



Regenerating Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah: Multi-Layered Enculturation in a Sundanese Tradition

Abizar Algifari Saiful^{1*}, Rita Tila², Reyhan Swarna Medica³

^{1,2,3}Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia

Article info:
Received:
26 April 2026
Reviewed:
2 May 2026
Accepted:
3 June 2026

*Corresponding author: Abizar
Algifari Saiful, Universitas
Pendidikan Indonesia,
Bandung, Indonesia

E-mail: abizaralgifari@upi.edu

Abstract: *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* is a Sundanese karawitan ensemble of more than two centuries old, located in Sukamulya Village, Cigugur Subdistrict, Kuningan Regency, West Java. As a sacred gamelan inherited from Abah Raksajaya and acquired in 1792, this group faces sustainability challenges amid the currents of modernization and the shifting interest of younger generations toward popular music. This study aims to analyze the regeneration process taking place within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* arts group. The research employs a qualitative-ethnographic approach through participant observation, in-depth interviews with cultural practitioners, and documentary study. The findings reveal that regeneration occurs through three principal pathways, namely the kinship pathway of the Raksajaya family, the community pathway involving students and the general public, and the institutional collaboration pathway. These findings contribute to the discourse on community-based traditional music preservation in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Goong Renteng, Panggugah Manah*, regeneration, musical inheritance, Sundanese karawitan

1. INTRODUCTION

Traditional music in various parts of the world faces similar challenges concerning the sustainability of its existence amid the increasingly massive currents of globalization and modernization (Huang et al., 2024; Rendy, 2025; Rusnalasari, 2025). Through the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO has positioned traditional music as one of the heritages most vulnerable to extinction due to weak intergenerational transmission (Gwervevende & Mthombeni, 2023; Kurin, 2004). Indonesia, as a country with an exceptionally rich diversity of traditional music, bears a significant responsibility for safeguarding the continuity of such cultural expressions. Various forms of gamelan, vocal ensembles, and communal music dispersed throughout the archipelago serve as invaluable markers of cultural identity (Saiful et al., 2025; Saiful & Sukmayadi, 2024), yet many of them are at a critical point that requires serious intervention to ensure their continuity for future generations.

Goong Renteng is one of the gamelan types characteristic of Sundanese society, known since the sixteenth century and found across various regions of West Java. The term "goong renteng" derives from the combination of the words "goong", which in Old Sundanese means gamelan, and "renteng," which refers to the arrangement of the kolenang knobs placed in a row or *ngarenteng* (Afryanto et al., 2023). This art form physically resembles the gamelan *degung*, yet is considered older, leading to the assumption that the gamelan *degung* is a development of the *goong renteng*. Owing to its antiquity, *goong renteng* is generally regarded as a sacred gamelan whose preservation is treated with special customary care through rituals and hereditary beliefs of the Sundanese community to this day.



The distribution of *Goong Renteng* art in West Java reveals a geographical pattern worth examining as the context of this study. In 1934, Jaap Kunst documented the existence of *goong renteng* in Cileunyi and Cikebo of the Tanjungsari region in Sumedang, in Batukarut-Lebakwangi of the Arjasari region in Bandung, as well as at the Kanoman Palace in Cirebon (Kunst, 1949). In addition, *goong renteng* is also found in Cigugur Kuningan, Talaga Majalengka, Ciwaru Sumedang, Tambi and Sliyeg in Indramayu, as well as in Mayung, Gunungjati, Suranenggala, and Tegalan in Cirebon. Each region possesses its own distinctive repertoire, organology, and ritual practice, demonstrating that *Goong Renteng* is not a singular entity but rather a constellation of musical traditions in dialogue within the broader Sundanese cultural sphere.

Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah is an arts group established in 1792 in Sukamulya Village, Cigugur Subdistrict, Kuningan Regency. The name "Panggugah Manah" carries the meaning of "stirring the heart," reflecting the function of music as a medium for awakening the spiritual and cultural consciousness of its supporting community. The gamelan was originally owned by Abah Raksajaya, who purchased it from Buyut Anjun Pangeran Pagongan in Cirebon, and it has since been entrusted to five generations of his descendants. The gamelan set is made of bronze and consists of thirty-four small *goong*, two large *goong*, *gambang*, and two *kecrek* (Hani et al., 2024).

Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah possesses several distinctive features that set it apart from other *goong renteng* groups in West Java. First, this group employs the *laras mataraman*, which differs from the *salendro* or *pelog* tunings commonly used by other Sundanese gamelans. Second, the group is bound by an *amanat karuhun*, an ancestral mandate prohibiting the sale of the gamelan to anyone, ensuring that it has remained within the kinship circle of the Raksajaya family for five generations. Third, the gamelan must be played during the months of *Mulud*, on the first of *Syawal*, and on the tenth of *Rayagung* as a form of adherence to the hereditary beliefs. Fourth, the group actively continues its regeneration process by involving the wider community, making it one of the most vital *goong renteng* groups today. Traditional arts in Indonesia face serious challenges concerning their sustainability, particularly due to the shifting cultural orientation of younger generations (Amalia et al., 2025; Asfina & Ovilia, 2017). The regeneration crisis has become a primary threat to traditional music, which is generally oral in nature and dependent on direct transmission from master to apprentice, and many ensembles have experienced stagnation or even extinction owing to the absence of inheritors.

This crisis stems from the accumulation of several interrelated socio-cultural factors: the dominance of popular culture through mass media and digital platforms, which has transformed the musical preferences of younger generations; the formal education system, which still positions traditional music as a supplementary subject and limits exposure to ancestral arts; urbanization and the migration of young labor to major cities, which have reduced the social base supporting the arts in their communities of origin; and the limited economic prospects associated with the profession, which discourage young people from pursuing it as a serious career option. In the context of *Goong Renteng*, this is clearly evident in the case of *Goong Renteng Talagamanggung* in Majalengka, which is no longer performed at all — a warning that without an

appropriate regeneration strategy, *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* may face a similar fate.

Previous studies on *Goong Renteng* have been conducted from diverse perspectives. Jaap Kunst (1934) mapped the distribution of *goong renteng* across West Java as part of his ethnomusicological expedition. Nurpauziah (2016) examined *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* within the context of the *babarit* ceremony, focusing on musical notation and presentation structure (Nurpauziah, 2016). These studies have generally focused on musicological aspects such as the structure of the *laras mataraman*, the repertoire of Kebojoro, Papalayan, and Banjaran, as well as the ritual function of the gamelan. Meanwhile, research on the regeneration of traditional arts in Indonesia has generally focused on the inheritance strategies of Javanese gamelan within palace and community settings, as well as performing arts such as *wayang kulit* and *wayang orang* (Hermiasih, 2016; Rizzo, 2020), while studies on *angklung* following its UNESCO recognition have likewise garnered significant scholarly attention (Nugraha, 2019; Sumaludin, 2022). Nevertheless, these studies have generally relied on the linear master-apprentice transmission model and have paid insufficient attention to the complexity of layered regeneration pathways that integrate the dimensions of kinship, community, and institutional engagement.

This study employs three principal theoretical frameworks to interpret the regeneration process within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group. The concept of musical enculturation developed by Alan P. Merriam positions music learning as a cultural process that cannot be separated from the broader process of cultural learning as a whole (Morrison et al., 2008; Shehan Campbell, 2010); from this perspective, when an individual learns the technique of playing an instrument, they simultaneously internalize the value system, aesthetic norms, and social structure of the community supporting that art form. Meanwhile, the concept of musical transmission proposed by Bruno Nettl emphasizes that the inheritance of musical knowledge can occur through both formal-written and informal-oral pathways, each with distinct characteristics and implications (Casas-Mas et al., 2022; Irawati, 2021), while Timothy Rice enriches this concept with the time-space-metaphor model, which views music as a historical and contextual practice (Shelemay, 1987). Third, the applied ethnomusicology approach is used to examine sustainability strategies for traditional arts within contemporary contexts. The integration of these three frameworks enables the reading of regeneration as a multidimensional phenomenon involving cultural, social, and musical dimensions simultaneously.

Although studies on *Goong Renteng* have been conducted from various perspectives, no comprehensive study has yet mapped the regeneration strategy of the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group in a holistic manner. Nurpauziah's research emphasizes the musicological aspects within the context of the *babarit* ritual, while the cultural documentation produced by BPNB West Java is largely descriptive-historical in nature. Aspects such as patterns of knowledge transmission, kinship dynamics in inheritance, the role of educational institutions, and strategies of adaptation to modernity have not yet received adequate scholarly attention. This scholarly gap is particularly significant given that the *Panggugah Manah* group is unique as the oldest arts group still actively undergoing regeneration, involving students from various

levels of formal education to this day. Based on this background and the identified gap, this study aims to describe the regeneration process taking place within the group, to analyze its supporting and inhibiting factors, and to identify the adaptation strategies undertaken to ensure the sustainability of the art. The findings are expected to provide a conceptual contribution to the development of applied ethnomusicology studies in Indonesia, particularly those concerned with the preservation of community-based traditional music, and practically to serve as a reference for similar arts groups and cultural policymakers in designing more effective and sustainable preservation programs.

2. METHODS

This study employs a qualitative method (Creswell, 2018; Leavy, 2017) with a musical ethnography approach (McAllester, 1973; Merriam, 1964a; Rice, 2013; Spradley, 2007) to gain an in-depth understanding of the regeneration phenomenon within the Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah group. The musical ethnography approach was chosen because it enables the researcher to engage directly in the daily activities of the arts group while simultaneously documenting inheritance practices from the practitioners' perspective. This approach also provides space for the researcher to interpret the socio-cultural context surrounding musical practice, thereby allowing regeneration to be understood not merely as a technical-musicological event but rather as a complex cultural process. The research was conducted over a period of six months in order to provide depth of observation and to enable the researcher to witness the cycles of practice, ritual performances, and the dynamics of intergenerational interaction taking place within the group.

In conducting this ethnography, the researcher adopted the role of observer-as-participant (Gold, 1958), a stance in which the researcher's primary activity is observation while occasionally engaging in the group's practices to gain experiential understanding. Rather than training as a full apprentice *nayaga*, the researcher attended regular practice sessions primarily to observe and document, while at times handling and trying out the instruments outside the formal sessions, assisting the *nayaga* in arranging the *waditra* before and after practice, and, when invited to join the seated ensemble, taking part in striking the *gamelan*. This intermediate position was a deliberate methodological choice: it allowed the researcher to grasp the embodied and *rasa*-based dimensions of *maguru panggih* transmission firsthand – including the weight of the *panggul*, the timing of the strike, and the bodily coordination demanded of a *nayaga* – while maintaining sufficient analytical distance to document the social dynamics of regeneration without disrupting the culturally legitimate master-apprentice relationship at the core of the group's practice. These moments of limited participation, granted at the *nayaga*'s invitation rather than sought as formal training, were themselves revealing: the act of being handed a *panggul* and shown how to strike enacted in miniature the very informal, invitation-based transmission this study seeks to describe. The researcher's bodily presence within the practice space – seated among the *nayaga*, attending to the order of striking and the *undak-usuk basa* of interaction – thus became a source of ethnographic insight into how musical and social knowledge is co-transmitted.

The research was conducted in Sukamulya Village, Cigugur Subdistrict, Kuningan Regency, West Java, which serves as the base of the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group. The specific research sites include the residence of the inheritor in Sukamulya, the welding workshop owned by H. Sahri Sudarta, which serves as the regular practice venue, and the Kuningan Cultural Center as the current practice location. Research subjects were determined purposively based on the informants' involvement in and knowledge of the arts group. The key informants include H. Sahri Sudarta as the fifth-generation inheritor, senior *nayaga* who have long been members of the group, young members from the student population, as well as community leaders and cultural figures of Cigugur. The selection of diverse informants was intended to obtain intergenerational perspectives on the artistic inheritance process.

Data collection was carried out through three principal techniques that complement one another. First, participant observation was conducted by attending the regular practice sessions held on Wednesday and Saturday evenings, as well as performances during *babarit*, *seren taun*, and ceremonies welcoming honored guests. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants using a semi-structured interview guide to explore their experiences, perspectives, and motivations concerning regeneration. Third, the documentary study encompassed performance archives, photographs of activities, audio-visual recordings of practices and performances, as well as historical documents pertaining to the gamelan. In addition, the researcher gathered secondary literature, including previous research findings and publications related to *Goong Renteng*, to strengthen the contextual analysis.

Data analysis was conducted using the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, which consists of three principal stages. The first stage is data reduction, namely the process of selecting, focusing, and simplifying raw data from observations, interviews, and documentation in accordance with the focus of the research. The second stage is data display in the form of descriptive narratives, matrices, and diagrams to facilitate the reading of emerging regeneration patterns. The third stage is conclusion drawing and verification, which was undertaken iteratively throughout the research process. To ensure the validity of the data, the researcher conducted source triangulation by comparing accounts among informants, as well as method triangulation by integrating the results of observation, interviews, and documentation, so that the research findings achieve an adequate level of methodological credibility.

Given that this research engaged an indigenous community, family heirs of a sacred heirloom, and ritual practices regarded as sacred, ethical considerations were integral throughout the fieldwork. Consent to conduct the research, observe practice sessions, and document activities was obtained orally from H. Sahri Sudarta in his capacity as the fifth-generation inheritor and cultural gatekeeper of the group, consistent with the relational and community-based ethical conventions of ethnomusicological fieldwork in which the inheritor holds the customary authority to grant access on behalf of the collective. The researcher explained the academic purpose of the study to the participants prior to observation and interviews. Explicit permission was granted for the audiovisual documentation reproduced in this article, including images of the *nayaga* during practice. With regard to sacred

knowledge, the inheritor confirmed that the material discussed and documented in this study could be published; no esoteric content was withheld at the community's request. Throughout, the researcher sought to honor the dignity of the tradition and the cultural authority of its custodians, ensuring that the representation of the group reflected the practitioners' own understanding of their art.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Results

3.1.1 Profile and History of the Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah Group

Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah possesses a long history rooted in the late eighteenth century in the Kuningan region of West Java. The gamelan was originally owned by Abah Raksajaya, a resident of Sukamulya Village, Cigugur Subdistrict, who acquired it in 1792 from Buyut Anjun Pangeran Pagongan in Cirebon. The acquisition of the gamelan from Cirebon indicates the existence of a cultural network between the Kuningan region and the cultural centers along the northern coast of West Java at that time. Since the acquisition of the gamelan, Abah Raksajaya and his descendants have been responsible for preserving and playing this instrument in various ritual and social contexts. With an age of more than two centuries, *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* stands as one of the oldest active musical heritages in West Java.



Figure 1. *Nayaga* of *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* during a regular practice session at the residence of the inheritor in Sukamulya Village.

The name "*Panggugah Manah*" in Sundanese literally means "stirring the heart," reflecting the spiritual and cultural function of this gamelan for its supporting community. The selection of this name is not merely a marker of the group's identity but also embodies a profound philosophy regarding the role of music as a medium for awakening inner consciousness. When the gamelan is played, the melodious sound it produces is believed to be capable of stirring the listeners' feelings to contemplate and internalize the noble values of the ancestors. This philosophy aligns with the sacred function of the gamelan in various customary ceremonies such as *seren taun*, *babarit*, and the *mulud* tradition. This profound interpretation of the name is one of the factors that distinguishes *Panggugah Manah* from other *goong renteng* groups and serves as an attraction for younger generations to learn it.

Since first being owned by Abah Raksajaya in 1792, the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* gamelan has been entrusted to five successive generations of descendants. The current inheritor is H. Sahri Sudarta, who was born in Kuningan on 8 May 1954 and has actively led the arts group since 1984. The transfer of stewardship from one generation to the next does not occur automatically but rather through a process of selection based on sincerity, capability, and commitment to the preservation of the art. The inheritors are bound by the *amanat karuhun*, an ancestral mandate that must be obeyed, namely the prohibition against selling the gamelan to anyone. The continuity of inheritance within the Raksajaya family across five generations demonstrates the strength of kinship bonds and cultural commitment that form the foundation for the sustainability of the arts group.

3.1.2 Instrumentation Structure and Repertoire

The *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* gamelan set is made of bronze and consists of several principal instruments with specific functions within the ensemble. These instruments include thirty-four small *goong* or *kelenong* that serve as the bearers of the main melody, two large *goong* that function as markers of the end of musical cycles, *gambang* as a complementary keyed instrument, as well as two bronze *kecrek* that provide rhythmic coloration. In addition, the group also employs the large *kendang indung* and the smaller *kulanter* that function as rhythm bearers in performance. The organological grouping of the instruments demonstrates a diversity of sonic characters, with the *kongkoang*, *cempres*, and *goong* classified as idiophones, while the *kendang* and *kulanter* are classified as membranophones played by hand striking.

Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah employs a distinctive tuning known as *laras mataraman*, which differs from the *salendro* or *pelog* tunings commonly used in other Sundanese gamelans. The repertoire owned by this group is fixed and does not expand over time, as is generally characteristic of *goong renteng* art across various regions. The principal pieces performed include *Kebojoro* and *Papalayon*, which are specifically played to welcome and bid farewell to honored guests, as well as other pieces such as *Bale Bandung Besar*, *Bale Bandung Kecil*, *Sisir Ganda*, *Malang Totog*, *Sampyong*, *Tunggul Kawung*, *Randa Nunut*, *Rindik Subang*, *Panglima*, and *Banjaran*. This fixed character of the repertoire serves as a marker of artistic authenticity while simultaneously presenting a particular challenge in the process of inheritance to younger generations.

3.1.3 Patterns of Ongoing Regeneration

The findings of this study reveal that the regeneration process within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group does not occur through a single mechanism but rather through three principal pathways that synergistically intertwine. These three pathways comprise the kinship pathway within the extended Raksajaya family, the community pathway involving students and the general public, as well as the institutional pathway that engages schools, local government, and higher education institutions. Each pathway possesses distinct characteristics, actors, and mechanisms of inheritance, yet operates simultaneously under the leadership of H. Sahri Sudarta since 1984. The mapping of these

three regeneration pathways and their interconnections with the arts group is presented in the following figure.

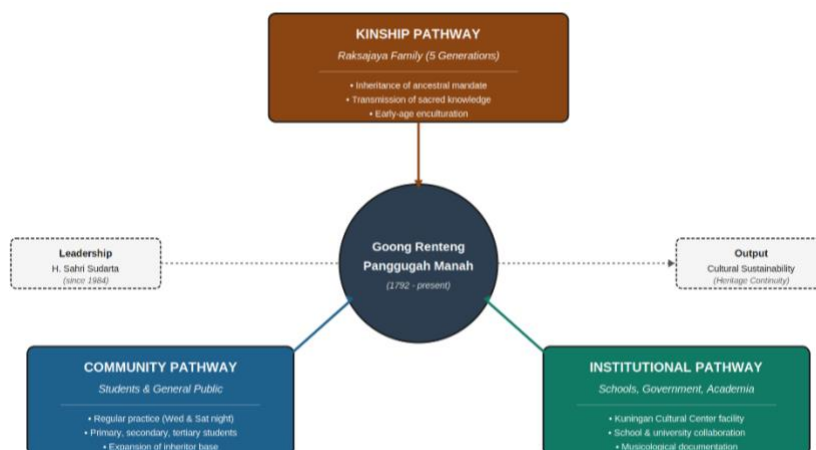


Figure 2. Three-Pathway Regeneration Model of *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah*.

The first regeneration pathway operating within *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* is the kinship pathway within the extended Raksajaya family, which has been ongoing for five generations. Inheritance through this pathway is natural in character, as family members have been exposed to musical practice from an early age through the presence of the gamelan in the household environment and their involvement in various family rituals. The children and grandchildren of the inheritors informally acquire the techniques of playing the gamelan, the repertoire, and the accompanying spiritual values through direct observation and participation. This kinship pathway ensures the transmission of core knowledge such as the *amanat karuhun* prohibiting the sale of the gamelan and the ritual bathing of the gamelan prior to the month of *Mulud*, which is known and practiced only by the legitimate inheritors across generations.

The second regeneration pathway is the community pathway, which involves the general public beyond the kinship circle of the Raksajaya family. Since H. Sahri Sudarta assumed leadership of the group in 1984, regular practice activities have been opened to participants from various backgrounds, including primary school students, secondary school students, university students, and members of the general public. Practice is conducted consistently every Wednesday and Saturday evening, initially held at H. Sahri Sudarta's wedding workshop before being relocated to the *Kuningan Cultural Center*. The opening of this community pathway constitutes a significant breakthrough, as it expands the base of inheritors from what was previously limited to the immediate family to involve a broader community sharing similar interests.

The third regeneration pathway is the institutional collaboration pathway, which involves cooperation with formal educational institutions and local government agencies. Collaboration with schools in the *Kuningan* region enables *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* to be introduced to students through extracurricular programs or local content in arts and culture education. Furthermore, support from the local government through the provision of the *Kuningan Cultural Center* as a practice

facility constitutes a form of institutional recognition and commitment to the preservation of the art. Cooperation with higher education institutions such as Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia also creates space for academic research and the development of musicological documentation of the group. The synergy among the arts group, schools, government, and higher education institutions strengthens a regeneration ecosystem that is more systematic and sustainable than would be possible if reliance were placed solely on the group's internal efforts.

3.1.4 Methods of Inheritance

Informal learning methods constitute the principal foundation of the inheritance process within *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah*, particularly through the *maguru panggih* approach, namely direct learning from the master without the intermediation of written texts. New learners are not provided with scores or standard notation; rather, they are required to observe, listen, and imitate the playing of senior *nayaga* directly during practice sessions. This approach is rooted in Sundanese epistemology, which positions musical knowledge as an embodied experience of the body and *rasa* (feeling), rather than as information that can be codified. The absence of notation, in fact, becomes a mechanism for ensuring stylistic continuity, as each young *nayaga* is compelled to connect directly with the living source of musical authority. This practice positions the body and the ear as the principal mediums for the intergenerational transmission of musical knowledge among the practitioners of the art.

The process of imitation within *maguru panggih* enables the transmission of tacit knowledge, which in Polanyi's concept refers to knowledge that is difficult to verbalize yet can be experienced through practice. Aspects such as *rasa*, the dynamics of striking, spontaneous ornamentation, and the spiritual nuances accompanying the performance of *Kebojiro* and *Papalayon* can only be transmitted through direct embodied engagement. Young *nayaga* must develop auditory sensitivity to capture the nuances of senior performers' playing, alongside bodily sensitivity to respond through precise hand strikes. The spiritual dimension of the gamelan, which is regarded as sacred, further reinforces the position of *maguru panggih* as an irreplaceable method, since sacred values can only be transmitted through direct interaction between master and apprentice within a culturally legitimate practice space.

Beyond the transmission of technical skills, this informal method also functions as a means of inculcating ethical values that holistically shape the character of arts practitioners. Reverence toward the gamelan is embodied through rituals such as removing footwear before touching the instruments, the prohibition against stepping over the *waditra* (instruments), and a respectful demeanor when playing the gamelan for the first time. Discipline regarding practice times held on Wednesday and Saturday evenings serves as a broader lesson in commitment, consistency, and cultural responsibility. Respect toward senior *nayaga* is taught through the hierarchy of seating positions, the order of striking, and proper speech employing the appropriate Sundanese *undak-usuk basa* (speech levels). The internalization of these values transforms the practice space into more than merely a place for learning music; it becomes a profound site for the formation of socio-cultural ethics.

In addition to the informal method, the group implements a semi-formal method through the organization of more structured

scheduled practices to accommodate participants from diverse backgrounds. Practice is conducted twice a week on Wednesday and Saturday evenings with a duration of approximately two and a half hours, a pattern designed to provide a consistent learning rhythm without overburdening participants from the student population. In each session, H. Sahri Sudarta provides technical guidance, corrects performance errors, and explains the historical-philosophical context of pieces such as *Kebojiro*, which functions to welcome honored guests. This semi-formal approach places the group leader in a dual position as both cultural elder and educator, a role that demands pedagogical capacities beyond the purely informal *maguru panggih* tradition practiced within the immediate family environment.

The semi-formal approach implemented by the group reflects a strategy of pedagogical hybridization that bridges the logic of traditional learning with the formality expectations of contemporary learners. Participants from the student population, who are routinely embedded within formal educational systems, tend to require schedule certainty, clarity of learning objectives, and systematic feedback in order to progress consistently. The structured practice schedule responds to these needs without sacrificing the substance of the traditional method, which remains grounded in direct observation and imitation. This hybridization stands as a noteworthy pedagogical innovation, as it demonstrates the group's adaptive capacity to translate the logic of traditional inheritance into a learning framework accessible to modern student generations, without reducing the complexity of musical knowledge that lies at the core of *Panggugah Manah's* artistic practice.

In line with technological developments, the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group has utilized digital media as a complementary method of inheritance through the documentation of performances uploaded to YouTube platforms and social media. Audio-visual recordings serve as a self-directed learning resource for participants to revisit lessons outside of the official practice schedule, while simultaneously functioning as a means of archiving the richness of the repertoire against the risk of extinction due to disruptions in oral transmission. Nevertheless, the group consciously positions digital media as a complementary method rather than a replacement for face-to-face learning, as the spiritual dimension and the distinctive musical *rasa* of *Panggugah Manah* can only be optimally transmitted through direct interaction. This positioning reflects the epistemological wisdom of the group in managing the relationship between modern technology and the integrity of traditional musical knowledge that constitutes its principal heritage.

3.1.5 Supporting and Inhibiting Factors

A number of supporting factors contribute to the success of the regeneration process within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group. First, the support of the extended Raksajaya family, which consistently upholds the *amanat karuhun* and provides practice space, serves as the principal foundation for the group's continuity. Second, the support of the Cigugur community, which still firmly upholds customary values and routinely involves the group in the *seren taun* ritual held annually from the eighteenth to the twenty-second of Rayagung. Third, the support of the local government of Kuningan Regency through the provision of the Kuningan Cultural Center as a facility for practice and

performance. Fourth, the leadership of H. Sahri Sudarta, who has been consistently and deeply committed to the preservation of the art since 1984. The combination of these factors creates a conducive ecosystem for the sustainable regeneration of the arts group.

On the other hand, the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group also faces a number of inhibiting factors in the regeneration process that warrant attention. First, competition with popular culture and contemporary music, which more dominantly attracts the interest of younger generations, has caused the number of enthusiasts of traditional arts to decline. Second, the limited economic incentives for arts practitioners discourage many young people from pursuing this art form as a serious professional choice for the future. Third, the limited time of learners, who must divide their attention between formal academic demands and arts practice activities. Fourth, the condition of the gamelan, which is more than two centuries old, requires special maintenance and restricted use to specific occasions. These inhibiting factors demand adaptive strategies from the group to safeguard the sustainability of regeneration.

3.2 Discussion

3.2.1 Regeneration as a Layered Enculturation Process

The classification of these three pathways as primary, secondary, and tertiary enculturation warrants explicit theoretical clarification. The terms are not adopted wholesale from a single pre-existing framework; rather, they constitute an analytical model developed inductively from the field findings of this study. The distinction draws conceptual inspiration from two sources. First, Merriam's (1964) account of enculturation positions the family and immediate community as the primary locus through which musical and cultural values are internalized. Second, Berger and Luckmann's (1966) distinction between primary socialization (the foundational internalization of the social world within the family during early life) and secondary socialization (the later induction into specialized institutional sub-worlds) offers a useful analogue for distinguishing the kinship and community pathways observed in *Panggugah Manah*.

It is important to note, however, that Berger and Luckmann posited only two phases; the "tertiary" layer is this study's own extension, introduced to account for an empirical reality their framework did not anticipate – namely, the role of formal institutions (schools, local government, and universities) as a distinct site of cultural transmission that confers legitimacy and material support without itself being the primary bearer of embodied musical knowledge. Accordingly, the primary-secondary-tertiary scheme is offered not as a universal typology but as a context-specific analytical lens, grounded in and accountable to the observed regeneration dynamics of this particular group. The three layers are understood as concentric and simultaneous rather than developmental or hierarchical, distinguishing this model from the sequential life-stage logic of the socialization literature from which it borrows.

The findings concerning the three regeneration pathways previously presented can be analyzed more deeply through a framework of layered enculturation that positions each pathway within a distinct cultural location. The kinship pathway functions as

primary enculturation that constitutes the core of inheritance, the community pathway as secondary enculturation that expands the base of practitioners, and the institutional pathway as tertiary enculturation that provides legitimacy and external support. These three layers do not operate sequentially or hierarchically, but rather simultaneously and mutually reinforcing one another around *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* as the sacred core of the group. The conceptual visualization of this layered regeneration model, together with the function and mechanism of each layer, is presented in the following figure.

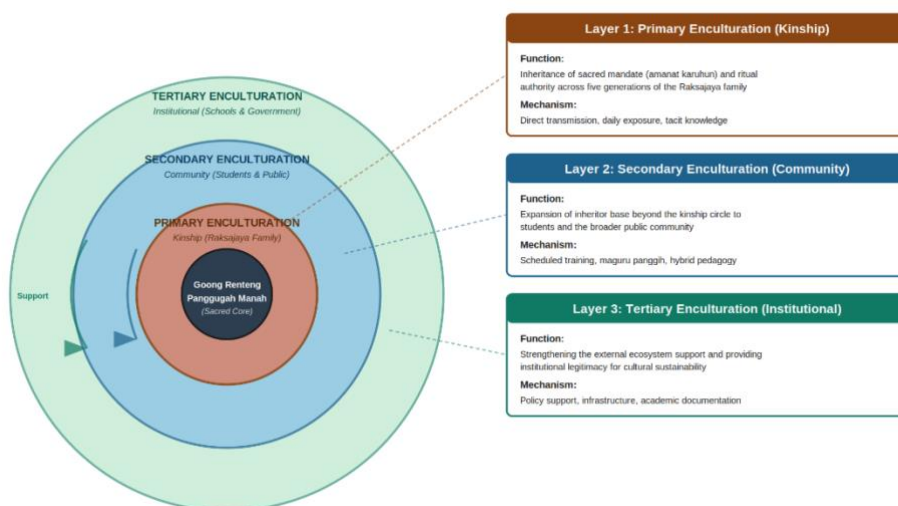


Figure 3. Layered Regeneration Model of *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah*.

The findings of this study reveal that the regeneration process within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group does not unfold along a single pathway, but rather across several cultural layers operating concurrently and reinforcing one another. The first layer is family enculturation through the Raksajaya kinship pathway, the second layer is community enculturation through the involvement of the general public, and the third layer is institutional enculturation through cooperation with educational institutions and the government. These three layers operate simultaneously and do not replace one another, but rather complement each other in ensuring the sustainability of the group. This layered regeneration pattern constitutes a significant finding that reveals the complexity of the traditional music inheritance process within the contemporary social context, which cannot be reduced to a linear master-apprentice transmission mechanism alone.

The findings concerning layered enculturation align with the concept of musical enculturation developed by Alan P. Merriam, which emphasizes that music learning is inseparable from cultural learning as a whole (Merriam, 1964b). In the case of Panggugah Manah, learners not only acquire the techniques of playing the gamelan but also internalize philosophical values such as the meaning of "stirring the heart," reverence for the *karuhun* (ancestors), and the ethics of artistic engagement within the Sundanese cultural context. This process involves the family domain as the unit of primary enculturation and the community as the unit of secondary enculturation, as articulated by Merriam within his ethnomusicological framework. Accordingly, regeneration within Panggugah Manah can be understood as a holistic cultural process and not merely as the transmission of technical-musical skills to the next generation of practitioners.

3.2.2 Musical Transmission between Oral Tradition and Modernity

A compelling aspect of the regeneration process within *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* is the group's capacity to maintain oral tradition as the principal method of inheritance amid the currents of modernization. Musical knowledge such as the striking patterns of *Kebojoro*, *Papalayan*, and other repertoire continues to be transmitted through direct observation and imitation without reliance on standardized written notation. This approach corresponds with the character of Sundanese traditional music, which emphasizes *rasa* and embodied appreciation rather than technical-notational precision. Maintaining oral tradition also constitutes a strategy for preserving the authenticity of the distinctive playing style of *Panggugah Manah*, which cannot be fully reduced to musical notation. Even when notation has been produced by researchers such as Nurpaujiah, such notation continues to function as academic documentation rather than as a substitute for direct oral transmission.

While oral tradition is preserved, the *Panggugah Manah* group also demonstrates openness in embracing new media as a support for the inheritance process. The use of audio-visual recordings, digital documentation, and social media platforms serves as a complementary means that helps expand the reach of learning and the promotion of the art. This phenomenon reflects the dynamics of contemporary musical transmission articulated by Timothy Rice, in which traditional music is not static but rather continuously negotiates with technology and new media without losing its essence (Krader & Rice, 1995). In the case of *Panggugah Manah*, the integration of oral tradition and digital media demonstrates that the inheritance of traditional music need not be puritanical in rejecting modernity. On the contrary, the selective utilization of new media can strengthen the sustainability of the art by expanding access and the participation of contemporary younger generations.

This selective stance, however, deserves to be read more critically rather than celebrated as straightforward adaptation. Discussions of cultural resilience in the digital era (Rusnalasari, 2025a) tend to frame technology as an enabling force that helps traditional music reach younger, urban audiences. The *Panggugah Manah* case both supports and qualifies this view. It supports it insofar as digital documentation demonstrably widens access and promotion; but it qualifies it by revealing a deliberate ceiling the group places on technology's role. The practitioners' insistence that audiovisual media can archive and circulate the repertoire but cannot transmit *rasa* and the sacred dimension is not a technological limitation — it is an epistemological boundary the community actively draws. This resonates with Rice's argument that music is a historical and contextual practice rather than a fixed object: what cannot be digitized is precisely the contextual, embodied dimension that gives the practice its meaning. The implication is that resilience here is not achieved by embracing technology, but by governing it — a distinction the optimistic resilience literature does not always make.

3.2.3 Adaptive Strategies of the Group in Sustaining Continuity

One of the adaptive strategies developed by the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group is the implementation of intergenerational collaboration within practice and performance

activities. In every practice session, senior *nayaga* from the Raksajaya family interact directly with young participants from the student population and the general public within the same space. This intergenerational interaction creates a space for cultural dialogue in which the knowledge and experience of seniors can be organically transmitted to the younger generation, while the enthusiasm and creativity of the younger generation infuse new energy into the group. This strategy also helps narrow the generational gap that often impedes the preservation of traditional arts. Such collaboration constitutes an effective model because it does not position the younger generation as passive recipients but rather as active partners in the continuity of the arts group.

Another adaptive strategy developed by the group is the expansion of performance contexts from the purely ritual domain to a broader socio-cultural sphere. Whereas in the past *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* was performed only within sacred ritual contexts such as the *mulud* tradition, the group now actively performs in various public events such as carnivals, allegorical parades commemorating national holidays, community celebrations, and other festive occasions. This expansion of context has indeed generated controversy regarding the potential for desacralization, yet it also opens opportunities for the group to gain wider recognition and to attract the interest of younger generations to join. The negotiation between maintaining sacredness and adapting to the demands of the times constitutes a strategy that must be wisely managed so that the core values of the art remain safeguarded amid social dynamics.

3.2.4 Implications for the Preservation of Traditional Arts

The regeneration experience of *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* carries significant implications as a model for similar traditional arts groups in Indonesia. The layered regeneration pattern, which integrates the kinship, community, and institutional pathways, demonstrates that the sustainability of the arts cannot rely on a single mechanism alone. Traditional arts groups facing a regeneration crisis can learn from how *Panggugah Manah* opens itself to participants beyond the immediate family without relinquishing control over the cultural authority of its inheritors. This model is also relevant for other *goong renteng* groups, such as *Embah Bandong* in Lebakwangi-Bandung and *Talagamanggung* in Majalengka, which have experienced stagnation or are no longer performed at all. Accordingly, *Panggugah Manah* may serve as a concrete example of community-based sustainability strategy for traditional arts.

The role of educational institutions and the government has proven to be a significant determining factor in the success of the regeneration of the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group. The provision of practice facilities by the local government in the form of the *Kuningan* Cultural Center delivers infrastructural support critically needed by traditional arts groups, which generally lack adequate financial resources. Furthermore, the involvement of students from various levels of education in regular practice positions schools as strategic partners in expanding the base of learners. Academic research from higher education institutions such as Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia also contributes through musicological documentation and the development of literature on the art. This institutional synergy demonstrates that the

preservation of traditional arts requires an ecosystem of support that engages various stakeholders beyond the arts group itself.

3.2.5 Contribution to the Discourse of Applied Ethnomusicology

This claim requires grounding in the broader debate within applied ethnomusicology rather than being asserted on the strength of a single case. Applied ethnomusicology has increasingly insisted that scholarly knowledge carry a social responsibility toward the communities it studies (Alge & Mendivil, 2019), and that safeguarding intangible heritage succeed only when it works with, rather than upon, the bearers of tradition (Schippers, 2015). The *Panggugah Manah* experience offers a concrete test of that principle. Here, external support from government and universities proved generative precisely because it strengthened rather than supplanted the inheritors' cultural authority — the institutional pathway supplied facilities and legitimacy but never claimed the right to define the art. This is the pivot on which sustainability turned. It suggests that the frequent failure of top-down preservation programs is not a matter of insufficient funding or weak implementation, as is often assumed, but of a misplaced locus of authority: programs that position the community as object rather than author sever the very relationship through which the tradition reproduces itself. The case thus converts a general principle of applied ethnomusicology into a specific, falsifiable proposition about where authority must reside.

The study of regeneration within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group provides substantive enrichment to applied ethnomusicology studies in Indonesia. The applied ethnomusicology approach emphasizes that musicological knowledge does not merely halt at the descriptive-academic aspect but must also be capable of making tangible contributions to the preservation and development of arts in the field (Alge & Mendivil, 2019; Schippers, 2015). The findings of this study demonstrate a concrete model of how ethnomusicological knowledge can be utilized to support regeneration strategies for traditional arts groups through the mapping of inheritance pathways, the identification of supporting and inhibiting factors, and the formulation of practical recommendations. This contribution complements previous ethnomusicological studies, which have generally focused on musicological description and have paid insufficient attention to the dimension of artistic sustainability within the broader socio-cultural context of supporting communities.

One of the significant findings of this study is that community-based approaches have proven to be more sustainable than top-down approaches in the preservation of traditional arts. In the case of *Panggugah Manah*, regeneration initiatives grow from within the group with external support that strengthens rather than replaces the cultural authority of the inheritors. This approach differs from many preservation programs designed bureaucratically by government institutions without substantive involvement of arts practitioners, which consequently often fail to be sustainable. The experience of *Panggugah Manah* demonstrates that arts communities possess internal capacity to manage their own regeneration when granted appropriate space and support. This implication is important for the formulation of cultural preservation policy in Indonesia, which should position communities as principal actors rather than as mere objects of preservation programs.

4. CONCLUSION

Regeneration within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* arts group unfolds through three principal pathways that complement and reinforce one another. The kinship pathway of the Raksajaya family, which has continued for five generations, serves as the foundation for the inheritance of cultural authority and the *amanat karuhun*. The community pathway, through the involvement of students from various educational levels and the general public, expands the base of arts inheritors. The institutional collaboration pathway, with schools, local government, and higher education institutions, strengthens the ecosystem of external support for the sustainability of the group. These three regeneration pathways operate simultaneously under the leadership of H. Sahri Sudarta since 1984. This layered regeneration pattern stands as a substantive finding that reveals the complexity of the traditional music inheritance process within contemporary Indonesian society.

The inheritance of the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* art combines traditional methods with the selective and judicious utilization of contemporary media. Oral tradition remains the principal method through the *maguru panggih* approach, which ensures the transmission of tacit knowledge and the distinctive musical *rasa*. Meanwhile, the utilization of digital media such as audio-visual recordings and social media platforms functions as a complement that expands access to learning and promotion. This synthesis between tradition and modernity demonstrates that the preservation of traditional arts need not be puritanical in rejecting technology but can rather accommodate new media so long as the essence of the art remains preserved. This experience offers a concrete illustration of how traditional arts can negotiate with modernity without losing the cultural roots that constitute the source of their identity and uniqueness.

Socio-cultural and economic factors constitute the principal determinants of the success of the regeneration process within the *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* group. The supporting factors include the support of the extended Raksajaya family, the participation of the Cigugur community, the support of the local government, and the consistent leadership of H. Sahri Sudarta. Meanwhile, the inhibiting factors include competition with popular culture, the limited economic incentives for arts practitioners, the time constraints of learners, and the condition of the aging gamelan. Managing the balance between these supporting and inhibiting factors constitutes an ongoing challenge that the group must continuously address. This finding affirms that the success of regeneration cannot be separated from the socio-economic context of the supporting community and requires adaptive management strategies responsive to the dynamics of changing times.

This study provides a conceptual contribution to the study of traditional music regeneration in Indonesia through the development of a layered regeneration model that integrates the kinship, community, and institutional pathways. The experience of the *Panggugah Manah* group can serve as a reference for similar arts groups and cultural policymakers in designing more effective preservation strategies. Further research is recommended to examine the aesthetic-musical dimensions and the possibilities of intergenerational repertoire transformation, which have not yet been comprehensively addressed. In addition, comparative studies between *Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah* and other *goong*

renteng groups, such as *Embah Bandong* in Bandung and *Talagamanggung* in Majalengka, may enrich the understanding of the regeneration dynamics of traditional arts. The applied ethnomusicology approach must continue to be developed to support the preservation of community-based traditional arts.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION

Abizar Algifari Saiful designed the research, conducted the fieldwork, performed data analysis, and drafted the manuscript. Rita Tila supervised the research, provided theoretical guidance, and reviewed the manuscript. Reyhan Swarna Media assisted in data collection, documentation, and manuscript editing. All authors have read and approved the final version of the manuscript.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to the Directorate of Research and Community Service (Direktorat Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat/ DPPM) of Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia for the financial support and research facilitation that enabled the completion of this study. The authors also extend their appreciation to the Faculty of Arts and Design Education (Fakultas Pendidikan Seni dan Desain / FPSD), Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, for providing institutional support, academic guidance, and a conducive scholarly environment throughout the research process. Furthermore, the authors are deeply grateful to H. Sahri Sudarta and the entire community of Goong Renteng Panggugah Manah in Sukamulya, Cigugur, Kuningan, for their warm hospitality, openness, and willingness to share their invaluable cultural knowledge during the fieldwork.

DECLARATIONS

Use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in Manuscript Preparation

The authors affirm that the generative AI tool Claude (Anthropic) was used during the revision of this manuscript to assist with language refinement and with structuring and articulating arguments in the introduction and discussion sections, including framing the dialogue between the study's findings and existing literature. The AI tool did not generate, fabricate, or supply any empirical data, interview material, or field findings; all data, their interpretation, and all scholarly claims originate from and remain the responsibility of the authors. The authors reviewed, verified, and take full responsibility for all content of the manuscript

REFERENCES

- Afryanto, S., Nalan, A. S., & Rachmadi, G. (2023). Gong Rénténg Transformation From Sacral to Profan. *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 39(1), 52–60.
<https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v39i1.2520>.
- Alge, B., & Mendívil, J. (2019). Über Ziele und Ansätze der angewandten Musikethnologie als Ausdruck sozialer Verantwortung. *Die Musikforschung*, 72(4), 298–306.
<https://doi.org/10.52412/mf.2019.H4.36>.
- Amalia, R., Shifa, L. N., & Fadilah, A. A. (2025). Pengaruh Globalisasi terhadap Minat Generasi Muda dalam Melestarikan

- Kesenian Tradisional Indonesia. *TSAQOFAH*, 5(1), 675–684.
<https://doi.org/10.58578/tsaqofah.v5i1.4577>.
- Asfina, R., & Ovilia, R. (2017). Be proud of Indonesian cultural heritage richness and be alert of its preservation efforts in the global world. *Humanus*, 15(2), 195.
<https://doi.org/10.24036/jh.v15i2.6428>.
- Casas-Mas, A., Pozo, J. I., & Montero, I. (2022). Oral Tradition as Context for Learning Music From 4E Cognition Compared With Literacy Cultures. Case Studies of Flamenco Guitar Apprenticeship. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.733615>.
- Creswell, J. W. . (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design : Choosing among five approaches*. SAGE Publications.
- Gold, R. L. (1958). Roles in Sociological Field Observations. *Social Forces*, 36(3), 217–223. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2573808>.
- Gwerevende, S., & Mthombeni, Z. M. (2023). Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage: exploring the synergies in the transmission of Indigenous languages, dance and music practices in Southern Africa. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 29(5), 398–412.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2023.2193902>.
- Hani, N. I., Sintiya, A. M., Hidayah, S., Purwadi, R., Aziz, R., & Saputra, M. D. (2024). Implementasi Kesenian Gong Renteng Terhadap Kebersamaan Masyarakat antar Umat Beragama di Kelurahan Sukamulya, Kuningan. *JRCE (Journal of Research on Community Engagement)*, 6(1), 41–49.
<https://doi.org/10.18860/jrce.v6i1.29035>.
- Hermiasih, L. (2016). "Diaspora Indonesia dan Gamelan Jawa di Inggris: Dampak Relokasi Tradisi terhadap Pembentukan Identitas dan Komunitas." *Jurnal Kajian Seni*, 1(2), 130.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/art.11637>.
- Huang, Y., Chuangprakhon, S., & Santaveesuk, P. (2024). Preservation and Transmission of Shaanxi Guzheng Musical Instruments: Challenges and Strategies for Cultural Sustainability. *International Research Journal of Multidisciplinary Scope*, 05(04), 147–158.
<https://doi.org/10.47857/irjms.2024.05i04.01265>.
- Irawati, E. (2021). transmission of resilience learning in the context of formal education an ethnomusicological review. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 5(S3), 1040–1053.
<https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v5nS3.1664>.
- Kunst, J. (1949). *Music In Java: Its History, Its Theory, and Its Technique*. Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V.
- Kurin, R. (2004). Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal. *Museum International*, 56(1–2), 66–77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00459.x>.
- Leavy, P. (2017). *Research design: quantitative, qualitative, mixed method, arts-based, and community-based participatory research Approaches*. The Guilford Press.
- McAllester, D. P. (1973). The Ethnomusicologist. *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 21(2), 187–188.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3344596>.
- Merriam, A. P. (1964a). *The Anthropology of Music*. Northwestern University Press.
- Merriam, A. P. (1964b). The Arts and Anthropology. In S. Tax (Ed.), *Horizons of Anthropology*. Aldine Publishing Company.

- Morrison, S. J., Demorest, S. M., & Stambaugh, L. A. (2008). Enculturation Effects in Music Cognition. *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 56(2), 118–129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022429408322854>.
- Nugraha, A. (2019). *Angklung Tradisional Sunda: Intangible, Cultural Heritage of Humanity, Penerapannya dan Pengkontribusiannya Terhadap Kelahiran Angklung Indonesia*. <https://doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/v94c8>.
- Nurpaujiah, D. (2016). *Kesenian goong renteng panggugah manah dalam acara babarit di desa sukamulya kecamatan cigugur kabupaten kuningan [Skripsi]*. Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia.
- Rendy, F. (2025). Konservasi dan Rekam Jejak Musik Tradisional. *Profilm Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Perfilman Dan Pertelevision*, 3(1), 89–104. <https://doi.org/10.56849/jpf.v3i1.49>.
- Rice, T. (2013). *Ethnomusicology*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780199794379.001.0001>
- Rizzo, R. (2020). Knowledge Transmission in Javanese Karawitan: Is It Time for an Ontological Turn? *Asian Music*, 51(1), 94–117. <https://doi.org/10.1353/amu.2020.0004>.
- Rusnalasari, Z. D. (2025). Cultural Resilience in the Digital Era: A Study on Traditional Music and Urban Adolescents. *Harmonia: Journal of Music and Arts*, 3(3), 168–178. <https://doi.org/10.61978/harmonia.v3i3.671>.
- Saiful, A. A., & Sukmayadi, Y. (2024). Utilization of Music Notation as an Adaptation of Sundanese Music Learning Technology. *Korean Music Education Society*, 53(3), 93–114. <https://doi.org/10.30775/KMES.53.3.93>.
- Saiful, A. A., Sukmayadi, Y., & Masunah, J. (2025). Bincarung: Children's Kawih Compositions Based on Sundanese Local Wisdom. *Malaysian Journal of Music*, 14(1), 82–97. <https://doi.org/10.37134/mjm.vol14.1.5.2025>.
- Schippers, H. (2015). *Applied Ethnomusicology and Intangible Cultural Heritage* (S. Pettan & J. T. Titon, Eds.). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199351701.013.7>.
- Shehan Campbell, P. (2010). Musical enculturation: sociocultural influences and meanings of children's experiences in and through music. In *A Cultural Psychology of Music Education* (pp. 61–81). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199214389.003.0004>.
- Shelemay, K. K. (1987). Response to Rice. *Ethnomusicology*, 31(3), 489. <https://doi.org/10.2307/851668>.
- Spradley, J. P. (2007). *Metode Etnografi*. Tiara Wacana.
- Sumaludin, M. M. (2022). Angklung Tradisional Sebagai Sumber Belajar Sejarah Lokal. *Prabayaksa: Journal of History Education*, 2(1), 52. <https://doi.org/10.20527/pby.v2i1.5033>.