

## A DISPUTE OVER LAND OWNERSHIP IN DAMPELAS: HEGEMONY OF DUTCH EAST INDIES AND BANAWA

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### ABSTRACT

This study affirms that the core issues of the land ownership disputes case in Dampelas region can be acknowledged, where land ownership is envisaged in the context of social, cultural and economic value. This research employs a historical method in which the source, including books, journals, archives, newspapers contemporaries, and research results. This study aims to explain the existence Dampelas which in the past was part of the Celebes Afdeling Midden located between two reigns, namely the Kingdom of Banawa in Donggala and Dutch East Indies in Batavia through their representatives in Makassar and Manado. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this area became an important part of the Dutch East Indies in Banawa. The Dutch tried to take over the management of the potential of forest products Dampelas, without giving concessions to indigenous groups. In the reign of King Lamarauna, Kingdom of Banawa successfully suppress Dampelas without the cost and burden of war.

Keywords: Land ownership, hegemony, war

### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa isu-isu inti dari kasus sengketa kepemilikan tanah di wilayah Dampelas dapat diakui, di mana kepemilikan tanah ini dipertimbangkan dalam konteks nilai sosial, budaya dan ekonomi. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah di mana sumber, termasuk buku, jurnal, arsip, koran sezaman, dan hasil penelitian. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan Dampelas keberadaan yang di masa lalu adalah bagian dari Afdeling Midden Celebes terletak di antara dua pemerintahan, yaitu Kerajaan Banawa di Donggala dan Hindia Belanda di Batavia melalui perwakilan mereka di Makassar dan Manado. Pada akhir abad kesembilan belas dan awal abad kedua puluh, daerah ini menjadi bagian penting dari Hindia Belanda di Banawa. Belanda mencoba untuk mengambil alih pengelolaan potensi hasil hutan Dampelas, tanpa memberikan konsesi kepada kelompok masyarakat adat. Pada masa pemerintahan Raja Lamarauna, Kerajaan Banawa berhasil menekan Dampelas tanpa biaya dan beban perang.

Kata kunci: kepemilikan tanah, hegemoni, perang

## **INTRODUCTION**

Dampelas as part of the history of Donggala District has rarely been discussed and very few studies conducted to clarify its history. Furthermore, history has not been a part of Dampelas people's public lives, making it is difficult to map the events in the region. Moreover, Dampelas is now only a small region located on the west coast of Donggala District, so Dampelas is underestimated in the history of Central Sulawesi. Several books and research results regarding Central Sulawesi has not been much mention of the existence of a community that speaks Dampelas language has a significant influence on the civilization of people of Central Sulawesi.

The dynamic of such resistance can be analyzed through a historical approach. The dynamic of the region's history is a major source of analysis in this paper with the reference to the argument of Bambang Purwanto, who states that:

In Indonesia, the agrarian affair is a political and humanitarian issue. The agrarian issues basically concerns with the "power" over all elements involve in the agrarian lives by each party that involved in. At this level, it can be said that agrarian affairs are a product of relation and interrelation among people, state, and environment that making land and control as the core problem (Purwanto, 2014: xv).

The ruling party is the dominant power in the land tenure. However, it was not applicable generally. Interesting cases of the land ownership dispute over in Dampelas continues contested between society and ruling party since the colonial era up to the period post-Indonesia's independence. According to Laksmi Savitri that:

In general, in Indonesia, the types of agrarian crisis are: (1) conflicting claims and ownership of land and other agrarian resources; (2) community lost their control over land and other agrarian resources; (3) limited access for people with economic resources and livelihoods; 4) limited self-control and self-management over the process of ecological destructive. (Lutfi, 2012: vi-vii).

The focus of this study has not got much attention of Indonesian historians. The focus of this study has not got much attention from the Indonesian historians. Political competition continues in the region, which impact on the socio-cultural relations, so both these issues become a source of the problem in Dampelas. By this study, the researcher would claim that the root causes of land disputes in Dampelas can be acknowledged, where land ownership is envisaged in the context of social, cultural and economic value (Purwanto, 2014: 27).

The purpose of this research is to describe a social development of Dampelas in the context of its history, before and after the colonial intervention. Dampelas, as a separate part of regional unities like Tolitoli or Donggala, shows a special case in its response to the change that made as a result of outside intervention. It is important to explore it because there is a trend among Dampelas people to express their local identity that leads to an administratively separated area.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This research is historical one. So the method used in this research is historical procedure. The method, based on a documentary qualitative research, is consisted of four steps: heuristic, critic, interpretation, and reconstruction. As Garraghan (1957:33) said "a system of right procedure for the attainment of historical truth". So, following the above mentioned quotation, the target of historical research is to attain a historical truth in a written form, as a result of reconstruction process based on historical sources.

Historical sources in this research are consisted of some archives or documents, books, journals, contemporary mass media and some previous research reports on Dampelas. The first step is to explore, to find and to select them for data verification. Their accuracy is a priority. After verification process, data will be criticized (Notosusanto, 1978: 38-39). Next, interpretation is made for getting a historical fact. The process is a typology of his-

torical research to reconstruct a phenomenon from the past (Wasino, 2016).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

There are some historians and researchers who made any research on the topic, geographically of thematically. The majority of them is Dutch, and they published their rapport in Dutch, because they did it in the colonial period. Albert C. Kruyt, one of them, is a Christian missionary in Central Sulawesi who made an anthropological research on the people of his mission field. The field included the area stretch to Tolitoli in the north and Mamuju in the south (Kuyt & Adriani, 1950). Dampelas, as a part of Tolitoli, could be classified into this area anthropological study. Through his approach of the cultural, and language aspect, Kruyt analyzed a socio-culture and kinship among the native people in this area, included Dampelas. He tried to separate between new structures that established by a colonial regime, and an original structure based on a patron-client tie. So, Kruyt could offer any description about an original cultural and socio-kinship among the people of Central Sulawesi.

Although very detailed and thorough in his analysis, Kruyt made a great mistake. He called all the people inhabited the area as Toraja. Meanwhile people who lived in some regions of this area as Donggala, Palu, Parigi, Tolitoli and Dampelas classified as Kaili people. It differs from Toraja anthropologically, culturally and politically. Ironically, Kruyt called Toraja for the people who inhabited in Mamuju and north of south Sulawesi also as Toraja, as they are called today.

The next literary is an article published in a classic cultural journal of the Dutch, *Bijdragen tot Konoklijk Instituut voor Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*, published by *Konoklijk Instituut voor Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*, Dutch's royal institute for indonesian's language, geografi, and ethnography studies. The article talked about Donggala area, as a part of Central Sulawesi (Midden Celebes) afdeling (administrative district). This arti-

cle is more an official rappers than an analysis, because it offers some description about a fact, without an in-depth study by any researcher.

In this article, Dampelas was said as an administrative and cultural unit under Donggala, as a capital of district in the Dutch's territorial administrative structure. It is interesting that Dampelas was under Tolitoli but Donggala or Banawa, a traditional political unit before the Dutch's establishment. According to the rapport, Dampelas was a densely populated area among another. However, most people in Dampelas was called as under develop, at least comparing to the other. So Dampelas was an arm area. Even as it is said that the Dampelas people lived as a primitive one. It can be seen from their weapon and their lifestyle with hunting and gathering the forest's products (*Bijdragen tot de Koninklijk Instituut voor Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*, 1905:515).

Another literary from under Dutch journal was published in 1898. As the one before, Dampelas in this article is a secondary object. The focus of article is on maritime military operation by the Dutch in its pacification process for Buitengewesten (the outer islands) in the late nineteenth century. A part of this article described a maritime landing operation of Dutch marine personnel on Dampelas coast. But it is interesting that the author called Dampelas as a part of Tolitoli, not Donggala or Banawa (*Marineblad*, 1889: 472). It is more right than the other above article, that classified Dampelas under Donggala.

The last one is David Henley's work, *Fertility, Food, and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi 1600-1930* (Hanley, 2005). Henley's research has a focus on social history, with priority on demographic and medical history. His spatial scope is a region of North and Central Sulawesi, included area Tolitoli and Dampelas. He described how the social change was happened among the people in this region because of modern technical

system in healing disease and in increasing a quality of life. With his temporal scope for more than three centuries, he tries to explore the basic cause underlying such social change.

Although he mentions Dampelas only one time in his book, his description about the region can be used as a background for understanding the context of historical and social change among the local people. It can be related to a local change in Dampelas for contemporary period. Henley is right to explain about the social change in a demographic sector that related to some traditional values. The relation will be confirmed in this article.

The history of Dampelas is difficult to track, but a research conducted by Riska Nur Fadliah gives some ideas as: According to the ancestor's story, Dampelas was once a wilderness area. The ancestors of To Dampelas or Dampelas People originally settled in Bulur Sitangke or Mount Sitangke that is near Hano Ngapang or Lake Village. Over time the population grew in number, hence, some villagers moved from the mountains and open up new areas around Mount Sitangke. The first area which is home To Dampelas or Dampelas People was Ngapang Talaga or Kampung Talaga. Dampelas is the name of the native tribe in the region, which later became the name of a district. The people who inhabit the region throughout this district is To Dampelas or Dampelas people, so this area is called Dampelas sub-district. Based on ancestor's story, the word Dampelas derived from Dampelas (the language of Dampelas tribe) which consists of two syllables, namely Dampe and Las. Dampe means Fruits and Las meaning sincere.

So Dampelas is interpreted as "Fruit of sincerity". The word Dampelas is used to name the District to illustrate that the native of Dampelas sub-district is Dampelas tribe. Now, there are many tribes inhabit in this area, whether due to inter-tribal marriages and migrant communities, such as Buginese, Kailinese, Mandarnese, Javanese, Lomboknese, Ba-

linese, Torajanese, etc (Nur, 2010: 28-29).

There are three things that can be explained through the above story: *Firstly*, there is a pattern of migration that are generally applicable in Central Sulawesi. Mountains are important residential areas important for the community, especially in the folklores, so that cultural and historical stories associated with the mountains are considered to have high value. Thus, it believed that people who live on mountaintops will have a privileged position in society. Similarly with their descendants who continue to perpetuate the story and hope that social status is well maintained.

*Secondly*, no one should be surprised if the Dampelas people who live in Bulur Sitangke moved to Kampung Talaga. This is a common phenomenon in Central Sulawesi that the settlement was originally located in the mountains, then moved to the beach area. For the case in Dampelas, before arriving at the beach, people have found Lake Talaga, an area that has met the basic need of the people since it is suitable for cultivation and abundance of water resources.

*Thirdly*, displacement is not only a long trip of a society but also a way to find new land for cultivation. In addition, it is also possible to avoid outbreaks of disease and avoid attacks from other groups. Moving from one place to another has become a tradition at the Dampelas since one of the agrarian traditions is that the community move from one location to another. The more often they move, the more likely they vast agricultural land.

In connection with the Lake Dampelas, there is a folk tale that explains its history that a myth of demigod mighty of the land of Bugis, Sawerigading, should end his journey in Tano Dampelas. According to the story, Sawerigading sailing in the Makassar Strait with his fleet and stranded in Tano Dampelas because of storms. All soldiers and loyal followers were killed, except Sawerigading. In desperation for help, suddenly Sawerigading met an old man. The old man already knew what happened to Sawerigading and his fleet. Therefore, the old man suggested

to Sawerigading to use the remnants of his magical powers. The goal is to revive his loyal militias. Once Sawerigading finished reciting the magic spell, he managed to revive 7 people, while the old man is able to revive the whole army, and companion Sawerigading. Sawerigading wept before the wise old man, asking forgiveness for his arrogance and ask him to allow Sawerigading and his fleet to return to his hometown. However, as a condition of his request, Sawerigading was required to take a dip in the middle of Lake Dampelas for 7 days and 7 nights and he must drink 7 gulps of water. Once completed the magical requisite, Sawerigading with his troops went back to their homeland (*"Mematok Batas di Danau Dampelas"*, 2012).

By reading the above story, we find a historical message that people of Dampelas have political relations even kinship with the land Bugis (Luwu). Since the eighth century, when the story Sawerigading written, Dampelas has become part of the Buginese maritime route. If we contemplate a short line of story, there are two things that can be learnt: *Firstly*, the above story is a confirmation of the existence of the Buginese in Dampelas. Their existence in Dampelas can be traced since seventeenth century. Dampelas is the end of Sawerigading journey, indicating that this region is the last stop of a cruise at the time;

*Secondly*, the waters of Lake Dampelas as the source of life. Legendary figures such as Sawerigading, made the lake water as a medicine and a source of strength. This story can be seen as a conception of life in Dampelas. Lake, does not just contain water, but give a lot of useful things for human life. Such position also explains that surrounding of the lake was inhabited by people of Dampelas. A group of people whom met Sawerigading, and Bugis people who migrate to the thus area.

The first story explains the existence People of Dampelas who "called" as the inventor of the lake Dampelas, thus entitled to the potential resource around the

lake. In another section, the first story also gives an overview of the patterns of migration in Central Sulawesi, from the mountain to the valley and ends at the settlement on the edge of the water, either on the beach, river or lake. The second story, is on political story, which explains the power system prevailing in Dampelas in the later period, especially after migration of Bugis people of South Sulawesi after the treaty of bongaja in Central Sulawesi, including Dampelas.

Treaty of Bongaya was signed by Sultan Hasanuddin of Gowa Sultanate and Colonel Speelman represented *Verenigde Ost-Indie Compagnie* (VOC) on Friday November 18, 1667. Article 17 states that the Sultan of Gowa must waive his right to the islands of Sula and other islands under Ternate's control, such Selayar, Muna and whole and entire areas on the east coast of Sulawesi, ranging from Sanana to Manado, Banggai islands, Gapi and others islands located between Mandar and Manado as Lambagi, Kaidipan, Buol, Tolitoli, Dampelas, Balaesang, Silensak, and Kaili (Patunru, 1983: 51-53). This statement actually explain the fact that the areas on the west coast, such as Dampelas, was not under the direct control of the sultanate, but rather as a regional influence of Gowa.

Post-treaty of Bongaya, Dampelas still remain free, Dampelas was out of VOC control. This situation continued until the end of the XIX century. In an old map of the island of Sulawesi, made in 1775, Dampelas called Dampellas. In the book *Ecology of Sulawesi*, written in 1795, Dampelas was written Dumpalus. In this map, there are lots of error in writing the name or designation of actual area (Whitten *et.al*, 1987: 93). This statement explains that there are political structures in the Makassar Strait at that moment.

Almost all of the maps of Sulawesi mention the existence Dampelas on the north side of the Strait of Makassar. The maps, for instance, made by Isaak de Graaf (1700), Gerit de Haan (1760), Ri. Wilkinson and A. Arrowsmith (1794),

David Woodard (1805), JS Van den Bosch (1818), Baron Von Derfelden van Hinderstein GF (1848), Baron P. Melvill van Canbee (1848), C. Graandijk Et JF Niermever (1909), W. Van Gellder (1916-17), and Bonstra Van Heerdt and L. Weber (Haliadi-Sadi, 2011: 38-46). Then, the maps made after the maps that have been mentioned previously also describe the circumstances surrounding territories Dampelas. This is confirmed Gusti Asnan that the map is a product of culture, so the map is a dynamic. A map always refers to other maps that make a change to its form, format and quality of the maps (Asnan, 2011: 27-35).

When looking at and studying a map of Dampelas, it results two assumptions that the maps deals with the political rulers and as a source of information about the region. In addition, Map was made by a ruler for ensuring the region under his control. Dampelas which for centuries was not charted became one of the interesting subjects of topography especially after the 1900s. Thus, the map became one of the history sources in the writing of conducting this research.

Folklore confirmed status, however, if we look at structure of power in Dampelas, it seems that Dampelas under the influence of Ternate. Dampelas regional capital is the village of Rano Dampelas. Dampelas system of government headed by a magau aided by a jogugu (executor of the king's orders), sangaji (the person who carried out the orders of the king adviser), and a sea captain (the person who is authorized to regulate the coast for shipping affairs). Position magau in Dampelas was down to the eldest son, or a male member of the closest relatives of magau if there was no son of magau qualified for the position. The nobles relatives magau together high-level officials at the court establish an advisory board on important issues (like waging war, make peace, the marriage of the king and his family) provide advice and information to the king (Junarti, 2004: 69).

The biggest possibility is that such a

system of government comes from the Sultanate of Ternate. It explains that a long time before Kingdom of Banawa and Dutch East Indie claim this region, Dampelas had had a special relationship with the Sultanate of Ternate. Based on the analysis of the author, it can be said that Dampelas got indirect effect of Ternate through olongian Moutong Tinombo. Moreover, for years, they had close relationship. Hand in hand to face the challenge, although Dampelas did not openly help Moutong against the Dutch East Indie. In the end, Dampelas become a member of an association of Pitunggota Banawa, but in customs and language, more closely associated with the area Tolitoli and Tomini (Himmelman, 1996). To strengthen its position on the surrounding area, in addition to its strategic location in the northern Gulf of Palu, and a strong social and economic life, Magau Dampelas seeks to strengthen their power to the region Boja (part of Pitunggota) and the native rulers in Tolitoli through matrimony. It is particularly to overcome the threat of Lasa Banawa, the mid-nineteenth century (Junarti, 2004: 70).

### **Discussion**

Dampelas was incorporated in Afdeling Midden Celebes that was between the two powers, Kingdom of Banawa in Donggala and the Dutch East Indie in Batavia through their representatives in Makassar and Manado. Being pinched between two big powers, limited the independence of people of Dampelas. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this region becomes one important part of the Dutch East Indies in Banawa. The Dutch tried to take over the processing of the potential of forest products in Dampelas as argued by Juniarti that after taking over forest management rights of indigenous rulers in Banawa, the Dutch government bought up logging concessions and harvesting to the highest bidder. Banawa logging area centered around Dampelas divided into plots concessions like Levono, Mafida, and Kaliburu with concession rights holders Lamerts van Bueren in Batu Sua

(Junarti, 2004: 33).

The above explanation illustrates that the area was a potential in forestry. This business is owned by a European businessman, which means that at that time there have been no indigenous entrepreneurs engaged in the plantation. This can be seen as the result of policy of Dutch East Indie government, which made difficult for the Dutch to give concessions to indigenous groups. Although different from the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, but in the present, the natural resources of Lake Dampelas has its own charm. This is inviting outsiders to possess the land.

There are three trigger movements to possess the land namely: the value of land use, the perspective of the land, and the land as a means of modernization (Fatma, 2012). The demand for land is increasing in the modern era and many modern facilities built on vacant land, but since a long time ago,, the land has been claimed by someone. Land problems are not only about a lack of land area to build magnificent and luxurious buildings, but also the burial ground had been traded. Therefore, the value of land sales continue to rise over time, so that may be the reason why dispute over land often occurs, ownership is very important in society. The perspective of the land was also a trigger land disputes. In some communities in Indonesia, they see that land as the main source of life. This conception is a heredity "thought" which passed from generation to generation. Even, in administration of a country, the land continues to be critical (Li, 2012: 226-227).

There were several conflict issues in the relationship between Dampelas and Banawa these conflicts had been started to the twentieth century, as stated by Juniarti that a conflict between Bale and Ganti descent occurred on the succession of the Kingdom Banawa throne at the end of the eighteenth century. This conflict triggered by the seizure of the King Banawa position in which according to tradition must be inherited from the monarch of Ganti. Isompa, the eldest son of Laboge, Banawa

monarch of Bale's mother, invited King Dampelas and Balaesang to break away from the federation pitunggota against Banawa ruler at the time, Lasa Banawa. Isompa attempt failed and even ended in a battle between supporters of Lasa Banawa and supporters, and he was killed.

The incident did not stop the conflict, since the early nineteenth century position of Banawa monarch was contested by descendants of Ganti and Bale. Ganti, as the biggest village of the entire federation of Pitunggota, have the power to enforce its authority. Instead, Bale managed to attract members of the independence federation, such Balaesang, Dampelas and Sojol and allied with the Bugis colony in Donggala. One proof of this alliance is a marriage relationship between Aru Bale Isompa with a daughter of Dampelas in 1830 to secure the force assistance in his battle against Lasa Banawa, monarch Banawa of Ganti (Junarti, 2004: 36).

The request of King of Banawa sent to Dutch East Indie ask for help to suppress Dampelas, was part of the political king of Lamarauna during his reign, 1903-1926. Dampelas was be subdued with no cost and burden of war as a result of the death of the soldiers can be avoided. However, until now, most of the officials' Dampelas in the past and their descendants never admit that their region was once conquered by Banawa

Kingdom of Banawa kingdom tried to maintain its control over the territory. Moreover, position of Dampelas in the structure of the Kingdom of Banawa was outside the alliance. Kingdom of Banawa has Pitunggota Traditional Council which confirms that the kingdom as a form of territorial integrity, with a system of direct and indirect government (autonomy). These autonomous regions were united into one confederation. In this context, Dampelas was in a position as an autonomous region that was not directly under the Kingdom of Banawa, but its local authorities was able to regulate and manage their region and their society (*De Tijd*, 19 October 1896). Pitunggota is an advisory

body to the King of Banawa, and the advisory body included the leaders of region. Besides Dampelas, the area under the authority of Banawa is Balaesang, and Sojol (Junarti, 2004: 69).

Dampelas history, reinforce its position among Sojol (in the north) and Balaesang (in the south), two other kingdoms that they rejected to be controlled under Kingdom of Banawa. However, the Dutch East Indie incorporate these three areas into their authority after a conflict between these three kingdoms with the Dutch East Indie. Dampelas rejection of the hegemony Banawa continues Dampelas rejection of the hegemony Banawa continue, although not to conduct open resistance as Sojol (*Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch Indie*, August 23, 1906). Banawa King's role in these events is believed to be one of the forms of implementation korte verklaring and long contract which was signed by King Banawa (*Koloniaal verslag over het jaar*, 1909).

In the early twentieth century, the Kingdom Banawa as the capital in Donggala became an attempt symbol of the Dutch East Indie to control Central Sulawesi. The absence of representatives of the Kingdom Sojol, Dampelas kingdom, and the kingdom Balaesang cause three centers of power in the West Coast region of Donggala is included as part of onderafdeling Donggala in 1906 (*Koloniaal verslag over het jaar*, 1907: 104). Hence, the three kingdoms were officially became part of the onderafdeling Donggala. All three did not agree with the way the Dutch East Indie interpreted their absence. Particularly when Donggala assisted Dutch East Indie to seized Olongian Kaleolangi just a day before the beginning of Ramadan holy month in 1903. Kaleolangi did not resist when he was arrested for his family's safety reason. When he was seized, his two sons, Kuntina and Singalam were in Siavu. From Bou, Kaleolangi was brought to Banawa (Donggala). It was the beginning of his internment. At first, he was taken to Makassar, then to take to Batavia (Kambay, 1992: 38-43).

Marriages between Lamarauna with the daughter of Magau Dampelas, caused Dampelas become part and controlled by the Kingdom of Banawa. However, the autonomy of Dampelas was still acknowledged, and Magau Dampelas maintained their position as a symbol of government. But then, Lamarauna pressed the royal family of Dampelas (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, February 6, 1906: 2) which causing some of Dampelas royal family migrate to Moutong. Substitution of Magau position based on paternal line (Junarti, 2004: 69) and this is the main cause of a dispute between Dampelas and Kingdom of Banawa.

Lamarauna's diplomatic marriage was able to eliminate the tensions between Banawa and Dampelas, moreover, the Kingdom of Banawa increasingly influential in this area. However, Lamarauna's tactics creating a conflict with the aristocratic elite joined in Pitunggota (Junarti, 2004: 69). The marriage, by custom, was not acceptable but from this marriage, creating a conflict with the aristocratic elite joined in Pitunggota. Marriage is, by custom is not acceptable, but from this marriage, the Kingdom of Banawa got dual benefit those are: they can overcome the "resistance" Magau Dampelas and increasing source of tribute (kasiviani). The broader the territory of a kingdom, the more sources of income for the kingdom, but it was only benefited the royal elite, especially the Magau. In the next period, kasiviani become a major problem, resulting in poverty in a society of Dampelas. Colonial exploitation was not overly burdensome, but the tributes made by the local government are burdensome.

## **CONCLUSION**

Dampelas was located between two authorization, Banawa kingdom in Donggala and the Dutch in Batavia. Being in the two big authority, the Dampelas community was not independent. At the end of XIX century and the beginning of XX century, this area became one of the most important area for the Dutch and took over management of Dampelas forest

crop, while the kingdom of Banawa was trying to keep the authority of Dampelas. Through marriages of Lamarauna and daughter of Magau Dampelas, it clarified the position of Dampelas as part of Banawa authorization. Therefore, Banawa got double advantages namely opposition of Magau Dampelas could be overcome and the increase of tribute source.

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