized ones and they in their turn to larger ones. Is there a gap between the largest of these and the conglomerates or is there a gulf between them?

To sum up the publication record of Australian Greeks who write in Greek. Self-publication has put a large number of books into the public domain, even if this has only meant being recorded in the Deakin Bibliography of Multicultural Writers and the bibliographies that have come out of the Phillip Institute. Perhaps in the future some of this will be noticed and brought fully into the field of Australian literature and culture, perhaps through translation, perhaps through an increase in the number of educated Australians who choose to become bilingual. This literature has also made slight penetrations into the Australian alternative publishing field and into the Greek. The only volume published by a conglomerate is the anthology *Greek Voices in Australia*, edited by George Kanarakis, which was published in 1988 by the Australian National University Press, a division of Pergamon Press.

I now leave the writers in Greek. Among the generation which writes in English, self-publication is far less significant. However, it is not unknown. Timoshenko Aslanides self-published his first two volumes *The Greek Connection* and *Passacaglia and Fugue*. Since then he has gone on to have volumes published by Angus and Robertson (*One Hundred Riddles*) and Penguin (*Australian Things*), but from the very beginning it was clear that Aslanides was a poet of a high order. Of the self-published *Passacaglia and Fugue* Judith Wright has written: "These technically brilliant, intelligently witty poems make a very big contribution to the gifts Greece and her people have already given to Australia. They ought to be noticed and they ought to be read." Is it a coincidence that the two self-published volumes have a much stronger stamp of Greekness on them, or is this related in some way to the poet’s development? Interestingly his most recent book, *Australian Alphabet* (1992) has been issued by a small publisher, Butterfly Books of Springwood, New South Wales.

What becomes clear is that while self-publication accounts for by far the greatest number of titles for literature in Greek, alternative publishers at the lower to middle parts of the scale of bigness account for most of the Anglophone literature of Greek Australians. Chris Anastassiades *et al.* have had a work published in 1986 by Yackandandah Playscripts, Anna Couani has had two books published by Rigmarole, and a book written jointly with Peter Lyssiotis published by Masterthief Enterprises/Sea Cruise, Dennis Dinopoulos and Zenny Giles a book each by the Saturday Centre, Antigone Kefala first appeared in Makar’s Gargoyle Poets with *The Alien*, and later in Wild and Woolley (*The First Journey*) and the Outback Press (*Thirsty Weather*), before settling with Hale and Iremonger who are somewhat further up the scale in terms of size and who have published her last three volumes, *The Island, European Notebook*, and *Absence*. Peter Lyssiotis (already mentioned with Anna Couani) has had two titles by Champion and one by the Industrial Women’s Collective, all very small publishers. Aristidis Paradissis has appeared with Wentworth Press and with Taurus Publications. Most of P.O.’s volumes have been self-published or published by small, informal collectives, as is eminently appropriate in his case, but one volume has the Wild and Woolley imprint. A translation of two short novels by John Vasilakakos was published by Dezserny Ethnic Publications. And finally several of Komninos’ early volumes were published by the Fat Possum Press.

6This appears as a quotation on the back of the second edition which appeared in March 1980. The first had appeared in November 1979.
I have already mentioned Antigone Kefala's connection with Hale and Iremonger which is further up the scale of small publishers than the others listed. Further up still are the University of Queensland Press and the Freemantle Arts Centre Press. This latter has published an English-language selection of the works of Vasso Kalamaras (*In the Same Light*) in addition to the bilingual volume I mentioned earlier. The University of Queensland Press has been more active in this area than anyone else. In addition to the bilingual books of Dimitris Tsaloumas it has published three English-language collections of his poetry (*Falcon Drinking, Portrait of a Dog, and The Barge*). It has also published two volumes of short stories by Angelo Loukakis, one such volume by Spiro Zavos, and a volume of verse by Komninos, who had been previously self-published and then published by the Fat Possum Press.

Finally we come to the conglomerates and only two have anything to show here. Allen and Unwin was the publisher of Jim Sakas' *Ilios* and Fotini Epamonitis' *The Mule's Fool*. Both of these were winners of The Australian/Vogel prize and Allen and Unwin are committed to publishing such winners. It is worth noting that this firm also published George Papaellinas' anthology *Homelands*, which though not limited to Greek-Australian writing is mentioned here because of its editor. One further point about Allen and Unwin is that they are the publishers of *Striking Chords*, an important collection of criticisms of multicultural literature which includes a bibliography of Greek-Australian literature.

Penguin has a reasonable amount to show: it has published a volume of Aslanides' poems (*Australian Things*), a collection of short stories by George Papaellinas (*Ikons*), a collection of short stories by Zenny Giles (*Miracle of the Waters*), and three novels by Tony Maniaty (*The Children Must Dance, Smyrna, and All Over the Shop*). This is hardly a massive amount but it is more than anyone else except the University of Queensland Press. We probably have here a reflection of the fact that those two publishers are the leaders in the field of creative literature in Australia.

My final point concerns patronage. The great increase in the number of literary books published in Australia over the last two decades is the result of patronage, most of which is state patronage exercised by the Literature Board of the Australia Council. Greek-Australian writers have profited from this, although I am not sufficient of a statistician to be able to say whether they have received a share proportionate to their percentage of the population, or greater or less. Almost all of the grants have been in the eighties and nineties, the only exception being Vasso Kalamaras who received a "new writer's" grant in 1977 (she had been writing in Greek for many years) to help with the translation of her work and who self-published two books as a consequence. She also had a book published by the Freemantle Arts Centre Press in 1977, the publisher receiving support from the Western Australian Literary Fund and the City of Freemantle.

At least forty-one books by Greek Australians have received some kind of financial assistance, most of it in the form of grants from the Literature Board to assist publication. Some small amounts have come from the state authorities in Western Australia and South Australia; the mayor of Thebarton, Adelaide, helped with the publication of the bilingual edition of the novel *Iphigenia in Thebarton* by Terry Mazarakis, and the same author acknowledges the assistance of the Savings Bank of South Australia in the publication of one of his bilingual collection of verses. One author acknowledges assistance from the Book Awareness and Self-Promotion Committee but as I know nothing of this organisation, I can comment no further.

The forty-one books can be divided into three categories. The first, and smallest, is books with Greek text only. There are only four in this group, one a novel by John Vasilakakos which Elikia published, one the Greek translation of *The Foreign Wife* by Gillian Bouras which Spring Press published, a collection of prize-winning short stories published by Themelio in Sydney, and Dimitris Tzoumacas' second novel which has recently been published in Greece. Tzoumacas was enabled to write this by a substantial writer's grant which he received from the Literature Board. The second category is bilingual editions and here there are fourteen titles, including Elikia Books' anthology *Reflections* and the anthology edited by George Kanarakis' *Greek Voices in Australia*, both of which received a grant from the Bicentennial Authority. Tsaloumas' *Anthology of Contemporary Australian Poetry*, published by the University of Queensland Press.
C. Castan
together with the Greek publisher Nea Poreia, also belongs here as it received a publication grant from the Literature Board.

The largest category contains books published in English, of which there are at least twenty-four. Nearly all were written in English but two are translations from the Greek. And, of course, the overwhelming majority were written by second generation Greek Australians who received their education in Australia. These are Timoshenko Aslanides, Anna Couani, Zenny Giles, Antigone Kefala,7 Komninos, Angelo Loukakis, Tony Maniaty, Jim Sakkas, George Papaellinas, P.O., Spiro Zavos,8 and Con Castan, the present writer, who had a book of criticism published by Elikia, with the aid of a grant by the Literature Board. It should be added that of the first generation only Dimitris Tsaloumas appears here in his own right, so to speak, while John Vasilakakos and Vasso Kalamaras are represented by translated texts.

Greek-Australian literature, then, is not insubstantial but occupies a largely shadowy position in the area of self-published books and books published by small firms. Let me finish appropriately by saying that its future is in the lap of the gods.

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7She received her education in New Zealand.
8He too received his education in New Zealand.
ERRATUM

Modem Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand) 1, 1993

In the process of editing the text of D.H. Close, "Schism in Greek society under Axis occupation: an interpretation", the word "anti-Venizelist" was inadvertently extracted from several places; it needs to be re-inserted in:

p. 2, line 5; p. 3, para. 3, lines 9 and 18; p. 7, para. 3, lines 4 and 11; p. 19, para. 3, line 2.