CHAPTER III

Young manhood: marriage, education, and links with the *santri* community, 1803-1805

*First marriage and development of the Tegalreja community*

It is likely that in the period immediately following his great-grandmother’s death in October 1803, Dipanagara deepened his connections with a number of intimate associates among the *ulama* who resided in the villages around Tegalreja. Some of these he would later dispatch on pilgrimages to local shrines and holy sites in the period before the Java War.¹ Such relationships were undoubtedly strengthened through the prince’s first marriage (circa 1804) to the daughter of a prominent religious teacher from the Slèman area to the north of Yogya.

This young woman, Radèn Ayu Retna Madubrangta, was the second daughter of Kyai Gedhé Dhadhapan from the village of Dhadhapan near Tempèl in the Turi sub-district close to the Yogya-Kedhu border.² She was the mother of Dipanagara’s eldest and most able son, whom the prince always favoured amongst his other children (*Javasche Courant* 92, 6-8-1829), and who would later take his father’s young adult name of Radèn Mas Antawirya, subsequently being appointed as Pangéran Dipanagara II in August 1825. Under his post-war Javanese Muslim name of Radèn Mantri Muhamad Ngarip, he would write a prophetic-historical account of his life and times – the *Babad Dipanagara Surya Ngalam* – in which his mother is described in glowing terms as a very devout woman who took pleasure in accompanying her husband in his religious duties. According to Dipanagara II, they remained close until the elder Dipanagara was prevailed upon by his father, the third sultan, to make a more prestigious ‘political’ marriage to Radèn Ajeng Supadmi (post-1807, Radèn Ayu Retnakusuma), the possibly part-Chinese daughter of the Yogya *bupati* of Panolan, Radèn Tumenggung Natawijaya III, on 25 February 1807.³

¹ See Plate 14 and Appendix VIIb, sub: Jaëlani, Muhamad, Jayamustapa (alias Sukbatuliman), Mopid, Mudha. One of Dipanagara’s sons, Radèn Mas Alip (see Appendix IV note 1), mentioned the names of two other close associates, Wiryakusuma and Jaya Muhamad, Nahuys van Burgst 1835-36, I.13.

² LOr 6488 (*Babad Dipanagara, Surya Ngalam*):14, I.14.

³ The bride’s mother may have been a daughter of Hamengkubuwana II by one of his favour-
This was an elaborate affair – a double wedding ceremony in fact since the prince's younger sister was also married on that day – and the gifts from the Surakarta court alone amounted to over 1,600 *kati* (one tonne) of rice, 16 buffaloes and 200 *ronde realen* (480 guilders). The Dutch Resident, Matthijs Waterloo (in office 1803-1808), even gave the prince and his younger sister 21 ells (just under five feet) of parchment in addition to his other more predictable wedding presents such as lengths of chintz and prestigious silk patola cloth from the former Dutch trading post of Surat in western India, the last of which was often used as bride wealth. This gift of parchment must have assumed a certain level of literacy on the part of the newly weds.

This second wife had only met Dipanagara three months before their marriage and their union does not seem to have been a particularly happy one since the prince never once referred to her in his autobiography. She also behaved, according to Dipanagara II, in an arrogant and unjust way towards his more lowly-born mother, and one can only surmise that this may have driven the latter to an early grave. The elder Dipanagara made only one mention of Madubrangta in his *babad* and that was late in the Java War, when he wrote that she had died during his time at Tegalreja (namely, pre-July 1825), referring to her as *bibi* (auntie), a term often used in Javanese court circles to designate mothers of less elevated social standing. Her father Kyai Gedhé...