

COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM IN TRADITIONAL JAVANESE GAMELAN MUSIC AND SOME CHANGING MUSICAL AESTHETICS

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Abstract

Colonialization by the Dutch in Java (Indonesia) brought a dream for the natives so that gamelan – traditional music – could be positioned on a par with European classical music. The natives (colonized) view Western classical music as having the highest peak of aesthetic achievement because it is written, formal, successfully formulated, calculated (metronomic), and relies on logic. Meanwhile, gamelan music, on the other hand, develops informally, unwritten, and undefined and depends on the deepest feelings of the musicians. Efforts to equate gamelan with Western music are full of political interests so that Indonesia is not colonized through its culture. The culmination was establishing a formal gamelan school (imitating a similar style of music school in Europe). However, this brought another problem, and the gamelan school resulted in gamelan music having to be written, formulated, calculated, and formalized. This has changed the aesthetics and character of European-style gamelan music, from the felt piece (felt time) to the logical piece (clock time). As a result, in gamelan music, ‘academic art’ was born with a neat, complex impression and supposedly modern characteristics. This study uses a historical approach to read past events as data that are woven and interpreted in the present. This historical approach is combined with an ethnomusicological approach to see how music is contextualized with cultural polemics, political intrigue, and means of resistance to colonialism. The result is that critical notes regarding the efforts to Europeanize gamelan music have left many problems until now.

Keywords

Gamelan, Colonialism, Academic Arts, Felt Time/Clock Time, Formal/informal.

INTRODUCTION

Eran Guter and Innbal Guter, through their article titled *Susanne Langer on Music and Time* (Guter & Guter, 2021), try to criticize Langer's work *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art* (1953) view regarding the main appearance of music, which involves a dichotomy between two kinds of temporality: felt time and clock time. Langer's proposition about the ‘strong suspension thesis’ is that, in fact, through music, there is an attempt to swallow ‘clock time’ into ‘felt time’. The thesis of a strong suspension for Eran and Innbal Guter is too exaggerated and misguided, considering that enjoying music is not always focused on the perceived issue of time. Still, materials and other elements are often the focus of attention. This research does not attempt to continue the polemic. Still, based on Langer's views and the critical notes provided by Eran Guter and Innbal Guter, it motivates researchers to conduct further investigations of the phenomenon of music in Indonesia, especially gamelan, which in its history of development has significantly been influenced by European style, thus changing its character from ‘felt time to clock time’.

Langer's strong suspension thesis explains that music is virtual time, in which there is a change from actual reality (or clock time) to feeling reality (felt time). However, in this context, I take the words ‘clock time’ and ‘felt time’ out of the general sense used by Langer, Eran and Innbal Guter above. To not widen, I categorize the type of music into two important epicentres. The first is music that bases

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its musical aesthetic achievement on a 'clock time', like Western Classical music, through its notation and performance formality. In that context, I use the word 'clock time', or metronomic music, where the aesthetic measures have been successfully formulated, written down, or read. Second, music that bases its musical aesthetic achievement on "perceived time," namely music that initially did not recognize the notation system. The way of playing it relied on musical communication and interaction, linked to the deepest feelings of the musicians. The pinnacle of the beauty of this type of music is presented within the framework of the informality of the performance. In this case, I use the word "felt time," music that relies on the "inner melody" of the musicians (Sumarsam, 1975), so that musical aesthetics are often undefined and cannot be truly measured.

I took a case study of gamelan (or karawitan) music in Java, Indonesia. Gamelan works (called 'gending') in Java initially became a type of 'felt time' music. However, due to the influence of European culture, especially the Netherlands through colonialism, gamelan music began to recognize the notation system and the establishment of a formal school of gamelan music. This affects the effort to make: 'the unscientific becomes scientific,' 'the unwritten becomes formulated,' 'the untheorized becomes theorized,' and 'the unwritten becomes written.' Moreover, this effort was based on vital political interests to show the Dutch, who colonized Indonesia at that time, that traditional music in Java could also stand on par with European classical music. By notating and building a musical school, an aesthetic shift occurred, giving rise to a new variant style, namely 'academic art,' which is neat, measured, and calculative. As a result, gamelan works change from 'felt time' to a time that is determined, formulated, and measured ('clock time').

METHODS

Because it is related to the past, this research uses a historical approach (Grassby, 2005) by reading in depth the various existing references. The references are compiled and analysed, then searched for their connection in one whole mind. In addition, critical reading is carried out by conducting strict verification so that existing references are not accepted as absolute truths but still allow the opening of new discourses and even criticism (Klecun & Cornford, 2005). An ethnomusicological approach is also used to determine how musical events are used, interpreted, and lived by the community that owns them. It is based on the view that music is a bridge to seeing more complex cultural events, including politics (Titon, 2015).

Intense observations were made (Ciesielska, Boström, & Öhlander, 2018) to see how musical tendencies (in this context, gamelan) developed and, more importantly, were institutionalized in the shape of formal art schools. To strengthen the data obtained, interviews were conducted with people considered competent. Observations and interviews are an essential part of efforts to check and balance so that the information obtained is balanced and can be accounted for (Baker, 2006). The result is a critical note made by the researcher. The critical note is a form of evaluation, recommendation, benchmark, and correction of a series of historical events in building the milestones of musical science (gamelan) in Indonesia, and Java in particular, so that it looks equal to Western classical music.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

COLONIALISM AND EUROPEANIZATION OF GAMELAN MUSIC

In 1913, Soewardi Soerjaningrat, later known as Ki Hadjar Dewantara, a Javanese intellectual (who later became the first education minister after Indonesia's independence), wrote an article titled *Als ik een Nederlander was* (translation: if I was a Dutchman) in 'De Express' newspaper, July 13, 1913 (Ferary, 2021). The article contained criticism of the Dutch government, which colonized Indonesia, regarding the necessity that the colonized country should participate in celebrating the centenary of Dutch independence. Ki Hadjar questioned how it was possible to celebrate independence while they (the Netherlands) were still colonizing other countries (Notosudirdjo, 2014: 133). Ironically, the celebrations and parties had to be financed by the money from colonizing Indonesia. Ki Hadjar considered it inappropriate and a disgraceful insult. Ki Hadjar asked the Netherlands to liberate their country

from colonialism. However, according to that article, Ki Hadjar was also considered a dangerous figure by the Dutch. The article was a form of open political challenge and attack, threatening the existence of the Dutch in Indonesia (Radcliffe, 1971).

As a result of the article, Ki Hadjar received a sentence from the invaders in the same year. He was exiled to the Netherlands (Kelch, 2014: 16). He was 24 years old at the time. From his exile, Ki Hadjar realized that the struggle against colonialism was too difficult to carry out through direct politics. This was due to the significant influence and power of the Dutch. He also switched from a practical political movement to fighting through culture, especially music (Notosudirdjo, 2014: 134). In exile, in 1916, Ki Hadjar created a musical work titled *Kinanthi Sandoong* (Nurhayati 2019). This work is quite interesting, not only in the context of sound alone but also in the discourse and polemics behind it. The name *Kinanthi* itself is a song (singing) in gamelan that Pakubuwana created (King of Islamic Mataram in Java) (Wangsa, Suyanto & Sulisty, 2019). Ki Hadjar created the musical work with a definite political purpose. Ki Hadjar believes that to fight Dutch colonialism, especially in the context of culture, one must show that indigenous culture (music) is equivalent to Dutch and European culture in general (Irwin, 2021). From the start, indigenous intellectuals believed that the Dutch, who were part of Europe, had an advanced degree of culture and modernity, which was achieved through classical music (Hatch, 1980: 39).

Western classical music is considered the highest peak of musical culture because it is performed with formality and can be explained comprehensively, especially with an established notation (Strayer 2013). So that indigenous culture, especially Javanese, can be seen as similar to European classical music, Ki Hadjar tried to make a musical transformation through the work of *Kinanthi Sandoong*, originating from traditional gamelan music (Sutton, 1987), into a newer, unique, creative & more importantly, modern. The piece was made for soprano and piano. Uniquely, the piano patterns are based on the playing of Javanese gamelan instruments, namely gender (metallophone instruments, how to play them using two hands holding sticks wrapped in cloth), with pentatonic tones (Nuzul & Mitrayana, 2017). Gender belongs to the category of instruments with a high level of difficulty (Muskita & Purwanto, 2021); on the one hand, it is obedient to the main melody; on the other hand, it is full of improvisation. In presenting the work, Ki Hadjar also uses a specific notation and the concept of harmony with musical rules in the style of European music (Notosudirdjo, 2003). Meanwhile, the vocalist – in traditional gamelan music called *sindhèn* (Susilo, Sumarsam & Becker 1987) – still adheres to the concept of Javanese musical tradition.

Kinanthi Sandoong became the trigger for resistance to colonialism through music. This work combines Western and indigenous images in harmony, directly intending to reveal that traditional Javanese music can compete at a global level, has a modern character, and is not inferior to the music of the colonial nation. *Kinanthi Sandoong*'s piece is not without notes. In *Wederopbouw* magazine (1920), an anonymous writer criticized *Kinanthi Sandoong* as a piece that was too strongly influenced by European music (especially the use of the piano), thus destroying the original character of Javanese music. It was also mentioned that Ki Hadjar had taken political issues in his musical works too far. The impression that emerged was an attempt to Europeanize traditional Javanese music, considered very concerning. *Kinanthi Sandoong* has become a hot topic of discussion, and even 'Nederlandsch Indië oud en Nieuw' specifically published the sheet music or notation (R. F. S. Notosudirdjo, 2014: 134). The incredible response to *Kinanthi Sandoong* (both criticism and praise) encouraged Ki Hadjar to make a similar move after returning from exile in 1919.

In Indonesia, specifically in Yogyakarta, Ki Hadjar built a formal school called *Taman Siswa* on July 3, 1922 (Towaf 2017). *Taman Siswa* is a school devoted to indigenous people and makes Javanese music lessons (gamelan) an essential part of the curriculum (Dewantara 1967b). *Taman Siswa* combines European and Javanese educational styles. In such a context, there is an effort to make gamelan dialogue with the academic world, thus enabling movements to study gamelan music scientifically (Irwin, 2021). Upon his return from exile in the Netherlands, the spirit of fighting for traditional Javanese music to be on par with European music became more intense. Ki Hadjar wrote a lot of his ideas about the importance of making gamelan the national music of Indonesia. In one of his books titled *Wewaton Kawruh Gendhing Jawi* (1936b), Ki Hadjar explained the equivalence or similarity of playing gamelan with church music in Europe; together, they form a high spiritual power.

Lindsay (1991: 25–26) notes Ki Hadjar's movement to elevate the level of gamelan music as a form of his respect for established European-style education. Especially in the world of the Javanese palace, the gamelan was treated with respect, and appreciation also emerged from the Dutch colonialists, who considered gamelan (works in the palace environment) to be beautiful and '*adi luhung*' (noble/honourable) music (Pranoto, 2013). The view that places gamelan as "noble music" is the basis used by Ki Hadjar to show that music is as high and beautiful as European music (Becker, 1980: 27). Furthermore, there is an attempt to theorize gamelan. Ironically, Ki Hadjar uses the concept and perspective of Western music (e.g., in determining the fundamental tone of gamelan works that are equated with the concept of tonic in European music). This fact drew criticism from many indigenous musical intellectuals, some of whom were Purbacaraka, Najawirangka, and nationalists such as Armijn Pane and Tan Malaka (Sumarsam, 2003: 169–170). They thought that Ki Hadjar did not have adequate knowledge of gamelan, so it seemed that he was forcing gamelan to look like European music. Such political ambitions are seen as too far-fetched.

These criticisms did not decrease Ki Hadjar's enthusiasm for "Europeanizing" gamelan music. By using the rules of Western music in reading gamelan, Ki Hadjar believes that the Indonesian people will not be inferior in the arena of musical culture in the world because they use the same musical system. Ki Hadjar emphasized that gamelan music could be a great "nation's dress" (Dewantara, 1936a: 42). Ki Hadjar's steps trigger similar events in other Javanese traditional arts such as dance and wayang kulit (shadow puppet). The discourse of gamelan music as a noble art has been going on for a long time, especially in the life of the Javanese court; gamelan works are believed to be music that can give rise to beautiful, refined, elitist feelings so that they deserve to be presented at important formal events (Kartomi, 1990). The cult of the dignified gamelan is a symbol of the Javanese in positioning himself as the owner of a noble and high culture (Florida, 1987: 3). Ki Hadjar only tried to continue the symbolization of gamelan works to be more open with the discourses and polemics he created.

Because of his position as an essential person in the political arena in Indonesia, Ki Hadjar Dewantara's views are always heard and debated (Dyangga Pradeta, 2018). One that is quite phenomenal is his idea that '*kebudayaan nasional bangsa Indonesia adalah berasal dari puncak-puncak kebudayaan daerah*' (the national culture of the Indonesian nation is derived from the peaks of regional culture) (Vickers & Fisher 1999), and of course, what has been considered the pinnacle of regional culture is Java with its gamelan music works (Dewantara, 1967a). Ki Hadjar made a conflicting proposal for gamelan music to be used as Indonesian nationalist music, accompanying the state anthem (Dungga & Manik, 1952: 32, 87). Of course, this proposal drew a lot of criticism from other indigenous intellectuals because they considered Ki Hadjar too ethnocentric to Java without considering hundreds or even thousands of different musical cultures in Indonesia.

Although there were many oppositions, Ki Hadjar's views also received a positive response from other musical intellectuals and thinkers. Some of them are G.J. Resink (1941), Brandts Buys-van Zijp (1941), and Dajoh (1948). They unanimously state that gamelan is the most respected music in Indonesia, listened to by most Indonesians, and has the same quality as Western music. Therefore, it is natural for gamelan to be called the collective music of the Indonesian people. Despite the discontinuance of gamelan music as Indonesian national music, the discourse to raise the level of gamelan to compete with European music has already surfaced and received the attention of many indigenous intellectuals. This triggered the effort to establish a particular school for learning gamelan music, which later gave birth to the '*Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia*' (KOKAR) (Indonesian Karawitan Conservatory) in Surakarta in 1950. The school was at the high school level; the teachers were gamelan maestros (musicians) brought in from the Surakarta Kasunanan Palace. The movement to establish a gamelan school in Solo also occurred in several areas in Indonesia, such as Surabaya, Makassar, Denpasar, and Yogyakarta.

What happened then becomes interesting to review; with a formal school specifically for gamelan, there is an effort to make gamelan work as "science." As a result, there is an attempt to theorize it, write it down, and make it scientific. The nature of the world of education is that everything must be measurable, calculated, and accounted for (Gödek, 2004). In such a context, there has been a transfer of the vehicle for gamelan music from the unwritten to the written, from the annotated to the notated, from the undefined to the formulated, and from the unmeasured to the measurable. This study

emphasizes that European music – although not all – moves according to clock time, that is, a determined time (metronomic, calculated). Meanwhile, gamelan music is the opposite; it is ‘felt time’, or the time that is felt. Western music relies on its metronymic character (Bonus, 2010), in which tempo and rhythm are the primary references; going out of bounds is considered wrong. Meanwhile, in gamelan music, both loudly and slowly, it becomes very personal, entirely relying on the musician's feelings, depending on the extent to which the musician (called ‘pengrawit’) can process it. Between one musician and another, it can be very different, based on the ability and depth of the musical side they have (Animawan & Koentjoro, 2021). That is, if Western music strives to become a true/right work (both in terms of playing, technique, musicality, and tempo calculation), then gamelan music is more towards beauty, where right and wrong are relative.

In the terminology of Western music, of course, this is considered wrong. Because it is not following the rules of what is written and read. But that calculative truth becomes "grey" in gamelan works. The written musical notation cannot describe the event with precision or accuracy. For example, the length and the shortness of the beat of the gong cannot be mathematically calculated (calculated by the concept of a metronome), all of which come back again, relying entirely on the musician's deepest musical feelings. It must be acknowledged that the formulas and theorizations in playing gamelan work play a role in bringing the events of the felt time to clock time. Today, many young people play gamelan based entirely on what they read, namely the notation in front of them, not on the musical sense built between players (Rusdiyantoro, 2018). When gamelan is institutionalized in the form of formal schools, finally playing gamelan must have defined parameters (in other words, standardized-mathematical). It is essential to judge the extent to which students can play gamelan works; the assessment measure is about right and wrong. The more they make mistakes in playing the gamelan instrument, the lower the score they get; they might even fail. The mistakes are calculated and then added up (clock time). Whether the unity of the piece brings out the beauty (felt time) is another matter.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DUTCH JAVANOLOGISTS ON THE DOCUMENTATION OF JAVANESE GAMELAN MUSIC

Before establishing formal gamelan educational institutions, the Javanese court had already initiated a way of learning gamelan using notation, which had never happened before. The use of notation has not been as massive as when the musical institution was established. The Dutch colonization of Indonesia, and Java in particular, did not always proceed in an antagonistic manner. Through a long history, especially in the context of the change of king's power through rebellion and war, the Netherlands has a role in stabilizing power within the palace walls (Sudardi & Istadiyantha, 2020). As a result of this role, the Netherlands had a harmonious relationship with the king and the inhabitants of the Javanese palace for a certain period. This harmonious relationship placed several Dutch people who paid more attention to Javanese culture. They were referred to as Dutch Javanologists, generally maintaining compatible relations with indigenous intellectuals to conduct seminars, research, publishing, and holding traditional performances, one of which is gamelan or karawitan (Kraemer, 1932).

The Dutch Javanologist was also actively involved in intellectual associations focused on Javanese culture, namely the ‘Java Institute’ and ‘Cultuur-Wijsgeerigen Studikring’. This unique relationship by Furnivall (1939) is part of the European community's efforts to expand their interest in cultures outside of themselves. Furthermore, there was a movement by the Dutch government so that its officials in Java would be able to communicate using the Javanese language and learn more about Javanese culture (Sumarsam, 2003: 49). This is important as part of a policy-making strategy not to create rejection from the natives they colonized. As a result of this suggestion, they tried to build close relations with indigenous intellectuals who had adequate knowledge of Java. The trigger point began with the birth of the ‘Het Instituut voor de Javaansch Tall te Soerakarta’ (a kind of institute or Javanese language school in Surakarta). At that school, the prospective Dutch officials did learn not only Javanese but also various other aspects of culture, such as art, and gamelan was one of the essential materials. Several officials (scholars) graduated from the school, namely J.F. Gerick, T. Roorda, Cornets de Groot, F.W. Winter, and J.A. Wilken.

Through the Javanologist, an attempt was made to document or record gamelan works. The activity was spearheaded by C.F. Winter (son of F.W. Winter), who documented Javanese songs (called 'tembang') using Western beam notation. He also edited a book by his father, titled *Tembang Jawa Nganggo Musik: Kanggon ing Pamulangan* (Winter 1883). Beam notation is used because the ideal note formulation for gamelan music has not yet been found (Perlman 1991). However, the documentation of gamelan music triggers a prejudice that musical works from high cultural castes should be recorded and written down, even though most of the gamelan plays (especially outside the palace walls) are performed orally, without notation. Sumarsam (2003: 151) explains that the mid-19th century to the early 20th century was a period of rapid development of colonial cultural power and the introduction of aspects of European life, such as European-style education, modern scholarship, research, documentation, and so on.

The introduction of writing, including gamelan music notation, is needed as an essential part of efforts to take care of gamelan works not to be lost. The Netherlands taught its scholars not only to do documentation but also to know more about the intricacies of the concept and workings of gamelan musical works, which later led to the birth of theories about gamelan works such as determining the *pathet* (modus, or strongest tone), *balungan gendhing* (tones that are the main reference), and so on. Beam notation is seen as incapable of 'taking a picture' of gamelan works. Therefore, there have been attempts to produce new types of notation, which in this case required a long time and process. Rusdiyantoro (2018) calculates at least eight notation systems found for recording gamelan works. The notations are 'kadipaten', andha, soerya poertran, jayadipuran, sariswara, rante, sulardi's figure notation, and kepatihan'. In this context, it will not be explained how chronologically the notations were found, considering that it will require a long description. However, the important point to be conveyed is that the emergence of these notations was influenced by the then already called Western style of education, which places notation as an essential aspect of musical works. In addition, once again, the view that emerged from indigenous intellectuals about the existence of gamelan notation is to legitimize the status of gamelan as 'high art,' which is equivalent to European music.

Of all the notations above, the one that still survives and is used today is 'kepatihan'. The emergence of the notation was triggered by an attempt to identify the 'main song' (the primary tones, called 'balungan gendhing') to be recorded and played (Supanggih, 1990). This event occurred at the beginning of the 20th century when Javanese cultural life reached its culmination, marked by research on gamelan, wayang, dance, and various things related to Java (especially within the palace walls). The 'kepatihan' notation is in the form of numbers, namely 1,2,3,4,5,6,7. Each number indicates a tone; the lower the number, the lower the tone, and vice versa. Gamelan consists of two barrels, namely pelog and slendro (Widodo, 2015). For pelog, the tones used are 1,2,3,4,5,6,7; while for *slendro*, it is 1,2,3,5,6,i (initially, the i tone is written as 7, but because it is an octave with a low 1 note, the 1 with the top dot is used, and at the same time distinguishes it from the 7 in the *pelog* barrel). In this context, the notation's musical material (tone of voice, timbre, and difference in tuning) will not be reviewed. The kepatihan notation shows that efforts to make gamelan works can be read and written can be said to be successful. This aligns with the mission that was launched so that gamelan can be interpreted as having a position like Western music.

Although the kepatihan notation was born in the palace, it soon spread to the community massively. Sindusawarno (1960: 61) states that kepatihan notation was invented in 1890, with a writing style similar to the number notation in Western music (one of which emphasizes the heavy tone pattern on the first beat). Gradually, the kepatihan notation was perfected with the division of song sentences (called *gatra*). However, the solfege system in Western musical notation is still used, such as using a dot above a note that indicates a high note (one octave of the same tone that is lower) and a dot below a that indicates a low tone. There is a dot between tones (or like the letter o) that indicates the pause between tones. On the one hand, the use of kepatihan notation is considered very helpful in learning gamelan, playing gamelan works, doing documentation, and preserving gamelan works. On the other hand, since the use of the notation, there has been a significant change in the perception of the latest gamelan works. The shift from spoken to written means has consequences for gamelan works, which are initially presented by relying on musical communication and interaction between players or promoting feelings (I call felt time, musical time that is felt), then become wholly logical and measurable (I call clock time, specified time).

ACADEMIC ARTS AND A CHANGING MUSICAL AESTHETICS

The establishment of the Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia (KOKAR) in 1950, followed by the Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia or ASKI (Indonesian Karawitan Art Academy) in 1964 in Surakarta, showed a serious effort by indigenous intellectuals to make gamelan institutionalized, taught, and "looking for" the content of musical concepts and theories in it. Conservatory comes from the word "concert," which is an effort to make gamelan-like Western music, able to perform independently or in concert, which has never been found before in the history of gamelan. Thus, one of the essential points is to form a curriculum for learning gamelan in a European style. In academia, any way of learning must be accounted for and measured. Therefore, learning to play the gamelan with oral tradition (commonly called *kupingan*, or *getok tular*) cannot be done. Learning without text or writing allows for different perceptions from one musician to another. Thus, to learn gamelan, one must use notation that can be read, and understood equally, and minimizes misinterpretations of gamelan works.

Not only through the notation that is considered ideal in learning gamelan, but the technical construction of playing gamelan is also changed. Rahayu Supanggah (2002) says that *pengrawit* (gamelan musicians) are prohibited from placing gamelan instruments on the floor but must be on the stage. The position of the gamelan player is then equal (or equal in height) to that of the guests and spectators sitting on chairs. If it is a dance performance, the position of the gamelan cannot be lower than the stage for dancers. Ki Hadjar even suggested that the gamelan be played in the style of European classical music, made higher. The players no longer sit cross-legged but use chairs like Western classical music, complete with a music stand book (a place to put scores). Unmitigated, the costumes or clothes of gamelan players that have been identical to *beskap* and *blangkon* (traditional costumes) must be replaced with suits, ties, combed hair, and shiny shoes (Setiawan, 2021: 6). Everything is done to elevate the level of gamelan to become its 'adi luhung' character (translation of the word classic, Western).

The name 'karawitan' does not explicitly mention gamelan, but dance, even the art of *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet). Likewise, when the ASKI was born in the same city (Surakarta), a graduate majoring in dance and puppetry was awarded the title "S.Kar," which means 'Sarjana Karawitan' (Bachelor of Karawitan). The use of the name 'karawitan' was relatively new, although some old references sometimes mention it. Tondhokusuma, for example, through his writing titled *Serat Gulang Rarya* (1870), has used the term karawitan. Likewise Sumanagara in his book *Serat Karawitan* (1935) and Wirawiyaga in *Serat Lagu Jawi* (1935). The name 'karawitan' already exists, but it does not get much attention. There is a strong indication that the name 'karawitan' tends to be identified with gamelan because it is inseparable from some European political ideas to raise the image of gamelan to be more 'modern.'

Sumarsam (2003: 180) explains that to achieve classical-noble gamelan music, the KOKAR academics try to eliminate traditional terms that are considered old-fashioned and replace them with new terms. The words 'nyaga' (musician), 'pesindhen' (female vocalist), and 'penggerong' (male vocalist) are deemed to carry the imagination of low status. The term 'pangrawit' was proposed to replace 'nyaga', 'swara wati' to replace pesindhen, and 'wira swara' to replace penggerong. 'Pangrawit' means people who play (music) 'karawitan' (gamelan). The call is more authoritative than 'nyaga', a word that is often slurred into 'niyeg-niyeg gawa sega' (stumbling around carrying rice). In Sumarsam's view, this cannot be separated from the imagination of a village musician who brought rice as a gift from the stakeholders after the performance. The *disegani* anecdote was also born, namely performances that only received rice as wages ('sega'), i.e., they were not paid properly.

The terms 'pangrawit' and 'karawitan' are becoming more popular because they are considered more modern. Uniquely, the word 'karawitan' is also used as the department's name at KOKAR or music schools outside Java born next, for example, in Makassar and Padang Panjang. Although the music taught is not gamelan, the use of the name karawitan is still maintained today. There is an assumption that the name 'karawitan' is a form of glorification of Javanese culture/music (Setiawan 2021c). Playing gamelan works is then followed by rules that demand formality. Gamelan schools play a significant role in efforts to bring gamelan works from 'public property' to 'college property.' This creates

a wide gap between the work produced by gamelan school graduates and that of the general public. The works produced by gamelan schools are commonly referred to as ‘academic art.’ In contrast, those produced by the public are generally referred to as ‘folk art.’ More about folk art can be read in the article by Haratyk and Czerwińska-Górz (2017). There is a change in aesthetics when gamelan works are presented by scholars, with the tendency for musical works to be more structured, serious, formal, and, of course, stiff and monotonous.

The establishment of gamelan schools is in the dualism of the opposite position. First, the desire to glorify the legacy of the past as part of the present seems forced, marked by the unprepared conceptual tools that place gamelan as classical music or high culture. The presence of a gamelan school is more political than an actual attempt to elevate the level of gamelan as classical music. Second, the discourses that arise always contextualize gamelan as an image of national culture compared to research on gamelan music materials. In other words, the birth of musical concepts and theories by gamelan is far behind compared to the political discourse created. This can be seen, for example, in Soekanto's writing titled "Konservatori Karawitan dan Kebudayaan Nasional" (1953). Soekanto dreamed that many musical experiments would be carried out through the gamelan school so that what he called ‘national music culture’ could be found. Likewise, Soerjoatmadja (1957: 211) hoped that gamelan school graduates could spread to various regions in Indonesia and then teach about local arts in that area. This wishful thinking is problematic, considering that gamelan school graduates only get knowledge about gamelan. At the same time, outside of that, the musical culture in Indonesia is very diverse and far different from the musical presentation of gamelan.

Back to the problem of teaching gamelan in formal schools. The use of notation causes massive transfers of rides. Due to inheriting the perspective of gamelan as a noble, classical, and high cultural heritage, there are efforts (through notation) to freeze gamelan works into uniforms or the same. Noriko Ishida (2008) created a gamelan game aesthetic category, namely pre-notation and after the notation. Pre-notation means learning and playing gamelan through oral culture. This triggers the emergence of new unique works, even for the same category of works (‘gending’). The uniqueness depends on the ability of the musician as well as the strength of the locality of the area where the gending lives and develops. In pre-notational times, the concepts and theories of gamelan musicals had not been discoursed. On the other hand, the era of notation allowed the emergence of analyses of gamelan musical theory. Notation is very helpful in research activities to find musical formulations forming gamelan works, such as the concept of *pathet*, *balungan gending*, melodic textures, *garap* (musical elaboration and ornamentation), tone range, musical depth (inner melody), and so on.

However, it must be admitted that notation plays a significant role in making the diversity and differences of gamelan works disappear; aesthetics are distorted because they all look the same. Charles Seeger (1977: 66) warns that European-style learning styles in gamelan music impair a specific musical system in other music. Sumarsam (2003: 189) also notes that, while the study of cross-culture music theory is still in its infancy, the application of one system of music analysis to another must continually be reviewed. By theorizing music, there is an attempt to shift the communication system from one communication system to another, namely from music as tone to music as writing. This implies that playing a piece of music must be based on what is written, while what is written does not always succeed in summarizing the whole piece of music. In the context of gamelan works, this happens. Playing a gamelan work will be considered wrong if it does not match the read's notation. In contrast, the notation cannot accurately summarize the integrity of the gamelan work. Ironically, this notation is used to break down ‘gamelan music’ into a series of numbers, which often excludes other factors such as the musician's level of creativity, improvisational power, and musical experience.

FROM FELT TIME TO CLOCK TIME

In a story about a maestro who plays gamelan music, the narrative is quite interesting to listen to. In Javanese karawitan, gamelan maestros (musicians) gather to play *gending*. The *gending* begins with a musical introduction made by one of the *garap* instruments (a gamelan instrument that has a high level of difficulty is located at the front and is tasked with elaborating the melody on the *gending*, the instruments being *gender*, *rebab* [fiddle], *kendang* [drums], and *bonang*). If the musical introduction is performed by a *rebab*, it is called ‘*buka rebab*’, and if the instrument is *gender*, it is called *buka*

gender, kendang with buka kendang, bonang with buka bonang. The type of gending that will be performed depends on who is holding the introduction, to begin with. There are thousands of gendings in Java, and a musician's expertise is determined by how much they can memorize or play them without any notation (Ishida 2008).

Interestingly, in the presentation of the gamelan, they do not have an agreement as to what gending will be played. It all depends on the player doing the musical introduction. The musicians also did not ask each other what kind of music should be performed. A player who does the introduction believes that he will bring a song that has a high level of difficulty and hopes that other musicians do not know the form and type of the gending. And sure enough, when the introduction was made, marked by the sound of a gong, all musicians had to play the unknown gending. The only way for the gending to be presented is to hear as well as possible the contours and grooves of the melody from the musicians who memorized it (of course, he was the musician who did the introduction earlier). Gending in Java is a cycle, the beginning and end of which are marked by the sound of a gong, continuously turning and repeating. When the song stops, slows down, or speeds up is entirely up to the musicians. Therefore, communication and musical interaction become essential. In the case of the masters above, for three cycles of round (gong), they still 'stumbled' in bringing the gending. As a result, there are many mistakes in sounding the song, sometimes falling on the wrong tone, using inappropriate cengkok (playing patterns), and improvising too often. The word that best fits the event is 'musical chaos.'

After three cycles of rounds, they begin to know the structure, shape, and type of gending. As a result, the music playing becomes more organized and structured, and there are no more musical mistakes made. Until it was finished, the gending was successfully sounded with a more established structure than the one at the beginning. The incident was recorded, and the tape was played to other maestros, who did not participate in presenting the gending. There is a simple but interesting question: where is the peak of the musical aesthetic in the gending? Ideally, the answer appears after the third cycle because the song's form, structure, and type are already known, so there are no mistakes in playing the piece. But the answer from the maestro was unexpected; almost all answered that the highest aesthetic peak in work was in the first three cycles.

Aren't there many musical mistakes in the first three cycles of the gending? Aren't the musicians' first three cycles still not know the series of tones they play? Wasn't at that moment the musicians were busy listening and trying to build musical communication and interaction with each other, even though in the same nuance they were looking for 'musical truth'? In this context, the strength of gamelan works is not about how the musical accuracy is played but how the beauty is formed. In Western music, what happened in the first three cycles of the gending is undoubtedly considered a fatal mistake because they played music that was not following what was 'written-recorded' or agreed upon. But in gamelan, mistakes and truth become 'grey' because what is sought is not perfection but musical beauty wrapped in strong feelings to hear and understand the musical structure of other musicians (Setiawan, 2021a: 1). There is a well-known adage that gamelan music is 40 percent of the truth, and 60 percent of it is unexpected. Thus, at the same gending, it will be different when played at other times and places (Rusdiyantoro, 2018).

Informality is the real strength of playing gamelan works. Western classical music performances are held in all specialities and deliberately enjoyed by a segmented audience. In other words, Western classical music concerts are presented formally, requiring the performers to prepare materials presented explicitly to the audience (Loo Fung Chiat, 2009). But gamelan music is not like that; before the existence of art schools, gamelan concerts, in particular, did not exist. Gamelan works are presented to interact with other events, such as welcoming guests who come to the king's birthday party, accompanying wayang kulit and dance performances, and attending the procession of sacred events in Java such as weddings, kithanan, and so on. In essence, the presentation of gamelan concerts that were especially presented to be enjoyed like Western classical music had never happened before.

In such a context, the purpose of playing gamelan works is not to be enjoyed as a whole and focused. Pemberton (1987) even explained that the presence of gending at a cultural event, such as a wedding in Java, was intended to 'tame' guests who came so as not to get bored following the hour-long ritual. Gamelan works are sounded; at certain moments, there are traditional songs that specifically sound

like a condition for the ceremony to run smoothly (e.g., the momentum of the meeting between the groom and the bride), but the sound is not explicitly heard. The audience or guests who were present were busy observing the ritual events that could be seen before them. Gamelan's works become a soundscape, played but not listened to explicitly. Even though they are 'not listened to,' the sound that is issued can 'control' the guests' behaviour within the limits of formality, sitting for hours without resistance. It is like the sound of music in a bookstore, which is played not specifically to be enjoyed but can create a sense of comfort for visitors while reading books (Hutomo, 2011). This means that almost all gamelan works are presented informally.

The informal atmosphere causes the quality of musical presentations to foster massive communication and interaction, both between musicians and musicians with the audience. At one point, the audience or guests can ask the musicians for certain music; even if the audience can play the gamelan, he will often be asked to go on stage to join other musicians. Based on written sources from the 19th and early 20th centuries, such as *Serat Centhini* and *Titi Asri*, it is explained that the spiritual quality and beauty of gamelan works can only be achieved if the performance is held in an informal and intimate atmosphere (Sumarsam, 2003: 186). The meaning of a gamelan concert or performance (called 'klenengan') is also different. In comparison, Western music concerts emphasize the focus of enjoyment on a piece of music that is presented, while klenengan is interpreted as an informal meeting between musicians and listeners. This intimate atmosphere has led to the creation of 'communicative and interactive' gamelan works, not only in a literal context (such as joking with joking words) but also in a musical context where one musician often gives feedback and musical responses to each other. In other words, musically, gamelan works do not have measurable standards; gamelan works will continue to be new when presented in different contexts because of the unexpected and robust improvisation aspects.

This becomes a problem when informal events must then be formalized through education in gamelan schools (karawitan). There are efforts to bring gamelan works from felt-time events (which rely entirely on feelings) to clock-time events (determined, measured, and written). In this context, Langer's (1953: 152) concept of time and music becomes quite interesting to link. It has been explained above how gamelan works are presented in an informal atmosphere that entirely relies on the strength of the musicians' musical feelings, while the nature of the world of education is the opposite, minimizing 'feel' but prioritizing 'logic.' The existence of karawitan arts schools such as KOKAR and ASKI is faced with a series of problems. The works that developed in the community were then 'dissected' (another word analysed) in the 'music education laboratory' to find out musical tendencies, concepts, and ideas. Gamelan works that are actually 'moving' and constantly changing must be 'frozen' temporarily for the sake of the 'surgery/analysis' action.

As a result, musical formulas for how to play a gamelan were born. These formulas were written down, patented, used as teaching materials and guidebooks, and gradually became a 'dictionary' that was referred to and considered correct. As with the initial enthusiasm for the Europeanization of gamelan works, writings about gamelan works have sprung up, either in the context of documentation alone or accompanied by musical analyses. The music education institution then also set a new standard by evaluating the works that developed in the community. The evaluation results are similar to judgments – not about the good or bad, but wrong and right. Once again, this is following the rules of the world of education, which carry out mathematically measured assessments, with the result being 'wrong and right.'

Gerongan Ldr. Wilujeng Pelog Barang:

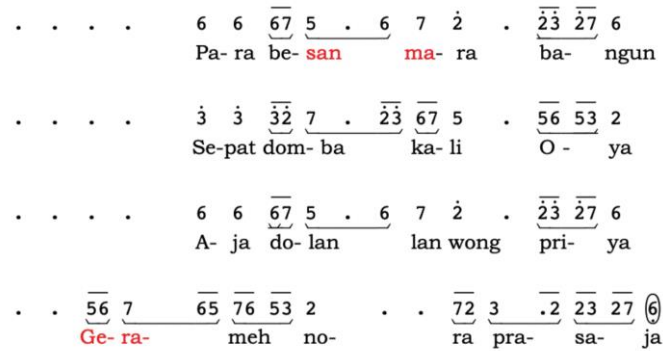


Figure 1: Vocal lyrics ('gerongan') in gamelan works that are mostly used by musicians.

This case, for example, can be seen from the efforts to evaluate vocals in gamelan works (called *gerong* and *tembang*) that developed in the community. In the Karawitan Department, Indonesian Institute of the Art (Institut Seni Indonesia [ISI]) Surakarta – formerly ASKI Surakarta – there is a course called *Sastra Gending* (literature of vocal lyrics), which contains an analysis of the vocal lyrics sung in gamelan works. The *Sastra Gending* class removes ‘music lyrics’ to be read as ‘literary works.’ Previously, it should be noted that the vocal lyrics in gamelan works are in the form of classical Javanese literature, with a level of language that is complicated and difficult to understand (Pamuji, Nugroho, and Supriyadi 2020). The *Sastra Gending* class seeks to translate and give meaning to the lyrics. The result is that many vocal lyrics are wrong when read in the context of literary and linguistic works. However, it is practised by most musicians. For example, here are the lyrics.

The tones in the lyrics above are written in kepatihan notation with a musical concept similar to Western music (the division of bars, the top and bottom points on the tone). In the *Sastra Gending* class, the lyrics were analysed, and the results showed that there were some wrong words. In the transcription above, the lyrics that are considered wrong are marked in red. The lyrics that are considered correct are as follows:

Parabe Sang Smara bangun
 Sepat domba kali Oya
 Aja dolan lan wong priya
 Geng remeh nora prasaja

The recommendation from the *Sastra Gending* class is to demand that students sing the correct version of the lyrics, not the wrong version. The problem seems to be solved, but it must be recognized that there is a fundamental difference between literary works such as music lyrics and literary works themselves. Langer (1953: 152) explains that when words come together in a song, the music swallows the words. Not only literal terms and sentences but even the structure of the literary work itself. Langer further emphasized that a song is not a form of compromising space between literature and music, although texts taken from music by themselves become great literary works. That explanation means that the lyrics of the song are music. In such a context, Benamou (2018: 5) emphasizes the separation between the lyrical text as a language that is communicated to the audience or integrated with the music itself. The meaning and significance of the lyrical text are not considered necessary.

In the case of *gerongan* vocals (Figure 1) above, it is based on the views of Langer and Benamou that literary works are no longer “literary works” when they are combined with music. Literary works are a part of music, so what is essential is no longer the linguistic aspect but the strength of the contours and melodic grooves. Especially in the *gerongan* vowel, it is not known precisely what the meaning of the words strung together is, even by the singer himself (called the ‘sinden’ and ‘penggerong’). How can they possibly sing the correct lyrics when they do not know the literal meaning of the lyrics? Listeners often do not care about whether the lyrics are right or wrong, but they care about the lyrics’ melodic contours (series of tones). The simple description is that we often enjoy music that uses foreign language lyrics; we do not know the meaning or language, but we enjoy the music.

In other words, the meaning of the lyrics is not considered important. The *Sastra Gending* class becomes quite problematic when it asks students to voice-sing a text that is deemed to be correct.

Because it is true in language and literature, it is not necessarily true as song lyrics. ‘sastra gending’ class refers to the truth that can be measured and assessed (clock time), while in reality, the vocals are sung to feel the essence and musical unity (felt time). It should also be noted that the attempt to Europeanize gamelan music is quite problematic when it comes to comparing gamelan with Western musical instruments. Gamelan's music relies on musical unity and is not enjoyed partially or separately. In Western music, the audience can enjoy playing the piano alone, or the violin, the saxophone, or other instruments in a concert. Therefore, there are no solo or solo concert instruments in the gamelan because one instrument will be linked to another.

Genderan Cengkok Dualolo

Academic art style				
right hand	56..	5653	6563	656i
left hand	..61	2.2.	653.	626i
Musicians in general				
right hand	5652	5653	5.5.	5.6i
left hand	..61	6561	612.	321.

Figure 2: Differences in the pattern of academic gender and that of musicians in general.

A vocalist in gamelan is not a singer like in Western music. The vocalist in a gamelan work is ‘a musical instrument that is played with a vocal sound.’ Its position is equal to that of other gamelan instruments, which are not considered the most important, or vice versa. Even if the vocalist is not there, it does not matter because the listener is not focused on enjoying the vocal strains but on the wholeness or unanimity of the sound of all existing instruments. Benamou (2018: 4) gives a limitation: the vocalist in the gamelan ‘voices the music lyrics,’ while the singer, in general, ‘delivers the music lyrics.’ Voicing is making the lyrics sound like part of the music while delivering is an attempt to get the message from the lyrics to reach the audience or listener. Next, after the formal karawitan educational institution was established, it gave birth to a variant type of artwork called ‘academic art.’ As has been briefly mentioned above, academic art is measured, written, and standardized. Meanwhile, art outside the academic walls is full of variety and spontaneity and is constantly undergoing updates. For example, here are the differences in *genderan* patterns (gender instruments) academically and by the general public.

The patterns performed by musicians mostly change depending on the context (such as who is presenting), while the academic patterns tend to be the same because the patterns are written, read, and made as a reference. Standardization, formulation, measurement, and writing are forms of effort that have been made since the beginning so that the art of karawitan or gamelan works is more dignified, has its position as music from high culture, and is a political effort to fight the dominance of classical Western music. In academic classes, as in Western-style education, there are complex divisions regarding what can be included as part of karawitan or gamelan works and what cannot. The art of dance and shadow puppets was initially referred to as the ‘art of karawitan,’ but in the academic area, they are separated. Karawitan is only concerned with the issue of sound, while dance is about gestures, and shadow puppetry is a puppet performance. In the early days of the establishment of KOKAR and ASKI, musical students also received special lessons in dancing and playing puppets. This is important because (as mentioned above) musical art cannot stand alone but is always linked to other artistic events.

Kendhangan Sekaran I (Batangan)

Pattern for concert

p b p t k̄ b • t k p p p p p t p b

Pattern for the dance performance

p̄ l d d t k̄ b • t k p̄ p p p p p̄ l t p b

Figure 3: Patterns of playing drums for concerts and dance performances. Sound description; p: tung, b: dhe, k: ket, o: tong, l: lung, d: dhang, t: tak.

Gradually, because the academic arts strive for ‘independent concerts’ (as the name of the school is conservatory), there are efforts to narrow down that karawitan only focuses on issues of music or sound. It completely imitates the concept of concerts in Western music. As a result, there is a fairly wide gap between karawitan in ancient times and the era after the art school. This difference can be seen; for example, most musical musicians could dance and perform; now, musicians can only play gamelan. Another difference is the standardization of musical patterns, which ones are for concerts and which ones are for accompanying dance or puppets. More specifically, the following is the standardization of the pattern on the kendang (drum) instrument.

Apart from dance performances, there are also standardizations of musical patterns for other versions, namely shadow puppets. These musical patterns are specifically collected, written down based on each category, and then become a study guidebook for students. If a student presents a musical pattern outside of what is recorded, it is likely to be considered incorrect, affecting his grades. The scoring mechanism for gamelan class exams conducted in concert often refers to what is written to bring the flow of gamelan work from informal to formal. It will be challenging to find communication and musical interaction like the maestro above, where right and wrong are not the game's primary goal but rather a space for feeling, listening, and responding to all musical symptoms. Langer (1953: 27) emphasizes that music stores various forms of growth and weakening of human feelings, including conflict and, at the same time, its resolution. Feelings and music are logical forms, which Langer calls the ‘emotive life.’ By standardizing, we lose all that.

ELEMENTARY WEAKNESSES

Although the formulations, especially in the musical context, were carried out and initiated by gamelan music educational institutions, these efforts were not entirely successful in the ‘record’ of the actual and complete performance events. For example, the kepatihan notation is used as a means of recording. Still, it cannot be used as a reference in presenting gamelan works, especially in tradition-based works. Kepatihan notation cannot describe the tempo (fast and slow) of the presentation of musical works. In the production of karawitan works, the fast and slow tempo entirely depends on the musical feeling (especially for a drum instrument player). It is sometimes suddenly slowed down at one particular moment because it allows other instruments to play their improvisational musical orchestra. Meanwhile, at different times, it can accelerate immediately when a gamelan work is about to be completed or enters a new pattern.

Prasetya, Haryono & Simatupang (2011) view the aesthetic event of the musician as a ‘ngeng.’ Ngeng is the musical taste of a gamelan musician. The musical taste is formed through long experience, by knowing the musical character of each gamelan work. How to write ngeng in notation or translate it into a descriptive sentence in the form of a guidebook on how to play gamelan works? Until this research was conducted, these two things did not exist. Ngeng is constantly in touch with his musicians' inner melody (Benamou, 2010). One musician has a different ngeng from another, so the gamelan works presented also have other aesthetic qualities. A musician who has a long experience in playing gamelan, for example, will appear to have a more established gang than a musician who is just learning. The kepatihan notation can only display the pattern of playing elementary tones and is not fully capable of being a reference. This is contrary to the concept of notation in Western music

because it can explain and describe all musical phenomena that appear in a musical performance – the more precise, the better (Strayer, 2013).

Efforts to explain everything related to musical phenomena have grown quite rapidly since the early 20th century until now. Uniquely, the disclosure of the musical phenomenon uses kepatihan notation. On the one hand, the kepatihan notation is considered the most representative in describing the musical phenomenon of gamelan music. On the other hand, the notation of kepatihan at the same time shows its elementary weaknesses. Therefore, many musical phenomena are deemed to have failed to be expressed, such as the discussion about *pathet* and *balungan gending*, which has never been completed until now. The kepatihan notation is only able to describe the musical symptoms but is unable to reveal things related to ‘taste’ or (in Hangar's perspective) ‘ngeng.’ In other words, musical musicians are not robots who play according to the manual books. A musical musician has complete power over the musical playing he does. They are unbound by the notation.

Another quite exciting example is the pattern of playing the gong instrument called *nggandul* and the kenong instrument called ‘*mleset*’. ‘*Nggandul*’ is a way of playing a gong instrument that is not following the beat or is later than the beat. The gong instrument is a marker of the cycle of gamelan work. The gong indicates that the gamelan has entered the final tones and returns to the initial tones. In such a context, musicians play a *nggandul* pattern. The question is, how long does the *nggandul* tolerance take? For example, if it is too slow or far from the beat it should be, it is considered wrong because it will risk colliding with the first tones in the early cycle. However, if *nggandul* is precise with the tone of the beat or even too close to the beat, then it does not feel right. Then how ideal is it for a musician to make a *nggandul* pattern? The answer is that there is no standard size; it all comes back to the highest musical feeling of the musician. However, in the context of notation writing, the gong's beat pattern is written right on the beat, even though this is not the case in reality.

Likewise, with the kenong *mleset*, the pattern of playing the kenong instrument sounds a tone outside the written provisions (Prasetya & Susanto, 2010). Why is that? Because musicians perceive that tones, other than those written [noted], have beautiful musical consequences. Such a view can only be raised by a musician who understands the character of gamelan works. Meanwhile, ordinary musicians, or art school graduates, often sound the tones written in kepatihan notation. Once again, in this case, the *ngeng* problem becomes the primary reference. Meanwhile, in gamelan classes at art schools, teachers often verbally tell their students what to do with phenomena not contained in the notation. In other words, notation is only a tool for playing gamelan works but cannot be used as a complete source reference. The problem becomes more complex when the world of education always demands clarity and measurability, and everything must be calculated. How to formulate and write down feelings? How to measure something that cannot be measured?

If so, how do gamelan teachers evaluate their students who play gamelan works? Darno and Kamso (personal communication, August 24, 2021), gamelan teachers at ISI Surakarta, explained that sometimes every teacher has different considerations in understanding the aesthetics of gamelan works, which also brings differences in making assessments. One teacher believes the quality of the gamelan work is good, while the other is not. That happens because the evaluation relies on each other's feelings (*ngeng*). To minimize misunderstandings between one teacher and another, the assessment often refers to what is written or read. For example, every gamelan instrument is written in kepatihan notation; if the student plays according to that notation, it is considered successful. On the other hand, it is considered wrong if a student plays outside of what is written. The more often they make mistakes, the lower the score. Even though, based on the story about the maestros above, they play gamelan by making mistakes. First, these mistakes may stimulate the formation of characters and *ngeng* in gamelan works. The feeling-based *ngeng* (felt time) is the highest aesthetic peak in playing gamelan works, not logic-based notation (clock time).

The influence of Europeanization on gamelan music and the increasingly massive use of notation today are also contributing to the growth of gamelan music concert performances that are not tied to other performances (e.g., dance and puppets). Many gamelan festivals are held. The concert was not born in a *pendopo* (a traditional Javanese house where gamelan is played) but through majestic stages like pop-rock music, with colourful lighting and lots of loudspeakers. I once wrote a critique of this phenomenon in the *Kompas* newspaper (Setiawan, 2016: 12), where the treatment of gamelan today

is similar to how Western musicians treat classical music. Presented on a majestic stage, all the musicians face the notation arranged on the music book stand. There is a conductor who leads the concert. Almost all musicians graduated from gamelan schools such as KOKAR and ASKI (now ISI Surakarta). They must play gamelan works based on what has been written by the composer; they are not allowed to do musical elaboration and improvisation based on the *ngeng* they have. If so, the events of gamelan performances have moved from, once again, what is felt (felt time) to what is read (clock time).

CONCLUSION

The polemic for the Europeanization of gamelan music began with efforts to fight the domination of Western music, and it took place massively. Resistance to colonialism by the Dutch colonialists in Indonesia was not only carried out with war but also with music. This was pioneered by the movement of the indigenous movement, especially Ki Hajdar Dewantara, who considered that gamelan works were parallel to Western classical music. Gamelan is a product of high culture, so it deserves the title 'adi luhung' (classical). Since then, the discourse of gamelan to be used as national music representing the Indonesian nation's image has been sparked. Even though there was opposition from other music academics, the incident had already drawn attention. The culmination was the establishment of formal schools for learning gamelan, such as the Conservatory Karawitan (KOKAR) in 1950 and the ASKI in 1964.

The establishment of the formal institution was in response to the same school in Europe (the music conservatory). However, the establishment of the gamelan educational institution later had a significant impact, such as the massive use of notation, recording and transcribing gamelan works, and formulating musical phenomena. In other words, the educational institution must write about musical events that were previously unwritten, formulate something that is not defined, and measure something that was previously unmeasured. As a result, a new style of musical art emerged, which is referred to as 'academic art,' with the phenomenon of neat, recorded, complex, written, measured, and formal works of art. Academic art is quite far from the described musical art, which relies more on informal, unrecorded, and spontaneous aspects. This academic art is the result of efforts to promote gamelan music. In Langer's view, there is a reasonably systematic movement from musical events that are felt or internalized (felt time) to musical events that refer entirely to logic (clock time).

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