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UDK 821.111-992
821.111.07 West, R.
Original scientific paper
Received: January 18, 2008
Accepted: February 1, 2008

Constructing the Other in Rebecca West's "Black Lamb, Grey Falcon"

The author outlines a short history of the travel writing genre, especially with regards to the changes in its structure caused by historical circumstances. The travel text Black Lamb and Grey Falcon is placed into a wider context of British travel writing between two world wars. Utilizing the terms of anti-conquest (Mary Louise Pratt) and «Montesquieu effect» (Pierre Bourdieu), the ways in which this travel text constructs the Balkans as the European Other are outlined.

Key words: travel-writing, anti-conquest, stereotype, Montesquieu effect, the Balkans

Introduction

The interest of literary theory and the social sciences and the humanities for travel writing is relatively recent: over the last several decades it has been studied not only as a literary text, but as a cultural text as well.

The first part of this paper outlines a short history of the genre which relates the structural changes of travel writing to historical circumstances, which is of high significance, considering that travel writing in more recent research is viewed specifically as a reflection of historical and social changes (see: Pratt 1992; Blanton 1997) and discursive restrictions acting upon the author (see: Mills 1992), and *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* is placed within a wider context of British travel writing between the two wars.

This travel text is then read as a cultural text; using the terminology of authors that dealt with travel literature (Mary Louise Pratt) and some which did not place it in the

center of their scientific interest (Pierre Bourdieu), it is outlined how this text works within the mechanisms of what Pratt calls anti-conquest and Bourdieu Montesquieu effect, and how these two mechanisms, by their means of functioning, are related.

Short history of the genre

Travel writing has a long and unstable history, dwelling, until several decades ago, with the rise of postmodernism, mostly on the margins of interest of literary history and literary theory (see: Duda 1998). However, it has recently, along with some other genres, such as autobiography and diary, come to the center of interest not only of literary historians and literary theorists, but also the scientists of other humanities and social disciplines, which study it as witness of history, society, mentality, imperial relations, and the changing conceptions of subjectivity. The travel writer acts almost as a proto-ethnographer, brings information about other cultures and its members, and at the same time speaks about the author and its home culture to the readers with temporal distance, by the very mode of selecting and narrating. They mediate the information of the place they visit to their home culture and present elements of their own culture to the foreign culture. People are not the only ones that travel; cultures (see: Clifford 1988) and theories (see: Said 1983:226-248) travel as well; traveling is an important trope not only in literature, but also in science, and travel writing plays an important role in constructing the Other.

The structure of travel writing has changed significantly over time, and some authors relate these changes to specific historical circumstances. In her book *Travel Writing. The Self and the World* Casey Blanton divides travel writing along the line of the relationship between the inner world of the author and the external reality being described, into two ideal types that are as such rare in practice: impersonal and autobiographical travel writing. The impersonal travel writing has a linear structure, which means there are no rising and falling of action nor the organization of dramatic strategies (Blanton 1997:4). This type of travel writing includes the tales of sailors, pilgrims and traders. As the purpose of travel changed, says Blanton, from the political or commercial ones, and when traveling began to be conducted for the traveling itself, the narrative techniques of travel writing change as well. The writer introduces more autobiographical elements into the body of the writing, it becomes more reflexive, and more emphasis is placed on «issues of religion, politics, and social behavior» (Blanton 1997:4). This change took place along with the beginning of development of the self-consciousness of the narrator in the 18th century.

Mary Louise Pratt also relates the change in writing of travel literature to historical circumstances (see: Pratt 1992), particularly to two events that took place in 1735. This is the year when Carl Linné published his *Systema Naturae,* the work in which he set forth the classificatory system of animals and plants on the planet, which represented the first step in the scientific "ordering" of the world around us, introducing order into chaos. This work had important repercussions on the systematizing of

the world, and after the publication Linné's followers dispersed all over Europe trying to accomplish this «messianic strategy» (Boorstin, quoted in Pratt 1992:25). Linné's classification and research that followed had in a certain way a missionary effect: while Christian missionaries spread religion and converted the «uncivilized», Linné's disciples set in motion a global movement whose mission was «popularising scientific inquiry» and which «made contact zones a site of intellectual as well as manual labor» (Pratt 1992:27). This research resulted in a literature describing such enterprises, and what it offers is the «narrative of 'anti-conquest', in which the naturalist naturalizes the bourgeois European's own global presence and authority. This naturalist's narrative was to continue to hold enormous ideological force throughout the nineteenth century, and remains very much with us today» (Pratt 1992:28). This subtle form of subordination institutes the utopian image of the European bourgeois subject «simultaneously innocent and imperial asserting a harmless hegemonic vision that installs no apparatus of domination» (Pratt 1992:34-35).

The second event Pratt singles out is the setting out of the first scientific expedition that was to determine the shape of the planet.[1] It marks a shift in the «discovering» of Earth: the emphasis is now on the continental research and mapping, as opposed to the earlier maritime research. This expedition also marks a shift in Europe's self-fashioning and the images of the global relations it establishes. Notes from travels become notes on survival (*survival literature)*, *civic descriptions* and *navigational narrative*. The product of these scientific expeditions (including also Linné's disciples that roamed the world trying to classify and "arrange" it, placing it within the frames of science) are travelers' tales that would represent models for future authors. Pratt divides them into two models that become visible in the 18th century: «scientific travel writing» and the «sentimental» ones, in which authors try to «sentimentalize and/or glorify the narrator's experiences in hostile environments» (Blanton 1997:13).

Both events epitomize the Enlightenment idea of *orderability* by rational means of science, idea that would become and remain one of the firmest foundations of the western perception of the world and an argument for the superiority of such a discourse. At the same time, the 18th century, the flourishing of travel writing as we today know it, takes place. By the end of the 18th century «desire [to travel] replaces duty as the motivation for travel» (Dennis Porter, in Blanton 1997:16). Travel becomes a source of pleasure, the satisfaction of the desire for knowledge, but also a means to escape.

The period between two world wars is often considered «the golden age of travel writing» in Great Britain (cf. Fussell 1980). Many authors that were prominent in one of the «great» genres write travel literature in this period: Graham Green, George Orwell, Evelyn Waugh, etc. Fussell suggests that these authors wanted to escape their country after World War I because the effects of the war were especially grave in Great Britain, and due to the threat of a new world conflict they tended to a certain escape

[1] The goal of this scientific expedition was to determine whether the planet was a sphere, according to the Cartesian (French) geography, or a spheroid flat at the poles, according to Newton's hypothesis. The expedition represented a diplomatic triumph of the European scientific community because that was the first time that the Spanish Court allowed the research into its South American colonies; until then it guarded it possessively, fearing the theft of its riches.

from reality, but also to getting to know other, less «depressing» lands (Fussell 1980). Thus travel became «the most powerful trope of the generation», and a special atmosphere of travel existed, which reflected not only in travel literature, but also in many other artistic texts of the time. Helen Carr thinks that in travel writing of this period the boundary between «us» and «them» (the Other) is blurring and that «'the rest of the world' is losing its distinctive otherness » (Carr 2005:81) (evoking the previously quoted Mary Louise Pratt's work in which she claims that travel literature of the 18th and 19th centuries «produced 'the rest of the world' for European readership» (Pratt 1992:5)). However, I think that in this specific travel text this boundary is very clear, and the author establishes it in a manner I will refer to later in the text. This construction of otherness is viewed in the light of Marija Todorova's work and her hypothesis that the Balkans has been represented as the European Other (Todorova 1992:15).

So, the travel text *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon,* for which the author gathered material in the eve of World War II, is positioned within this prolific travel writing period and is also the product of the special «travel atmosphere» Paul Fussel writes about. Rebecca West traveled to what was then Yugoslavia on several occasions, in the period between 1936 and 1938. The experiences and impressions from three journeys are gathered in this piece of travel writing which numbers over a million words and was first published in 1941. The text itself is a web made of the author's impressions of the people and the land and a dense historical text in which she lays out the key events which left its mark on the region. Such writing pattern is already visible in the prologue, in which the author remembers the first time she ever spoke the name of "Yugoslavia"[2]: recovering from surgery in a London hospital she hears radio news of the assassination of King Alexander. The travelogue itself is composed of 12 large units[3] dealing with separate regions of the country. Rebecca West travels with her husband, and her other companions are her Yugoslav friends.[4] In the prologue she

[2] «Indeed, I could remember the first time I ever spoke the name 'Yugoslavia' and that was only two and a half years before, on October the ninth, 1934» (West 1994:1).

[3] Prologue, Journey, Croatia, Dalmatia, Expedition, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Old Serbia, Montenegro, Epilogue and a comprehensive bibliography that provided the author with the information about the country.

[4] On her arrival in Zagreb, she is welcomed by Constantine («a Serb, that is to say a Slav member of the Orthodox Church, from Serbia» (West 1994:41)), Valetta («a lecturer in mathematics at Zagreb University, a Croat, that is to say a Slav member of the Roman Catholic Church, from Dalmatia.» (West 1994:41) and Marko Gregorievitch («the critic and journalist, a Croat from Croatia» (West 1994:41) who will be her companions in various parts of the narrative, among other characters she travelled with and met along the way. These three characters epitomize the political conflicts in Yugoslavia at the time: Constantine believes in the union between Serbs, Slovenes and Croats and works for the government in Belgrade («To him a state of Serbs, Slovenes, and Croats, controlled by the central government in Belgrade, is a necessity if these peoples are to maintain themselves against Italian and Central European pressure on the west, and Bulgarian pressure, which might become in effect Central European pressure, on the east.» (West 1994:42)), Valetta, the Croatian «autonomist» («He is anti-Yugoslavian; he is a federalist and believes in an autonomous Croatia.» (West 1994:42)) and Gregorievitch, who also supports the united Yugoslavia and considers «(...) Valetta…simply a traitor »; «(...) fighting against the Hungarians for the right of Croats to govern themselves and to use their own language. In order that the Croats might be united with their free brothers Slavs the Serbs, he endured poverty and imprisonment and exile. Therefore Yugoslavia is to him the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.» (West 1994:42)).

explains the beginning of her interest for Yugoslavia, reflects on the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, with a special emphasis on the Empress Elisabeth of Austria. In the chapter titled Journey she describes her journey from Salzburg to Zagreb. She travels in a first class coach and describes her fellow passengers in the compartment, especially a group of Germans. The part about Croatia consists of the following sections: Zagreb I, II, III, Shestine, Two castles, Zagreb IV, V, VI, VII. In this chapter the author and her husband meet their three friends, the poet Constantine (a fictional name of the Serbian poet Stanislav Vinaver), Mark Gregorievitch, Croat, critic and journalist, and Valetta, professor of mathematics at the Zagreb University. She will meet Constantine again in Sarajevo and he will accompany her on some of the later parts of her voyage.

Apart from describing relations between Croats and Serbs and supporters and opponents of united Yugoslavia through the relationship of these three characters, in this part she also brings descriptions of Zagreb, several short reflections on people she meets in the streets, mostly peasants that sell fruits and vegetables in Dolac, the history of relations between Croats and the Habsburgs, and Croats and the Hungarians and also writes about historical figures (ban Jelačić, Hungarian and Habsburg rulers, Stjepan and Antun Radić). In several places she talks about religion, church contracts, art. The author and her fellow travelers visit Shestine and two castles near Zagreb.

After Zagreb she travels south. The chapter on Dalmatia consists of the following parts: Sushak, Senj, Rab, Split I, II, Salonae, Trogir, Split III, Korchula I, II, Dubrovnik (Ragusa) I. West admires the people of this part of the country, especially because they defended the West from the Ottomans. In Split she admires the Roman architecture and brings the town's history, writing especially about Diocletian. Along with visiting a locality, she also tells its history.

In the section named Expedition the author visits Cavtat, Perast, Kotor, writes a short chapter named Home by Gruda and another, describing Dubrovnik, named Dubrovnik II.

A short chapter on Herzegovina consists of subsections titled Trebinye and Mostar. West and her husband visit the market in Trebinye and an old Turkish house where they meet a man who tells them the story of the house. After that they visit Mostar.

In Bosnia (Road, Sarajevo I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, Ilidzhe, Treboviche, Travnik, Yaitse (Jajce) I, II, III, Yezero, Sarajevo VIII) she lingers mostly on Sarajevo, its history and revolutionary events that took place there, especially the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand which she describes in much detail, focusing mostly on the actors in the event, the character of Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the relations on the Habsburg Court at the time and the assassinators. She meets with Constantine again in Sarajevo and he will continue to be her companion, she admires the men and women she meets and comments on the relations between sexes.

The chapter Serbia is the longest and consists of the following parts: Train, Belgrade I, II, Topola, Franzstal, Frushka Gora, Belgrade III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX. In Belgrade she meets Constantine's wife Gerda, a German with nationalist attitudes who

despises Slavs, the character through which West canalizes her own anti-Nazi views. West is not thrilled with Belgrade either; she resents the excessive luxury of the ruling structures which stand completely opposite to the poverty of most of the country's inhabitants. She writes about Serbia's history and the tragedy of the 1st World War.

In the chapter on Macedonia (South Serbia), which includes the sections of Skoplje I, II, III, Matka, Skoplje's Black Mountain, A Convent Somewhere below the Skopska Tserna Gora, Bardotsi, Neresi, Road, Ochrid I, II, III, IV, Afternoon at Struga, Sveti Naum, Ochrid V, Road, Bitolj I, Kaimakshalan, Bitolj II, Road, Skoplje, St. George's Eve I, II, she admires the Byzantine culture, visits churches and monasteries, the palace of a Turkish pasha in Bardovci and looks at frescoes in the Byzantine church in Nerezi. In Ochrid she meets the bishop, Nikolai, who she considers one of the most interesting people she has ever met. The most intense scene is the one when she visits the St. George's day celebration and, appalled, witnesses the ritual sacrifice of a lamb.

The chapter Old Serbia (i.e. Kossovo) is divided into The Plain of Kossovo I, Grachanitsa I, Prishtina, Plain of Kossovo II, Kossovska Mitrovitsa I, II, Petch I, II. She describes the Plain of Kossovo, where Serbs in 1389 lost the battle with the Turks, and the church in Grachanica which contains many important aspects of Serbian culture destroyed after the Turkish conquest. She describes Serbian history before 1389, focusing especially on the life of King Stephen Dushan. In this part Constantine recites a folk poem on the battle of Kossovo.

In the part on Montenegro (Road, Kolashin, Podgoritsa, Lake Scutari, Tsetinye I, II, Budva) she tells the story of the land. She makes a hiking trip to Kolashin, but her life is in danger when the local guide gets lost.

In the Epilogue West reflects on the importance of her knowledge on Yugoslavia until 1941 in the context of the 2nd World War. She comments on the nature of empires and the causes for the rise of Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy. She expresses her disappointment in British politics of the 1930s, when the British prime minister at the time, Chamberlain, practiced the politics of appeasement towards Hitler, instead of taking a firm stance toward his expansionist politics. She compares Britain of the 1930s with Serbian defeat on the Field of Kosovo in 1389 and warns of the terrible consequences of war. In the end, she glorifies the courage of Yugoslav peoples, who refused to capitulate in front of Hitler and set an example for the rest of Europe.

One of the main themes of the book is the damage caused by the idea of sacrifice to human history, an idea that is the integral part of Christian and pagan traditions. The disgust she feels for that concept is especially marked in Macedonia where she witnesses the ritual sacrifice of a lamb at St. George's Day feast. She traces the origin of the idea of sacrifice in the Christian doctrine of atonement, which she blames for many evils in human history.

Another all-pervasive theme is empires and the destructive role they played in human history. She focuses on the Ottoman Empire and Habsburg Monarchy. However, since she herself originates from an imperial tradition, she does not ultimately condemn the idea of empire and thinks it can function very well in practice.

She also reflects on Manichaeism, especially in the chapter on Trogir. She finds this heretic doctrine a useful life concept and uses it as allegory for history, especially its profound dualism, the eternal fight between light and darkness, good and evil.

She writes about the relations between sexes on the personal and social level. She thinks that men and women perceive different aspects of reality: women are turned towards the private sphere, and men to the public one. All through her journey she witnesses examples of the subordination of women and feels compassion for the oppressed women of Macedonia, and in Kosovo she is resentful of the image of a woman pulling a plough, while her husband walks by her side. Although a feminist, and according to some authors a radical one (cf. Schweizer 2001), at times it seems as though she accepts the traditional roles of men and women and admires the masculinity of Slav men.

Anti-conquest

By anti-conquest Mary Louise Pratt refers to representational strategies through which European bourgeois subject tries to secure its own innocence while at the same time confirming European hegemony (Pratt 1992:7). The author uses this term in order to emphasize the opposition between this «innocent» form of subordination and the earlier imperial rhetoric of material conquest, and uses it mostly in the context of scientific and research narratives which were the product of Linnaean enterprise of systematizing the world, but also of travel writing that Europeans wrote in contact with non-European peoples from mid-18th to the 20th century[5]. The history of anti-conquest starts with the two already mentioned events that marked the year of 1735, but have also indicated a change in the European «planetary consciousness» (Pratt 1992) and resulted in a new Euro-centrism in which the material reality (nature) becomes systematized by a classificatory system of European origin using the tools of European science and Enlightenment rationalism. Pratt sometimes calls the main protagonist of anti-conquest the *seeing man* – an imperial subject whose eyes passively observe and at the same time posses. Thus, using the tools of natural science and space mapping, every physical space on earth can be imposed with European discursive order.

If we paraphrase this term and apply it to *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* and replace the phrase of the *seeing-man* with that of the *seeing-woman*[6], replace the tools of natural science with the tools of historiography Rebecca West uses in writing this text, we are equipped with a useful instrument to make more transparent the mechanisms that make this piece of travel writing a discourse of anti-conquest.

[5] However, the author thinks that such strategies do not refer exclusively to travel writing and other narratives resulting from the contact with non-European nations: «Readers of European travel books about Europe have pointed out that many of the conventions and writing strategies I associate here with imperial expansionism characterize travel writing about Europe as well.» (Pratt 1992:10)

[6] I point to the feminist perspective of the analysis (considering how saturated with meaning the concept of the *seeing-woman* is) as a further step in the analysis which can be dealt with in a separate paper.

In the text West, apart from describing the events on the journey and the things (realities) that surround her, as a means of mediating information on the troubled region she visits uses its equally troubled history, and the body of the text is intertwined with historical events. This *modus operandi* is visible already in the prologue, as I mentioned above. So, in the manner of a narratologist, we can locate the sender[7] of this travel text in that very prologue, in a historical event (the assassination of King Alexander and everything that follows in the text). This is where we can anticipate the structure of this travel text – a network of great historical events (assassinations, battles, lives of kings and princesses). With the help of these historiographic tools Rebecca West (in the same manner as the natural scientists maps the space in Pratt's account) maps time for her readers, building a certain historical image of the «southeastern corner of Europe» about which, as she herself says, she did not know nothing prior to her journey (West 1994:21). The history West narrates is the political history of conquests, empires, emperors and wars. Using the history she maps, outlines, systematizes and composes the image of a space and time completely determined by the tyranny of rulers and great events, and using rational tools of science she builds the discourse of Yugoslavia. By means of «great» history she imposes order on chaos, chaos in this case being the unawareness of western readers of the history of the region which the authors supplies to its audience through the «innocent» form of a travelogue. People/nation in her discourse is always placed in a position of a collective «they», the mass, while the author is positioned as an individual who, on the basis of her «objective» knowledge supplied to her by history «observes» the historical landscape and in a certain symbolical way, by means of her knowledge about it, she starts to posses it. This claim can be substantiated in almost every chapter, as the text is transected by historical data, from the Kosovo battle, history of the Habsburg Monarchy, Split, Sarajevo, Sarajevo assassination, Yugoslav rulers, history of relations between Croats, Hungarians, Serbs, to the Ottomans.

One of the elements of the anti-conquest discourse is the "romanticizing" of the history and the people. It is visible in the text in representation and perception[8], and this kind of discourse can be easily placed within the context of anti-conquest, especially with regards to the fact that the author comes from a western industrial country into a country with mostly rural population. The quoted passage depicts an almost pastoral setting: she travels into a land of simplicity, devoid of the mess and insincerity of the modern industrialized age that has already developed significantly in her own country.

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[7] Dean Duda analyses Croatian Romantic travel books using the tools of narratology (starting from the connection between traveling and narrating), and as the most common sender he lists patriotism and curiosity (Duda 1998).

[8] «(…) this train was taking us to a land where everything was comprehensible, where the mode of life was so honest that it put an end to perplexity. I lay back in the darkness and marvelled that I should be feeling about Yugoslavia as if it were my mother country, for this was 1937, and I had never seen the place till 1936.» (West 1994:1); «In Yugoslavia there was an intensity of feeling that was not only immense and exhilarating force, but had an honourable origin, proceeding from realist passion, from whole belief.» (West 1994:58)

The history that West «writes» on the pages of this text is, almost exclusively, the history of great ideas constantly reflected in the lives of ordinary people, which she represents in romanticized and markedly stereotypical moments[9].

Her perception/representation of the violent history of the Balkans is anticipated in the prologue:

> «Violence was, indeed, all I knew of the Balkans: all I knew of the South Slavs. I derived the knowledge from memories of my earliest interest in Liberalism, of leaves fallen from this jungle of pamphlets, tied up with string in the dustiest corners of junk-shops, and later from the prejudices of the French, who use the word *"Balkan"* as a term of abuse, meaning a *rastaquouère* type of barbarian.» (West 1994:21)

What is interesting here is the distancing from prejudices: the French are the prejudiced ones, but not herself, who has found her second home in the Balkans. However, the word «the Balkans» and «balkanization» acquired a pejorative meaning at the start of the 20th century, which is demonstrated by Maria Todorova in her work *Imagining the Balkans* which has become a point of reference when it comes to the «problem» of the Balkans. According to Todorova, «balkanization» marked not only the fragmentation of great and powerful political units, but has also become the synonym for the return to the tribal way of life, backwardness, primitivism and barbarianism (Todorova 1999:15).

Only a little further in the text her centralist position of a subject coming from an imperial milieu is uncovered:

> «I have to admit that I quite simply and flatly knew nothing about the southeastern corner of Europe; and since there proceeds steadily from that place a stream of events which are a source of danger to me, which indeed for four years threatened my safety and during that time deprived me for ever of my benefits, that is to say I know nothing of my own destiny.» (West 1994:21)

Here again the author is placed in the position of an individual in contrast to the collective «they», and what happens «over there» in the southeastern corner of Europe is important in the context of her own safety and destiny.

The concept of the anti-conquest, due to its leaning on the instruments of science (in this case, history) can be related to what Pierre Bourdieu termed the «Montesquieu effect» in one of his texts, in the context of which we can view the frequent stereotypes in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*. The «Montesquieu effect» is a special effect of symbolic imposition. This symbolic imposition is produced by superposing the illusion of science (through projections of a social phantasm or preconstructions of prejudices),

[9] «(…) the world where peasants sang in church with the extreme discriminating fervour which our poets envy, knowing themselves lost without it, and wore costumes splendid in their obedience to those principles of design which our painters envy, knowing themselves lost without instinctive knowledge of them.» (West 1994:75)

accomplished by transferring the methods or operations of a more developed or more distinguished science (Bourdieu 1992:2007). This «effect of symbolic imposition» is accomplished through the rhetoric of scientificity, i.e. using the instruments of science in legitimating discourses that are by their nature stereotypical[10]. This kind of rhetoric is based on two principles of coherency: the proclaimed, seemingly scientific coherency and the other, latent, that Bourdieu calls mythical. The scientific apparatus serves as an instrument for legitimating stereotypes contained in the mythical background.

This model seems very useful to me when analyzing *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon,* because the author uses the tools of «a more respected science», namely, the western historiography of the time, and this discourse is intersected with all kinds of stereotypes referring to the spirit of the people.

For example, the sentence

> «(...) Hungarians are fierce and warlike romantics whereas the Croats are fierce and warlike intellectuals.» (West 1994:49)

is indicative and fits within the model of the Montesquieu effect because it is the part of the story of the history of Croats and their rulers, the domestic and foreign ones, and reveals those two principles of coherency Bourdieu insists upon: on one hand there are historical facts from which suddenly a mythical, stereotypical discourse of national «character» emerges.

Furthermore:

> «This service was impressive because the congregation was composed of people with a unique sort of healthy intensity. At the end we went out and stood at the churchyard gate, and watched men and women clumping down a lane to the village through the deep snow, with a zest that was the generalized form of special passion they had exhibited in the church. I had not been wrong about what I had found among the Yugoslavs.» (West 1994:65)

Here we have the repetition of the earlier romantic model of stereotypization of a healthy people, placed in the role of a collective «they».

In this and many other statements in which the texts abounds («Slav passion », «The Croats, like all Slavs, are a democratic and speculative people » (West 1994: 100), «Slavs grow old more beautifully than the people of other races » (West 1994:70), "like all Slavs he loved to travel" (on Stjepan Radiću, West 1994:102.), "These Slavs think all sorts of things natural that we consider odd; nothing seems to worry them so long as it satisfies a real desire " (West 1994:141); «It was very characteristically Slav that he said nothing of having been troubled by social embarrassment at this dinner-party" (West 1994:157)) the stereotype of a people is built, a stereotype substantiated by the

[10] In this text Bourdieu analyses Montesquieu's work *The spirit of the laws* and the way he employs the *rhetoric of scientificity* to legitimize his observations of the influence of climate on people's spirit (see: Bourdieu 1992:197-207).

facts of history, leading to the construction of the image of the Other through the «innocent» form of travel writing.

Conclusion

Travel writing is not only a literary text, but a mechanism for efficient construction of the Other. This is evident from many pieces of travel literature written in the colonial period, literature that played an important role in this process. However, even when we are not dealing with a text that emerges from the contact zone, as defined by Mary Louise Pratt, i.e. a text that is not the product of a true colonial situation, it still fulfills this purpose. Analyzing *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* with the help of some of the tools used by authors who analyzed colonial travel writing, it is shown that even the «inter-European» travel writing function as hegemonic texts that perpetuate the relationship of subordination and consolidate or even produce stereotypical images of the subject they write about. To travel and to write about it means to step into space burdened with history and meaning, and the author of such a text also comes from a space of their own, equally carrying a symbolical burden. If this author also comes from an imperial tradition whose superiority is symbolically and literally established through centuries of history, the text they produce inevitably establishes power over the Other that is created by their discourse.

Translated by Ivona Grgurinović