

## Feudalism versus Capitalism: The Changing Representation of Lombok in Nadira Khalid's Novel *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi*

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### ABSTRACT

*This article aims to explain the changes in Lombok representation in *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* (When Love Refuses to Leave) novel by Nadira Khalid. To explain this, this article uses representation theories and methods that combine semiotic and discourse models. Lombok is represented as part of Java, as the literary language of Lombok is Javanese. Through literature, the Sasak people of Lombok have gained knowledge of feudalism, a social system that remains common until today. Java interpellates Sasak as a feudal subject. Nobility maintains a system of feudalism and *perwangsa dengan jamaq* carrying the spirit equality. Nobles dominate the production of culture, especially Sasak Literature, through the publication of West Nusa Tenggara Barat historical monograph. The novel *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* depicts capitalism as an alternative to feudalism. This can be seen in the novel's narrative, which follows a noble family that must migrate to Sumbawa after their village is purchased by a company that seeks to build a factory on the land. The novel shows the Sasak people prefer becoming factory workers over farming, and as an implication of capitalism the island experiences economization process. However, both worldviews pose obstacles to the love of the main characters Lahu Kertiaji and Sahnim. Romanticism, thus, is seen as offering an alternative to both these views.*

*Keywords: representation; Lombok; Indonesian novel; feudalism and capitalism; romanticism*

### INTRODUCTION

The traditional historiography of the Sasak people in Lombok, Indonesia, indicates that they have not traditionally known nobility (Fadjri 2015). Rather, the nobility of Lombok are considered descended from Javanese exiles. In philology, the literature of Lombok is considered part of Javanese literature (Marrison 1999, Van der Meij 2011). As the nobility of Lombok are descended from Javanese exiles, the traditional literature of Lombok uses Javanese. This, assuming that the Javanese exert considerable power in Lombok, can be considered a form of subjugation.

The Javanese have exerted power over Lombok since Gadjah Mada --the *mahapatih* (prime minister) of Majapahit—gained control of The Nusa Tenggara Archipelago. Lombok was one of the islands conquered by Gadjah Mada, who has been mythologized and sanctified by the people of Seleparang, eastern Lombok. Even today, the Sasak people frequently go on pilgrimage to a grave they consider Gadjah Mada's final resting place. Likewise, the power of the Javanese and Majapahit Dynasty has been mythologized and sanctified by the Sasak people, who hold that the King of Seleparang married a princess from Majapahit, and that this union produced the Sasak nobility. As in Java, these nobles use the title *raden*.

In Lombok, the nobility maintained their power until the Dutch colonial era. They served as the sole representatives of the Sasak people (Fadjri 2015), and are present not only in local histories but also popular music (Satrya HD & Muttaqin 2018). They exerted their power not only historically, but throughout the Dutch colonial era and even into Indonesia's independence. The Javanese power over Sasak must be recognized as being constructed through the politics of representation.

The problem here is how have the Javanese perpetrated the politics of representation through literature? Discussion of the politics of representation in Lombok is important as, to date, the exertion of power in literature by the Javanese has yet to be examined from a literary perspective.

Fadjri offers some discussion of Javanese power in Lombok in his dissertation regarding the traditional historiography of Lombok in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The politics of representation, as practiced by the Javanese, are positioned in two contexts: colonialism and post-colonialism. In a colonial context, the nobility were entrusted with power by colonial forces (Fadjri 2015). During the Dutch colonial era, the nobility occupied an important position in Lombok. They were constructed as the sole representatives of the Sasak people, using the Javanese language to construct the meaning of Lombok through its literature. This construction of Lombok used two systems of representation. The first system involved the means through which Lombok was classified. Lombok, having been ruled by Java and by Bali, was understood based on its people's connection to these two ethnic groups. After this subjugation under the Javanese and Balinese, Lombok—as with other parts of Indonesia—experienced colonialism. Lombok's construction in this context will be explored in this article.

Meanwhile, in a post-colonial context, the (literary) representation of Indonesia has involved not only the ethnic Javanese and Malays, but also other ethnic groups. As such, Indonesian literature has seen the rise of works with regional nuances, settings, and characters. Indonesian literature has experienced a shift to regional themes and witnessed the rise of what may be called ethnic literature as various writers have sought to voice their ethnic identities (Sesnic 2007). The rise of ethnic problems in contemporary literature construct the multiple literature identity (Jerome, Hashim & Su-Hie 2016). Ethnicity has become an important issue in Indonesia's national literature.

Ethnic literature and national literature have long received the attention of researchers. Bear et al. (1987) define ethnicity as a source of creativity. However, aside from providing creative inspiration, ethnicity may also serve to oppose the concept of a national identity (Eckstein 1995, Erkkila 1995, Oliver 1991) or celebrate the third space (Fernandez 2009). Gilman (1998) understands ethnic literature, within the context of national literature, as centering on works and writers that have been ignored within national literary canons. In this article, a work of Indonesian literature regarding the Sasak of Lombok is seen as conditioned by the contemporary literary experience, similar to how Sesnic (2007) understands the rise of ethnicity in contemporary American literature. Furthermore, this article understands ethnicity as a discourse. As such, the representation of Lombok is also a discourse about Lombok. What kind of discourse has constructed Lombok? This question will be answered using the semiotic and discursive approaches. In other words, this article will examine how the meaning of Lombok has been articulated within the discourse on the island.

#### DISCOURSE OF LOMBOK

Studies about Lombok have been constructed through three discourses: tradition, modernity, and Islam. Lombok has been understood as tradition (Asnawi 2005, Fitriani 2015, Hilmiyatun & Satrya HD 2015, Jamaludin 2011b, Mansyur 2005, Satrya HD 2017) by many writers. Lombok as an Islamic community has received the focus of anthropologists and Islamic scholars (Fahrurrozi 2018, Hamdi 2011, Jamaludin 2011b & 2011a, Kingsley 2011, Kingsley 2012, Suprpto 2011 & 2012). Meanwhile, Lombok as a modern island has been explored by studies on tourism (Gaffar 2016, Kanom 2015, Khalik 2014, Murianto 2014, Yasin 2008).

Historically, the Sasak people experienced Javanese hegemony, which was later replaced by Balinese hegemony. During the Balinese rule, a new noble caste known as *lalu* was created, under the *raden*. The Sasak nobility worked together with the Dutch to drive away the Balinese (Kraan 2009). Following this collaboration, the nobility worked together with the Dutch colonial forces to establish themselves above the common people (*jajar karang*). They maintained this power in Lombok until the New Order regime, when it eroded—a process accelerated during the reform era. Did this weakened position lead to them being represented as marginalized? How have the *perwangsa dengan jamaq* (common people) been represented?

The first Indonesian novel set in Lombok, *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* (When Love Refuses to Leave), was published in 2007. Written by Nadira Khalid, a Karangasem-born author, this novel deals with two lovers separated by class differences. Lalu Kertiaji loves Sahnim. Lalu Kertiaji was born to a noble family, while Sahnim was born to a *perwangsa dengan jamaq* family. How have these two groups been represented? To understand the social positions of these classes, this article will focus on a contemporary Indonesian novel about Lombok, one representing an ethnic group that has long been ignored in the national literary corpus. *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* emerged in this context in presenting ethnic issues to readers.

#### COMBINING METHODOLOGY

This article uses representation theory. Two approaches may be used when applying representation theory, namely semiotic and discursive approaches. Literature contains within it both hegemonic and discursive forces. In its production, literature uses a system of representation to create meaning (Hall 1997). This system of representation is classified and communicated through language. The means through which something is classified or organized cannot be separated from the conceptual systems underlying it. The meaning constructed by a novel can only be interpreted based on its system of representation, the system of knowledge in effect at a particular time, which may prove highly hegemonic. A specific system of representation is used to control territory using a specific understanding is simultaneously hegemonic and discursive. These two concepts have different ontological understandings of reality. The first understands everything as material, while the second understands everything as idea. The first sees reality as dialog, while the second sees reality as interactive. The validity of the first is determined by the extent to which semiotic material is used to create meaning, while the validity of the second is determined by the extent to which something can be historically dismantled. Here, the novel will be analyzed using semiotic and discourse analysis. Semiotic analysis is used to find meaning, while discourse analysis is used to identify the origin of this meaning. The first is conducted to understand the novel as a sign, while the second is used to analyze the novel within the context of Lombok's construction by (for example) knowledge institutions. The first is rooted in the novel, while the second is derived from scientific texts about Lombok.

#### DISCUSSION

##### CONCEPTUALIZING LOMBOK

In the Sasak origin myth *Ta Melak Mangan*, also known as *Doyan Neda*, it is said that the Sasak people are descended from forty jinn<sup>1</sup> who transformed into human beings. These Sasak, manifestations of jinn, married the daughters of Majapahit, Java and Madura. *Doyan*

*Neda*, the king of Lombok, married the princess of Majapahit. The marriage of Lombok's king and Majapahit's princess is interpreted as Lombok idealizing Majapahit as a center of power (Fauzan 2013). As an implication of this interpretation, Lombok has tended to mimic this ideal. Doyan Neda established the Seleparang Kingdom, as well as a number of smaller kingdoms. Seleparang became the center of power in Lombok, as well as—assuming such a center existed—a center of truth.

Readings of this origin myth have offered different interpretations over time as the understanding of Lombok has also shifted. Truth, once understood as centered in Seleparang, were spread throughout the island, including in Sigar Penjalin in northern Lombok and Tambing Muter in southern Lombok. Consequently, the myth has also been interpreted as indicating the plurality of the Sasak people (Usup 2011). This shows a shift in understandings of Lombok, from one center of truth and power to many. This has implications for how the text is understood. By the Sasak people, the title *Ta Melak Mangan* was changed to *Doyan Neda*. Why was the origin story of the Sasak given the title *Ta Melak Mangan*? Why was the title *Ta Melak Mangan* changed to *Doyan Neda*?

In the text *Ta Melak Mangan*, there is a negotiation of Sasak identity. The title *Ta Melak Mangan* could not be accepted, as it was understood as vulgar. If this is evidence that the text was not produced by the Sasak people themselves, it may be assumed that the text was a Javanese construction. As stated by Marrison (1999), Javanese has long been the literary language of Lombok; furthermore, Van der Meij (2011) explains that the Sasak script is closer in form to the Javanese script than to the Balinese script. The title *Ta Melak Mangan*, thus, was given by the Javanese of Lombok. If the text had been truly produced by the Sasak, the title *Ta Melak Mangan* would never have been given to the text. In this text, the Sasak people are depicted as being descended from djinn who became civilized under the tutelage of Majapahit, Java, and Madura. These kingdoms, all hailing from outside Lombok, ensured their own worldviews and lifestyles were manifested in Lombok. According to Fadri (2015), the Sasak had traditionally not known noble titles such as *raden* and *lalu*. As such, such nobility and their lifestyles must be understood as coming from Javanese society. In *Ta Melak Mangan*, as a Javanese cultural product, the Sasak are stereotyped as vulgar, greedy, and in need of civilization, as they are manifestations of jinn rather than human beings.

Ultimately, this text has been accepted as the origin myth of the Sasak, but adapted to promote the interests of the Sasak themselves. The title *Ta Melak Mangan*, for example, was changed to *Doyan Neda*, as can be seen in the official history of West Nusa Tenggara Barat. The team that prepared this monograph used the title *Doyan Neda* (the big eater) rather than *Ta Melak Mangan*. In this story, the Sasak people are said to have first emerged as manifestations of jinn, who later mingled with people from Majapahit, Java, and Madura. This may be seen as opposition to the Javanese narrative. The Sasak do not want to be identified as being descended entirely from the Javanese or Madurese. Rather, the Sasak have presented a narrative of being born from something magical, from the djinn of Mount Rinjani. They hold that these jinn ancestors are the source of their power.

#### JAVANESE AS THE LITERARY LANGUAGE OF LOMBOK

Javanese has been the literary language of Lombok, particularly in the island's manuscript tradition (Marrison 1999, Van der Meij 2011). The origin myth of the Sasak people, *Ta Melak Mangan* (*Doyan Neda*), was originally written in Javanese. How did Javanese become positioned as the literary language of Lombok? This is connected to the process through which the nobles of Majapahit fled to Lombok. These nobles, who married local people in Lombok (as described in *Doyan Neda*), thereby gained positions of power. The Sasak people, who were conceptualized as idealizing the power centered in Java, applied a similar system.

The Seleparang Kingdom functioned similarly, as a center of power ruling over smaller kingdoms such as Pejanggik and Langko. In the colonial era, nobles were positioned as district chiefs, and used their power to perpetuate established habits from their regions of origin—including in writing and transcribing manuscripts.

The tradition of writing and transcribing manuscripts was continued by many of the Sasak nobility, both those with the title *raden* and those with the title *lalu*. Manuscripts from Java were transcribed and disseminated, creating a reading tradition known as *memaos*. These manuscripts were originally written in Java. This includes *serat menak*, attributed to R.Ng. Yosodipura I (Fathurrahman 2017). The Javanese language used by these nobles was, over time, transformed into the "high" or "polite" register of Sasak. This had implications for the translation of these manuscripts. Manuscripts such as *Babad Lombok*, *Babad Praya*, *Babad Sakra*, and *Babad Seleparang* were translated by these nobles.

#### THE IDEOLOGY OF THE SASAK PEOPLE

The Sasak people may be divided into two groups, identified variously as the *bangsawan kawula* and the *perwangsa dengan jamaq* (Fadjri 2015) or *bangsawan* and *jajar karang* (Alaini 2015). During the colonial era, the first group (the noble class), were entrusted by the Dutch with the governance of Lombok, while the second group (the commoners) were expected only to serve. Membership in these categories was determined by ownership of rice fields. The first group lived following the cultural awareness of *tindih*, while the second followed the religious awareness of *begame* (Fadjri 2015). *Tindih* was understood as the life philosophy of the nobility, who saw understanding of language (*taoq base*), tradition (*taoq adat*), and religion (*taoq begame*) as central to life (Fadjri 2015). *Begame*, meanwhile, was understood as the life philosophy of the commoners, centering on an understanding of space (*taoq takaq*), tradition (*taoq adat*), and language (*taoq base*) (Fadjri 2015).

What is the difference between cultural and religious awareness? Both are present in the *Doyan Nada* origin myth, in which the Sasak people are described as being created in two phases. In the first phase, the Sasak were created as manifestations of forty jinn, while in the second phase these jinn transformed into human beings and married princesses from three kingdoms (i.e. Majapahit, Java, and Madura). The first was present in the leader known as *penghulu alim*, while the second was present in the *penghulu alim*'s replacement Lebe Seleparang, who married the Princess of Majapahit. Under the *penghulu alim*, the Sasak people lived with a religious awareness; meanwhile, under Lebe Seleparang, they lived with a cultural awareness.

These characters imply different ideologies, with two different subjectivities. The name *Penghulu Alim* (literally translated, devout priest) implies Lombok as a religious subject, while the name *Lebe Seleparang* implies Lombok as a cultural subject. This origin myth, thus, positions the people of Lombok as both religious and cultural subjects. Over time, as the people of Lombok interacted with the Javanese nobility, cultural awareness became considered more important than religious understanding. This situation transformed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as Sasak society became divided into two groups: the *waktu telu* (three-time prayers, heterodox) and *waktu lima* (five-time prayers, orthodox Islam) (Hobart 1983).<sup>2</sup> *Waktu telu* became the religion practiced by the nobility, while *waktu lima* was practiced by the *perwangsa dengan jamaq* (common people). The former followed the ideology of feudalism, while the latter followed the ideology of egalitarianism, with all people being equal and united; in other words, the second group had an ideology that may be defined loosely as socialism.

PUBLICATION OF THE WEST NUSANTARA GOVERNMENT MONOGRAPH AS PART OF THE  
POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

The West Nusantara government monograph was intended to describe and define the Sasak people and their identity. It discusses the history, religion, and social structure of the Sasak, as well as their traditional law. According to this monograph (Depdikbud 1977), the name "Sasak" comes from Old Javanese and means to leave one's place of origin by raft, i.e. people who left Java for Lombok. This etymology identifies an Old Javanese word, rather than a Sasak word. Why must the word "Sasak" be sought in a Javanese-language dictionary, rather than the language of the people themselves? The use of the name Sasak, which comes from old Javanese, implicitly identifies the Sasak people as Javanese people who are living on the island named Lombok. Lombok, thus, is implicitly positioned as part of Java. Not only is the Sasak language positioned as Javanese; the Sasak belief system is positioned as Javanese as well. Initially, the Sasak were Hindu. However, over time, as Islam spread through the archipelago, they embraced the religion—which was taught to them by the Javanese (Jamaludin 2011b).

The monograph also explains that the Dutch first conquered Lombok, as shown by a treaty between the King of Lombok and the Netherlands (Depdikbud 1977). According to Kraan, the Balinese had previously ruled Lombok. After being defeated by the Sasak, the Balinese turned to the Dutch and asked for their support in their war against the Sasak. Fadri (2015) explains the position of the Dutch and Balinese in Lombok. He argues that the Balinese from Karangasem were given the trust of the Dutch. Meanwhile, the Javanese, again according to Fadri, were migrants. This shows that different views exist regarding the position of the Javanese in Lombok, with the government monograph positioning them as Javanese.

This monograph has frequently been consulted by academics and cultural figures, particularly those of noble heritage. Fathurrahman, in his book *Kosmologi Sasak* (The Sasak Cosmology), refers to the monograph when explaining the origin of the Sasak. According to Fathurrahman (2017), the Sasak came from Java, Kalimantan (Banjar), and Sulawesi. He builds his argument based on the conflict and migration that occurred towards the fall of Majapahit. Fathurrahman, as a nobleman and a Sasak cultural figure, reproduced the understanding of Lombok as part of Java. He, to borrow Gramsci's phrasing, functioned as part of the intelligentsia.

OPPOSITION TO FEUDALISM IN THE NOVEL *KETIKA CINTA TAK MAU PERGI*

The nobility has long been the dominant regime in representing the Sasak in Lombok. However, this regime has received considerable opposition. The novel *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi*, for example, depicts a nobleman experiencing defeat in his romantic endeavors. The nobility are positioned as having a high social status, and according to Sasak culture only certain people may marry them. However, the novel attempts to challenge this tradition. In this novel, Ismuhudi is unhappy that his daughter has become the beloved of a nobleman. He harbors a deep grudge against the nobility, and thus refuses to allow his daughter Sahnim to marry her beloved, Lalu Kertiaji.

Setelah cukup dekat, semua orang di rumah itu dapat mengenali siapa yang datang. Dia adalah Ismuhudi dan sekelompok orang yang kebanyakan pemuda. Salah satu pemuda itu adalah Japa. Dengan gerakan kasar, Ismuhudi menerobos masuk dan tanpa dapat dicegah dia mencengkram lengan Sahnim lalu menyeret gadis itu keluar. "Amaq, jangan! Biarkan tiyang menikah dengan kak Kerti!" teriak Sahnim. "Biarkan saya menikah dengannya! Saya telah menjadi miliknya! Jangan amaq... Jangaaaan!" teriak Sahnim histeris sembari terus menahan tubuhnya. Tak lama gadis itu menangis tersedu. Melihat itu, Lalu Kertiaji tak bisa menahan diri. Ia melompat mendekati Ismuhudi

(After they'd come closer, everyone at home could see who had come. It was Ismuhudi, together with a group of youths. One of these youths was Japa. Moving suddenly, Ismuhudi broke through, and without anyone able to stop him he grabbed Sahnim's arm and dragged the girl outside. "Amaq, no! Let *tiyang* marry Kak Kerti!" shouted Sahnim. "Let me marry him! I'm his! No, *amaq*... nooooo!" screamed Sahnim hysterically while pulling away. Soon the girl was crying. Seeing this, Lalu Kertiaji could not hold himself back. He jumped in, went after Ismuhudi). (Khalid 2008, pp. 95-96)

Although Sahnim desires to marry Lalu Kertiaji, her father is unwilling to accept this relationship. The above quote shows Ismuhudi's attitude and treatment of his daughter. Why did Ismuhudi feel so strongly about his daughter marrying a nobleman?

Ismuhudi had been treated unfairly by his family. His mother married twice. His mother's first husband, Ismuhudi's father, was an ordinary man (*jajar karang*), while his mother's second husband was a nobleman. Ismuhudi's half-brothers and half-sisters were given special treatment, while Ismuhudi—the son of a commoner—was not. This laid the foundation for his bitterness and hatred of the nobility. He began to reject everything related to the nobility, including the tradition of *melaiqan*, elopement.

Matanya melotot dan wajahnya memerah hingga tiap orang di ruang itu dapat menakar amarahnya. "Sudah kukatakan, aku tak akan pernah membiarkanmu menikahi anakku. Hey Batarpi! Baiknya side ajar anak side ini agar lebih tahu diri! Kali ini dia berteriak pada Lalu Batarpi. "Tunggu dulu, pak Ismuhudi. Anak side telah sampai di sini di kampung kami. Dia telah menjadi hak kemenakanku sekarang! side tak bisa membawanya pulang!" Lalu Wirehadi balas berteriak. "Siapa yang memberinya hak, hah? "Adat! Adat tak membolehkan side mengambil kembali gadis yang tekah dilarikan hingga batas desa lelaki!" "Aku tak peduli. Aku tak akan pernah membiarkan anakku menikah dengan kemenakanmu itu atau siapa saja dari kampung keparat ini.

(His eyes flared and his faced turned red, such that everyone knew his rage. "I told you I'd never let you marry my daughter. Hey, Batarpi! It's best for *side* to teach him to know his place". He began shouting Lalu Batarpi. "Wait, *Pak* Ismuhudi. *Side's* child has come to our village. She's our right now! *Side* can't take her home!" Then Wirehadi shouted back. "Who gave this right, eh? Tradition! Tradition won't let *side* take back a daughter who's eloped and reached the man's village!" "I don't care. I'll never let my daughter marry your nephew, or anyone from this cursed village!). (Khalid 2008, pp. 96-97)

The tradition of elopement is an important one in Sasak culture, particularly among the nobility, as it is through this tradition that the nobility claim their existence. Ismuhudi shows considerable disregard for this tradition, according to which a parent may not reclaim a child who eloped with their beloved. Ultimately, the marriage does not occur, and Lalu Kertiaji decides to migrate to Sumbawa. He can expect nothing but enmity from the village, from which the nobility have already been driven away.

What caused this shift in the position of the nobility, such that they occupy a lower position than the commoners (*jajar karang*) and must migrate to Sumbawa? The high position of the nobility had been passed hereditarily since the colonial era (Fadjri 2015, Kraan 2009). This system emerged in a feudal system, and was determined by ownership of rice fields. Ismuhudi, meanwhile, was born in a capitalist society, enabling him to purchase the rice fields of the nobility. Nobles such as Lalu Batarpi live in poverty, working as laborers simply to survive. As such, the nobility occupy a low social position.

Pada akhirnya memang kekayaan membuatnya disejajarkan dengan bangsawan, bahkan kadang lebih tinggi. Hal itu membawa pengaruh psikologis pada laki-laki itu, yang konon merasa menjadi orang penting dan terhormat sejak usahanya berhasil hingga merasa harus membatasi ruang gerak dirinya dan keluarganya ketika berinteraksi dengan lingkungan. Baginya, kekayaan berbanding lurus dengan kehormatan maka dengan mudah dapat dipastikan pula, bahwa dia tak akan membiarkan anaknya berteman dekat dengan orang-orang yang menurutnya kurang kaya. Apa lagi jika orang itu adalah bangsawan. Lalu Kertiaji memahami hal ini melalui pengalaman dalam kesehariannya, dimana ayahnya, Lalu Batarpi bekerja menjadi buruh tani di sawah Ismuhudi

(In the end, their wealth made them equal to the nobility, or even of higher. This influenced the minds of the men, who sometimes felt that they became important and respected when their businesses succeeded, such that they limited themselves and their families when interacting with others around them. For them, wealth meant respect, and so they clearly wouldn't allow their children to befriend people they considered less wealthy than them. Especially if those people were of noble descent. This Kertiaji understood from his everyday experiences, when his father, Batarpi, was working as a farm laborer in Ismuhudi's rice fields). (Khalid 2008, p. 17)

Because of their weak economic position, the nobility are compelled to migrate to Sumbawa through the transmigration program. The government decides that, in order to avoid conflict, the residents of one of two villages (Presak Bat and Presak Timuq) must migrate to Sumbawa. The conflict this program is intended to avoid was, in fact, a scheme by the central government.

"You sudah melakukan tugas?"  
"Sudah Pak."  
"Bisa you ceritakan detailnya?"  
"Orang kita mengupah enam orang untuk mencuri di rumah orang terkaya di Presak Timuq."  
"Hasilnya?"  
"Maaf, Pak. Keburu Ketahuan!"  
"Lho! You ini bagaimana? Waktu sudah mendesak!"  
"Tenang Pak. Pencurian memang gagal, tapi isu yang kita buat bahwa yang melakukan pencurian adalah orang Presak Bat, sudah menyebar di kedua kampung. Orang-orang Presak Bat sudah mulai ramai membicarakan. Bahkan sampai hari ini, menurut laporan orang kita di Lombok, isu bahkan sudah sampai di ke Kecamatan Janapria"  
  
("You've done your duty?"  
"Yes, Sir."  
"Can you give me the details?"  
"Our people gathered together six others to steal from the home of the richest person in Presak Timuq."  
"And?"  
"Sorry, Sir. They were found out!"  
"What? What are you doing? Time is of the essence!"  
"Calm down, Sir. The theft went awry, but the rumors we made, that all of the thefts were done by people from Presak Bat, have spread throughout both villages. People are talking about Presak Bat now. Even today, according to the reports of our men in Lombok, that rumor's reached Janapria District") (Khalid 2008, p. 7)

The conflict between these two villages does not emerge naturally. Rather, it is orchestrated by the central government, which was working together with the company Aneka Mineral Indopacific to expand mining in the region. The company sends its people to infiltrate the villages and cause conflict between them. This scapegoating is successful, and the people of Presak Bat ultimately migrate to Sumbawa. There, they begin working the expansive government land.

Who are these Sasak people migrating to Sumbawa? They are not all from Presak Bat, but from villages throughout Lombok. Before the people of Presak Bat travel to Sumbawa, others migrated from various villages. When the people of Presak Bat arrive, these migrants have already established the villages of Maluk and Brang Ode. The narrator offers four possible identities for the Sasak already living in Sumbawa.

Menurut cerita, orang-orang Brang Ode adalah keturunan warga Lombok yang datang ke Sumbawa dengan perahu-perahu kecil, untuk melarikan diri dari sesuatu. Namun begitu, sebenarnya tak ada yang tahu pasti kapan dan dari mana tepatnya mereka berasal. Ada yang mengatakan bahwa mereka merupakan keturunan orang-orang Sasak yang lari ketika kerajaan Karangasem dari Bali menginvasi kerajaan Lombok Barat. Ada pula yang mengatakan bahwa mereka sebenarnya orang-orang yang lari dari sebuah pedukuhan kecil di Bayan, Lombok Selatan, ketika terjadi pemberantasan islam waktu telu yang

lebih dekat dengan animism dan hinduisme oleh para penganut islam waktu lima. Cerita lain mengatakan, mereka adalah keturunan beberapa gembong pencuri yang melarikan diri ketika dikejar polisi dan masyarakat, yang gerah melihat ulah mereka. Cerita versi lain mengatakan bahwa mereka itu orang-orang yang pada tahun 1965 di tuduh PKI, yang melarikan diri ke Sumbawa ketika terjadi pembersihan PKI oleh pemerintah dengan bantuan para tuan guru di Lombok, seperti Tuan Guru Zainuddin dari Pancor dan Tuan Guru Mutawalli dari Jerowaru, Lombok Timur

(According to the stories, the people of Brang Ode were descended from residents of Lombok who had sailed to Sumbawa by small boat, seeking to escape something. However, nobody truly knew when and whence they came. Some said that they were descended from the Sasak who had escaped when the Balinese kingdom of Karangasem invaded West Lombok. Some said that they had actually come from a small village called Bayan, in South Lombok, when the *waktu telu* Muslims, who were closer to animists, were massacred by the *waktu lima* Muslims. Another story claimed that they were descended from thieves who had gone into exile after being hunted by the police and community, furious at their misdeeds. Still another story claimed that they were people who had, in 1965, been accused of membership in the Indonesian Communist Party, and had fled to Sumbawa when party remnants were being hunted down by the Indonesian government and the *tuan guru* of Lombok, such as Tuan Guru Zainuddin of Pancor and Tuan Guru Mutawalli of Jerowaru, East Lombok). (Khalid 2008, pp. 158-159)

However, over the course of the narrative, the narrator tends to depict the Sasak of Brang Ode as followers of *waktu telu*. The residents of Brang Ode are not religious people, as they have never done their prayers (*salat*); indeed, there is no mosque in the village. Nonetheless, they still consider themselves Muslim (Khalid 2008, p. 159). As stated previously, *waktu telu* is generally identified with the nobility (Budiwanti 2000). As such, the Sasak people in Sumbawa may be identified as nobles, what Fadji (2015) terms the *bangsawan-kawula*.

#### ERODING TRADITION AND RAMPANT CAPITALISM

The migration of Presak Bat residents to Sumbawa indicates the strength of capitalism in Lombok. Batu Apung, a company headquartered in Jakarta, acquires land cheaply in Presak Bat. It then creates conflict between Presak Bat and a neighboring village, hiring local residents to cause trouble and thus ease its construction of a factory. The forced separation of Lalu Kertiaji and Sahnim is but one manifestation of the tensions between the nobility and the *jajar karang* (commoners). They are separated because of their different social positions. Ismuhudi, Sahnim's father, occupies a higher economic position, while Lalu Batarpi, Lalu Kertiaji's father, occupies a lower social position. The migration of Lalu Batarpi and his family to Sumbawa indicates a cultural shift, a weakening of the nobility. Ismuhudi rejects tradition, and ultimately reclaims Sahnim after Lalu Kertiaji steals her away.

The novel, thus, represents the power of capitalism in Lombok, an island represented as modern. Whence comes this meaning? Lombok society consists of two groups, both seeking to determine what it means to be Sasak: the pro-tradition group and the *perwangsa dengan jamaq*, identified by Kumbara (2008) as the traditional elite and the Muslim or modern elite. Contestation between these groups began in the 2000s, after regional autonomy was implemented in Indonesia. In 2004, Lalu Serinata became the first ethnic Sasak to be elected governor of West Nusa Tenggara. The following gubernatorial election was won by a *tuan guru* (imam), backed by the *perwangsa dengan jamaq*. The transition from Lalu Serinata to the *tuan guru* indicates a shift in Sasak identity. Lombok had been understood as traditional;<sup>3</sup> it became understood as modern.

As such, *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* may be understood as part of the discourse regarding modern Lombok. Under the *tuan guru*, a new meaning was created for understanding Lombok: simultaneously Islamic<sup>4</sup> and modern. Traditional marriage laws began to be revised, ensuring that they more closely followed Islamic doctrine (Yasin 2008).

The State played an important role in this shift. Zaelani (2005) has shown that most Sasak people are Muslims, and those who had previously followed *waktu telu* teachings have amended their ways and begun following *waktu lima* instead. Jamaludin (2011b) discussed the role of the *tuan guru* in Lombok since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, highlighting their influence, while Kingsley (2011) viewed them as important for keeping the peace in Lombok following the fall of the New Order regime. Hamdi (2011), meanwhile, notes that the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), which had long been divided into two blocs, united to ensure its continued presence in West Nusa Tenggara's politics. When the organization's founder Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid died in 1998, both of his daughters claimed leadership of NW, splitting the organization into two blocs. In another article, Hamdi (2015) shows the failure of the *tuan guru* to unite Lombok society. The *tuan guru* are seen both positively and negatively, and are seen as having extensive networks and knowledge (Fadli 2016). Under their regime (2008–present), thus, Lombok has been brought into the modern world, with considerable emphasis on tourism.

#### THE ECONOMICIZATION OF LOMBOK

This novel illustrates the rise of capitalism in Lombok. Meanwhile, traditional feudalism is marginalized, as shown in *Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* when the noble family of Lalu Kertiaji partakes in the transmigration program. Feudalism is seen as causing many problems, and thereby something to be eradicated. The only people living remaining are the *perwangsa dengan jamaq*, assuming they too are not driven away by the company's tricks. Such a reality can be understood as emerging from Lombok's economicization. Since the 2000s, Lombok has experienced rapid tourism growth. It reached a peak in 2008, decreasing in 2009 (Khalik 2014), and then growing rapidly until 2012. As a result of this growth in tourism, Lombok has become a major tourist destination, being seen as an alternative to Bali.

As tourism has developed, the regional government has sought to promote Sasak culture, even mixing it with Balinese culture to attract tourists. Bali, thus, has played an important role in the development of the tourism sector in Lombok (Yudarta 2016). Traditional music has become mixed with modern music, such as in the *kecimol* genre (Yudarta & Pasek 2017). The government has identified several regions as tourist destinations and administered them seriously (Kanom 2015), using pluralism as a strategy for attracting tourists (Trisnawati 2016).

#### TENSIONS BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

The love story of Lalu Kertiaji and Sahnim has no happy ending. Sahnim marries Japa, even as Lalu Kertiaji pines for her. Lalu Kertiaji returns to Janapria, to this hometown. His uncle, Lalu Wirehadi, tells him what happened to Sahnim. He needs to know: does she still love him as he loves her? As made clear in the novel's title, love remains, even in the form of hope and suffering. Sahnim, meanwhile, falls ill when she learns that Lalu Kertiaji has married Patimah, a woman from Sumbawa.

Sungguh berbeda dengan keadaan Sahnim. Ketika pada suatu hari orang-orang sedesa dengan gembira membicarakan kepergian keluarga besar Lalu Wirehadi ke Sumbawa untuk menghadiri pernikahan Lalu Kertiaji, Sahnim mendadak pingsan tanpa sebab yang jelas, hingga membuat panik orang-orang di rumahnya. Orang-orang itu mengira dia menangis dan kemudian pingsan karena sakit. Tak seorangpun tahu, ada segenggam cinta yang kian hari kian mengambil tempat di hatinya tanpa kuasa dicegahnya. Hingga ketika cinta itu direbut orang lain darinya, dia tak kuasa menahan rasa sakit yang ditimbulkannya

(Truly different was the situation with Sahnim. When, one day, the people of his village chattered happily about Lalu Wirehadi's family leaving for Sumbawa to attend Lalu

Kertiaji's wedding, Sahnim suddenly fainted without any clear reason, making everyone at home panic. People thought that she'd been crying and then taken ill. Nobody knew that, in her heart, there was love, something that nobody could remove. Such that, when her love was stolen by another, she could not bear the pain it caused him).

(Khalid 2008, p. 260)

Sahnim still loves Lalu Kertiaji, as Lalu Kertiaji loves her. However, it is impossible for them to be together, for Sahnim has married Japa and carries his child. Lalu Kertiaji cannot take the wife of another, for he is still bound by tradition. As such, both desire something that cannot be realized. This tension between dreams and reality indicates that the novel remains influenced by romanticism.<sup>5</sup>

"Jangan pernah mendahului takdir. Kita tak pernah tahu apa yang akan terjadi pada kita berdua di masa depan. Barangkali masih ada harapan, tapi barangkali juga memang tak ada lagi harapan. Tapi jangan pernah memutuskan untuk mendahului takdir." Lalu Kertiaji menyeka air matanya. "Selama kita berdua masih hidup, barangkali kita harus tetap berfikir bahwa harapan itu masih ada. Hanya kita tak pernah tahu bagaimana cara tuhan mengatur jalan bagi kita untuk bisa bersama. Biarlah waktu yang bicara."

("Don't you ever forget fate! We never know what will happen to us in the future. Maybe there's still hope; maybe there's none left. But don't you ever forget fate." Then Kertiaji wiped away her tears. "Maybe, as long as we live, we need to think that hope remains. But we can't know God's path for us. Let time tell).

(Khalid 2008, p. 288)

Hoping for the impossible is the romantic ideal presented by *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi*. Lalu Kertiaji and Sahnim choose to challenge feudalism and capitalism through their romanticism. They hope that they can meet and finally come together at some indeterminate time in the future, at some other opportunity. Their union need not be a physical one; it may be an emotional or spiritual one.

## CONCLUSION

The representation of Java in Lombok is constructed through language and myth. The Javanese language is constructed as the Sasak language. Java has also been represented politically through the origin myth of the Sasak people, through manuscripts, and through the monographs of West Nusa Tenggara. The nobility are representative of Java in Lombok. The nobility experience opposition from the *perwangsa dengan jamaq*, and are ultimately represented as escapees or fugitives. The novel *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* positions the Sasak nobility as people who must undergo transmigration. The *perwangsa dengan jamaq* are, in this novel, the representatives of Lombok. The *perwangsa dengan jamaq* embrace capitalism so that they can drive away the nobility. In Nadira Khalid's novel *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi*, the *perwangsa dengan jamaq* are depicted as in opposition to the nobility. The nobility flee to Sumbawa to avoid the conflict that has been orchestrated by the capitalists. As such, feudalism is replaced by capitalism. By implication, Lombok experiences economization, as shown by the factory being built in the village fled by the nobility. In a present-day context, this economization can be seen in the rapid growth of the tourism sector in Lombok. *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi* positions feudalism and capitalism as having the same effects, for both pose obstacles to the love of Lalu Kertiaji and Sahnim. As such, romanticism, a worldview where the unobtainable is idealized (Faruk 2012), is offered as an alternative. This romanticism lies in opposition to feudalism and capitalism. This article only foresees Lombok representation in a single novel, *Ketika Cinta Tak Mau Pergi*, which raised romanticism in ethnic Indonesian literature with Lombok case. Therefore, subsequent research should examine, by expanding the material objects used, the potential romanticism offers to escape the systems of feudalism and capitalism.

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#### ENDNOTES

1. Spirit/Ghost, which is invisible and not imperical, cannot be accessed physically.
2. The phrases waktu telu and waktu lima were first used by Svent Cederoth (Hobart, 1983) to identify the two main belief systems found among the Sasak in Lombok. Waktu telu and waktu lima may be considered analogous to Geertz' concepts of abangan and santri.
3. Here, the word "tradition" is analogous to Geertz' concept of abangan.
4. Here, "Islamic" refers to the religion's five pillars.
5. The concept of romanticism in this article refers to that of Faruk in his book *Novel Indonesia, Nasionalisme, dan Ideologi Emansipatoris* (Indonesian Novel, Nationalism, and Emancipatory Ideology).

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