

# MULTIPLE ISLAND TEMPORALITIES: “ISLAND TIME” AND THE SPATIALISATION OF SLOWNESS ON THE DALMATIAN ISLAND OF DUGI OTOK

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This paper seeks to explore the notion of “island time” as a metaphor for addressing the multiple island temporalities emerging in the community of Sali, the biggest settlement on the southern shore of Dugi otok. In general, temporalities are conceived as the mode and the rhythm of being, entangled within the thick web of social, cultural, spatial, economic, gendered, and ideological transformations. The concept of “multiple temporalities”, inspired by the time studies and the anthropology of time theoretical framework, points to the processes of diverse temporal frames and rhythms overlapping, intertwining, and coexisting. The focus of this paper is on the emergence of *linčarnica*, a triangular slope in the port of Sali. Based on ethnographic research, the paper will address the problems involved in the social and cultural creation of “island time”, popularly known as time moving at a slower pace. By problematising the concept of temporality at the crossroads of Mediterranean studies, island studies, time studies, and Balkan studies, the paper will address questions of specific, island-triggered, and socially performed atmospheric “island time” rebranded for the purpose of tourism and imagined within the specific cultural and social milieu of Dalmatia.

Keywords: multiple island temporalities, social construction of time, Dugi otok island, Dalmatia, *linčarnica*, localization of slowness, laziness, *fjaka*

## INTRODUCTION

Photos of pristine sandy beaches or scenes of a lonely lighthouse overlooking the Adriatic Sea are the most usual results of a simple Google search for images depicting Dugi otok

island.<sup>1</sup> In the vast, booming space of social media, these almost breath-taking scenes of the North Dalmatian island are virally shared and are usually followed by the location hashtag as well as exhilarating descriptions stirring the comparison of Dugi otok with better-known island locations throughout the world. Whether it's about the "selfies" taken at the top of the high and steep cliffs, drone footage of the Dragon's Eye Sea Cave posing as the perfect Instagram setting, or different locations throughout Nature Park Telašćica, the public media discourse during the summer months seems to be saturated with photos of island locations evoking a sense of isolation, tranquillity, and a retreat from hectic everyday life back home. With labels of Dugi otok as the "Croatian Maldives" or "Caribbean beach in our neighbourhood", the spatial metaphors and (from the local perspective annoying) comparisons are based on expectations of what islands are supposed to be. This *long durée* of the Western imagination, or *islomania*, as has been shown by John Gillis (2004), combines the ambiguous discourses associated with islands while, at the same time, underpinning the above-mentioned metaphors that essentialise and simplify the complexities of island life. Alongside the impressive natural scenery and the supposedly "unique" tourist experiences of the perfect holiday, few of these "discoveries" will take into consideration the local perspective and go beyond the perception of the island as the ideal summer destination. Deprived of the immediate and lived experiences of islanders, these popular imaginings of islands reflect only the outsiders', mostly mainland, perspective that visually highlights natural scenery and hermetically encapsulates spatial fragments as representing islands as a whole. Among these perceptions that seem to be overlapping with discourses of spatial alienation, the temporal aspect that non-islanders highlight as part of the "uniqueness" of the island experience seems to be lacking from the analytical focus. These "beautiful illusions" (Besse and Monsaigneon 2019: 8) stir the sense that time slows down or moves at its own pace when on an island. As such, they go hand in hand with what represents a sort of temporal escapism that goes beyond island problematics. They reflect our contemporary issues with time as experienced through radical contradictions – the time that dictates our everyday activities and marks our language. Whether it's about Zoom meetings, multitasking, our longing for a holiday, daily chores, deadlines, or laziness or procrastination, time very quickly becomes the central point of our reflections while it structures our conversations. "No time" or "me time", "on time" or "out of time" emerge in our daily discussions, and, even now, when the "time of Covid-19" pales and ecological crises surface, the "trouble with time" ends up with us complaining about the lack of time as it seems to be slipping away like the sand in an hourglass. In our personal battles against time while daydreaming of places without time constraints, islands are posed in the popular perception as safe havens imbued with the gleam of temporal utopia, which stirs our imaginings of possible worlds immune to the overwhelming dictate of time.

For the traveller eager to enjoy their share of the Mediterranean sun and island-holiday experience, Sali on Dugi otok island answers to many of the above-mentioned expectations.

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The biggest settlement on Dugi otok, but hardly a tourist hotspot, Sali has, for some time now, been known for *linčarnica*, a triangular slope situated in the centre of the port at the crossroads of the main streets. *Linčarnica*, or literally “a place for being lazy”, is used as a place to rest and, for the purpose of tourism and local promotion, it was painted by local enthusiasts. It is a place where one can literally “waste one’s time” (*dangubiti* in Croatian). In spring 2019 during ethnographic field research with students of ethnology and musicology,<sup>2</sup> Sali was presented to the students by a long-time local resident well known for his distinctive personality and vagabond style. In a short and educational walk from the Ravanac, small square on the hill, to the port of Sali, the students listened to his opinions on the island and learned of its rich history and local attractions, which, for a moment, mesmerised them and captivated their attention. The guided tour stopped in front of *linčarnica*, where we lay back while listening to a short presentation about this important island landmark that we rested upon. According to the local and informal guide, the *linčarnica* is famous because it represents a living monument to *fjaka*, a well-known phenomenon of suspended, unstructured time while indulging oneself without specific purpose. As such, *fjaka* was presented as a Mediterranean phenomenon – born out of the history of the Mediterranean and living in the “spirit” of all the people and cultures connected by the Mediterranean. My question about what the Mediterranean stands for and what is meant by the “Mediterranean spirit” spoiled this rather dramatic and enchanting moment a bit for those around me, but nevertheless it stirred our conversation that evening and got us thinking about our experiences of “island time”.



Figure 1. *Linčarnica* in Sali, Dugi otok island, Croatia, September 2022. Photo by Tomislav Oroz.

<sup>2</sup> The joint field research of ethnology and anthropology students and students of ethnomusicology was organised in May 2019 on Dugi otok island. The research was organised by Mojca Piškori from the Zagreb Academy of Music, University of Zagreb, and Tomislav Oroz from the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Zadar. More info on <https://zvukoviotoka.wixsite.com/zvukoviotoka>.

For some of us, it was the liberating routine, sort of a never-ending and always repeating Groundhog's Day, that we associated with summertime memories from childhood. For those old enough to remember the days before social media, it was reading a days-old newspaper that constituted the latest available news. For those who were younger, it was the sense of being free without constraints of academic calendar and the burdens of multitasking chores, including studying and working. For others it was boredom, unbearable heat, and cheap drink. Despite the variousness of the memories that emerged after the fieldwork at the end of the day, the common ground of our non-island perspectives was seasonal activity revolving around summertime. In comparison to islanders, these kinds of impressions were just a fragment of what "island time" is all about. The next morning and in the years to come, the conversations and interviews with locals showed that "island time" is not always as it appears. For islanders, the experience of time was such that there was too much time (during winter) or not enough time (during summer). However, the questions that emerged the first time we saw *linčarnica* and the research carried out in the years to come opened a debate about the relations between island space and the temporal modalities attributed to it.

What is the connection between island space and laziness, and is there connection between temporality and islandness? How and why do we experience different temporal modalities, and how are they related to the space and its specific meanings (such as in the case of *island space*)? Is our notion of time, its acceleration or retardation, merely a result of a cognitive re-appropriation of the world or a question of embodied cultural experience triggered by the space and shaped by the dominant discourses on islands? In the case of *linčarnica* and Dugi otok, these questions of the entanglement of space, body, and time were broadened even more and reflected in problems concerning the belated modernity emerging at the fringe of diverse borderland regimes – those produced by discursive geographies and the temporal regimes of South-Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. The aim of this paper is to problematise the role of *linčarnica* in Sali on Dugi otok and to open the questions of diverse temporal modalities that it evokes – the question of *ffaka*, its Mediterraneanness, and the question of laziness, idleness, timelessness, and boredom so often attributed to islands. On the other hand, through the analysis of collected ethnographic data, I will point to the processes of making time and the enduring persuasiveness of the almost sticky image of time slowing down, popularly known to us through the metaphor *island time*. In order to understand its tenacity and the ways that it still echoes throughout our experiences of islands, I will trace the cultural, historical, and social origins of the *island time* metaphor while reflecting, in theoretical terms, on the intersection of Mediterranean studies, island studies, time studies, and Balkan studies. These temporal modalities depicting laziness, going slow, idleness, boredom, and anticipation, or what Lisa Baraitser refers to as "suspended time" (2017), appear in a number of situations and cultural settings. They pose as a rupture in the linear and causal course of events and, on Dugi otok nowadays, these unstructured temporalities have been sustained through the internalised stereotypes born out of intercultural (mis)interpretation and the popular

notion of the carefree attitude associated with islands. I am not hoping to resolve all the questions of diverse temporalities emerging in the wider context of the Eastern Adriatic, but I hope that by focusing on the *linčarnica* as a case study, I will cast doubt, open a debate, and possibly trigger fresh perspectives in our understanding of "island time". In the end, I will try to provide an answer as to how these overlapping discourses of temporal othering, usually imposed by non-islanders<sup>3</sup> and internalised notions of time slowing down, are re-appropriated by islanders and entangled and sustained for the purpose of island branding and touristic promotion.

## TEMPORAL REFIGURATION OF MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS

Today, the notion of the Mediterranean stirs ambivalent emotions, evokes different imagery, and provokes debates both in academia and in public discourses. Be it the discourse about the uncertainties and perils of migrants on their way to a "promised future" (Brun and Lamaitre-Curri 2022: 10; Paoletti 2011), romanticised tourist expectations of a historic region and its cultural heritage (Arcara 1998; Aldrich 2002; Buzard 1993, 2002; Moyà Antón 2013; Occhipinti 2011; Gordon 2003; Harris 2005; Pemble 2009), discourses of ecological awareness (Dezeraud 2022; Chagnollaud 2022; Holdermann et al. 2020), or emerging political associations that dwell on ideas about a shared cultural space (Vanstiphout 2013; Albera 1999, Bromberger 2006), the Mediterranean is rooted as the spatial metaphor while condensing various, sometimes even incompatible, phenomena and processes. From Braudel's concept of the Mediterranean as a geo-historical whole with sediments of horizontal history (Braudel 1997, 1998) to Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's view of the Mediterranean as an assembly of microregions (2000) or David Abulafia's view of the Mediterranean as the sea of diversity (2011), the spatio-temporal frame figures as an important underlying structure for historical research on the Mediterranean. Braudel emphasised the three distinctive temporal categories – the *longue durée* of human history, conjectures or socio-economic processes of medium duration, and event history lasting no more than a human life – that set the tone for scholars interested in the historical study of the Mediterranean. His concept of horizontal history highlights the totality of the Mediterranean through the entanglement of human agency, the natural environment, and economic change. While Braudel's vision of the Mediterranean offers a tempting and comprehensive approach to understanding the Mediterranean, the un-

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<sup>3</sup> In the text, I use the notions of "outsiders" and "non-islanders" simultaneously to signify those whose experiences of "island time" are based on shorter stays on the island. This syntagm has been used because it reflects the experiences of interviewees and their unwritten rules of what makes an islander. It depicts mostly tourists and short-term-stay travellers and their perceptions of the island. Even though this syntagm may seem problematic and questionable in cases of those who are also depicted as outsiders based on their origin or, for that matter, locals who are not considered outsiders despite the fact that they live on the mainland, I decided to use these concepts for the purpose of highlighting the local point of view. The mixed unofficial rules implying origin as a criterion for island belonging are going to be explained later in the text.

derlying temporal structure is marked by the linear and causal logic of determinism. As such, his *longue durée* is more "out of time" and prone to perceiving the human factor as helpless against the uncontrollable force of history. According to Braudel, "time has been identified as denier of many events [...] as it limits human freedom and [the] possibility of coincidence" (Braudel 1998: 619). As pointed out by Petar Elez, "Braudel's Mediterranean is constantly 'rough' and always pulsing in the rhythm of big historical movements and changes" (2015: 90). Braudel's views of the Mediterranean have been challenged, more or less successfully, by many scholars (Albera 1999; Abulafia 2011; Harris 2005; Horden and Purcell 2000), broadening the scope of disciplinary boundaries, methodological approaches, and theoretical perspectives. In similar fashion, Braudel's interpretation of Mediterranean islands depicts islands as stranded in the currents of time. Islands figure as isolated worlds but, at the same time, as connected, cut off from the rest of the world but integrated into its shipping routes (Braudel 1997: 157). They are archaic, as they have the strange capacity of preserving older forms of civilization (ibid.). Their spatial marginality is by no means an indication of their lesser importance on the paths of general history. Despite their precarious, restricted, and threatened life at the domestic level, their external life implies that their role at the forefront of history "far exceeds what might be expected from such poor territories" (1997: 156). When it comes to Mediterranean islands, these temporal alternations share some similarities with ethnographic accounts at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or what German anthropologist Johannes Fabian refers to as the "denial of coevalness" or the "shizogenic use of time" (1983: 1-35). According to Fabian, the temporal taming of Others in ethnographies served as the narrative backbone that enabled anthropologists to distance themselves from the object of their study – not only in terms of the culture, language, and space they so desperately wanted to understand, but also in terms of time. The temporal refiguration of islands in Braudel's case shows that time on islands seems to be anchored in ambiguous discourses of naturalisation, exoticisation, and alienation. As such, Braudel's representation of islands is lacking firm temporal coordinates, which results in the loop of their perpetual detemporalisation. Cast to the outskirts of modernity, their supposedly static time has yet to become progressive as they do not fully comply to the time standards imposed from the mainland. Therefore, the question arises: what is time on the islands and whose time is it?

The conceptual link between islands and time becomes even more intriguing when it transcends the peculiarities of historiographic discourse and goes beyond the epistemological byways of a specific discipline. The marginality often evoked when it comes to speaking of insular spaces triggered scholarly debate and led to the pursuit of cross-disciplinary research on islands. Island studies, or nissology, represents such an attempt as it moves scholarly debate between diverse disciplines. Even though the rise of nissology was encouraged by geographers, the guiding principle was emphasised by the fact that nissological knowledge should be multi-dimensional and should involve all four dimensions of the world we live in – the dimension of height (implementation of island research in public policies), the dimension of width (communication of nissological

knowledge to the broader public), the dimension of depth (investigation of the deepest and most basic level research questions), and the dimension of time (publishing for future generations) (McCall 1994: 101). As has been pointed out by anthropologist Grant McCall, islands should be studied "on their own terms" (1994: 106). Initially conceived as an attempt of the "comparative, global, interdisciplinary and/or transdisciplinary study of islands" (Baldacchino 2006: 6), island studies focused on the "complex and cross-cutting systems of regional and global interaction" (ibid.: 10) while, at the same time, challenging false presumptions about islands and islanders. By focusing on islands "on their own terms", nissologists focused on the ambiguous nature of islands, which they sought to transcend in terms of theoretical reflections and disciplinary openness. The frequent emphasis on spatiality ended up affirming and perpetuating the pre-existing and often hermetic ambiguities that islanders are often faced with – those associated with notions of isolation, separation, and, consequentially, life essentialised by the mere fact of their spatial separation from the mainland. In the end, islands were often described through the rhetoric of exoticism and essentialism one wanted to move away from, while in terms of temporal aspects, they were confronted with imported notions of progressive and causal linear time, blindness to the cultural context, and standardisation through time reckoning.

Alongside the encouraging theoretical and methodological possibilities of nissology, the field was also critiqued. While addressing the fault lines within island studies, nissologist Peter Hay turned his attention to the problems of islandness emerging from the presumptions of a hard-edged view of island boundaries, problems of rapid population change in the wake of globalisation and consequent disciplinary biases, and, finally, the discrepancies between island metaphors and island "realness" (2006: 19–42). In order to bridge these intricacies within island studies, Hay proposes place-based phenomenological approach, as a "coherent theoretical framing for island studies" (ibid.: 34). Even though his arguments do not make explicit claims of what constitutes islandness and seems to be empowering island perspectives, his remarks reaffirm the need to overcome the binaries that permeate island research and island perceptions more generally. His appeal for the place-based phenomenology comes in handy when thinking about the somewhat elusive concept of islandness. As has been pointed out by John Gillis and David Lowenthal, defining islandness poses a challenge for researchers, as islandness takes on different forms on different islands, generates various meanings based on place and time, but is also based on resident status (permanent or short-term visitor [2007: iii]). Defined as a metacultural phenomenon that encapsulates a "deeply held feeling of sacred connectedness to a place that blurs the sense of time" (Conking 2007: 199), islandness is often perceived as the mystic and enigmatic feeling "that derives from the heightened experiences that accompany the physical isolation of island life" (ibid.: 200). Despite the controversial and, to some extent, essentialised presumption of islandness, Conking's remarks direct our attention to situatedness and embodiment as a crucial entry to understanding islandness. Island spaces that are, according to Baldacchino, "experienced, constructed and interpreted" (2018: xxx), are established not by the mere fact of their isolation, but rather by the nets of relations that take into play spatial, corporeal,

and temporal aspects. Islandness therefore plays an important role in understanding time on islands. According to Phillip Vannini and Jonathan Taggart, the practical, affectual, and corporeal sense of islandness is constructed as “deeply visceral lived experience” (2013: 227). As “excruciatingly mundane” and “embodied experience”, islandness, according to Vannini and Taggart, is constituted as a situated affect, one that departs and returns to the perspective of dwelling (ibid.: 236). Vannini and Taggart’s dwelling perspective is understood as an incorporated practice that makes an island as it unfolds into us, but also as it helps to dissolve the boundaries between the “human” and “nature”, “here” and “there”, “now” and “then”. Inspired by Tim Ingold’s dwelling perspective (2013) in their concept of “doing islandness” (2013), Vannini and Taggart warn us of the importance of temporality in understanding islandness. According to Ingold, temporality is not history, nor it is chronology, but rather a network of interrelationships that enables the emergence of diverse rhythms (cf. 1993: 157). Therefore, islandness imbues our sense of time on islands and it helps us to understand the making of “island time” through multiple relations and rhythms.

However, the question still remains: what is “island time” in practice, and how does it differ from “real time”? Is there such a thing as “island time” for islanders or, for that matter, “real time”, and how do we understand these concepts (with or without question marks) in anthropological theory? In an attempt to better understand the diverse temporal modalities emerging from what is popularly known as “island time”, this paper will move away from functionalistic approaches and beyond linearly structured and causal notions of time that threaten to reduce the ethnographically rich phenomena of multiple temporalities. Therefore, this case study will try to point to the creation of diverse temporal modalities in the frictions of South-Eastern European and Mediterranean discursive geographies and temporal regimes that have been broadened to take in the problems of a belated modernity, while, at the same time, reflecting on them through the theoretical framework of time studies.

## **MAKING TIME FOR TIME: EMERGING TEMPORALITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

One of the difficulties in investigating time is that people are as yet little aware of the nature and functioning of the symbols they have themselves developed and constantly use. They are therefore always in danger of losing themselves in the undergrowth of their own symbols. (Elias 1992: 29)

In his book *Time: An Essay* published in 1984, German sociologist Norbert Elias posed the question of the nature of time and our relation to this abstract notion that we are accustomed to in its role of structuring our lives. According to Elias, time is a symbol that acquires meaning in relation to social contexts and the continua of changes (1992: 46). For Elias, time is socially constructed and changes in the process of civilization, but it comes to us as an abstract concept borrowed from the natural sciences. Individual, social, and natural time are

intertwined as they make three different levels of the same temporal human perspective. According to philosopher Richard McKeon, even if time seems to us abstract and pre-given, we cannot experience it in isolation but only in relation to specific circumstances and contexts that make sense of our notion of time (1974: 123). These contexts that “make time”, according to McKeon, are opened in relation to motion, space, eternity, and duration (ibid.: 124). In everyday life, we often take time for granted, even though it permeates our everyday activities and schedules our daily rhythms. However, what seems to be missing is Time – for thinking about such a quotidian and vague phenomenon that imbues our everyday activities on so many levels, yet remains not fully addressed in the humanities and social sciences. The danger of losing ourselves in the undergrowth of our own symbols, as pointed out by Elias, resonates with the remarks of ethnographer Kevin Birth, who warns us that our lives and social sciences suffer from time blindness. “Calendar-driven, clock-shaped sensibility of time that blinds many scholars” (2017: ix) makes them unaware of the cultural ideas of time that are crucial for the construction of representations (ibid.). However, the invisibility of time in the social sciences (Adam 1990: 3) goes hand in hand with our unproblematised relationship concerning diverse time reckoning models. Nevertheless, clocks and calendars reveal just one side of the coin, but they do not tell us more about time itself (Flaherty 1985: 1–2). Even though calendars and clocks structure our everyday lives, they represent time that was extracted from nature and adapted to the religious and bureaucratic needs of society (Aveni 1989: 96). Therefore, to understand the anatomy of time, one needs to move away from the simplistic, one-sided descriptions and typologisations often employed in anthropological understandings of temporality (Munn 1992: 93).

Temporality is often uncritically taken to imply a singular and linear flow of time, one colloquially and metaphorically referred to as the passage of time, which overlooks the heterogeneity of temporal experiences and their complex relationship with space. The temporal fragments that make up these multiple temporalities often imply some sort of temporal suspension and call for the critical examination of time (Baraitser 2017: 7). In an attempt to move away from what John May and Nigel Thrift refer to as spatial imperialism (2003: 2), research inspired by the postcolonial approach has already problematised the phenomenon of temporality beyond deterministic structures of linearity and chronological causality. By criticising temporal singularity as being a result of Western hegemony and capitalist logic, scholars like Barbara Adam (1990; 1998), Alfred Gell (1992), Graeme Davison (1993), Michael Flaherty (1985; 2011), On Barak (2013), Giordanni Nanni (2012), Vanessa Ogle (2015), and many others initiated the birth of the temporal turn, thus opening a number of stimulating research topics in which they pose questions about the nature of time and how our knowledge of time is culturally, historically, and socially guided as it creates our experiences of temporality. As a reaction to the overemphasised problematisation of space, the temporal turn calls for a critical re-examination of the entangled relations of space and time in order to show their “intrinsic and vital oneness” (Hassan 2010: 90). Such experiences of temporality include phenomena of temporality that do not necessarily assume the linear passage of time but rather can be characterised by rhythmicity,

circularity, movement, fragmentation, reflexivity, and fluctuation (Griffiths 2004: 14-44) and which ultimately can deviate significantly from different forms of time standardisation (calendar, clock, etc.). Therefore, temporality is "not the same as time measurable by a clock" (Ogle 2015: 10), but rather it entails the lived experience of time and its cultural appropriations. Taking into consideration the entanglement of space, class, gender, identity, mobility, and culture proves to be a prerequisite for understanding the social production of time in specific cultural contexts. Among these time-suspended temporal modalities, Lisa Baraitser recognises diverse modes of dull and obdurate temporalities such as waiting, staying, delaying, enduring, persisting, repeating, maintaining, preserving, and remaining that contribute to the sense of time not passing (2017: 2). These non-events, as they are called by Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren in their book *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*, include not only waiting as the temporal form that Lisa Baraitser refers to, but also routines that "sink into the body and become reflexes" (2010: 208) and daydreams as they "drift past unnoticed" mixing "personal feelings and longings with all kinds of public raw material" (ibid). In the age of the "tyranny of the moment" (Eriksen 2001) when the past and future are being threatened through a "series of saturated moments, without a 'before' and 'after', a 'here' and 'there' to separate them" (ibid.: 2), new worlds appearing in front of us in the form of unstructured temporal modalities redirect our attention to the entangled relations of space, time, and the body.

In regard to the Eastern Adriatic, so far the question of temporality has been addressed within the theoretical frame offered by Balkan studies. Within Balkan studies, the problem of temporality cannot be analysed separately without considering the problems of space and the dichotomy between the margins and the centre, Europe and the Other, or, for that matter, the liminal position of Eastern Europe. Postcolonial theorist Arjun Appadurai warns us that space cannot be seen as blank canvas, imagined as a stage inscribed with meanings. On the contrary, according to Appadurai, history, institutions, people, and power make the geography of specific space, "literally producing the environment within which they function, including the biological and physical peculiarities of the environment" (2010: 9). This goes especially for the Eastern Adriatic, whose liminal status is conditioned by the two big neighbouring regions: on the one side Eastern Europe and its closeness to what Edward Said signifies as the Orient (1979) and, on the other side, the Mediterranean, often perceived as the cradle of European civilization (Pemble 2009). As pointed out by Larry Wolff in his book *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1994), the key determinant is the result of the process of *mapping*. *Mapping*, according to Wolff (1994), is not mapping in the strict geographical sense, but rather the process of mental mapping or the intellectual operation of possessing, imagining, addressing, and peopling of unknown parts of (South) Eastern Europe and their comparison with the known lands of Western Europe through a set of associations and comparisons as functions of the Enlightenment. As such, mapping represented practices of cultural as well as geographical differentiations between the parts of Europe, and, according to Wolff, it "perfectly expressed the interest of Eastern Europe for the enlightened traveller" (ibid.: 173).

This interest from the Enlightenment on was accompanied by the discourses of temporal othering present in the writings of diverse travel writers. As Paula Henrikson and Christina Kullberg argue in the introduction to the edited volume *Time and Temporalities in European Travel Writing* (2021), the temporalities emerging in the time of travel writing co-exist in many forms and often pose as plural: "the time of the journey, the time of the telling, and the inevitable lag between the event and narration, mediated through the process of editing" (2021: 5). Edith Durham's 1909 travelogue *High Albania*, Maude Holbach's *Dalmatia: The Land Where East Meets West* from 1910, and Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon* from 1941 all refer to the Eastern Adriatic as the region on the borderlands of the East and the West. This discursive dramatisation of the Eastern Adriatic was accompanied by the rhetoric of temporal alternation. For example, for Edith Durham at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Albania figures as wild, primitive, infantile, uncorrupted by civilization, and, in temporal terms, as "the land of the living past" (1909: 118). This "least known corner of Europe", according to Durham, is "drenched with the past" and has a "Middle Eastern flavor" (*ibid.*). Similar observations are noticeable in Maude Holbach's description of Dalmatia, which, according to the author, figures as a temporal and spatial anomaly. For Holbach, Dalmatia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was perceived as the "dead-end of world events", "the meeting place between East and West", or "the land of the past and the land of the future" (1910: 17). At the very beginning of her travelogue, Holbach's imperial gaze, the one self-identified through the metaphor of Northern eyes, draws attention to the distinction between the East and the West, but in such a way that it dramatises the spatial implications while also broadening them for a series of new classifications such as temporal ones.

Today Dalmatia dwells apart, in a borderland somewhat off the highway of the world's traffic, like a shadow left by the receding tide between the sea and shore, belonging more to the East than to the West – more to the past than to the present. (Holbach 1910: 28)

In Holbach's case, the East/West division figures as the representation of civilized/wild, known/exotic, rational/irrational, etc. However, it also serves as the distinction between the past and the future (1910: 17). On the other hand, the present seems to be located in what she calls *the Near East*, but it fades away and becomes the past going further east, eventually becoming Oriental. This spatial gradation of the East that transforms to the Orient in its full capacity was metaphorically associated with temporal regression. For example, a field trip to the small town of Nin east of Zadar was perceived as a return to the past, whereas Nin becomes the "the ghost of the past". Similarities can be seen in the description of Salona that, according to Holbach, appeared as a site of historical importance, but also as a sad ruin that superstitious natives feared because they believed in ghost stories about barbarous Romans (*cf.* 1910: 95). Even though nearby Split rises from the ruins just like Salona, it managed to escape a tragic destiny due to its closeness to the shore. The Diocletian palace functioned as the heart of the city, sort of a honeybee nest full of life that flourished on the ruins of the ancient palace whose antiquity was

adapted to the needs of the modern times (ibid.: 71). Holbach's narrative strategies of temporal alternation serve as an attempt of localising time, thus making a simple walk through the city of Zadar, the fieldtrip to Nin, or the visit to Salona a process of stepping from one time to another. This is evident in numerous examples. While walking on the modern Zadar waterfront, she felt as if in modern times, but moving just a few steps closer to the city centre felt like stepping into a whole other temporal dimension of ancient times. This borderland rhetoric of spatialised time periods reveals an ambivalence noticeable in the description of people who are often described as half-Oriental, living in a forgotten countryside where, from the Middle Ages, time had stood still (ibid.: 30). Evidence of being at the fringe of the Orient was numerous and, according to Holbach, could be found in the medieval costumes and the faces of the Morlacchi at the Zara market, in suspicious looks or locals, in the ways of sitting in an Eastern fashion that more closely resembled North American *Indians* than a European race, etc.

The attempt to localise the slowness is noticeable in Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (2007 [1941]) travelogue. Even though Rebecca West's travelogue figures as an important reference in Balkan studies, in terms of temporal modalities, the travelogue has often been interpreted through the metaphors of a historicised present and belated modernity. As Vesna Goldsworthy points out in her book *Inventing Ruritania*, the burden of Balkan history "rumbles and thunders in the background while the characters try, as best they can, to carry on with their day-to-day lives" (1998: 186). Such history, according to Marija Krivokapić and Neil Diamond, unfolds at every step as "the key moments from Balkan history, such as the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, stand by some everyday life issues and seemingly ahistorical happenings, such as travelling on trains and busses, or buying bread" (2017: 170). However, the notion of time slowing down is something that makes Rebecca West's travelogue particularly interesting, because it evokes the spatial aspect, the borderland rhetoric, and the temporal gradation. The future exists as a social fact, even though not in the same way as in the European West. The future appears as daydreaming (ibid.: 167) or as the possibility that appears to be growing from the ruins of the historicised present. For example, as the traveller approaches the East, according to the author, most notably countries like Bosnia and Serbia, discussion seems to be going "no more quickly than the slow pulse of eternity" (2007 [1941]: 375), where people's lax faces appear "spongy with boredom" (ibid.: 981), and where youth seems to practise "cat-like laziness" (ibid.: 485). The stagnancy and the stillness of time, infected with orientalist discourses, parallelly co-exist with the possibility of the unknown future. However, this was the future not in the strict linear sense of an expected temporal progress but more in the sense of the future conceived as insecure anticipation. At the same time, the future was entangled with the temporal structures of eternity that, according to Rebecca West, were promoted by social institutions like the church, or the future was intertwined with the temporal debris of the past that seemed to be haunting the everyday life of the people.

Therefore, it seems that West goes beyond the past, and it appears that she is invoking diverse temporal fragments that allow the appearance of an elusive presentism.

This elusive presentism grows out of the fluid boundaries between the future as insecure anticipation and the present moment inflicted with the orientalist discourse and entangled with the liminality of the South-Eastern European space. Presentism results in making time stop for a while as it reflects corporal numbness and an unwillingness to do something more. The temporal elasticity is graded by the proximity to the East or the West, and the Eastern Adriatic seems to be absorbing this elastic presentism coming from the Orient. The descriptions of this kind of *elastic presentism* were often represented through discourses of naturalisation, climatic determinism, as well as topographic determinism notable in descriptions of southern Italy. The other side of the Adriatic was faced with similar problems of temporal alternation and gradual historicisation but in relation to the South and growing, however, out of the specific cultural, social, and political circumstances of the Italian Southern question (*Questione meridionale*). As pointed out by Moe Nelson in his book *A View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (2002), the Italian South was created as the liminal space, a sort of edge whose proximity to Africa enabled the temporal alternation, making travel to the South a sort of journey into the past. "The farther south one travels, the farther away from the contemporary moment one moves as well" (2002: 37). Enlightened 18<sup>th</sup> writers like Montesquieu portrayed the Italian South as a backward and barbarous country still living in the ruins of the past. The climate, according to Montesquieu, affected the character of the Southerners, making them prone to laziness, corruption, and superstition (2002: 23–27). Laziness of the spirit, which was to be found in the borderland areas of the South, bears resemblance with the representations by 20<sup>th</sup> century travel writers of the Eastern Adriatic. People were often described as passive consumers of time, which sediments in their bodies through stereotypes of laziness perceived as the unwillingness to act while surrendering to the uncertainties of time. For example, when visiting the island of Rab, Rebecca West was warned that in the countryside one needs to prepare for the laziness of the Dalmatians, which, according to the local guides, was biologically rooted and notorious (2007 [1941]: 136). These stereotypes of the laziness and consequentially the poverty of the island, at the time of Rebecca West's travels, were already known in the historical imagination of European travellers, as has been shown by Catherine Carmichael in the case of Istria (cf. Carmichael 1996: 197–208). West tries to understand the phenomenon of laziness in the context of the historical and political tumultuousness that had affected islanders over the course of history. Her argumentation opposed the dominant views of her predecessors in the previous centuries and makes an unusual yet inspirational attempt of detecting the reasons that enabled "laziness" as the road to poverty. Even though she depicts the economic and political exploitation of islanders as imperial subjects of Venice, her attempt nevertheless ends up using the discourse of naturalisation and infantilisation. In the conclusion to the description of the lethargy and sleepiness of the island of Rab that has been known for its poverty, West embarks on the path of describing the atmosphere as the form for conveying the sense of time and its rhythms. A similar atmosphere of ambivalent temporal frames was present in her description of Split. However, this atmosphere was accompanied with the discourses of ruination, both infrastructural as well as moral, that seemed to be the reason of the

lethargy. "Harried people of mixed race", according to West, "have been forced by the history to run for centuries through the walls and cellars and sewers of ruined palaces" (2007 [1941]: 138). However, these dark tones of history that haunt everyday life vanished on the sunny promenade in front of Diocletian's palace. The only thing that sets them apart from the rest of the world is the "arcana of languages and thoughts they learned to share while they scurried for generations close-pressed through the darkness" (ibid.). The almost *noir* scene of everyday life in Split, according to West, was similar to that of Italian Naples. Just like Naples, Split was described as the "tragic and architecturally magnificent sausage-machine" with a similar atmosphere exuding the same Neapolitan air (ibid.).

Even though the borderland character of the Eastern Adriatic, stretched between the East and the West, was inspiration to scholars coming from Balkan studies, the temporal aspect of these predominantly spatial metaphors was mostly interpreted in relation to orientalist discourses of belated modernity. Therefore, in order to understand the borderland character of the Eastern Adriatic, which is necessary for understanding "island time", one should broaden the understanding of the concepts of border and marginality beyond the hermetic spatial connotations often conveyed in Balkan studies. Thus, the concept of the borderland should not imply merely a spatial separation, but rather should evoke changing and overlapping zones of diverse temporal regimes where different worlds come into contact (cf. Cassano 2012: 3). As was proposed by anthropologist Sarah Green, marginality should be regarded as the shifting and ambiguous condition of people and places, but in a way that includes temporalities appearing and disappearing along the way (cf. Green 2005). In regard to the making of "island time" at the fringes of the borderland area situated between Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, the analysis of temporalities must consider the interplay between the "individual and collective temporal agency that might entail planning, speculation, and imagination, but also particular anxieties, aspirations, and hopes" (Holdermann et al. 2020: 179). The boundaries of the island, whether metaphorical or real, can trigger spatial practices (Cameron 2012: 742) but also call for the examination of temporalities as they are being embodied, spatially maintained, and narrated.

## **LINČARNICA IN SALI, DUGI OTOK: MATERIALISATION OF LAZINESS OR GLITCH IN TIME?**

Unlike the textual representations of multiple temporalities that emerge in travel writings, the diverse rhythms of temporal existence on Dugi otok island today are the result of the social, historical, and cultural transformations that affected the local community over the course of the last decades. For the purpose of this article, the analysis of "island time" and the multiple island temporalities that emerge in the island milieu will focus on the local community of Sali, the biggest settlement on Dugi otok island, situated on its southern shore. Based on the results of ethnographic research conducted on multiple occasions in 2019, 2021, and 2022, special emphasis will be placed on *linčarnica*, which, according

to locals, is an unofficial monument devoted to the Mediterranean spirit of the islanders positioned in the centre of the port of Sali at the intersections of the main pathways. According to interviews with locals, *linčarnica*, which literally means “a place for being lazy”, represents a living monument to *fjaka* – a sort of temporal stagnancy when the overwhelming multitasking revolving around daily chores seems to be suspended and when the “take it easy” stance takes over. This state of indifference that withstands the traps of a hectic life is not exclusively the island brand and, according to some interviewees, it is seen as a relatively new island phenomenon. *Fjaka*, usually associated with inactivity and static time, seems to be both an island and non-island phenomenon. The laziness implied in the name of *linčarnica* points to non-eventfulness or inconspicuousness, unimportant and uneventful activities that ethnologists rarely pay attention to and that usually go unnoticed (Ehn and Löfgren 2010: 6). Even though *fjaka* can very well be sensed in non-island settings, the younger local population in Sali re-appropriated *fjaka* in line with the popular perceptions of what *fjaka* actually means. In general, the popular perception is that the concept of *fjaka* represents both a state of mind and an embodied experience with time as a central feature of such a state/experience (Oroz 2020: 46). As such, *fjaka* is perceived as the local Dalmatian philosophy that reflects a sort of corporal numbness and a there’s-nothing-one-can-do attitude that vlogs and travel reports nowadays usually refer to as the desirable attitude. *Fjaka* is mentioned as an excuse in conversations when the conversation turns dull and uninspiring, and it’s labelled on the T-shirts sold to tourists in the overcrowded streets of Dalmatian towns during the summer months. *Fjaka* found its place in popular songs: the Croatian poet Jakša Fiamengo described *fjaka* as “faint unconsciousness”, when one is “everywhere and nowhere at the same time”, or one is a “floating sensation between everything and nothing” (Hribar 2012) and aspiring to be liberated of daily stress and worries. Fiamengo described it as an “archetypical signal of the climate” (ibid.), thus contributing to the further mystification of *fjaka* when explained through the metaphorical evocations of the enigmatic relations between space and time and the effects of the climate and nature as sedimented in the bodies and minds of the people. The temporal aspect of *fjaka* points to unstructured time, making it a sort of local “noble art” that stands against the overwhelming busyness of contemporary society (Ehn and Löfgren 2010: 8). For non-islanders and tourists, *fjaka* sits very well with the stereotypes labelled to Southerners and their supposedly easy-going lifestyle. As an unstructured temporal modality that goes beyond the linear conception of a clockwise orientation to time, praised for its emancipatory possibilities, *fjaka* reflects a desired idleness and “take it slowly” stance that is even noticeable in language. For example, local conversations usually end with the local word *pomalo*, meaning “take your time”, or “maybe now, maybe later”, “from time to time”, “take it easy”, “slow down”, or “go slowly through the day”. But besides being a local word, *pomalo* is also “a cultural code, a sort of social warning and personal consolation in situations when life becomes too hectic” (Oroz 2020: 46), or when the experience of multitasking becomes unbearable and when lack of time takes over. The nonchalant and proverbial *pomalo*, together with *fjaka*, shows that the social and cultural organisation of time defies the norms imposed by the temporal

rhythms that accelerate everyday life. Considering that the “slowing down” motto was often associated with the regional frame of Dalmatia, but also evoking the Mediterranean lifestyle reference, the spatial anchoring of these temporal connotations responded to the values that seem to be fixed in a fast-changing, accelerating world (cf. Fabre 2019: 9). *Linčarnica*, as the localisation of slowness, materialised in the island landscape and intertwined with the connotations of the broader Mediterranean reference and, in many ways, relates to Franco Cassano’s notion of *the Southern Thought* and his reclaiming of the value of slowness in the contemporary world seen from the Southern perspective (2012). The Southern perspective, according to Cassano, does not necessarily imply a change of spatial perspective or situatedness in what seems to be the South, but rather points to the “right for autonomous paths to modernity for the Mediterranean and the Souths of the worlds, the so-called Global Souths” as it helps to restore “agency and dignity to the heritage and legacies of Southern civilizations and cultures” (Bouchard and Ferme 2012: ix). According to Cassano, the temporal aspect changes as the Southern perspective pervades our thoughts and makes us realise that “going slow is to respect time, inhabit it with few things of great value, with boredom and nostalgia” (2012: 10).

Today, *linčarnica* plays a special role in tourism advertising and, as such, it was painted and decorated by local enthusiasts in order to highlight its importance for the local community. Over the course of the research, *linčarnica* often stirred ambivalent and contradictory emotions. When laziness was mentioned in relation to *linčarnica* in conversations and perceived at the plain level of fun-fact tourist info, it was described as an exhilarating experience of temporal refiguration, sort of the island brand that defies the temporal norms symbolised by clocks and calendars. In a way, this island temporal reordering implying some sort of heightened sense of emancipation from time constraints, evoking an almost mystic experience, reminded me of Geertz’s “agitated stagnancy” remark when describing his fieldwork in Java and the sense of so called “static time” (Geertz 1983: 60). However, when the course of a conversation took a different direction and complex questions were introduced, any implication of islanders as lazy and non-diligent always ended up in strong and defensive explanations of what life on the island was like and why it does not have anything to do with laziness. This kind of argumentation was usually accompanied by observation that nobody, except islanders, is capable of knowing how hard life on the island is and why the summer experience portrays only one side of the coin. As some of my interviewees mentioned, in order to fully grasp the rough part of island life, one needs to spend a winter on the island. Therefore, to understand the making of “island time”, its seasonal tempos with summer *prestos* and winter *adagios*, as well as the cultural answers to how the local community copes with “difficult” times, now or in the past, one needs to reflect on the re-appropriation of entangled temporal experiences imbued with class, social, gender, and generational ambivalences. Their embellishment for the purpose of local tourism, depicting known stereotypes about islanders and internalised images of the Mediterranean lifestyle, shows that beneath the surface of this supposedly *lazy time* there are overlapping and competing discourses of belated modernity that are nesting in the specific socio-historical settings of the local community of Sali. In order to understanding these antagonistic relations that produced specific forms of so-called “island

time", one needs to address the questions that point to the emergence of a specific ideology whose echo we still witness through the supposedly "unproblematic" and alluring notions of *ffaka*. What enabled the emergence of *linčarnica*, and how has this kind of spatialisation of the temporal experience contributed to the branding of Sali and Dugi otok island as tourist destinations? What is the connection between Orientalist and Balkanist discourses and how temporal frictions between them reflect the Eastern Adriatic? Do these frictions condition the popular and practical notions of "island time" in the present moment, and what do they have in common with the self-perception of the islanders and tourists? What does laziness, as a specific temporal modality, imply in regard to *linčarnica* – a long period of non-productivity or short temporal fragments of suspended time when relaxation occurs? How are multiple island temporalities embodied and performed?

According to interviews and the available data, *linčarnica* got its name during the 1950s and early 1960s when the way of life on the island had already dramatically changed and continued to be in the process of deep transformation. This was especially the case in Sali, where a fish factory was established in 1906/1907.<sup>4</sup> Before that, locals lived in accordance with the "event-driven time structure in their everyday existence" (Eriksen 2001: 38–39), which was marked predominantly by the rural surroundings of Dugi otok that, for centuries, compelled islanders to agriculture (olive growing, viticulture) and fishery. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of the residents of Sali were agricultural workers who rented the land predominantly owned by landlords residing in the town of Zadar on the mainland. Besides a few landowning families on the island, one of the biggest landowners was the Zmajević trust established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which administered church properties consisting of pastures and fertile land near Sali and rented them to the local agricultural workers and sheep herders (Grandov 1968: 636; Beverin and Armanini 1999: 152). The fertile land was sold to local residents in 1909–1912 and the pastures were sold in 1931–1933.<sup>5</sup> Land ownership and renting practices included not just the land in the vicinity of Sali, but also parcels stretching out over the neighbouring islands and parts of what is today known as Nature Park Telašćica. Even though Dugi otok was permanently inhabited throughout history (Magaš 1997: 24–25), the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century figures as the period of most intensive social and economic transformation. Migration to the United States figures as one of the examples that researchers can witness even today in scarcely populated settlements in the northern parts of the island. Sali figured as the largest settlement on the island, and the fish factory was one of the reasons why depopulation did not strike Sali and the neighbouring settlements of Zaglav, Žman, and Luka as hard as it did other settlements on the island (Beverin 2000: 83; Čuka 2006: 65). Dugi otok's depopulation process was a result of literalisation, or the expansion of social and economic life along the coast, resulting in the

<sup>4</sup> The factory was established under the name *Tvornica, alimentari Sale*, but it changed its name frequently as the ownership changed. Today, the factory is known as the Mardešić fish factory. The new name of the factory was established in 1947, and it is still used today (Beverin 2000: 107).

<sup>5</sup> According to Ante Beverin and Jerolim Armanini, the decision to sell the land parcels to the residents of Sali was probably instigated by the fact that phylloxera had destroyed much of the vineyards and, as a consequence, decreased the landowners' income (Beverin and Armanini 1999: 145).

abandonment of old rural cores and the intensification of tourism (Čuka 2006: 65–66). Due to the specific geographic configuration with more than 40 km in length, and the poor infrastructure between the northern and the southern parts of the island, island communities lived quite isolated from each other. According to geographer Anica Čuka, the process of littoralisation, together with the long-term isolation in terms of traffic, resulted in the creation of two separate centres on the island, sort of “two islands in one” (Čuka 2011: 169, 271).<sup>6</sup> During the course of the research, interviews with locals in places<sup>7</sup> like Veli Rat, Božava, Soline, Brbinj, and Dragove showed that there was very little communication between the spatially separated communities. The only exceptions were the few settlements on the south where fairly decent roads and short distances enabled communication between Luka, Zaglav, and Sali. The fish factory Mardešić played an instrumental role in this, as it gathered women from those places as factory line workers.



Figure 2. Mardešić fish factory in Sali, Dugi otok. Personal family archive of Ante Beverin which was made available by his heirs (personal data known only to author).

<sup>6</sup> From the unpublished doctoral thesis of Anica Čuka, *Preobrazba dugootočkog krajolika kao odraz suvremenih sociogeografskih procesa (The Influence of Contemporary Socio-geographic Processes on Landscape Changes of Dugi otok Island)*.

<sup>7</sup> Most of the settlements on Dugi otok are popularly referred to as “misto”, a term implying a settlement with urban and rural characteristics at the same time. Historical heritage or the size (in comparison to other places nearby) of the settlement may highlight the urban character of “misto” despite the prevailing agricultural economy or rural surrounding. This is especially the case in Sali. Furthermore, in Sali the unofficial and proverbial division between those living in the port (on the shore), who are supposedly of noble origin, and those living nearby in the hilly part of Sali, known as the village, reflects the internal hierarchisation and makes the status of “misto” even more complicated. In terms of administrative legislation, Sali is the centre of the local county (*općina* or the municipality) that includes other settlement on the island (mostly functioning as “local committees” with diminished legal or financial accountability) as well as the local island of Zverinac.

During the 1950s and 60s, the factory was already an integral part of island life and multitasking entered the lives of islanders, thereby intensifying the life they had known. The memories of those old enough to remember point to intensive labour and rapid social changes as the leitmotif of the period. At the same time, *linčarnica* got its name, the one that, from today's perspective, we associate with laziness or some sort of unstructured "me time" specific to the Mediterranean. The emergence of *linčarnica* in the 1960s was hardly a coincidence, but rather it was related to the cultural codes and social norms developed by the island community as a specific response to the rapid changes affecting existing temporal regimes.<sup>8</sup> Among the most important changes were the overlapping of factory shifts in the local fish factory with the seasonal agricultural activities, the gendered division of labour, codes of intergenerational communication and collective identification, as well as internal social stratification based on place of origin. The daily rhythm of factory workers, mostly women, was conditioned by the changing schedule of factory shifts according to which the women structured their house chores and work in agriculture. In an attempt to voice the problems emerging in the transition from agrarian to industrial society (Dohrn-Van Rossum 1996: 290), an analysis of archival material was made in order to show how the introduction of working hours collided with the local sense of time. The available data shows that, from 1947 onward, the factory employed workers who worked six and sometimes even seven days a week for eight hours per day (Beverin 2000: 81). Archival material shows that the factory administrators focused on the organisation of work so that potential wasted time would be minimised. As part of the newly established economy of time, the seasonal character of employment changed in the years to come and, by the end of the 1950s, the factory started working throughout the whole year. The sound of a siren announcing the start of the eight-hour shift represented tremendous change in a short period of time in the mostly agricultural community of Sali. Yearly reports from the Mardešić fish factory dating from 1950–1959<sup>9</sup> shed light on some aspects of the organisation of work but also point to the change in how working hours were perceived and the troublesome taming of time which that elusively falls out of the strict plans of production. For example, in the final reports at the end of each year, the planned and the achieved results are compared and analysed and solutions for how efficiency could be improved the next year are offered. Among the data about the sort of fish, the amounts in tons, energy consumption, total amount of oil spent for the production, and packaging and cans, one can find data about the "work force". In older analytic reports, the "work force" data generically refers to the workers and the total cost of labour.

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<sup>8</sup> I found On Barak's notion of *urban politics of slowness* and his study of Egyptian temporality at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (cf. 2013) refreshing in terms of institutional frames conveying specific social relations and cultural attitudes towards overlapping temporalities emerging in the wake of modernisation processes in Sali on Dugi otok island. Even though the historical, ideological, and social contexts of Barak's study hardly relate to the specific context of Sali and Dugi otok, his historical analysis is inspiring in terms of identifying social, cultural, ideological, and infrastructural transformations and local responses to new, emerging time regimes.

<sup>9</sup> The yearly reports were part of the personal archive of the late Ante Beverin, a local resident from Sali known for his meticulous research of local history, especially topics related to the fishing industry in Sali. I wish to extend my gratitude to his family, who made his books, notes, unpublished papers, and personal archive available to me for the purpose of this research.

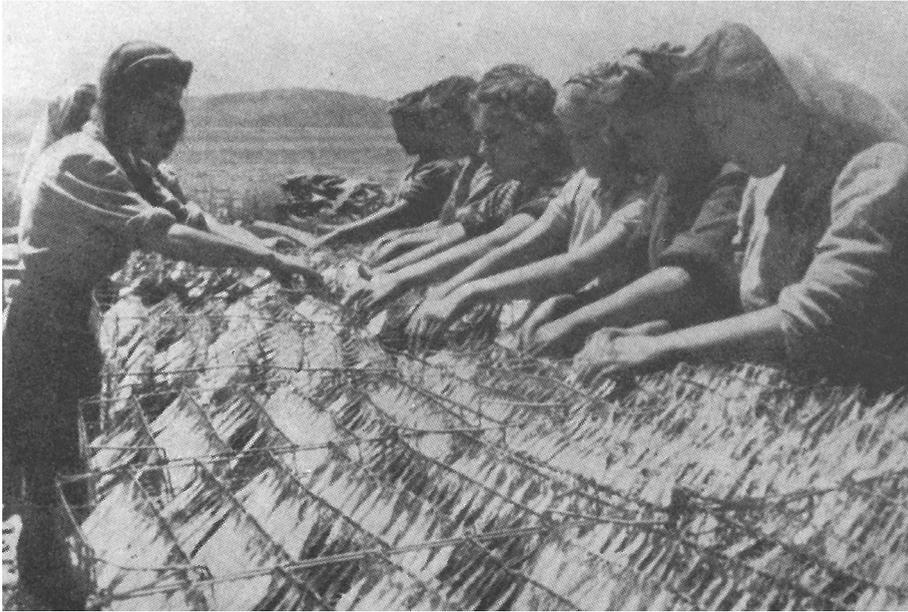


Figure 3. Female factory workers of Mardešić. Personal family archive of Ante Beverin which was made available by his heirs (personal data known only to author).



Figure 4. Mardešić factory worker sorting fish cans on the production line. Personal family archive of Ante Beverin which was made available by his heirs (personal data known only to author).

However, due to an increase in the total cost of salaries when compared with the planned sum, the problem of overtime work appears. Even though some part of the production was not calculated as paid work and it helped to increase productivity, the problem remained as the total sum of salaries was breaking its pre-designated limit. An attempt was made to solve the untameable human factor problem by introducing total work hours with the exact price of each hour listed. This monetisation of time (cf. Barak 2013) was needed to synchronise the discrepancies between the specific, time-consuming practical stages of production and the generic calculable book-keeping production plans. In order to understand the unpredictable cost, the work hours were estimated and explained in detail at a monthly level based on the specific phase of production. For example, the cleaning of the cans was the most problematic part, because it took much more time. According to the final report for 1953, this was because of the slower rhythm of the unskilled female workers. Their cost seems to be lower than those of the "male work force" (Beverin 2000: 47). Despite the calculation problems and the number of hours piling up in the final report, the hourly price was tagged and became a commodity that was easily numerically represented, just like any other material. For the women working on the factory line, this was only their day job, which should not imply that after work they had free time. During the interviews with retired fish factory workers, the whole atmosphere was always dark, emotionally exhausting, and full of traumatic memories from an unrepentant youth that was marked by constant work and multitasking in every spare moment of "free time". This traumatic life of workers, who started working as early as the age of 15 or 16, was intensified by the social pressure of the local community and the unwritten codes of what was thought to be appropriate behaviour. This pressure was amplified and even, at some point, internalised with ideals of proving oneself, imposed by mothers-in-law in the shared multigenerational household. In cases in which women came from other places on the island that were, from the perspective of Sali, perceived as villages or of workers of non-island origin who came to the island during the 1980s, the pressure was even greater, while the subtle criticism and gossip directed towards their so-called laziness permeated their daily lives. Their origin soon became the cultural marker of their otherness, as it was mockingly understood as the reason for their so-called lack of manners. Even though this kind of social and cultural contract was to be perceived as encouragement, in most cases, according to interviews, it was traumatic as they supposedly needed to prove themselves as being as diligent as the islanders. For those workers coming from the hinterland or other places on the island, the pejorative implication of their rural origin served as the criterion for their social exclusion as they were granted a specific social status in the complex social hierarchy of the local community of Sali. On the one hand, those living in Sali, especially in the port, highlighted their urban identity, which was perceived as part of an elitist "high" culture inspired by the Venetian cultural influence, while, on the other hand, others living in rural areas were often perceived as peasants and non-skilled agricultural workers whose culture was mocked and ridiculed. This criticism can be seen even today with the nicknames that, in derogatory form, reflect some aspect of one's personal biography, family, place of origin, marital status, or any other embarrassing moment or personal failure. Nicknames play an important role in positioning one's status

in the local community of Sali. In the interviews, stories were told of the homemade phone books used before cell phones appeared in which the names and phone numbers of locals were accompanied by their nicknames. Nicknames were used to name those who shared the same name and last name, but also to mock some specific feature or specific physical appearance. Without nicknames, there could be confusion.<sup>10</sup> Those who had nicknames were considered part of the community and earned their place under the sun. Even though nicknames are public, sometimes they refer to intimate details and are only used in the absence of the person one is referring to. Place of origin figures as an important reference in the creation of nicknames and this goes especially for women who, despite decades of living in Sali, are still referred to by their place of origin. Besides health problems due to years of intensive exertion, the emotional scars of today's now-grown children bear witness to decades of mothers being absent instead of raising children. The lack of emotional connection with mothers, as well as memories of mothers coming home late, figure as a constant leitmotif of growing up on the island and being deprived of a mother figure. In cases of ex-factory workers living in Sali, "free time", as we perceived it today, was simply not an option. Their lives as young women were structured based on their strict daily schedules with temporal voids being filled with new tasks. Afterwork "free time" served as the time for agricultural work, and the multigenerational families the women had married into encouraged this kind of non-stop diligence. One of the interviewees said that her youth was taken away from her by an old age that came too early. Therefore, the implication of laziness of any sort functioned as a social warning determined by the social norms and the cultural codes reflected through constant multitasking on a daily basis.

Fishing played an important role in the community of Sali and, in regard to the gendered division of labour, it was perceived as a traditionally male job. Even today, locals emphasise the importance of fishing for the Sali community's identity and its historical roots that go all the way to the Middle Ages. However, when compared to factory working hours and the structured time revolving around factory shifts, fishing largely depended on seasonal peculiarities and the daily and monthly rhythms conditioned by the knowledge of the local winds, currents, and moon phases.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, without diminishing the hard life of the fishermen, this specific and demanding job included unstructured periods of time when fishing was not possible due to weather conditions. According to a manuscript from 1960, waiting and expectation were temporal modalities often present in the course of the job.

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<sup>10</sup> One of the stories goes that the students in the local school were given a homework assignment to write an essay about a famous and well-known Croatian writer who shared the same name as a local fisherman. A student wrongly understood that the essay should be about the life and work of the fisherman, whose name the student even complemented with the accompanying nickname, instead of the writer they were supposed to write about. Despite the volatile factuality of stories like this, I found them interesting as folklorist fact, as they were quite common during the research and because they portray the way the local community sees itself.

<sup>11</sup> Locals in Sali highlighted the importance of spatial orientation as the crucial information for their fishing activities. Even today, locals highlight that Sali is the only place in the world that recognises a fifth side of the world, named *japrak*. According to interviews, *japrak* refers to the direction of the southwest orientation from where the local wind blows to the port, but also the direction of the present-day Nature Park Telašćica, where locals owned the land.



Figure 5. Fishermen of Sali. Personal family archive of Ante Beverin which was made available by his heirs (personal data known only to author).

When we don't go for fish, and when the light is off,<sup>12</sup> or if there is a windy morning, then everybody sleeps longer [...] if they don't go fishing, they sleep the whole night and sometimes even the whole day [...]. For lunch they cook what they catch, potatoes or dry bread with onion. If someone brings wine, they mix it with water [...]. The most important thing is that there is tobacco when we play cards, otherwise one can lie down for the whole day. After a good night/day of sleep, fishermen tell stories and jokes, sing, or make pranks [...]. Those that were passionate card players, as soon as they would get some money, they would go to gamble in the local bar for the whole night. The gambling could last for the whole night until the first sun rays appeared on the horizon [...]. But not all the people are the same, nor do they share the same temperament. When some of them don't fish, they can't wait to get back home to check their vineyards and fields. [...] Others return home for more tobacco [...] some decide that it's not worth spending the whole day to return and rather stay on the boat relaxing and lying around the deck. (Grandov 1960: 227–229, translation mine)

The unstructured, chores-free temporal modalities of suspended time enabled fishermen to imaginatively use their “free time” – play cards, make jokes, gossip about their superiors, sleep, or gamble all night long (Grandov 1960: 227–229). Among these carefree activities, waiting emerged, but it could nevertheless be used in various ways, for example to return

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the special fishing technique called *lov na sviću*, or “with fishing lights”. Fishing lights were placed on boats and used to attract plankton, the food of many different sea organisms. This was especially the case in periods without moonlight.

home to work in the fields or to make money in some other ways. However, laziness or any form of non-activity was not the case for long periods of time. Only small fragments of unstructured time between various chores emerged that, from today's perspective, seem like "free time". By 1958, the fish factory engaged with local fishermen gathered around the *Zadruga* (fishermen's association) before the factory made its own fishing fleet. Waiting in the port while repairing broken nets or drying them in the sun was part of the routine of the fishermen. It was a place of socialising for men, but it also fulfilled its purpose in regard to their jobs.



Figure 6. Port of Sali, next to linčarnica. Photo depicting local youth playing football. Part of the photo collection of Archaeological Museum of Zadar (Photo no. 612 1715, made by Ivo Petricioli).

During the research in Sali, the interviews with men usually started with juicy stories of memorable youthful events and photos from family albums showing local guys having fun on summer nights. A key ingredient of these stories were the memories of the "good old times" revolving around free time and innovative ways to spend it in accordance with the local tradition of making pranks. Therefore, narratives about the good old times were marked by practical jokes imposed on others as well as on themselves. There was almost a competition between the young men for who would make the better prank, while narrations about their jobs would usually end up in second place. Unlike the narrations of women about how their careless youth ended early due to overwhelming multitasking, the memories of the men were usually marked by vivid stories of enjoyment and prank-making. From today's perspective, the period of youth was represented as a time of

endless freedom with no strict temporal markers that would define the narration. Just the opposite: temporal references were scattered in a non-linear way, connecting situations through a series of associations in order to match the atmosphere of the "good old times". These temporal fragments often included various temporal modalities that included waiting, delay, expectations, timelessness, but also promises of future, leisure, and idleness. Even though one can't deny the fact that work played an important role in the lives of the men, it was often perceived as secondary, a sort of interference and marginal issue when narrating memories of youth. The temporal structure of daily activities was different than those of women – some of the men worked in the factory, mostly in what were described as "men's jobs", such as assuming supervisor roles, but most of them were engaged in fishing. This kind of employment was different than that of women because it included waking up early and finishing before noon. During the 1980s, this changed as many on the island engaged in tourism as the seasonal economic activity or in jobs on the mainland, thus depopulating the island. According to interviews, men and women's unsynchronised temporal framework resulted in waiting, and *linčarnica*, situated in the centre of the port, served as the spot from where fishermen forecasted weather before setting offshore. On the crossroads of different paths, the space around *linčarnica* served as the place where fishing nets were docked and repaired but it also figured as the place of sociability. According to interviews, it was the place where waiting happened and where men waited for women on their way back home from the factory. As such, *linčarnica* was the spot where different temporal modalities overlapped and collided – the factory time structured around shifts and the time of those engaged in fishing, whose daily rhythm was determined by the weather conditions and the seasons of the year as opposed to the clockwise logic of the factory workers. The slope shape of *linčarnica*, with people resting on it, served as a local hotspot, an outlook that enabled locals to take a break, to relax from time to time, and to chat while making observations. At night, it would serve as a place for local youth to share their stories and to make jokes. In this spare time, unstructured by the terror of the clock or agricultural chores, *linčarnica* figured as spatial materialisation of different time frames and rhythms. By the 1980s, the fishing association lost the importance it had had due to the development of the fishing fleet managed by the fish factory. At that time, young people on the island used *linčarnica* as a meeting spot, a place where one could rest and wait for others to appear.

Today *linčarnica* is presented as the local island brand that reflects the supposedly universal Mediterranean phenomenon of *fjaka*. As such, *linčarnica* in the present circumstances depicts the local island lifestyle as unchangeable, while it manages to fit tourist expectations and their hunger for "authenticity". Whether it's about taking a photo or checking social media, *taming time* instead of *chasing time*, it poses as an attractive and tempting idea that, in the context of a time-oriented world and growing tourist expectations, manages to find its consumers. It's an interesting local "fact" for tourists, but highly ambivalent in terms of the conflicting temporalities that are engaged in the making of "island time". However, beneath the surface of its Mediterraneanness and the

internalised images of what island time is, imposed by non-islanders over the course of time, *linčarnica* at the everyday level functions as the local hotspot for locals that, in recent years, is being replaced by new emerging topoi of sociability. It represents a memorial to the romanticised, often one-sided interpretation of the past that highlights the uniqueness of the local community but homogenises the heterogeneity of temporal experience and changing social and cultural contexts. Even though the laziness it evokes poses as a tempting alternative to the world as it is, interpretations of what laziness actually is are highly ambivalent and stir diverse emotions in the local community.

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## VIŠESTRUKÉ OTOČNE TEMPORALNOSTI: "OTOČNO VRIJEME" I SPACIJALIZACIJA SPOROSTI NA DUGOM OTOKU

U radu se istražuje koncept "otočnog vremena" kao metafore koja adresira višestruke otočne temporalnosti u Salima na Dugom otoku. Općenito, temporalnostima se pristupa kao modalitetima i ritmovima bivanja koji se ostvaruju u mrežama društvenih, kulturnih, prostornih, ekonomskih, rodni i ideoloških transformacija. Koncept "višestrukih temporalnih" inspiriranih teorijskim refleksijama koje dolaze iz studija vremena (engl. *time studies*) upućuje na procese preklapanja, premrežavanja i koegzistencije razolikih temporalnih ritmova i okvira. Fokus ovoga rada usmjeren je prema pojavi *linčarnice* u Salima. Na temelju etnografskih istraživanja, kroz ovaj se rad želi propitati probleme društvenog i kulturnog oblikovanja "otočnog vremena", popularno doživljenog kao vremena koje odlikuje sporost. Problematiziranjem koncepta temporalnosti na presjecištima mediteranističkih studija, otočnih studija, studija vremena i balkanističkih studija, ovim se radom propituje specifičnu, otokom uvjetovanu i društveno performiranu atmosferu koja pridonosi stvaranju "otočnog vremena", onog koje se u recentno doba rebrendira za potrebe turizma i imaginira u specifičnom kulturnom i društvenom miljeu Dalmacije.

Ključne riječi: višestruke otočne temporalnosti, socijalna konstrukcija vremena, Dugi otok, Dalmacija, *linčarnica*, lokalizacija sporosti, lijenost, *faka*