"If only beautiful céngkok are selected": The Problem of Codification in Central Javanese Gendèr Playing

Ki Sindoesawarno (?–1965), a leading figure behind the establishment of the first conservatory for Central Javanese music and one of its primary instructors, made the following statement:

The idea of recording all possible céngkok is not strange. The number of possible permutations of gatra, although quite large, is certainly limited, and if only beautiful céngkok are selected, a codification of céngkok for every practical use could be compiled (emphasis added). The method of studying how to play the rebab and gendèr at the Konservatory Karawitan Indonesia¹ is based on this speculation, as well as on the names for céngkok commonly used by musicians (1956, 395).

The establishment of formal, publically-funded performing arts education in the 1950s brought about significant and long-lasting changes to the way karawitan is taught, and by extension stimulated the development of newer, more analytically-oriented theoretical approaches. Before this time, students would have done the bulk of their learning through observation and imitation, supplemented by private instruction. Moving the music into a classroom setting—where one teacher is responsible for teaching a group of students the same material—necessitated a shift away from the traditional model (Hand 2018, 71). For instrument like the gendèr, this meant formalizing the process of selecting appropriate *céngkok*,² or formulaic melodic patterns, for a given context. The act of choosing céngkok is one of the more clearly defined examples of what is known as *garap* (lit. to work/do), what Supanggah defines as "the creative framework of *pengrawit* [gamelan musicians] in the performance of a composition" (2009, 4; translated by author). It became the goal of conservatory-style education to take garap—originally a form of unwritten, esoteric, and somewhat personal form of knowledge—and mold it into an explicitly defined system of music theory. In other words, to codify it.

¹ Sometimes abbreviated as KOKAR, the conservatory was established in 1950. This was followed by the Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia (ASKI) in 1964, the precursor of today's Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI).

² Same as with many of the authors cited in this paper, I treat Javanese terms like 'céngkok' as potentially either singular or plural.

For reasons that will be discussed in this paper, the campaign to codify garap ran up against considerable obstacles when it came to gendèr playing. In order to teach gendèr in a classroom setting, it is necessary to have a way of identifying, isolating, and naming individual céngkok. The same can be said of analyzing and writing about gendèr playing in a musicological context. However, even today there is little consensus about how gendèr céngkok should be called, nor is there any widely-recognized objective basis for distinguishing between one céngkok and another. This difficulty is often explained away as being a function of *wilètan*— the spontaneous variation of céngkok spanning anywhere from microscopic rhythmic minutiae to clearly recognizable and notatable melodic/rhythmic deviations (Sutton 1998, 75). Such a rationale carries with it an implicit assertion that gendèr playing is freely improvised and therefore beyond the reach of theoretical reduction. As a number of authors attest (see Forrest 1980; McDermott & Sumarsam 1975; Supanggah 2009; Sutton 1998), this is most certainly not the case.

In reality, the range of acceptable wilètan is quite constrained. All wilètan of a particular céngkok must be similar enough to one another to be heard as having the same identity (Sutton 76). Each céngkok has a number of constant features, both structural and contextual, that wilètan must observe. Various descriptions imply that gendèr céngkok are essentially fixed entities. Martopangrawit, whose work will be discussed in-depth later on, stated that every céngkok is "a permanent, unchanging melody, either vocal or instrumental" and "a motif" (1975, 14). For Supanggah, céngkok are "configurations of notes and/or rhythms that are fixed in length," as well as patterns that "have a particular impression or character" (2009, 248; translated by author). Perlman summarizes céngkok as "the stable melodic content of a stock phrase," which despite variation "remains recognizable" (2004, 57).

What then is the difficulty in codifying gendèr céngkok according to their fixed features? In a certain sense, this type of reductive approach is at odds with the highly associative and contextual nature of musical practice. Céngkok are never performed in isolation, but instead seamlessly linked end-on-end to form a musical impression that is greater than the sum of its parts. A player is not necessarily thinking of each individual céngkok in a larger phrase, at least on an explicit level. As Sumarsam and McDermott note, "Simply stated, all gendèr players perform essentially the same patterns of notes in every performance of a given gending or piece. And

gendèr players are in agreement on this point; their parts are basically stable and unchanging" (1975, 234). In other words, players work off of a memorized sketch of the composition that includes all céngkok in their proper sequence. What is left up to the moment of performance is wilètan, the spontaneous choice between céngkok variations.

This does not mean that céngkok cannot be isolated and their features analyzed, just that it is divorced from how experienced players of the music think in practice. However, it can be seen from Sindoesawarno's statement quoted earlier that there was an interest in codifying céngkok for purposes of teaching beginning students in a classroom setting. I myself as a student at Institut Seni Indonesia in Yogyakarta from 2015–2020 learned to play gendèr in essentially this manner. Additionally, a system of céngkok codification is necessary for purposes of formal analysis.

Codification has proceeded in two main directions with significant interaction between them. The first is what I will call the 'associative naming approach.' With this, céngkok are given names that refer to "melodic ideas from the vocal repertoire, gendèr melodic lines, or other technical gamelan terms" (Sumarsam 1975, 162). As will be shown, there are a number of issues with using these names for codification purposes. The second is what I will call the 'arah nada/matrix' approach, which organizes céngkok according to the tonal distance they travel from beginning to end. This is significantly more empirical, but lacks specificity. The two approaches are often mixed and matched in practice, but this only serves to combine their respective shortcomings. In studying these, I attempt to identify areas in which gendèr céngkok codification could potentially be improved, which in turn would benefit both pedagogical and theoretical activities.

Before proceeding, a brief note on the application of gendèr céngkok is needed. The most commonly used céngkok, as well as those with the greatest structural variety, span four beats of the *balungan* or skeletal melody. There are also céngkok that span two or eight beats. Because each four-beat segment of the balungan is called a *gatra*, we can describe céngkok as being either one-gatra, half-gatra, or two-gatra in length, respectively. At the end of every céngkok is a goaltone or *sèlèh*. This sèlèh lines up with metrically-important moments of the balungan, in particular the final beat of each gatra.

The associative naming approach

Céngkok name	Sumar.	Marto.	Marto.	Polan.	Author
	1971	1975*	1973	2005**	2015***
Aja ngono	х				
Ayo yok oyokan		Х			
Ayo-ayo			Х		Х
Ayu kuning	х	Х	Х	х	Х
Debyang-debyung	х	Х	Х		Х
Dudukan		Х	Х		
Dua lolo		Х	Х		
Dua lolo kecil/alit	х				Х
Dua lolo besar/ageng	х			х	Х
Ela elo		Х		х	Х
Gantungan/nggantung	х	Х	Х	х	Х
Genduk kuning		Х			
Jarit Kawung	х	Х	Х	х	Х
Jawata			Х		
Kacaryan			Х	х	Х
Kemul adem		Х			
Kuthuk kuning	х		Х	х	Х
Nduduk	х			х	х
Nya tali nya emping		Х	х		
Ora butuh	х	Х	Х	х	Х
Pipa landa		Х			
Pipilan				х	
Plesedan/mlesed		Х	Х	х	Х
Putut gelut	х	Х	Х	х	Х
Putut semedi	х	Х	Х		Х
Rambatan				Х	Х
Rujak-rujakan	х				
Tinandur			Х		
Tumurun			Х	Х	Х
Tumuruna		Х			
Ya Suraka		Х	Х		

^{*}Martopangrawit's *Catatan-Catatan Pengetahuan Karawitan* was first published in 1972 and later revised in 1975, but work on the manuscript began in 1969.

^{**}Larry Polansky's booklet *Beginning Central Javanese Gendèr* is based on his studies with Sukamso, a musician of Sumarsam's generation who has sat on the faculty of STSI/ISI Surakarta for many years. The book was first published in 1993.

^{***} These were the céngkok names commonly used by teachers at ISI Yogyakarta during my studies from 2015–2020.

This above is an alphabetized list of céngkok names as they appear in different sources, which in itself reveals nothing about the relationships between them. There is a substantial amount of redundancy; 'aja ngono' and 'ora butuh' refer to the same two-gatra céngkok, 'pipa landa' refers to the second half of 'ora butuh,' 'pipa landa' is essentially the same as 'dua lolo alit,' etc. Conversely, multiple céngkok that are demonstrably different in terms of structure and/or function may be referred to by the same name. Nor is it safe to assume that the above list is exhaustive. I can recall a number of céngkok names from my own studies that are not included in these sources. It is the case that céngkok names are passed down orally from teacher to student as part of practical instruction, which may range from being relatively standardized to highly idiosyncratic. As with the céngkok themselves, it is quite possible that differences in naming fall along some of the axes suggested by Perlman (1998, 56)—urban versus rural society, institutionalized education versus traditional learning models, etc.—but to my knowledge, comparative research along these lines has never been conducted.

Ultimately, it is not the name itself that matters, but the learned association between name and céngkok. Regarding the use of associative names during instruction, Sumarsam comments that the "teacher calls out the céngkok by name to the student. They names have evocative meanings that relate to exciting melodies so they can be easily remembered" (Sumarsam 1975, 162). In other words, a mnemonic device. While it is true that some (not all) gendèr céngkok names take after vocal melodies, that does not necessarily mean that all such vocal melodies are commonplace, or for that matter even part of current practice. It is also doubtful that a beginning gendèr student would begin their studies already possessing such an intimate knowledge of vocal practice. For this and other reasons, statements formulated as "gendèr céngkok X derives from vocal melody Y" should not be interpreted literally. The following passage from Martopangrawit (1975, 103) is particularly pertinent to the 'chicken-and-egg' relationship between vocal melody and gendèr céngkok:

Since the céngkok of vocal melodies can be accompanied on the gendèr, our predecessors chose melodies that were the same length as gendèr céngkok (emphasis added). They chose fixed melodies in irama dados, since in this irama one gatra...is equal to one gendèr céngkok...Gendèr céngkok are sometimes two gatra long...and there are also half-gatra céngkok for vocal melodies that are mixed. All of the gendèr céngkok are distinguished according to the name of the particular vocal melody associated with them

Thus, the correlation between vocal melody and gendèr céngkok is not proof of one being derived from the other. After all, there are plenty of céngkok which have no name commonly associated with them, and these are not fundamentally any different than the ones that do. When the short vocal melodies associated with gendèr céngkok are actually sung in context—typically either in the form of *sènggakan* or *isèn-isèn*³—the gendèr player will often "abandon normal céngkok and explicitly follow the vocal line" (Roberts 2018, 51), further attesting to the looseness of their relationship.

'Arah nada,' or the matrix approach

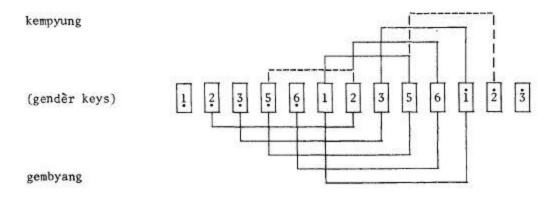
A colleague of Sindoesawarno, the court musician-turned-theorist Martopangrawit (1914–1986) had a disproportionate influence on the way Central Javanese music was to be taught in a conservatory setting. Among other important works, in 1973 he published a sizable reference book of gendèr céngkok notation—*Titiraras Céngkok-céngkok Gendèr dan Wilètannya*—which remains the gold standard as far as codification is concerned. In essence, *Titiraras* organizes one-gatra céngkok according to movement ('arah nada,' lit. melodic direction) between subsequent sèlèh, and then provides numerous examples of possible wilètan. The book does periodically contextualize céngkok in terms of associative name or pathet, but these are subordinate to 'arah nada.'

Brinner identifies Martopangrawit's system as one of several 'cultural matrices' in the Javanese performing arts, understood as "formalized expression[s] of common patterns of characterization and categorization[s] of repertoire, practice, and other cultural knowledge" (1995, 440). The matrix *Titilaras* implies might be visualized as a two-dimension grid, with one axis labeled 'From sèlèh X' and the other 'To sèlèh Y.' Every point at which these axes intersect represents a céngkok that traverses the vertical difference between sèlèh X and Y over the course of four beats.

As the gender is played with two hands, select are always in the form of dyads. The lower note of the dyad, played in the left hand, determines the select basic identity. The right hand then

³ Sènggakan are short vocal interjections typically performed by the *gérongan* or male chorus. *Isèn-isèn* (lit. filler) are stock phrases that the solo female vocalist or *sindhèn* uses over metrically-weak phrases.

adds a second note either a kempyung (roughly a perfect fifth) or gembyang (octave) above the left. This distribution of kempyung and gembyang sèlèh can be seen below.



The range of sèlèh on the gendèr. From Sumarsam (1975, 167).

In total, there are ten possible sèlèh (g = gembyang, k = kempyung): 2g, 3g, 5g or k, 6g, 1g or k, 2k, 3k, and 5k. The size of our grid should consequently be 10 x 10, representing as many as 100 one-gatra céngkok. Presumably, if one knew what sèlèh they needed to pass through, they could look up the corresponding entry in *Titilaras* and quite literally 'plug in' the result.⁴ Under each entry, Martopangrawit provides a number of possible wilètan (hence the latter half of the book's title) organized according to *laku*, a concept related to rhythmic subdivision or density. The distribution of entries for one-gatra céngkok in *Titilaras* appears as follows:

⁴ I have heard this method of gendèr playing disparagingly referred to as 'menempel céngkok;' that is, copy-pasting memorized céngkok in a way that is technically correct but lacking in subtlety.

From Sèlèh

		2g	3g	5g	5k	6g	1g	1k	2k	3k	5k
	2g	х	х	х		х					
	3g	x	x	x		x	x	x			
	5g	x	х	x		х	x	x	x		
,	5k										
To Sèlèh	6g	х	х	х		х	х	х	х	х	
76	1g		х	х		х	х		х	х	
	1k		х	х		х		х	х	х	
	2k			х		х	х	х	х	х	х
	3k					х	Х		Х	Х	x
	5k										х

A visual representation of Martopangrawit's matrix. X's indicate entries, while empty cells indicate that no céngkok is provided.

What do we make of the fact that precisely half of this table is empty? That it is not possible to move freely from any sèlèh to any other sèlèh? Continuing his discussion of cultural matrices, Brinner (1995, 441) states that "A matrix may call attention to an anomaly in a musical system and so give focus to fundamental distinctions and unrealized potentials or stimulate people to produce explanations and theories." In this sense, the relative emptiness of the grid may lead to insights about the céngkok classification and gendèr playing more generally.

One easy-to-spot feature of the grid is that there are no one-gatra céngkok ending on sèlèh 5k. This is generally reflective of practice, although there are exceptions (see example in McDermott & Sumarsam 1975, 240). Sèlèh 5k more often appears at the halfway point of two-

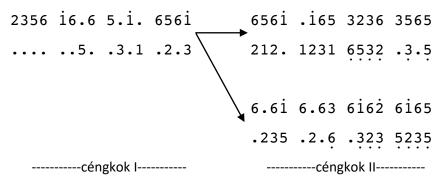
gatra céngkok, particularly those Martopangrawit identifies as 'ora butuh' and 'kacaryan' (1973, 59–62; 72–3).

There are also few entries that involve the higher sèlèh 5k. My own sense is that wherever sèlèh 5k is an option, it can always be substituted with 5g/5k. Martopangrawit makes a comment to the effect that sèlèh 5k should only be used over odd-numbered gatra, which are felt to be metrically weaker (1973, 8).

We can therefore dispense with sèlèh 5k and 5k for the moment. However, even after omitting these (thereby turning the 10 x 10 table into an 8 x 8), there are still a substantial number of empty cells. Most of these missing céngkok are explained by the fact that Martopangrawit limited his scope to céngkok that traverse three steps or less in either direction. It also explains why the pattern of empty cells appears roughly symmetrical. This limit is reasonable albeit arbitrary, as gendèr players typically opt for the smallest possible motion between sèlèh whenever possible unless there is a compelling musical reason to do otherwise (see discussion in Sumarsam 1975b, 268–72).

That being said, there are occasionally situations where a gendèr player may need céngkok that traverse four steps. Martopangrawit does provide two options for 3k to 5g, but only as part of a larger two-gatra céngkok that he calls 'dudukan/ya suraka' (1973, 67):

Dudukan/ya suraka



From the same example, 'céngkok I' can be used to reach sèlèh 3k from 5g. Unlike in the previous case of céngkok going to sèlèh 5k, it can be argued that both 'céngkok I' and 'céngkok II' above do occur on their own; that is, as one-gatra céngkok independent from the two-gatra céngkok 'dudukan/ya suraka.' Martopangrawit does not address the downward movements 2k to 3g or 1g/k to 2g. Based on my own experience, these can potentially be rendered as follows:

Céngkok that traverse four steps in the upward direction are more difficult to account for. Typically speaking, musical situations that necessitate a large upward motion are not approached with regular céngkok but instead via a combination of techniques known as 'plesedan/mlesed' (to slip) 'rambatan/mrambat' (to crawl) and 'gantungan/nggantung' (to hang). For example, some of the options Martopangrawit (1973, 76; 111; 114) provides for the motion 2g to 1g (annotations by author):

For balungan such as ...1 or..21

For balungan such as 33.1, 3361, or 3321

For balungan such as 55.1, 5521, or 5.21

Unlike the majority of one-gatra céngkok found in *Titilaras*, for those like the above it is necessary to consider beats one through three of the gatra. Whether this lack of independence from the balungan disqualifies them from being true céngkok is debatable. In any case, the asymmetry in form observed between céngkok that traverse four steps downwards versus those that traverse four steps upwards is reflective of a more general principle that governs melodic motion in karawitan: gradual conjunct downward motion dominates, periodically offset by sudden disjunct upward motion.

The remaining holes in Martopangrawit's matrix relate to considerations of pathet. Each sèlèh on the gendèr is associated with one or more pathet in the slendro tuning system. According to McDermott and Sumarsam (1975: 236), the distribution of sèlèh in relationship to pathet is as follows:

	2g	3g	5g	6g	1g	1k	2k	3k	5k
Pathet nem	х	х							х
Pathet sanga			х	х		х	х		
Pathet manyura				х	х		х	х	

Martopangrawit does not provide céngkok for the motions 1g to 1k or 1k to 1g because they represent an unusual mixing of pathet sanga and manyura. That is not to suggest that such céngkok are technically impossible, but rather that there is no practical use for them. For the motion 1k to 3k—again implying a mixing or modulation of pathet—Martopangrawit (1973, 97) advises the reader to use a combination of gantungan:

The above motion is necessary for some pathet sanga phrases whose balungan passes through 3. However, the reverse motion—3k to 1k—is a 'true' céngkok, not a composite of gantungan or other techniques (1973, 42):

Register, pathet, and midpoint tones

Having thus contextualized most of its apparent anomalies, it can be seen that *Titilaras* is in fact quite comprehensive. However, the major shortcoming of Martopangrawit's 'arah nada' system is not that it contains missing entries, but rather that many of the entries conflate céngkok that are distinct in form and/or function. In other words, it neglects crucial information about garap—for gendèr playing, the process of selecting a contextually appropriate céngkok out of numerous options. To start, there is no mention of how gendèr céngkok relate to melodic register in the balungan. For instance, the following céngkok are given for the movement 2k to 1g (1973, 31–2):

These are both dubbed 'dua lolo' by Martopangrawit and found under the same heading. In practice, (A) would be selected if the balungan heads toward 1, whereas (B) implies motion to 1 an octave lower. This distinction of register is especially important for céngkok ending on 1g and 6g, as the gendèr has no higher or lower version of these sèlèh tones.

Forrest (1980, 66) notes that not all céngkok listed under a given heading follow the same contour. For example, Martopangrawit suggests the following options for the movement 1g to 3g (55, 1973).

It would not be a mistake per se to use the above céngkok interchangeably. A conscientious player, however, will judge the musical context at hand and choose accordingly. (A) and (B) imply different melodic contours; most significantly, (A) passes through 5k at its midpoint, whereas (B) passes through 6k. In the former case, the combination of midpoint 5k and sèlèh 3g is strongly associated with pathet nem as well as the characteristic balungan phrase 6523. (B), with its combination of midpoint 6k and sèlèh 3g, may be felt as either pathet nem or a low-register pathet manyura, and is more likely to be used with balungan phrases such as 5653.⁵

Much like sèlèh tones, the midpoint tones of céngkok are also marked for pathet. And as can be seen in the above example, midpoint tones also play a role in reinforcing (or destabilizing) melodic motion in the balungan. Unfortunately, little has been written about midpoint tones. There is no special Javanese term for 'midpoint' in the way that there is for sèlèh. In his analysis of wilètan of a single céngkok, Sutton (1978) indirectly references midpoint tones, although he does not privilege them over tones at the one-quarter or three-quarter mark. Perlman directly addresses the relationship between midpoint tones and pathet, but recognizes that the topic is not "explicitly verbalized in Javanese music theory" (1998, 51). Generally speaking, the midpoint tone—most often a dyad, but occasionally a single tone in the right hand—should not include the *pantangan* or avoided tone of the céngkok's associated pathet. That means that for céngkok in pathet manyura, tone 5 does not appear at the midpoint; for pathet sanga, 3; for pathet nem, 1.

⁵ Mcdermott and Sumarsam (1975) discuss modulation between pathet in greater depth.

	Pantangan (avoided)	Lower kempyung	Dhong (tonic)	Upper kempyung	Pelengkap (auxiliary)
Manyura	5	2	6	3	1
Sanga	3	1	5	2	6
Nem	1	5	2	6	3

The modal hierarchy of tones in each of the three slendro pathet. Based on a similar figure in Martopangrawit (1975, 61).

The midpoint tone should also be somewhat different than both the upcoming sèlèh and that of the previous céngkok. Otherwise, the feeling becomes that of a gantungan passage.

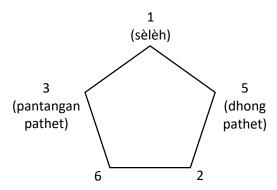
To illustrate this point, we can compare céngkok that end on sèlèh 1k. Based on the relationship between sèlèh tones and pathet detailed earlier, these céngkok are unambiguously in pathet sanga, meaning that 3 is avoided. The following are taken from various sections of *Titilaras* (Martopangrawit 1973, 5–6; 12; 31; 42):

From 3	3k				From 2k
	6562	6165	2.2.	2.35	3536 3565 6162 6165
	212.	.615	.1.1	.561	.6.2 .615 .656 1231
From 2	lk versi	on A			From 1k version B
	6 i 6.	6162	6162	6165	616. 6162 6162 6165
	61	2615	.656	1231	61 2.2. 6.56 1561
From 6	5g				From 5g
	5.56	3565	6162	6165	(same as from 1k)
	.12.	.615	.656	1231	

To summarize, if starting from 3k, 2k, or 6g, the midpoint tone will most likely be 5g. If starting from 1k or 5g, there are two options; either the midpoint tone is 2g, or 5 and 2 sounded together (a kempyung but expanded by one octave). The fact that midpoint tones are not only variable but also seem to be influenced by the previous sèlèh is a complicated matter. We might hypothesize that if starting from 3k, 2k, or 6g—sèlèh which are also associated with pathet manyura—passing through 5g at the céngkok's midpoint is necessary for maintaining the feeling of pathet sanga, as 5 is understood to be the *dhong* or modally strongest tone. If starting from 1k

or 5g, it is redundant to pass through 5g because the feeling of pathet sanga is already strong. Therefore, the midpoint incorporates 2 instead.

What about a midpoint that incorporates 6? For this, it helps to visualize the relationship between tones as a closed circle of kempyung:⁶



Because the kempyung counter-clockwise from the sèlèh is the pantangan or avoided tone of the pathet, tones used for the midpoint must lie in the clockwise direction. 5 is the default choice, as it is closest in position to 1. As explained before, in cases where 5g is felt to be redundant, 2 is the next tone to be incorporated. This is where midpoints 2g and 5-2 derive from. Thus, 6 does not enter into the picture because configurations of tones 5 and 2 already satisfy the conditions at hand. While not an avoided tone per se, 6's proximity to 3 in the circle of kempyung weakens it in a pathet sanga context.

A similar analysis could be performed for every possible combination of sèlèh motion and midpoint tone. That being said, a céngkok is defined by more than its sèlèh and midpoint. Borrowing from the previous example, the céngkok used for the motion 6g to 1k in pathet sanga—commonly referred to 'jarit kawung'—always has a midpoint of 5g. Fulfilling those criteria, however, is not in itself sufficient for creating the impression of 'jarit kawung.' To be heard as such, the céngkok must pass through 2k at the one-quarter mark. Does that mean for purposes of codification that it is necessary to specify this 2k? Not necessarily. A student of gendèr would

⁶ Presentation of this 'circle of fifths' will perhaps elicit a comparison to theories of Western tonal harmony. However, it was Martopangrawit himself who proposed this in his explanation of pathet (1975, 64–5). The slendro tuning system, while far from being a five-equal division from the octave in practice, is treated as a closed circle of fifths in theory. The same conceptual relationships are largely maintained in pelog despite the tuning being even further away from a five-equal division.

know that 'jarit kawung' is limited to the motions 6g to 1k in pathet sanga and—transposed up one step—1g to 2k in pathet manyura. The short segment used to transition from 6g to 2k in the first quarter of 'jarit kawung' (or again, 1g to 3k if pathet manyura) is modally determined. In other words, it is performed the same way whether occurring in the context of céngkok 'jarit kawung' or not. This sort of fundamental musical vocabulary is reasonable to assume of gendèr players at any level, and is therefore not necessary to specify.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the issue of codification as it pertains to céngkok. Attempts at codification reached their peak with Martopangrawit's 'arah nada' system in the mid-1970s. Supplemented by the older 'associative naming approach,' it remains the basis of beginning gendèr instruction at Central Java's conservatories and schools for the arts. By extension, it is also reflected in much of the scholarly writing on gendèr by both native musicians and foreign ethnomusicologists. Therefore, codification of céngkok and garap more generally is directly relevant to pedagogical and theoretical activities. Recognizing that no system of codification will ever be perfect, I have suggested a number of features that could be adopted to make the current system more consistent and precise. Such features, which would be used as needed to avoid ambiguities, might include:

- 1. Melodic register in the balungan
- 2. Pathet, including instances of modal ambiguity
- 3. Midpoint variability

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