



Revisiting the theory of *patet* in Sundanese *karawitan*: between academic theory and artistic practice



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ABSTRACT

The ongoing debate surrounding *patet* theory in Sundanese *karawitan* reveals a clear divergence in epistemic perspectives between formal music education and artistic practice. Within academic settings, *patet* is positioned as a theoretical foundation for performing the *pelog-salendro* gamelan system. However, many practitioners argue that the concept does not manifest explicitly in lived musical practice. This study re-examines the theoretical construction of *patet* through an ethnomusicological lens, drawing on practice theory (Bourdieu; Reckwitz) and the concept of embodied musical knowledge (Brinner; McKerrell). Findings demonstrate significant differences regarding *nada pangaget* and *pancer*: academics tend to codify both as fixed elements, whereas artists interpret them relationally, guided by musical intuition and performative context. The analysis confirms that *patet* continues to shape tonal orientation, dominant tones, and affective musical space. This study argues that *patet* should be understood as a dual concept, normative in academic discourse yet flexible in artistic practice, bridging theoretical frameworks and Sundanese *karawitan* performance.



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1. Introduction

The theory of *patet* in Sundanese *karawitan* remains a contested discourse and has yet to reach a conceptual consensus [1], [2], [3]. Within formal educational institutions such as SMKN 10 Bandung, the Music Education Study Program at Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI), and the Karawitan Study Program at ISBI Bandung, *patet* is systematically taught and positioned as a theoretical foundation for performing *pelog-salendro* gamelan [4], [5], [6]. In this framework, *patet* is believed to guide the characterization of *sekar*, *gending*, dominant tones, and tonal centers in musical performance [7], [8], [9]. The concept of *patet*, as described by Kusumadinata (1969) [10], is reflected in the statement: "*Lajang-lajang berdiri tegak diangkasa, karena talinja dipatet atau dipegang teguh oleh orang jang ada dimuka bumi*," illustrating *patet* as a form of control. Soepandi (1976) [11] defines *patet* as the organization of tones within a *surupan*, in which each tone holds a distinct musical function. Meanwhile, the *Kamus Basa Sunda* by Budi Rahayu Tamsyah (1991) [12] describes *patet* as "*anggeran suara dina gamelan*," meaning the foundational point of tonal reference in gamelan.

At first glance, these definitions appear disparate: Kusumadinata (1969) [10] frames *patet* as control, Soepandi (1975) [13], conceptualizes it as a system of tonal functions within a scale, and Tamsyah (1991) [12], defines it as a tonal grounding in gamelan. However, when examined comparatively, all three share a common principle: *patet* operates as a regulating mechanism, specifically, a structure that governs musical organization. Kusumadinata (1969) [10] further associates the term *patet* with *patetan* (also known as *tengkepan*), a technique of bow placement on the *rebab*. The shorter the distance between the *patetan/tengkepan* and the *tumpang sari* (bridge), the higher the resulting pitch [14]. Thus, pitch height on the *rebab* is determined

through *patetan*, leading Kusumadinata (1969) [10], to interpret *patet* as the designation of dominant pitch and the articulation of *lagon*, based on the height of the dominant tonal framework.

However, these theoretical constructions do not fully align with lived musical practices outside formal education. Findings by Sasaki (2007; 2022) [15], [16], demonstrate that many Sundanese gamelan practitioners neither apply nor recognize *patet* in their performance practice. This divergence generates an epistemic dichotomy: academic frameworks regard *patet* as a codified and prescriptive principle, whereas practitioners emphasize intuition, embodied experience, and musical affect [17], [18], [19]. This divide is not merely a stylistic contrast but reflects deeper tensions concerning epistemic legitimacy, authority of practice, and aesthetic grounding in Sundanese *karawitan* [20], [21], [22].

The normative stance that *patet* must serve as the primary performance reference is reinforced through the teachings of Haji Raden Tubagus Koko Koswara (Mang Koko), as conveyed by Maman Suaman (1983) [23] and Pandi Upandi (2011) [24], asserting that performing gamelan outside the boundaries of *patet* constitutes musical error. This perspective strengthens institutional authority over the concept. Yet, when graduates encounter musical realities in professional performance contexts, tension emerges between theoretical doctrine and lived musical practice [25], [26]. Some adhere firmly to the formal conceptualization of *patet*, while others question its relevance after engaging directly with performance traditions [27], [28]. This raises a critical inquiry: is *patet* an operational component of Sundanese musical practice, or does it function primarily as a theoretical construct shaped within academic discourse?

Consequently, *patet* occupies an ambivalent epistemic position systematically institutionalized in formal education yet lacking consistent empirical grounding in practitioner-based performance cultures. This ambiguity situates *patet* not only as a technical musical structure but as an epistemological problem demanding reassessment. Existing scholarship has not directly addressed this issue. Abizar Algifari Saiful (2024) [29] focuses on notation literacy and the *damina* system in Sundanese *karawitan* education; Bunga Dessri Nur Ghaliyah (2022) [30] examines the role of women rebab players through a performativity lens; and Nanang Jaenudin (2024) [31] analyzes *laras degung* through comparative interval measurement with Western diatonic systems. While these studies contribute meaningfully to Sundanese gamelan scholarship, they do not engage *patet* as a musical, epistemological, or pedagogical construct.

This demonstrates a significant research gap, especially considering that *patet* is widely assumed to be a foundational element in both learning and performance contexts. Accordingly, this study centers on the following research question: Does the theory of *patet* function as an actively applied musical principle, or does it operate primarily as a normative construct within formal education? This question is pivotal, as ambiguity surrounding the role of *patet* affects conceptual clarity, pedagogical strategies, performance practices, and epistemic authority in Sundanese *karawitan*. This study offers contributions across three dimensions. Conceptually, it re-examines the definitions and functions of *patet* based on academic sources and empirical findings. Empirically, it compares the application of *patet* across formal education settings and practitioner communities. Epistemologically, it proposes a bridging framework that connects theory and practice by analyzing the role of *patet* in musical structure, dominant tonal function, and performance practice. Through this approach, the study aims to expand scholarly discourse and provide a renewed basis for understanding the role of *patet* within Sundanese *karawitan*.

2. Method

This study employs a qualitative research design grounded in an ethnomusicological framework [32]. This approach was selected because the issue under study is not limited to musical structure, but also involves the social, cultural, and pedagogical dimensions surrounding Sundanese *karawitan* practice. Accordingly, the research does not merely examine *patet* as a theoretical construct established in academic discourse, but also investigates how the concept is interpreted, negotiated, and applied by practitioners in everyday performance contexts [33], [34]. The research focuses on two primary contexts: (1) the academic setting,

represented by the Music Education Program at Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, and (2) the performance domain, represented by community-based traditional arts groups. This dual focus enables explicit comparison between academic conceptualization and practitioner interpretation of *patet*, allowing both convergences and divergences to be systematically identified. A total of eight participants were selected purposively, representing two categories: (1) academics/instructors and (2) practitioners. The informants include Nana Sukarna, Fani Sofani, Indra Setiaji, Toni Setiawan Sutanto, Engkur Kurdita, Soni Tresnadi, Muhammad Luthfi Al Faris, and Diynan Prayuga Sutisna. Their selection was based on expertise, authority, and experience in performing or teaching Sundanese gamelan. Snowball sampling was also applied when initial respondents recommended additional practitioners with relevant perspectives. Fieldwork was conducted over seven months (February-July 2025) through sustained performance observations and repeated in-depth interviews for clarification and verification.

Data were collected using three techniques. First, a literature review was conducted to examine foundational academic texts on *patet*, including “Ilmu Seni Raras, 1969” (Rd. Mahyar Angga Kusumadinata), “Teori Dasar Karawitan Sunda, 1975” (Atiek Sopandi), and “Pembelajaran Gamelan Salendro, 2011” (Pandi Upandi), which are widely used in educational settings [35]. This review served as the basis for reconstructing the theoretical conceptualization of *patet* established in academic institutions. Second, direct observation was carried out during various performance settings, including *kliningan* and Sundanese *wayang golek purwa*. The observations aimed to examine how *patet* functions musically, particularly the activation of tonal regions, selection of *pangaget*, *pancer*, *goongan*, and *kenongan* patterns, and how such musical decisions are negotiated among performers [36], [37]. Attention was given not only to musical structure but also to performative context, social dynamics, and ensemble-specific conventions. Third, semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore conceptual understanding, practical application, and perceived relevance of *patet* in pedagogy and performance. Supporting documentation, including audio/video recordings and musical notation, was collected to facilitate systematic musicological analysis.

Data analysis proceeded through several stages. First, all collected materials were transcribed and categorized into thematic clusters [38], such as theoretical formulations of *patet*, practical implementation, tonal hierarchy, and pedagogical implications. Second, a musicological analysis was conducted on selected *gending*, focusing on: (1) modal analysis of *laras* (salendro and pelog), *patet*, and tonal centers; (2) contour analysis of melodic phrasing and its correlation to formal markers (*kenongan*, *goongan*, *pangaget*, *pancer*); and (3) tonal function mapping, including *Patokaning Laras*, *Panglangen*, *Pangaget*, *Pangrena*, and *Pancer*. A workflow diagram was developed to illustrate the analytical procedure from data collection to thematic coding, musicological analysis, hermeneutic interpretation, and comparative synthesis. Next, the musicological findings were integrated with hermeneutic interpretation to understand how meaning, musical affect, and artistic reasoning inform the application of *patet*.

This perspective positions *patet* not merely as a tonal structure, but as embodied musical knowledge negotiated in specific social and performance contexts. The final stage involved comparative analysis between academic and performance contexts, generating a matrix illustrating how *patet* is taught, codified, operationalized, adapted, or disregarded across settings. This comparison provides the foundation for proposing a refined conceptual framework for understanding *patet* in Sundanese *karawitan*. To ensure research validity, triangulation was applied at three levels: (1) source triangulation across academics, practitioners, and textual documentation; (2) methodological triangulation across literature review, observation, interviews, and document analysis; and (3) investigator triangulation through peer review of analytical interpretations [39], [40]. Member checking was also conducted to confirm the accuracy of the interpretation. Ethical considerations were maintained by informing participants of the study's purpose, data use, and potential implications. Participant confidentiality was ensured through anonymization when requested, and all recordings and documents were stored securely for academic purposes only, without external dissemination unless permitted, see Fig. 1

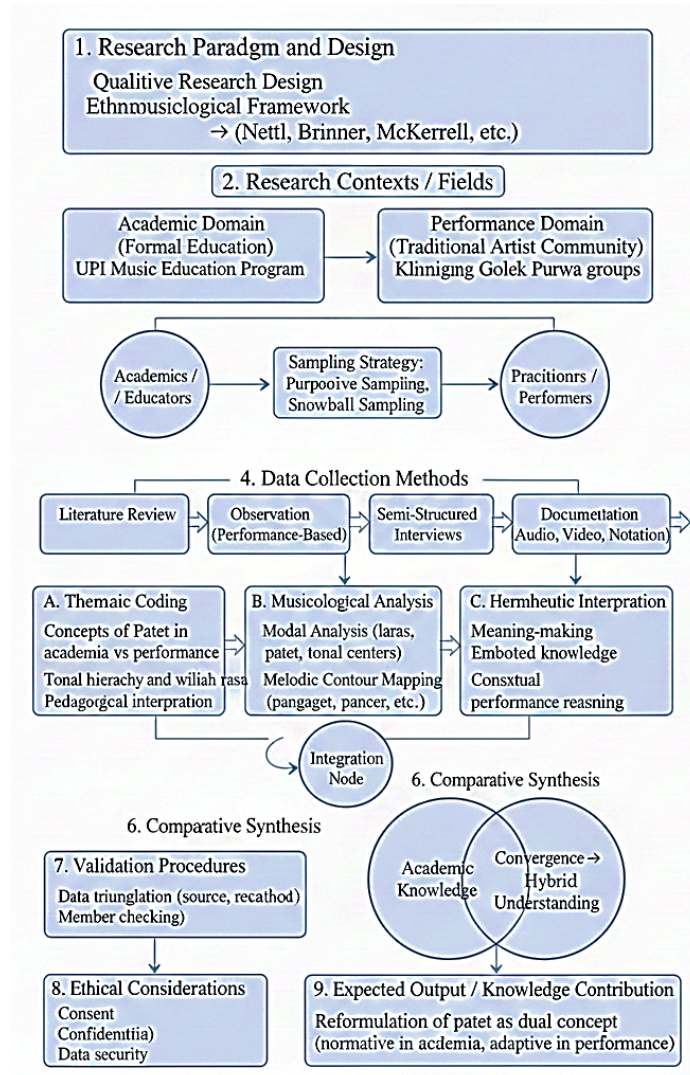


Fig. 1. Research Design Flowchart

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The Function of *Patet* in Sundanese *Karawitan*

3.1.1. Determining the Dominant Pitch

As indicated in the definition above, *patet* is understood as a rule or principle that governs various aspects of musical organization. This implies that the function of *patet* is to regulate musical order and to establish the pitch level of the *lagon* (mode). Kusumadinata (1969) does not explicitly outline the function of *patet* in Sundanese *karawitan*; however, in the opening sections of his works *Ringkesan Pangawikan Rinenggaswara* [41] and *Ilmu Seni Raras* (1969), he consistently states that within any *gending* (composition), there are always certain pitches functioning as *patokaning laras* (reference tones) and *renaning laras* (cadential tones). The precise placement of these *patokaning laras* and *renaning laras* is what defines the *patet*. In detail, Kusumadinata (1969) classifies the *patokaning laras* and *renaning laras* referred to as *pangrena* in the *patet* table for each *patet* as follows:

- *Patet Nem*: *patokaning laras* = tone 1, *renaning laras* = tone 4;
- *Patet Loloran*: *patokaning laras* = tone 2, *renaning laras* = tone 5;
- *Patet Manyura*: *patokaning laras* = tone 3, *renaning laras* = tone 1;
- *Patet Sanga*: *patokaning laras* = tone 4, *renaning laras* = tone 2;
- *Patet Singgul*: *patokaning laras* = tone 5, *renaning laras* = tone 3;

The accurate arrangement of *patokaning laras* and *renaning laras*, as well as the pitch areas to be performed, can be identified using a chart known as the *patet* table, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Patet* Table in Sundanese *Karawitan*

<i>Patet</i>	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3	4

Column I is referred to as *Patokaning Laras*, Column II as *Panglangen*, Column III as *Pangaget*, Column IV as *Pangrena*, and Column V as *Pancer*. In addition to the tones contained in Column I and Column IV (*patokaning laras* and *pangrena*), the tones that can serve as a reference for determining the dominant tones in the performance of a *lagu* or *gending* are those in Column II (*panglangen*). Accordingly, the function of *patet* related to identifying the dominant tones of a *gending* can be derived from Columns I, II, and IV, with the following details:

- The dominant tonal region performed in *patet nem* consists of tones 1, 2, and 4;
- The dominant tonal region performed in *patet loloran* consists of tones 2, 3, and 5;
- The dominant tonal region performed in *patet manyura* consists of tones 3, 4, and 1;
- The dominant tonal region performed in *patet sanga* consists of tones 4, 5, and 2;
- The dominant tonal region performed in *patet singgul* consists of tones 5, 1, and 3;

These tones are then arranged into a composition of *lagu* or *gending* that is performed on the *gamelan pelog-salendro*, based on the structural organization of *gending* according to its *embat* levels. The steps for constructing such a composition are as follows:

- Understanding the *Tabel Patet*.
- Determining the tonal function based on the *Table Patet*.
- Arranging the tones according to the *embat* structure.
- Understanding the variety of *posisi gending* (gending positions).
- Applying the selected tones in performance.

Because the *gamelan* used in Sundanese *karawitan* consists of the *laras salendro* and *laras pelog* tuning systems, the steps for arranging the composition of tones in *gamelan* using the concept of *patet* are discussed based on *patet* in both *laras salendro* and *laras pelog*.

3.1.2. Dominant Tones in Laras Salendro

The *patet* in *laras salendro* as taught by *gamelan* instructors at SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung consists of five *patet*: *patet nem*, *patet loloran*, *patet manyura*, *patet sanga*, and *patet singgul*. This classification is intended to accommodate the characteristics of the various *lagu* and *gending* found in Sundanese *gamelan* performance. Nevertheless, Kusumadinata (1969) states that *patet* in *laras salendro* comprises only three *patet*: *patet nem*, *patet manyura*, and *patet sanga*. The steps for determining the tones to be played in *gamelan laras salendro* are as Table 2.

1. Understanding the Table Patet of Laras Salendro

Table 2. *Patet* Table in Sundanese *Karawitan*

<i>Patet</i>	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3	4

Columns I, II, and IV represent the tonal categories that can serve as *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan*. According to Endah Irawan and R.M. Soedarsono [42], *kenongan* functions as the cadential tone that marks the end of a musical phrase or *gending* and simultaneously represents

the *nada pokok* (primary tone), whereas *goongan* marks the end of a complete musical cycle and likewise serves as the *nada pokok* [43], [44].

2. Determining the Function of Each Tone Based on the Table Patet

Tones that fall under *Columns I, II, and IV* function as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*. Tones in *Column III* serve as *nada pangaget*, while those in *Column V* serve as *nada pancer*.

3. Structuring Tones Based on the Struktur Embat Sawilet and the Tabel Patet

The functional arrangement of tones according to the *Table Patet* is as [Table 3](#).

Table 3. Table of Tone Function Arrangement According to the *Patet* Table

<i>Pangaget</i>	<i>Pancer</i>	<i>Pangaget</i>	<i>Kenongan</i>
Column III	Column V	Column III	Column I-II-IV
<i>Pangaget</i>	<i>Pancer</i>	<i>Pangaget</i>	<i>Goongan</i>
Column III	Column V	Column III	Column I-II-IV

4. Understanding the Variations of Posisi Gending/Songs

The *posisi gending* found in *gamelan pelog-salendro* performance are highly diverse, including the following:

- *Posisi Gendu*: I-(IV), meaning column I functions as *nada kenongan* and column IV as *nada goongan*.
- *Posisi Kulu-kulu*: II-(IV), meaning column II functions as *nada kenongan* and column IV as *nada goongan*.
- *Posisi Banjaran*: I-(II)-I-(IV), meaning column I functions as *nada kenongan*, while columns II and IV serve as *nada goongan*.
- *Posisi Panglima*: IV-(I)-IV-(II), meaning column IV functions as *nada kenongan*, while columns I and II serve as *nada goongan*.
- *Posisi Karangnunggal*: II-(I)-II-(IV), meaning column II functions as *nada kenongan*, while columns I and IV serve as *nada goongan*.
- *Posisi Bendrong*: II-(I)-I-(II), meaning column II functions as both *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan*, while column I also functions as both *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan*.
- *Posisi Samarangan*: IV-(II)-II-(IV), meaning column IV functions as both *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan*, while column II also functions as both *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan*.

In addition to these, there are many other *posisi gending*, and in some cases, certain *gending* or songs do not conform to any established *posisi gending*.

5. Arranging the Tones

For instance, if the selected *posisi gending* is *Gendu* (I-(IV)), this means that the *nada kenongan* are those found in column I, and the *nada goongan* are those found in column IV. Accordingly, the tone sequence to be performed, based on these columns, is as follows:

III - V - III - I - III - V - III - (IV)

Subsequently, one should refer to the *table* to substitute these Roman numerals with the corresponding tone composition for each *patet*, see [Table 4](#).

Table 4. *Patet* Table in Sundanese Karawitan.

<i>Patet</i>	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3	4

Based on the steps above, the composition of notes for the *posisi Gendu* is: I - (IV). The notes to be played in each *patet* in [Table 5](#).

Table 5. Composition of Notes from the *Posisi Gending Gendu: I-(IV)*

Patet	Tone Structure								Song Name
	III	V	III	I	III	V	III	IV	
<i>Nem</i>	3	5	3	1	3	5	3	4	<i>Macan Ucul</i>
<i>Loloran</i>	4	1	4	2	4	1	4	5	<i>Catrik</i>
<i>Manyura</i>	5	2	5	3	5	2	5	1	<i>Sorong Dayung</i>
<i>Sanga</i>	1	3	1	4	1	3	1	2	<i>Cangkurileung</i>
<i>Singgul</i>	2	4	2	5	2	4	2	3	<i>Mitra</i>

The steps described above essentially apply to all *posisi gending* found in Sundanese *gamelan* performance.

3.1.3. Dominant Tones in Laras Pelog

The function of *patet* and the procedures for arranging the tones to be performed in *gamelan laras pelog* are fundamentally the same as those in *laras salendro*. However, because *laras pelog*, according to its tonal conception, consists of seven pitches and is divided into three *surupan*, the names of the *patet* and the arrangement of their constituent tones are oriented toward the concept of *surupan*, which includes *surupan jawar*, *surupan liwung*, and *surupan sorog*. The complete set of pitches and the active tones (*nada pokok*) in each *surupan* within *laras pelog* can be described as follows:

- The active tones (*nada pokok*) in the concept of *surupan jawar* (*surupan 1 = Tugu*, meaning that tone 1 corresponds to *Tugu*) are *Tugu* (T), *Loloran* (L), *Panelu* (P), *Galimer* (G), and *Singgul* (S), whereas *Bungur* (U) and *Sorog* (O) function as auxiliary tones. The relative tones, symbolized by their numerical equivalences, are as follows: *Tugu* = 1, *Loloran* = 2, *Panelu* = 3, *Galimer* = 4, and *Singgul* = 5, while *Bungur* = 3– and *Sorog* = 5+.
- The active tones (*nada pokok*) in the concept of *surupan liwung* (*surupan 1 = Galimer*, meaning that tone 1 corresponds to *Galimer*) are *Tugu* (T), *Loloran* (L), *Bungur* (U), *Galimer* (G), and *Singgul* (S), whereas *Panelu* (P) and *Sorog* (O) function as auxiliary tones. Their numerical equivalents are as follows: *Tugu* = 4, *Loloran* = 5, *Bungur* = 3–, *Galimer* = 1, and *Singgul* = 2, while *Panelu* = 3 and *Sorog* = 5+.
- The active tones (*nada pokok*) in the concept of *surupan sorog* (*surupan 1 = Panelu*, meaning that tone 1 corresponds to *Panelu*) are *Tugu* (T), *Loloran* (L), *Panelu* (P), *Galimer* (G), and *Sorog* (O), whereas *Bungur* (U) and *Singgul* (S) function as auxiliary tones. Their numerical equivalents are as follows: *Tugu* = 3, *Loloran* = 5, *Panelu* = 1, *Galimer* = 2, and *Sorog* = 5+, while *Bungur* = 3– and *Singgul* = 5.

The correspondence between the absolute tones and their relative numerical representations in each *surupan* applies only for vocal notation purposes. The relative tones used for *gamelan* notation employ the standard relative tone system used for *surupan jawar*. Thus, the concept of notation for *gamelan* purposes in each *surupan* is as follows:

- For *Surupan Jawar*, the sequence of *nada pokok* is 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, with auxiliary tones 3– and 5+.
- For *Surupan Liwung*, the sequence of *nada pokok* is 5, 4, 3–, 2, 1, with auxiliary tones 3 and 5+.
- For *Surupan Sorog*, the sequence of *nada pokok* is 5+, 4, 3, 2, 1, with auxiliary tones 3– and 5.

Accordingly, in explaining the theory of *patet*, especially in the context of *gamelan* pedagogy, the relative tones in each *surupan* are expressed using this standard relative notation system. These conceptualizations of *patet* in the three *surupan* should be carefully examined, see [Table 6](#).

Table 6. *Patet* Table in the *Laras Pelog Surupan Jawar*.

Patet	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5	1	2

<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3	4

Table 7. *Patet* Table in the *Laras Pelog Surupan Liwung*.

<i>Patet</i>	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3-	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3-	4	5	1
<i>Manyura/Liwung</i>	3-	4	5	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3-
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3-	4

Table 8. *Patet* Table in the *Laras Pelog Surupan Sorog*.

<i>Patet</i>	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5+
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5+	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5+	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5+	1	2	3
<i>Singgul/Sorog</i>	5+	1	2	3	4

The steps for constructing the *nada-nada* to be performed on the *gamelan laras pelog* are essentially the same as those for *laras salendro*. The only difference lies in the changes to the principal tones within each *surupan*, namely that in *surupan liwung* the *nada Panelu* (3) becomes *nada Bungur* (3-), and in *surupan sorog* the *nada Singgul* (5) becomes *nada Sorog* (5+). In addition, *patet manyura* in *surupan liwung* is renamed *patet bungur*, and *patet singgul* in *surupan sorog* becomes *patet sorog*. Following these steps, the process of *gamelan* instruction in formal educational settings becomes more effective. By simply informing students of the *posisi gending* to be performed, they are able to determine the *nada pangaget*, *nada pancer*, *nada kenongan*, and *nada goongan* for each *patet*. It is therefore unsurprising that the *patet* theory taught at SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung continues to be used as a pedagogical guideline for *gamelan pelog-salendro* performance. In other words, the *patet* theory employed by these three institutions functions, among other things, as a method of *gamelan* instruction. On the other hand, when the function of *patet* as a determinant of *nada-nada dominan* is aligned with its pedagogical application at SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung, discrepancies emerge when compared with the aesthetic practice of *gamelan pelog-salendro* among traditional musicians. The concept of *patet* adopted by these institutions is treated as a fixed rule for determining *nada pangaget*, *nada pancer*, *nada kenongan*, and *nada goongan*. When examining *patet* in relation to its role in defining *nada-nada dominan* as articulated by Kusumadinata (1989), one also finds inconsistencies in how it is implemented in these institutions. According to Kusumadinata (1989), *nada-nada dominan* are those associated with *patokaning laras* and *renaning laras* (*pangrena*), as well as *panglangen*, which correspond to columns I, II, and IV in the *tabel patet* (see Table 1). In contrast, the tones listed in column III (*pangaget*) and column V (*pancer*) are not considered part of the *nada-nada dominan*.

Thus, it is inappropriate to treat *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* as fixed determinants or to codify them as part of the function of *patet* in defining *nada-nada dominan*. This discrepancy has become a point of contention between traditional musicians and formal institutions regarding the understanding of *patet*. According to SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung, in *patet nem* the *nada pangaget* is tone 3, and the *nada pancer* is tone 5; in *patet loloran* the *nada pangaget* is tone 4, and the *nada pancer* is tone 1; in *patet manyura* the *nada pangaget* is tone 5, and the *nada pancer* is tone 2; in *patet sanga* the *nada pangaget* is tone 1, and the *nada pancer* is tone 3; and in *patet singgul* the *nada pangaget* is tone 2 and the *nada pancer* is tone 4. This codification is regarded as absolute, so that any deviation from these prescriptions is often considered incorrect. In contrast, traditional musicians view *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* as relative, determined by the musical needs of each piece. Several musicians' perspectives regarding the presence of *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* in *gamelan pelog-salendro* performance are presented below.

Nana Sukarna (interview, 2025), a *kendang* player and *nayaga wayang golek*, explained that determining the tones that function as *pangaget* and *pancer* depends on the cohesion or habitual

practice (*kekompakan*) of the *pangrawit* in an ensemble. However, he emphasized that this cohesion is the end result of a process that initially requires a rationale for selecting particular tones before they become a shared habit. Similarly, Fani Sopani (interview, 2025), a *rebab* player and *nayaga* for *wayang golek* and *bajidoran*, stated that the basis for determining *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* lies in the consideration of the *rasa* of the piece. Discussing *rasa* is not an easy task, as it is inherently subjective. What feels aesthetically pleasing to one person may not necessarily feel so to another. In the realm of art, the judgment of whether something is aesthetically “pleasing” depends on many factors, and these factors do not reside solely in the object being experienced but also in the subject who perceives it. For instance, a person from Central Java might experience profound aesthetic pleasure when listening to *klénengan* music, as it is part of their daily sound environment. Such pleasure might not be shared by someone from Bali or Sunda, or even by another Javanese who is not accustomed to hearing *klénengan*. Similarly, a Balinese listener might experience intense pleasure from the vibrant sounds of *gong kebyar*, which might not be appreciated in the same way by Javanese or Sundanese listeners or even by a Balinese individual unfamiliar with *gong kebyar*. In this sense, habitual exposure plays a crucial role.

The same holds true in *gamelan* performance when determining *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer*. A sense of aesthetic “rightness” arises from habituation. In other words, determining which tones function as *pangaget* and *pancer* depends not only on theoretical rules but also on the performers' or groups' habituated sense of musicality. Furthermore, field data indicate that *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* are also determined by the type of *garap* or *tabuhan* used. In Sundanese *gamelan*, there are two primary types of *tabuhan*: *gending macakal* and *gending carukan*. When the same *gending* is performed in these two styles, the tones functioning as *pangaget* and *pancer* often differ. This can be observed in the piece *Karangnunggal embat sawilet*, as illustrated below.

A. *Gending Karangnunggal* Performed in *Tabuhan Carukan*

3 -----5	3 N -----2	3 -----5	3 NG -----1
3 -----5	3 N -----2	3 -----5	3 NG -----4

B. *Gending Karangnunggal* Performed in *Tabuhan Macakal*

4 3 4 5	N 2 5 1 2	4 3 4 5	NG 1 3 2 1
1 5 1 5	N 2 5 1 2	4 5 4 3	NG 4 2 3 4

Information: N: *Kenongan*

G: *Goongan*

Gending Karangnunggal performed in the *carukan* form places the *nada pangaget* on the second beat of each measure, which, according to *patet* theory, is *nada 3*, while the *nada pancer* appears on the fourth beat of the first measure and the fourth beat of the third measure, namely

nada 5. In contrast, when the piece is performed in the *macakal* form, the *nada pangaget* on the second beat of each measure differs from its occurrence in the *carukan* form, and its pitches vary. The same applies to the *nada pancer*. Such cases are found in almost every piece. This example essentially clarifies that the pitches functioning as *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* are not absolute but rather depend on the musical-aesthetic considerations of the piece. Harmony with these aesthetic considerations ultimately produces what Fani Sopani referred to as the *rasa enak* (pleasant sense) of the piece. This perspective is echoed by Nana Sukarna (interview, 2025), who stated:

“..... ngeunaan mancerkeun sareng pangaget mah teu jadi pasualan bade sora naon bae oge, asal kahijina ulah bantrok jeung sora-sora anu dipake salaku kenongan jeung sora ngagoongkeun. Oge kaduana eta sora-sora nu ditabeuh teh asal saluyu, anu teu matak nimbulkeun kabingungan nu narabeuh, katut saluyu jeung merenahna sangkan lagu teh ngalagena.”

“Regarding the *tabuhan pancer* and *pangaget*, any pitch may be used, as long as, first, they are not identical to those used as *kenongan* and *goongan* pitches. Second, the selected pitches must be in accordance so as not to create confusion for the performers, and must align with the *rasa* of the piece to achieve a pleasing performance.”

From these statements, it becomes evident that *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* are relative, whereas the *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan* are absolute. This interpretation is consistent with Kusumadinata (1989), who stated that one of the primary functions of *patet* is to determine the *nada dominan* (dominant tones), specifically the *nada kenongan* and *nada goongan*. Kusumadinata (1989) never implied that *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* are absolute. This raises the question: why do SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung hold that *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* are fixed? It is likely that this “absolutization” of *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer* serves merely as a pedagogical strategy. If it is only a teaching method, it would be advisable for gamelan instructors at SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung to clarify to students that these elements are not inherently absolute. This clarification is crucial to prevent the development of rigid dogmas among students in these institutions.

3.2. Determinant of the Nada Dasar

In *karawitan Sunda*, the function of *patet* as a determinant of the *nada dasar* (fundamental pitch) in conventional performance practice can be considered somewhat ambiguous, and many argue that such a function does not exist in Sundanese gamelan practice. However, upon closer examination of the performance concept of *lagu jalan* (narrative song types) within gamelan performance, it can be technically regarded as a process of shifting the *nada dasar*. Consider the following *gending* example, which indicates a modulation of the *nada dasar* based on the concept of *patet*.

1. Posisi Gendu Patet Nem:

3	3 N	3	3 NG
-----5	-----1	-----3	-----4

2. Posisi Gendu Patet Loloran:

4	4 N	4	4 NG
-----1	-----2	-----1	-----5

3. Posisi Gendu Patet Manyura:

5	5 N	5	5 NG
-----2	-----3	-----2	-----1

4. Posisi Gendu Patet Sanga:

1	1 N	1	1 NG
-----3	-----4	-----3	-----2

5. Posisi Gendu Patet Singgul:

2	2 N	2	2 NG
-----4	-----5	-----4	-----3

Information: N: *Kenongan*
G: *Goongan*

Our observation is focused exclusively on the *kenongan* and *goongan* tones (occurring on the 8th and 16th beats), since, as previously noted, the *pancer* and *pangaget* tones are highly relative. When we examine the shifts of *kenongan* tones (Column I) and *goongan* tones (Column IV) from one *patet* to another, these transitions are performed symmetrically. To clarify the process of *patet* modulation, we refer to the *patet* Table 9 presented below.

Table 9. *Patet* Table in Sundanese *Karawitan*.

<i>Patet</i>	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3	4

The aforementioned transition can essentially be regarded as a process of shifting the tonal center, comparable to the concept of modulation or key change in Western music. However, within the context of *gamelan*, such a shift to a different *patet* produces a profoundly distinct *rasa lagu* (musical affect), as though an entirely different composition is being performed. This differs from Western key modulation, where changing the tonal center does not alter the *rasa lagu* but merely changes the pitch level. This difference in *rasa lagu* arises because, in *gamelan*, even a single-step tonal shift produces a relatively wide interval compared to the semitone structure of the diatonic scale, thereby generating a different musical character. This is especially evident when combined with *kepesinden* (female vocal performance). The vocal tradition of *kepesinden*, particularly in *lagu jalan* forms, is characterized by its non-standardized nature and its emphasis on spontaneous creativity (improvisation). Consequently, each *pesinden* will perform a *lagu jalan* differently, even when singing the same piece. Therefore, the tonal range used depends heavily on the individual creative approach of the *pesinden*.

In contrast, when the vocal part is a fixed or composed song (*lagu jadi*), a change in *patet* becomes more readily perceivable as a shift in the tonal center. For example, *Serat Salira* is often performed in *kulu-kulu patet manyura*, commonly known as *kulu-kulu barang*, as well as in *kulu-kulu patet nem*. Moreover, when *lagu jalan* pieces undergo *pindah patet* (patet modulation), they are often given entirely different *gending* names. For instance, *Gendu* performed in *patet nem* is

known as *Macan Ucul*; in *patet loloran* as *Catrik*; in *patet manyura* as *Sorong Dayung*; in *patet sanga* as *Cangkurileung*; and in *patet singgul* as *Mitra*. For this reason, some scholars argue that *pindah patet* should not be interpreted as the functional role of *patet* in determining the tonal center. Nevertheless, in the context of Sundanese *gamelan* performance, even when a *gending* changes *patet* and its name, this process can still be regarded as equivalent to key modulation in Western music. This equivalence is supported not only by the symmetrical nature of the shift, as previously explained, but also by field evidence suggesting that such transitions represent a genuine tonal center change, analogous to modulation in Western tonal practice. For instance:

- *Entog Mulang* can be performed in both *patet manyura* and *patet sanga*;
- *Samarangan patet sanga*, commonly referred to as *Bendrong Petit*, can also be rendered in *patet singgul*, where it is called *Uceng*.
- *Kembang Tanjung*, typically performed in *patet manyura*, can also be rendered in *patet nem*, along with several other pieces that may be shifted to a different *patet* without altering their essential musical character.

A frequent misconception about *pindah patet* is the assumption that every *gending* must be performable in all five *patet*. This overlooks the fact that each melodic range, and especially the vocal range of human singers, has natural limitations. It is considered exceptional for a *pesinden* to render a song in three different *patet* without reworking its melodic contour. Even in Western music, where key modulation is a standardized concept, tonal shifts usually span only one whole step upward or downward, for example, from C to D or to B \flat . By analogy, in the context of *patet*, the average human vocal capacity when singing a *patet nem* piece can typically shift only to *patet singgul* or *patet loloran*. Likewise, melodic instruments such as the *rebab* also have range constraints. This may explain why Javanese *karawitan* recognizes only three *patet*, as the concept of *patet* was likely formulated with vocal and instrumental ambitus in mind. When the concept of *pindah patet* is grounded in these ambitus considerations, field evidence suggests that many *lagu jalan* pieces are, in principle, examples of pure tonal center modulation. For instance:

- The melody of *Gendu* in *patet nem* can also be performed in *patet loloran*, where it becomes *Catrik*;
- The melody of *Cangkurileung* in *patet sanga* can also be performed in *patet manyura*, where it becomes *Sorong Dayung*.
- The melody of *Bungur* in *patet sanga* can also be performed in *patet manyura*, where it becomes *Rancag*.

In principle, any *gending* can undergo a tonal center shift, except for those whose melodic ambitus makes such modulation impractical.

3.3. Reconciling the Concept of *Patet* Between Theory and Practice

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is evident that *patet* does indeed exist within the life of *karawitan*, particularly in the performance of *gamelan pelog-salendro*, both in academic settings such as SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung, and in the practices of professional artists. However, unresolved discrepancies between these two spheres have led to the perception that *patet* is absent in the performance practices of traditional musicians. At its core, this issue is quite simple: it concerns the status of *pangaget* and *pancer*. Academic institutions treat *pangaget* and *pancer* as absolute, whereas traditional artists regard them as relative. From the author's perspective, both views are valid but stem from different points of reference. The practitioners' view is justified because *pangaget* and *pancer* are tied to the expressive demands of each piece, which are shaped by the *rasa musikal* of the *gending*. Interestingly, this understanding is implicitly recognized by the academic institutions mentioned above, though not always explicitly articulated. For example, in *Gending Bendrong*, which according to *patet* theory should have its *pancer* on pitch 5, it is often performed with the *pancer* on pitch 3, a practice that the academic community acknowledges but treats as an exception.

The academic stance on the absoluteness of *pangaget* and *pancer* can also be justified, albeit from the perspective of pedagogical necessity. For novice students of *gamelan* at SMKN 10, UPI, and ISBI Bandung, non-technical aspects such as character, *jiwa* (musical soul), and *rasa lagu*

Kawitan Kendor

Laras : Salendro *Irama : Lalamba*

Pangkat:

NG
 04 32 1 32 4 1 2

FN . 2 2 . 2 2 4 3 2 1 . 2 2 2	FN . . . 3 . . . 2 . . . 1 . . . 4	FN . . . 4 . . . 4 . . . 2 . . . 4	FN . . . 1 . . . 3 . . . 1 . . . 1
FN . . . 1 . . . 1 . . . 4 . . . 5	FN . . . 3 . . . 4 . . . 1 . . . 1	FN . . . 4 . . . 4 . . . 5 . . . 4	FN . . . 3 . . . 4 . . . 1 . . . 1
FN . . . 2 . . . 3 . . . 4 . . . 2	FN . . . 4 . . . 1 . . . 2 . . . 4	P . . . 2 . . . 4	NG . . . 4

By examining such a pitch composition, many scholars assert that the *gending Kawitan Kendur* simultaneously encompasses multiple *patet*, including *patet nem*, *patet loloran*, *patet singgul*, and *patet manyura*. Such an interpretation is primarily based on the distribution of *nada pancer*, which appears on the first and third beats of each phrase, consisting of *nada* 1, 2, 3, and 4, and in some cases even *nada* 5. It is also inferred from the *nada kenongan*, which occurs on the second and fourth beats of each phrase and consists of *nada* 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. From the author's perspective, this interpretation and analysis are inaccurate. If one of the primary functions of *patet* is to determine the *nada dominan*, which implies that the *nada dominan* within a *gending* should indicate a single *patet*, then such an argument that relies solely on the distribution of *nada pancer* is misleading. It is conceptually implausible for a single *gending* to possess multiple *patet*, because *patet* represents a distinct *wilayah rasa musikal* (musical

affective domain), and this *rasa musikal* is intrinsically tied to the characteristic identity of the *gending* being performed. The formula for determining *patet* employed by the author in analyzing *gending lenyepan* and *gending lalamba* is based on identifying the aligned *nada dominan* by referencing the *tabel patet*, rather than relying on the occurrence of *nada pangaget* and *nada pancer*. The procedure consists of the following steps, Table 10.

Table 10. *Patet Table in Sundanese Karawitan.*

Patet	I	II	III	IV	V
<i>Nem</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Loloran</i>	2	3	4	5	1
<i>Manyura</i>	3	4	5	1	2
<i>Sanga</i>	4	5	1	2	3
<i>Singgul</i>	5	1	2	3	4

- Identify the *nada goongan* located on the final beat, which is marked with the symbol “Ng.” In the *gending Kawitan Kendor*, the *nada goongan* is *nada 4*. Next, locate *nada 4* in Column IV (*Pangrena*) of the *table patet*. This reveals that *nada 4* in Column IV aligns with *patet Nem*, thus suggesting that the most probable *patet* of *Kawitan Kendor* is *patet Nem*.
- Identify the *nada kenongan* positioned on every second and fourth *matra* of each line. In the *gending Kawitan Kendor*, the *nada kenongan* consists of: *nada 1* (five occurrences), *nada 2* (four occurrences), *nada 3* (two occurrences), *nada 4* (seven occurrences), and *nada 5* (one occurrence).
- Determine the three most frequent *nada kenongan*, since the determination of the *wilayah nada dominan* is based on two or three dominant pitches, which correspond to *patokaning laras* (Column I), *panglangen* (Column II), and *pangrena* (Column IV). In *Kawitan Kendor*, the most frequent *nada kenongan* is *nada 4* (seven occurrences), followed by *nada 1* (five occurrences), and *nada 2* (four occurrences). Consequently, the dominant *kenongan* tones in *Kawitan Kendor* are *nada 4*, *nada 1*, and *nada 2*.
- Determine the *nada dominan* by combining the *nada goongan* with the most frequent *nada kenongan*. In *Kawitan Kendor*, this results in *nada 4* as the *nada goongan*, together with *nada 4*, *nada 1*, and *nada 2* as the most frequent *nada kenongan*, thereby establishing the *nada dominan* as *nada 4*, *nada 1*, and *nada 2*.
- Match *nada 4* in Column IV, *nada 1* in Column I, and *nada 2* in Column II of the *table*. This alignment confirms that these pitches correspond to *patet Nem*.

Both the first and subsequent steps consistently indicate that *Kawitan Kendor* belongs to the *patet Nem*. Accordingly, when *Kawitan Kendor* is sequenced with other *gending*, it should be combined with those that share *patet Nem*, particularly those with *nada goongan* on *nada 4*. However, *Kawitan Kendor* is often paired with *lagu Badaya*, which has its *goongan* on *nada 2*. In such cases, a transitional *gending* is required to modulate the *patet* and avoid a disjunction in *rasa*, which could create difficulties in performance, particularly for the vocal part or the *rebab*, which are highly dependent on the determination of the tonal center. Another case that, in the author’s view, reflects a misinterpretation of the *patet* concept commonly found among academic circles occurs in *gending rerenggongan* that are categorized as having two *patet*. One example is *gending renggong gancang*, which is often classified as having both *patet Nem* and *patet Manyura* based on the application of the *posisi gending* concept through the *teori patet*. To illustrate this, consider the following notation of *renggong gancang*:

Notation *Gending Renggong Gancang*:

5	5 N	5	5 NG
-----2	-----3	-----2	-----4

3	3 N	3	3 NG
-----5	-----2	-----5	-----1

Information: N: *Kenongan*

G: *Goongan*

The first *goong* is categorized as *patet manyura* because its *pangaget* tone is pitch 5 and its *pancer* tone is pitch 2. The last *gong* is categorized as *patet nem* because the *pangaget* is pitch 3 and the *pancer* is pitch 5. However, when applying the alternative formula employed by the author, the *gending renggong gancang* contains only a single *patet*, namely *patet manyura*. This is because the author's formula seeks to identify the aligned *nada dominan* (dominant tones). In this case, the aligned *nada dominan* in *renggong gancang* are pitches 3, 4, and 1. This occurs because, although pitch 2 appears as one of the dominant tones before resolving to pitch 1, its placement is not in alignment. Consequently, the musical affective space (*wilayah rasa musikal*) is primarily shaped by pitches 3, 4, and 1. Since the tonal field dominated by pitches 3, 4, and 1 corresponds to *patet manyura*, the entire composition is classified under this *patet*. Moreover, when observing the final phrase of the piece functioning as *renaning laras (pangrena)* which corresponds to Column IV in the *tabel patet*, the final tone is pitch 1. Aligning pitch 1 with Column IV also confirms the classification of this *gending* as *patet manyura*. This conclusion is further substantiated by the fact that the *kakawen* sung by the *dalang* after performing *renggong gancang* consistently employs *kakawen paneluan*, which, according to the concept of *patet*, also belongs to *patet manyura*.

Beyond this analytical issue, the author observes a phenomenon of repertoire reduction resulting from the rigid application of the *patet* concept. Because of the requirement to map each *gending* to a valid *posisi gending* according to *teori patet*, many *gending rerenggongan* are excluded from study and remain largely unknown within formal art schools. This is not due to a lack of available repertoire but rather because these *gending* are not officially registered within a *posisi gending* framework that is compatible with *teori patet*. For instance, *gending lobar* and *gending ombak banyu* present such cases. According to the strict rules of *patet*, the *nada-nada dominan (kenongan and goongan)* must appear in Column I, Column II, or Column IV. In pieces like *gending lobar*, however, this alignment cannot be established within the current conceptualization of *patet*. The following notation illustrates the structure of *gending lobar*:

Notation *Gending Lobar*:

5	5 N	5	5 NG
-----1	-----2	-----1	-----3

5	5 N	5	5 NG
-----1	-----2	-----1	-----4

Information: N: *Kenongan*

G: *Goongan*

The *kenongan* tone (N) on pitch 2 and the *goongan* tone (G) on pitches 3 and 4 are not registered within the *posisi gending*, as they cannot be located within the *tabel patet*. This discrepancy raises several theoretical issues, as outlined below:

- When placed in *patet nem*, pitch 2 falls under column II, pitch 3 under column III, and pitch 4 under column IV. According to *teori patet*, this configuration is impermissible since column III may not function as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*.

- When placed in the *patet loloran*, pitch 2 falls under column I, pitch 3 under column II, and pitch 4 under column III. This too is impermissible under *teori patet* since column III cannot function as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*.
- When placed in *patet manyura*, pitch 2 falls under column V, pitch 3 under column I, and pitch 4 under column II. This violates *teori patet* because column V may not serve as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*.
- When placed in *patet sanga*, pitch 2 falls under column IV, pitch 3 under column V, and pitch 4 under column I. This is likewise unacceptable under *teori patet* as column V cannot be used as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*.
- When placed in *patet singgul*, pitch 2 falls under column III, pitch 3 under column IV, and pitch 4 under column V. This configuration is prohibited since columns III and V cannot serve as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*.

Compositions such as *gending lobar* should not be considered devoid of *posisi gending*; rather, they are constrained by the prevailing conception of *patet*, which prohibits the use of columns III and V as *nada kenongan* or *nada goongan*. As a result, such *gending* have been overlooked by the academic community despite their abundance. This raises the critical question: does a composition like *lobar* possess a *patet*? The author asserts emphatically yes because the function of *patet* can still be discerned through the dominant tones. Based on the author's analysis, this *gending* belongs to the *posisi gending* II – (III) – II – (IV) and falls within *patet nem*. Its classification as *patet nem* is justified because its dominant tones are pitch 2 and pitch 4, with pitch 2 functioning as *nada kenongan* (occurring twice) and pitch 4 as *nada goongan*. Although pitch 3 also serves as *nada goongan*, and if combined with pitch 4 could be considered indicative of *patet manyura*, this interpretation is inaccurate, since the *pangrena* (the final tone of the performance cycle) is pitch 4. Because pitch 4 lies in column IV (*pangrena*), this confirms that the *gending* belongs to *patet nem*.

The author further categorizes *gending lobar* as belonging to the *posisi gending* II – (III) – II – (IV) because there exist other *gending* that share this *posisi gending* but belong to a different *patet*, such as *gending palimanan*. The legitimacy of two *gending* constituting a single *posisi gending* can be seen in the case of *posisi gending bendrong*, which consists only of *gending bendrong* and *gending waled*. Thus, *posisi gending* II – (III) – II – (IV) is valid as a distinct *posisi gending*. Regarding the supposed violation of column III, which has traditionally been forbidden as *nada kenongan*, this is precisely the issue the author seeks to critique: a theoretical construct should not rigidly restrict substantive musical elements. Beyond *gending lobar*, there are numerous similar pieces, such as *gending ombak banyu*, which the author classifies under the *posisi gending* I – (II) – III – (IV). This category also includes *gending ombak banyu* (commonly known as *gending surabaya*) and *gending balenderan*. These issues warrant careful consideration, for it is regrettable when such a *gending*, though textually present and understood by practitioners are deemed nonexistent merely due to non-substantive theoretical constraints. Through harmonization, refinement, and even a rethinking of the prevailing academic conception, the author contends that *teori patet* should not remain an “academic exercise” or, to use the author's metaphor, a mere “intellectual onanism.” Instead, it should be recognized as a legitimate body of knowledge that can actively inform the practice of *gamelan pelog-salendro* [45]. As for the term *patet* itself, which remains unfamiliar to many practitioners, the author views this not as a conceptual difficulty but merely a matter of adequate socialization and dissemination.

4. Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that the theory of *patet* in Sundanese karawitan cannot be understood solely as an academic construct, as it remains grounded in musical practice despite the differing modes of application between academic discourse and artistic performance. The results reveal an epistemic divide: scholars standardize *nada pangaget* and *pancer* as fixed reference points in pedagogy, while practitioners interpret them relationally, shaped by musical sensibility, experiential familiarity with *gending*, and performance context. This divergence explains the prevailing perception that *patet* is absent in everyday practice; however, the present study demonstrates that *patet* continues to operate as a structural system, though

expressed more flexibly and contextually in practice. The study's primary contribution lies in clarifying *patet* as a dual-natured concept: normative in formal education, where it functions as a pedagogical framework, yet adaptive in artistic practice, where aesthetic judgment, intuition, and embodied experience play a central role. Accordingly, this research not only reinforces the continuity of *patet* as an integral component of Sundanese *karawitan*, but also offers a conceptual foundation that enables methodological dialogue between theory and practice. Nevertheless, the scope of respondents and the analytical focus remain limited. Future studies should therefore broaden the inquiry, expanding the diversity of participants and widening the observation of musical practices, including contemporary phenomena such as digitalized learning and shifting artistic ecosystems, to strengthen the validity, relevance, and applicability of *patet* within the evolving landscape of Sundanese *karawitan*.

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Declarations

- Author contribution** : The first author initiated the research, conducted observations and interviews, processed the data, and reviewed literature related to the topic. Meanwhile, the second and third authors assisted with the data analysis. The two researchers shared the task of describing the findings and discussion.
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