NAN MADOL PRESERVATION AND MANAGEMENT PLAN

Submitted to:

The Department of Land
Kolonia, Pohnpei, FSM

Submitted by:

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with the assistance of:

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SECTION 1. BACKGROUND

1.1 The Micronesia Program

The University of Oregon's Micronesia Program was established in 1990 to provide Micronesian governments with short term technical assistance in implementing projects, primarily in planning and resource management. Micronesian governmental agencies identify projects for which they desire technical assistance. Technical assistants (TAs) are then selected from a pool of Master's level graduate students and professionals, and are paired with counterparts and supervisors in Micronesian agencies. By establishing a one-to-one work relationship, the Micronesia Program aims to promote the transfer of professional skills from the TA to the counterpart in the course of completing the identified project. At the same time, technical assistants are able to benefit from the challenges and rewards of living and working in another culture.

Technical assistance in developing a plan for the preservation and management of Nan Madol, one of the State's most important historic sites, was requested by Emensio Emperiam, Chief of the Pohnpei Division of Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs (HP&CA). Mr. Emperiam served as the primary counterpart for this project, working with the Technical Assistant primarily in defining the workplan and in making recommendations. Mr. Retty Lawrence, Field Researcher for HP&CA, served as the secondary counterpart, becoming involved in the project during Mr. Emperiam's absence in mid-July and in subsequent phases.

Interest in a plan to preserve and manage Nan Madol stemmed from a desire to develop the site as a physical, cultural and historical resource for the State of Pohnpei, in line with the two primary goals of the Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs Office. These goals are: (1) to establish and maintain programs and facilities to preserve the anthropological heritage of the Pohnpeian people; and (2) to establish and implement programs and projects to encourage the continuation of Pohnpeian customs and traditions.

The plan presented herein is intended to help the Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs Office preserve and manage Nan Madol by: (1) explaining the interests of various stakeholders in the site; namely, state and local government officials, traditional leaders and private corporation members; (2) developing criteria to prioritize the islets within the site for preservation and possible restoration; and (3) formulating recommendations regarding future land uses at the site. In addition, this plan will provide guidelines for the development of a Nan Madol Master plan. The latter would detail, among other items, the specific types of preservation efforts to be undertaken, the persons involved, and the time schedule under which to operate.
1.2 The Nan Madol Site

1.2.1 Description

Nan Madol is an ancient complex of stone ruins located on the southeast coast of the Madolenihmw Municipality of Pohnpei (See Figure 1). The site encompasses an area of over 18 square kilometers and includes a coral reef flat along the shore of Temwen Island (Nan Madol Central), several other artificial islets, and the adjacent Pohnpeian coastline. Nan Madol Central with its stone walls encloses an area approximately 1.5 km long and 0.5 km wide. It rises in some places to 10 meters above the surrounding reef flat. The complex has roughly 92 artificial islets (stone and coral fill platforms up to 115 meters by 110 meters in size) bordered by tidal canals, thus deriving its name, "Nan Madol," meaning "place of intervals." Nan Madol Central is the focus of this plan. Hereafter, it will simply be referred to as "Nan Madol."

Figure 1. Nan Madol: geographic location.

The architecture of Nan Madol is megalithic in scale, consisting of long, naturally prismatic log-like basalt stones used over the foundations of large basalt boulders to form high-walled rectangular enclosures. Some archaeologists believe these massive stones were quarried from various locations around Pohnpei.

According to oral history, two brothers, Olosohpa and Olosihpa from Yap Paidi ('Land to the West') came to Pohnpei in approximately 500 A.D., built Nan Madol as a religious center and established the Saudeleur dynasty. This ruling line united Pohnpei's estimated
25,000 people in late prehistoric times. Over time, the Saudeleurs began to use their authority to abuse people. In reaction to their cruelty, a man named Isokelekel led an army of 333 men from Katau Peidak ('Land Upwind to the East') and overthrew the Saudeleurs. Isokelekel then became the first 'Nahnmwarki' establishing a new structure of traditional leadership in Pohnpei. (Note: This history is reported to the best of our knowledge but is in no way definitive.)

At this time, Nan Madol was an important religious, political and residential center. However, over time, Nan Madol ceased to serve these functions and was gradually abandoned. After the traditional leader for the area, the Nahnmwarki, relocated to nearby Temwen Island in the early 1800's, Nan Madol began to decline as a political center. Following the Nahnmwarki's conversion to Christianity in the mid-1800's, Nan Madol began to lose its role as a religious center as well. Nan Madol was not largely abandoned as a residence, however, until 1905 when a typhoon destroyed much of the site's buildings and vegetation.

Today Nan Madol is uninhabited and few of its structures are still intact. Its architectural ruins are largely overgrown by jungle vegetation. Such growth not only hides the structures but often causes difficulties in reaching the islets by boat and in exploring the islets by foot.

1.2.2 Site preservation

Nan Madol was designated a United States National Historic Landmark in 1986, and is now submitting an application for nomination to the World Heritage List of the World Heritage Convention of UNESCO. The protection and preservation of Nan Madol is provided for under the U.S. National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) Historic and Cultural Preservation Act of 1979. The Pohnpei Legislature is currently considering a state measure which would further protect and preserve the site.

Specific preservation activities to date have focused on physical maintenance of the site, specifically clearing vegetation on thirty-seven islets in order to prevent further deterioration to the ruins. These islets were selected for clearing based on their historic importance and their potential for eventual renovation. Crews of twenty-four to thirty-five workers under the supervision of the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities have been clearing the islets. These efforts have been funded annually beginning in Fiscal Year 1990, when the Pohnpei State Legislature appropriated $75,000 for this purpose. Fiscal Years 1991 and 1992 were each appropriated $50,000.

The future of such maintenance programs is uncertain. With the expiration in the Year 2001, of Micronesia's Compact of Free
Association with the United States, a key financial source, many agencies expect decreases in funding from the State Legislature and are therefore looking for outside sources. This plan provides recommendations for site preservation and management, given the potential for reduced funding in the future.

SECTION 2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology for developing a plan to preserve and manage Nan Madol involved obtaining information from three sources: written materials, personal interviews and site visits. The information gathered from these sources was then used by the Technical Assistant and Project Counterparts to identify the major issues to be addressed in this plan, to develop criteria by which to rank specific islets within Nan Madol for preservation and potential restoration, and to arrive at general recommendations for the site as a whole and nearby Temwen Island. A description of the main phases of the project is detailed below.

2.1 Background Research

Background research was conducted using the resources of the Pacific Collection of the Community College of Micronesia (CCM) Library, as well as reports and interagency correspondence maintained in the HP&CA office. In addition, the Second National Development Plan for the FSM (1992-1996) was consulted for an understanding of national goals for historic preservation. This background research yielded information on title ownership of the site, archaeological field work performed to date, site legends and history.

2.2 Personal Interviews

The purpose of conducting personal interviews was to help identify the issues to be addressed in this plan. To represent the various stakeholders in Nan Madol, interviewees selected included State and Madolenihmw Municipal government leaders, State agency chiefs and staff, traditional leaders and members of the Nan Madol Foundation, a private non-profit corporation established in January 1991, with the purpose of seeking outside funding sources to sponsor cultural, historical, protective and educational activities relating to the Nan Madol site.

An interview questionnaire on Nan Madol was developed by the Technical Assistant and Primary Counterpart. The questions were aimed at obtaining interviewees' views about the following: (1) the site's importance; (2) present problems; (3) allowable uses; (4) potential fees for use; (5) responsibility for preservation and management; (6) funding sources; and (7) ideal visions for Nan Madol twenty years from now.
An initial list of potential interviewees was developed by the Technical Assistant and Primary Counterpart. This list was later expanded as more stakeholders were identified. Interviews were conducted by the Technical Assistant alone, or with the Secondary Counterpart when translation assistance was needed. Nineteen personal interviews were conducted over a two month period. Interview responses were then compiled and analyzed. The interview questionnaire appears in Appendix A.

2.3 Site Assessment Visits

The Technical Assistant and the Primary Counterpart met in the initial phase of the project to determine which islets to visit for the purposes of developing this plan. Since potential preservation and restoration activities would focus on Nan Madol Central, twenty islets within that area were selected for site visits. (See Figure 2). Besides their location, these islets were chosen based on their unique features and the amount of oral history and archaeological information available on them.

![Figure 2. Nan Madol Central.](image)

Four site visits were conducted by the Technical Assistant accompanied by either counterpart. During these visits the selected islets were inspected with attention to the condition of stone structures, the type and extent of vegetation growth, and evidence of tidal damage. Some photos of the islets were taken and
are included in Appendix C.

In addition to assessing and documenting the condition of the selected islets, the site visits served as opportunities to assess channel access into Nan Madol Central. Assessing current site conditions was important for use in prioritizing islets for possible preservation and restoration efforts as well as in making determinations regarding future land uses.

2.4 Development of Criteria for Islet Prioritization and Formulation of General Recommendations

Compilation and analysis of interview responses combined with the results of the site assessment visits facilitated the identification of the major issues to be addressed in this plan. Using this information, the Technical Assistant and Project Counterparts were able to develop a list of criteria by which to rank sites for preservation and restoration and to formulate the general recommendations contained herein.

SECTION 3. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

3.1 Background on Respondents

A total of nineteen persons were interviewed including State and Madolenihmw Municipal Government officers, traditional leaders, and members of the Nan Madol Foundation as listed in Appendix B. The traditional leaders of Madolenihmw, the Nahnmwarki and Nahnken, were approached for an interview but declined to participate. While respondents represented all districts of Pohnpei, most, seven respondents, were from Madolenihmw. Seventeen respondents had lived in Pohnpei most of their lives while the remaining two had lived there under three years. All respondents were very familiar with Nan Madol having visited the site many times.

3.2 Site Importance

When asked why Nan Madol is an important site, eight respondents spoke of its rarity and uniqueness not only in Micronesia and the Pacific, but in the world. Some of these respondents further elaborated on this point, stressing the importance of making Nan Madol known worldwide. Further, as one respondent commented, Nan Madol is a means by which Pohnpeians can "express ourselves to the outside world," thus inferring Nan Madol's important link to Pohnpeian identity as well.

Meaningful to an equal number of respondents was Nan Madol's historical and cultural significance. Respondents remarked that the traditional title system of Pohnpei originated from Nan Madol. They also spoke of the importance of Nan Madol to the people of Pohnpei as a "physical remnant of Pohnpeian identity and culture."
Often accompanying this answer were comments about the loss of Pohnpeian culture due to Western influences, visible in contemporary Pohnpeian food, drink, dress, and language. Respondents also spoke of the breakdown of Pohnpeian oral tradition, and the resultant loss of information passed on to younger generations.

Several respondents also viewed Nan Madol as important because of the sophistication of its architectural engineering. In addition, respondents spoke of Nan Madol's importance as a sacred and mysterious site.

Based on these comments, the principles guiding this plan are: (1) the physical site of Nan Madol will be preserved for the people of Pohnpei and the world; (2) the preservation of Nan Madol will involve the preservation of cultural as well as physical aspects of the site; and (3) preservation efforts will be directed at maintaining the sacredness and mystery of the site, for example, in determining issues of vegetation clearing, restoration, and access.

3.3 Present Problems

Three respondents said there were no problems with Nan Madol. Of the sixteen interviewees who said there were problems, the primary ones identified related to: (1) ownership (14 respondents); (2) environmental conditions (3 respondents); and (3) vandalism (2 respondents).

3.3.1 Site ownership

Respondents who saw ownership as a problem with Nan Madol, differed in their views of the parties involved and the nature of the problem. Most respondents saw the ownership question essentially as a dispute between, on the one hand, the traditional leaders, the Na'nmwarki and Nahken, of Madolenihmw, who claim title to Nan Madol by custom, and on the other hand, State and Municipal governments who claim right to the site as a public land. Still others, three respondents, saw the ownership problem as involving United States' interest in historic sites. According to these respondents, provisions in the Compact of Free Association places historic sites in the possession of the United States.

To date, the issue of ownership of Nan Madol has not been resolved. Last July, the Na'nmwarki of Madolenihmw publicly declared ownership of Nan Madol and invited others with ownership claims to come forward. Since then, the traditional leaders have filed a legal action against the State in order to resolve the ownership issue. The State of Pohnpei maintains its claims to the site. This problem is not anticipated to be resolved for a number of years. The United States government has not been a party in this dispute.
The purpose of this plan is not to resolve the ownership dispute but to recommend the best way to preserve and manage the site recognizing the interests of the key parties involved. This plan sees the traditional leadership system as an important cultural resource for the State of Pohnpei. It is therefore recommended that the HP&CA office work in preserving this system. The HP&CA office should use State resources, namely, money, technical expertise and manpower, to preserve Nan Madol. At the same time, it should strive to maintain the vitality of and respect for traditional leadership and customs. This can be achieved by involving traditional leaders in preservation plans as detailed in Section 3.4.1(2). It is only in this way that Pohnpei can preserve both its physical sites and its cultural resources.

3.3.2 Environmental conditions

3.3.2.1 Overgrown vegetation

Respondents cited overgrown vegetation which conceals the ruins as a problem with Nan Madol. However, respondents disagreed regarding what should be done about this condition. Some felt that vegetation clearing activities should continue while others were skeptical of its benefits. They feared that clearing the stones of vegetation would only subject them more to environmental deterioration. It was mentioned that clearing efforts had resulted in the cracking of some stones, newly exposed to the intensive heat of the sun.

The vegetation on the twenty islets visited was largely cleared by crews from the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities. Some bare boulders on the islets visited were cracked. Whether this condition was due to vegetation clearing, the impact of recent typhoons or other forces could not be determined.

Vegetation clearing offers a means to make the ruins of Nan Madol visible, thus drawing visitors to the site and enhancing their understanding and appreciation for the place. However, vegetation clearing, by exposing the stones of Nan Madol to environmental forces, may threaten the preservation of the ruins. It is therefore recommended that professional expertise be sought in determining whether this is an appropriate preservation strategy for Nan Madol. In addition, maintaining the ruins clear of vegetation is an ongoing activity which is costly and labor intensive. For this reason, vegetation clearing, if selected as a preservation strategy, should be conducted on a limited number of islets. Islets targeted for vegetation clearing should be selected based on the set of criteria listed in Section 4. Clearing only selected islets has the added advantage of minimizing the disturbance to and alteration of the site as a whole, thus helping preserve the site's sanctity and mystery.
3.3.2.2 expansion of breadfruit tree roots

Another problem cited was the presence of breadfruit trees on the islets. Their root expansion was said to contribute to the dislocation of the stones of the ruins. For this reason, it was recommended that these trees be removed, particularly since they are not native to the site.

Problems with breadfruit tree root expansion were confirmed during site assessment visits in visible damage to the stone structures. (See Figure 3). Because of this condition, this plan recommends that professional expertise be sought to determine the best way to mitigate the destructive impact of these trees with the least damage to the ruins.

Figure 3. Breadfruit root expansion.

3.3.2.3 concentration of mangrove trees

A third problem raised by interviewees was the concentration of mangrove trees in Nan Madol. (See Figure 4) Some said the mangroves obstructed canoe movement in the channels and should therefore be removed. One respondent felt that mangroves in the channels should be removed but that those a few feet along the perimeter of each islet should remain to provide protection to the ruins from wind and tidal action. Still others felt that no trees at Nan Madol should be cut because it would alter the nature of the place.
Mangrove trees thrive in still waters, thus explaining their prevalence at Nan Madol. Water flow through Nan Madol is relatively stagnant due to two primary factors. First, a stone bridge connecting Temwen Island to the mainland greatly curtails water flow into the site. However, since a second opening in this bridge was made last July, water flow through the site has improved. Second, stone walkways connecting clusters of islets block water flow within the site. These walkways were not part of the original Nan Madol complex. They were constructed by Pohnpeians in the twentieth century under the direction of the Japanese Administration. While the walkways facilitate pedestrian access between islets, site assessment visits revealed that they serve as depositories for high concentrations of silt and mangrove trees.

Presently, the channels of Nan Madol are being dredged routinely by the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities. Because of these activities, boat access was not obstructed during site assessment visits.

The mangrove trees, by encircling the islets, conceal the ruins from visitors' view from a distance. (See Figure 5). They therefore serve to preserve the mystery and sacredness of the site, a guiding principle for this plan.

In addition, mangrove trees provide the following ecological benefits: (1) they function as natural stabilizing and cleansing barriers along the reef; (2) they drop nutrient-rich litter into
the water which is consumed by reef animals; and (3) they foster the birth and rearing of many types of young animals which can hide in the shallow root-choked waters of the mangrove forest. (Source: Plants of Pohnpei, p.17). For these reasons, extensive mangrove removal is not recommended because it would greatly alter the appearance and the mysterious and sacred character of Nan Madol, as well as endanger the preservation of the ruins and the local ecosystem. However, mangrove dredging on designated channels is appropriate in facilitating access to selected islets (See Section 4). However, prior to any dredging activities, precautions should be taken to minimize alteration to the appearance of Nan Madol as well as environmental damage to the site.

Figure 5. Mangroves preserve Nan Madol's sanctity and mystery.

3.3.3 Site vandalism

Respondents defined vandalism as disturbance to the site and removal of artifacts from the islets by both researchers and tourists. This problem was said to stem from a lack of respect for Nan Madol due to ignorance of the site's importance and the concurrent need for preservation.

To deal with this problem, measures to prevent and minimize vandalism should be taken. The measures recommended are: (1) the establishment of policies and procedures regarding artifact removal; (2) supervision of visitors to Nan Madol by an accompanying tour guide; (3) enforcement of penalties for site vandalism. According to Pohnpei District Order 6-50, Section 9,
No one shall deface, destroy or remove without proper authorization any ancient human work found in a historical monument.

Violators are liable for the restoration of damages and subject to imprisonment for no more than one year and/or a fine of no more than $100.00; and (4) instruction to visitors about the importance of the site and its preservation as well as penalties for site vandalism.

3.4 Allowable Uses

To obtain responses about allowable uses at Nan Madol, interviewees were questioned about three specific activities, namely: research, school field trips and tourism. They were also asked to describe how they would like Nan Madol to look twenty years from now. A compilation of their responses to both these questions is reported in the following sections.

3.4.1 Research

Sixteen respondents said they favored research activity at Nan Madol and stressed its importance as a means of learning more about the site. However, some expressed displeasure at how research had been conducted to date. Three respondents complained of researchers' poor treatment of the site as evidenced by the destructive nature of their research techniques. Use of a sledgehammer as part of an archaeological excavation was cited as an example. Some preferred that research activities be conducted by Pohnpeians rather than outsiders. The former were said to have a better understanding of the site and appreciation of its importance and therefore, could be expected to treat the area with greater respect and care.

Another respondent wanted to see excavations kept to a minimum thereby reducing potential damage to the site. Three other respondents who favored research feared removal of artifacts from the site. Still others insisted that research only be conducted if the results could be shared with the people of Pohnpei. They charged that foreign researchers take artifacts as well as project results to their home country disturbing the site while bringing no apparent benefit to the people of Pohnpei. Respondents also complained about the lack of supervision of research activities on Nan Madol which often resulted in duplicative research activities. Another respondent felt that Nan Madol should be open to other types of researchers besides archaeologists, for example, archaeo-astronomers.

Archaeological studies have been the focus of research efforts at Nan Madol although the site is not closed to other types of research activities. The following paragraphs highlight some of the archaeological research conducted on the site.
In 1899, F.W. Christian of England produced a detailed plan of the islet of Nan Douwas, carried out excavations in the burial vaults there and collected burial goods. Later, in 1910, German ethnographer, Paul Hambruch conducted the first thorough investigation of Nan Madol providing the most detailed survey of the entire site done to date. He completed a scale drawing of all the islets, marked by their traditional names, collected numerous artifacts and obtained a considerable amount of oral history data.

Under the Japanese administration, several archaeological studies were conducted at Nan Madol. The information obtained from these studies was never disclosed.

During the American administration of Micronesia, four major archaeological field projects were undertaken at Nan Madol, three focused in historic preservation. In 1963, the Smithsonian Institute conducted the first field project involving research on the oral traditions associated with the site as well as archaeological mapping, surveying and excavation on eight of its islets. The results of this work were never published.

The first of the historic preservation projects, carried out by Dr. Arthur Saxe of Ohio State University began in 1978, to define the Nan Madol site boundaries for the U.S. National Register of Historic Places. The second project, begun in 1979 by the Pacific Studies Institute in Guam, under Dr. Stephen Athens, was designed to provide instrument maps and a complete surface collection of artifacts at four islets of Nan Madol.

The most long-term archaeological research study of Nan Madol has been conducted by the University of Oregon under Dr. William Ayres as part of the Pohnpeian Archaeological Survey. This study, begun in 1977, is ongoing. It has involved surveying, mapping, surface collecting, and some excavation. These studies have yielded information regarding the dating Nan Madol structures and the political history of the site. According to a 1988 Interim Report by the William Ayres group, a detailed mapping of the site is needed to monitor and control the rate of architectural collapse and to mitigate destructive agents to the site.

Based on the comments of interviewees and the types of research done to date, this plan recommends the following:

(1) Designation of a body to coordinate research activities at Nan Madol. This body would maintain a record of all research activities at the site and would be charged with developing guidelines for reviewing research proposals to ensure, at a minimum:

a. the research activity had not been already performed.

b. the results of the research activity would be beneficial to the people of Pohnpeian
c. the research techniques proposed would not endanger the preservation of the site or would minimize damage to the site.

This coordinating body should be one having the financial and human resources to serve in this capacity, be it a state agency or private non-profit organization. The coordinating body could then refer the proposal with its recommendation for approval or disapproval to an appointed board as described below.

(2) Establishment of a board to review and approve research proposals. As two respondents suggested, this board could be composed of representatives from the traditional leadership of Madolenihmw, the Madolenihmw Municipal Government, the State, and individuals and groups from outside Pohnpei, for example, neighboring island countries interested in preserving Nan Madol. State legislation could specify the powers and responsibilities of the board. Appointment to the board could be made by the Governor. In approving projects, the board could act to encourage research diversity as well as research activity by Pohnpeians.

(3) Development of policies regarding artifact removal. Specifically, these policies would outline the procedures to follow for permission to remove artifacts. It would determine an appropriate means to supervise research activities to prevent unsanctioned artifact removal, and appropriate penalties.

(4) Establishment of contractual agreements with researchers specifying among other elements: (a) approval/disapproval of artifact removal; (b) the sharing of research results with the people of Pohnpei, specifically, the number of reports required and the recipients of those reports, for example, state agencies, Governor appointed boards, and traditional leaders; and (c) penalties for noncompliance.

3.4.2 School field trips

Eighteen respondents supported the idea of taking schoolchildren to visit Nan Madol. They saw it as a means of teaching children about their history and culture and in so doing, strengthening their identity as Pohnpeians. It was also felt that field trips would serve as opportunities to educate children about the importance of historic preservation. The one respondent who disagreed felt that this responsibility lay with Pohnpeian parents. While respecting this view, there was a strong feeling among the respondents who favored field trips to Nan Madol that many Pohnpeian stories, customs and traditions are being lost because parents today are neglecting their responsibility to pass down information to their children. Educators therefore must assume this responsibility. Some respondents even said that there must be a change in attitudes about sharing information: "We cannot hold back information otherwise it will be lost. We must do something to bring back the
interest of our people in (Pohnpeian) culture and history."

In 1964, the Department of Education took the first eighth graders to Nan Madol. There they were met by an oral historian who talked to them about the history of the place. This program was discontinued until last year. Through the coordinated efforts of the Department of Education, the Division of Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs, and the Nan Madol Foundation roughly 425 eighth graders were taken to the islet of Nan Douwas. There staff from the Divisions of HP&CA and Education as well as local historians told the children of the site's history and legends. The Department of Education is currently working on an action plan for annual school field trips to Nan Madol. The HP&CA office will be called upon to provide guides, and experienced and well known people from Madolenihmw will be invited to speak on site.

Based on the comments of interviewees, field trips to Nan Madol are considered important for the preservation of Pohnpeian culture and the strengthening of Pohnpeian identity. In addition, the experience of the past year indicates that coordination between various agents to provide transportation, guides, speakers and beverages for field trips is possible. Therefore, this plan recommends the continuation of school field trips to Nan Madol through the coordinated efforts of HP&CA and the Department of Education, with the support of outside funding sources as necessary. In addition, the HP&CA and the Pohnpei Studies Division of the Department of Education should work closely to prepare students in class for site visits. In addition, the two offices should work together to revive traditional crafts and skills as once existed at Nan Madol, through the school system.

3.4.3 Tourism

All respondents favored tourism at Nan Madol seeing it as a revenue-generating activity. Sixteen respondents felt that all tourists should be accompanied by guides. The benefits identified from having guides at Nan Madol included: (1) tour guide training for Pohnpeians in Nan Madol's history, legends and traditions would encourage cultural preservation; (2) instruction about the activities that once took place at Nan Madol would enrich the tourist's experience of the place; (3) leading tours only in designated areas offers a means of controlling visits to the site; and (4) supervision of tourists as well as explanations of Nan Madol's importance would result in less vandalism and theft. Thus providing for trained tour guides at Nan Madol would foster both cultural and physical preservation of the site. An additional benefit would be the job opportunities generated for tour guides.

Respondents who did not insist on tour guides felt it important that tourists be instructed on how to treat the site with respect before going to the islets. They questioned whether a guide was necessary for this purpose.
Six respondents wanted to see activities pertaining to tradition revived. These included performances of traditional dances, for example, dancing on canoes, storytelling, canoe making, and sakau ceremonies. One person suggested that at least once per year offerings to traditional leaders be made in a ceremony called "nohpwei". Several respondents suggested developing a cultural center to house these activities. A few respondents wanted to see these activities at Nan Madol proper while others felt they should not be conducted on site but nearby, for example, on Temwen Island.

Four respondents suggested making Nan Madol a "live museum," that is, a place where visitors could actually see people conduct activities on Nan Madol the way their ancestors did. One person suggested that each islet have its own activity as it did in the past. Visitors would then be able to learn about the site by "stepping back" into its past.

Five respondents said they would like to see a museum or visitor's center on nearby Temwen Island. Such a structure could exhibit artifacts from the site and provide visitors with information about Nan Madol and Pohnpeian culture. One respondent said that this would build worldwide understanding of the site and support for its preservation. In addition, it was suggested that such a facility could provide snacks, possibly local foods, restrooms, and souvenirs. One person suggested it could provide showers and accommodations as well.

One respondent recommended the number of tourists per site be limited to fifty to prevent damage to the islets and to maintain the integrity of the place. Another person suggested that a visitor's station on Temwen be established to collect fees.

The State of Pohnpei receives approximately 11,000 visitors per year. This figure is expected to double in the next ten years due to anticipated increases in total numbers of travelers worldwide. For Nan Madol, which the Tourism Commission estimates as receiving 60 percent of all tourists, this means increases from 127 to 254 visitors per week. Presently five companies operate tours at Nan Madol and visits are limited to the islet of Nan Douwas.

Based on interviewees' attitudes toward and expected increases in tourism in the next ten years coupled with preservation concerns, this plan recommends the following:

1. Designate specific islets and channels to take tourists. For the purposes of both historic preservation and tourism development, not all islets at Nan Madol should be open to tourists. Some are sacred sites which would lose their sanctity if tourists were allowed to visit. Others are difficult to access by foot. Based on site assessment visits, while the coral floor on some islets is fairly compact and dry, making it relatively easy to walk over, the floor on others is uneven having protruding, sharp edges, and/or
moss covered making the ground dangerous to traverse. In addition, the sheer number of islets necessitates some prioritization for tourism activity.

2. Train tour guides for Nan Madol. Offer training which would include instruction on the history and legends of Nan Madol as well as the importance of historic preservation. In addition, guides could be trained in traditional crafts and skills.

3. Ensure that tourists are always accompanied by trained tour guides. This would help preserve the site by providing some control and supervision of tourist activities. It would also create jobs for tour guides.

4. Support tourism activities in increments. Since Nan Madol currently receives only a limited number of tourists, activities in support of tourism should begin with preservation efforts on selected islets and the training and accompaniment of tour guides as described above. Should tourism demands increase, consideration as to the development of a cultural center, a museum and supportive infrastructure can be given.

3.4.4 Restoration/building

When respondents were asked how they would like Nan Madol to look twenty years from now some said they wanted to see the site reconstructed as it once must have appeared. For five respondents this meant restoring as much of the Nan Madol structures as possible while others felt that restoration efforts should be conducted very carefully or not at all. These respondents were opposed to restoration either because they did not want to change the appearance of the site and thus its very nature, or they feared it would result in further damage. Instead, some respondents recommended that measures to prevent further deterioration to the ruins be undertaken.

Five respondents wanted to see no new buildings on Nan Madol proper. They felt that such additions would destroy the character of the place. However, two respondents did recommend building two or three traditional houses on the site to help enable visitors to envision what life at Nan Madol must have been like.

Based on these comments and those regarding the site's importance, preservation efforts at Nan Madol should aim to give visitors a sense for what the place once must have looked like without risking loss of the site's sanctity and mystery. This means focusing preservation activities; for example, vegetation clearing, possible restoration of stone structures, and construction of one or two traditional houses, on selected islets. This would greatly enhance the visitor's understanding of Nan Madol as a community with political, religious and residential functions. It also means introducing no new buildings to the site inconsistent with what was
once there.

3.5 Entrance Fees

An entrance fee of $3.00 per visitor to Nan Madol was first imposed by the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw in the 1970's. The money collected was for use at his discretion. Interviewees were questioned about: (1) imposition of an entrance fee; (2) use of fees collected; and (3) responsibility for collection and management of fees.

3.5.1 Fee imposition

Thirteen of the nineteen respondents supported entrance fees for visiting Nan Madol. Three respondents felt that the fee should only be imposed if the Pohnpei State Legislature could not provide funding to the site. Three other respondents opposed a fee altogether. One interviewee recommended voluntary contributions instead.

When asked who should be charged an entrance fee, ten respondents said tourists. Most people felt that Pohnpeians either should not be charged at all or charged less than outside visitors. Two respondents also commented that people conducting studies at Nan Madol of interest to the State should not be charged.

Based on these responses and the anticipated cutbacks in State funding to the HP&CA as well as other state agencies, it is recommended that some sort of revenue-generating activity for Nan Madol, like collection of an entrance fee, be instituted. It is also recommended that Pohnpeians and persons conducting activities at Nan Madol of interest to the State not be charged. In this way, Nan Madol can truly serve as a cultural resource for the State, encouraging Pohnpeians to visit the site and supporting research and other educational activities at Nan Madol. Other visitors to Nan Madol should be charged in order to generate revenues for the site's preservation and management.

3.5.2 Fee use

Nine of the nineteen respondents said that entrance fees should be used for the maintenance of Nan Madol. Some felt 100 percent of fees collected should be applied toward the salaries of those cleaning the islets. However, one respondent suggested that just 40 percent of the fees collected go toward the maintenance of Nan Madol while the other 60 percent toward the general fund of the Madolenihmw Municipal Government. Another respondent felt that responsibility for cleaning the islets should be divided amongst all the districts of Pohnpei.

Other suggestions for the use of entrance fees collected included research, restoration, development of brochures on Nan Madol, and
payment for tour guides and lecturers. One respondent felt that
the entrance fees collected should remain with the Nahnmwarki for
use at his discretion. Another felt that half of the fees
collected should go to the Nahnmwarki and half to the people of the
Nanwai section as compensation for no longer being allowed to
collect coconuts at Nan Madol.

Based on these responses and the anticipated cutbacks in state
funding, the money collected from entrance fees or a similar
revenue-generating activity should go toward the preservation and
management of Nan Madol. Preservation has both physical and
cultural dimensions. The former could direct revenues toward such
things as islet maintenance, channel clearing and possible
reconstruction of traditional buildings. The latter could direct
revenues toward the development of educational materials, and
services such as tours and lectures. In addition, the latter would
include payments to traditional leaders. Such payments would
demonstrate respect for the traditional leadership system, so
important in Pohnpeian culture and society. Management expenses
could include salaries, office overhead expenses and supplies.

3.5.3 Fee collection and management

When asked who should collect and manage the money from entrance
fees to Nan Madol, six respondents said the Department of Land.
Two specified the Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs Office
and two others named that office or the Division of Parks and
Recreational Facilities. Two other respondents named the Tourism
Commission.

Three respondents felt the Nahnmwarki should assume this
responsibility either alone or with the Madolenihmw Municipal
Government. One identified both the Nahnmwarki and the Madolenihmw
Municipality. Two others named the Madolenihmw Municipal
Government.

Four respondents felt that responsibility for fee collection and
management should not lie directly with the State or with the
traditional leaders. Two suggested that a Governor-appointed board
be established composed of representatives of various stakeholders
in Nan Madol. Two other respondents felt a private, non-profit
company should be responsible for fee collection and management.
One explained this response saying that the Nahnmwarki does not
need to be directly involved since he receives 40 percent of fees
collected according to the Madolenihmw Municipal constitution.

Based on these responses, it is clear that interviewees have
differing views as to who should collect and manage fees. However,
this plan recommends that the authority to collect and manage fees
rest with the HP&CA office as the state agency charged with
preserving historic sites. The HP&CA can choose to delegate fee
collection to another body, for example, to the Division of Parks
and Recreational Facilities or an agent of Madolenihmw but management responsibility should remain with the HP&CA.

3.6 Responsibility for Preservation and Overall Management

When questioned about responsibility for site preservation and overall management, the greatest number of respondents, eight, identified the government, either state, municipal or some combination thereof. Six of those respondents said the State, three specifying the Division of Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs either in full or as a coordinating agency. One person thought that HP&CA should assume the responsibility since it was believed to receive more money than the Madolenihmw Municipal Government. Other agencies mentioned to assume the responsibility were the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities or the Tourism Commission, should Nan Madol be designated a state park.

Four respondents thought that preservation and management responsibilities should rest with the people, that is, the people of Pohnpei, of Madolenihmw or of the section Nanwai. Two others felt it should lie with traditional leaders. One person said responsibility for Nan Madol should be "by traditional leaders with the support of government, not the other way around."

This plan recommends that the agent which collects and manages entrance fees also be the agent responsible for site preservation and management. Therefore, the HP&CA would assume these functions. It could then delegate maintenance responsibilities to the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities. In addition, given the variety of interests in Nan Madol, this plan recommends that HP&CA also work in conjunction with an advisory board in making decisions about Nan Madol as described in Section 3.4.1(2).

3.7 Other Sources of Funding

Given the expected decreases in funding for the preservation and management of Nan Madol from the Pohnpei State Legislature, interviewees were asked if they knew of any outside sources that could be explored. Three respondents mentioned the Nan Madol Foundation but two explained that this source could only be used as a sponsor under one of two conditions: (1) Nan Madol is government property; or (2) a Memo of Understanding is signed between the private property owner and a state agency designated with the responsibility for the site's preservation and management.

Others felt a good source would be the people of Pohnpei through voluntary contributions collected at municipal offices. Other potential sources named were the South Pacific Regional Environmental Program (SPREP), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the United Nations Fund for Historic Places. Another potential source was United States federal grants for national parks and historic preservation. Grants from other countries were also
mentioned.

One person felt that nothing should be accepted from any source outside the Pohnpei State Government fearing reduced Pohnpeian control over the site. This plan recommends that outside sources for the preservation and management of Nan Madol be explored as needed. However, control over the site should remain with the HP&CA.

3.8 Access

The greatest number of respondents, eleven, favored access to the islets of Nan Madol by canoe and by foot. Five people specified access only by traditional canoes. Four people suggested connecting clusters of islets either by walkways or bridges. People could then access an islet cluster by canoe and explore the cluster by foot. One person opposed the idea of walkways saying that by blocking the channels they promote mangrove growth. Two people supported the idea of prohibiting walking on the islets to avoid looting, damages and liability claims by visitors. One person did not want to see access made any easier than now exists. Yet another person suggested that pedestrian access be limited to a selected number of sites, for example, barring sacred sites. Visitors could see the others from canoe.

Four people mentioned access by motor vehicles. Since roads now exist around the perimeter of Temwen Island it was suggested that a drop off point for visitors be designated and that a road connecting the peripheral road to Nan Madol be constructed. The problem with the latter is that such a road would cross private land.

Based on these comments and the condition of access to the islets noted in site visits, this plan recommends that visitors arrive at a designated boat and car drop off point on Temwen Island. This would be an appropriate site for a visitor's station where information could be given, tourists assembled for guided trips, and fees collected. Visitors could then travel through the site via traditional canoes. This would not only enable visitors to experience Nan Madol the way its original inhabitants must once have, but it avoids the noise and air pollution caused by motorized boats, thus preserving the site environment. Traditional canoes are also able to travel in shallower water than motor boats. This is especially important at Nan Madol since low tides are often a barrier to access within the site. In addition, use of traditional canoes encourages cultural preservation, that is, the preservation of canoe building skills. It could also provide revenues to canoe builders. Visitors could then be dropped off at selected islets which they could explore by foot accompanied by a guide.

Construction of bridges or walkways between clusters of islets is not recommended for two reasons: first, it would not be authentic
to Nan Madol's original structure, and second, it may encourage mangrove growth thus obstructing canoe access through the site.

SECTION 4. CRITERIA FOR ISLET PRIORITIZATION

4.1 Site Categories

For the purpose of this plan, the Technical Assistant and Project Counterparts have divided the islets of Nan Madol into three categories: physical sites, cultural sites and sacred sites. A brief description of the sites visited to develop this plan, their categorization and some photographs are included in Appendix C.

4.1.1 Physical sites

Physical sites are ones which are visually striking. Their structures tend to be the largest and most intact of the islets. Because of these qualities, these sites can best give visitors to Nan Madol a visual image of what the place must have once looked like and should therefore serve as primary visitor destinations. As such, the recommendation favoring the reconstruction of traditional buildings should be directed at these islets.

Allowable activities at physical sites therefore include: tourism, school field trips, research and reconstruction of traditional structures.

4.1.2 Cultural sites

Cultural sites are not necessarily visually striking. Their importance lies in their role in the traditional life of Nan Madol. It is these sites which underscore the importance of tour guides at Nan Madol. While these sites may not have impressive structures to see like the physical sites, visitors can nonetheless learn a lot about life at Nan Madol by hearing tour guides explain the types of activities and rituals which occurred on these islets.

Allowable activities at cultural sites therefore include: tourism, school field trips, and research. It may also be appropriate to have some cultural ceremonies/performances at these sites.

4.1.3 Sacred sites

Sacred sites at Nan Madol are either burial grounds or sites where spirits live. The way to demonstrate respect for these sites and preserve their sanctity is by not disturbing them. For this reason, these sites should not be used for tourism, research, or educational purposes.

Allowable activities at sacred sites are therefore very limited. Only those responsible for traditional activities and cultural
rituals performed on site should be permitted on these sites.

4.2 Criteria for Site Ranking

Given cutbacks in State funding for the preservation of Nan Madol, the following criteria should be used in prioritizing the islets within Nan Madol for preservation activities.

1. **Size**: The larger the structure the more important. Size is representative of sophistication in architectural engineering and the amount of labor that went into the structure's construction.

2. **Importance**: This refers to the structure's historical and/or cultural importance. The events or activities which occurred on the islet are usually the determining factor.

3. **Aesthetic Beauty**: This refers to the overall quality of the islet as a whole, including both its structures and vegetation. As this is a very subjective criterion, it would have to be well defined by the body ranking sites for preservation.

4. **Access**: This refers to how easily the site is to access. This criterion can help determine the type of preservation efforts to pursue on a particular islet. For example, an islet which ranks high in the other criteria but is virtually inaccessible would probably not be targeted for activities which would make the structures more visible since the site is too remote to be seen.

SECTION 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the compilation of background research, current conditions as noted in site assessment visits, and interview responses, the TA in consultation with the Project Counterparts have developed the following recommendations regarding the management and preservation of Nan Madol:

5.1 Management

The HP&CA office should use State resources, namely, money, technical expertise and manpower, to preserve Nan Madol. At the same time, it should strive to maintain the vitality of and respect for traditional leadership and customs. This can be achieved by involving traditional leaders in preservation plans as detailed below. It is only in this way that Pohnpei can preserve both its physical sites and its cultural resources.

Determine management responsibilities of state agencies. This step would require the HP&CA, as the coordinating body, to communicate with other state agencies to outline each's potential role in the preservation of Nan Madol. This would involve meetings with agencies such as the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities
and the Department of Education.

Establish an advisory board. This board could be composed of representatives of various stakeholders in Nan Madol as described in Section 3.4.1(2). State legislation could be passed specifying among other items, the board's composition, size, powers and responsibilities. Appointment to the board could be made by the Governor. Creation of such a board would help ensure traditional leadership a voice in the preservation and management of Nan Madol.

Institute a revenue-generating activity for Nan Madol. Given anticipated cutbacks in State funding, an alternative source of funding should be tapped for the preservation and management of Nan Madol. An entrance fee is one possibility.

Charge outside visitors to Nan Madol. Pohnpeians and persons conducting activities at Nan Madol of interest to the State should not be charged to visit the site. In this way, Nan Madol can truly serve as a cultural resource for the State, encouraging Pohnpeians to visit the site and supporting research and other educational activities at Nan Madol. Other visitors to Nan Madol should be charged in order to generate revenues for the site's preservation and management.

Use revenues toward the preservation and management of Nan Madol. Physical preservation activities could involve islet maintenance, channel clearing and possible restoration of traditional buildings. Cultural preservation activities could direct revenues toward the development of educational materials, and services such as tours and lectures, as well as symbolic payments to traditional leaders. Management expenses could entail salaries, office overhead and similar costs.

Authorize the HP&CA office to collect and manage fees. The HP&CA can choose to delegate fee collection to another body but management responsibility should remain with the HP&CA.

Have the HP&CA office assume responsibility for site preservation and overall management. The HP&CA office could then delegate maintenance responsibilities to the Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities. In addition, given the variety of interests in Nan Madol, HP&CA could also work in conjunction with the advisory board in making decisions about Nan Madol.

Seek outside sources for the preservation and management of Nan Madol. Outside funding sources should be explored. However, control over the site should remain with the HP&CA.

5.2 Preservation

Preservation of Nan Madol must address both physical and cultural aspects of the place. What follows are the recommendations in each
5.2.1 Physical preservation

Select islets for preservation and possible restoration. Physical preservation efforts should be targeted at islets selected by the HP&CA office, other state agencies and an advisory board, based on the criteria listed in Section 4. Concentrating preservation efforts in this way will minimize potential disturbance to the ruins and alteration of the character of the site as a whole, namely its sanctity and mystery.

Seek professional expertise in determining appropriate preservation measures. Specifically, professional assistance should be sought to mitigate destructive forces at Nan Madol. This would address issues of vegetation clearing, breadfruit tree removal, mangrove dredging, and restoration among others.

Determine least damaging preservation efforts on selected sites. Attention should be paid to selecting preservation techniques which create the least damage to the natural environment as well as the least disturbance in appearance to the site.

5.2.2 Cultural preservation

Cultural preservation at Nan Madol involves the revival of traditional crafts, skills and customs. The activities in support of cultural preservation at Nan Madol recommended are:

5.2.2.1 Research

Support research activities which increase understanding of Nan Madol. Research projects could include exploration of Nan Madol's history, construction, and customs.

Coordinate research activities at Nan Madol. A designated body should coordinate research activities to ensure, at a minimum: (1) the activity proposed has not been performed before; (2) the results of the proposed activity will be beneficial to the people of Pohnpei; and (3) the research techniques proposed would not endanger the preservation of the site or would minimize damage to the site.

Have the advisory board review and approve research proposals. In approving projects, the board could act to encourage research diversity as well as research activity by Pohnpeians.

Take measures to prevent and minimize site vandalism. The measures recommended are: (1) the establishment of policies and procedures regarding artifact removal; (2) supervision of visitors to Nan Madol by an accompanying tour guide; (3) enforcement of penalties for site vandalism; and (4) instruction to visitors about
the importance of the site and its preservation as well as penalties for site vandalism.

Establish contractual agreements with researchers. Such contracts would specify, among other elements: (a) approval/disapproval of artifact removal; (b) the sharing of research results with the people of Pohnpei, specifically, the number of reports required and the recipients of those reports, for example, state agencies, Governor appointed boards, and traditional leaders; and (c) penalties for noncompliance.

5.2.2.2 Secondary education

Support school field trips to Nan Madol. Coordination should continue among state agencies and private funding sources to enable eighth graders to visit Nan Madol. In addition, the HP&CA and the Pohnpei Studies Division of the Department of Education should work closely to prepare students in class for site visits. This would not only teach them about the site and the importance of its preservation, but help to strengthen their identities as Pohnpeians.

Support the revival of traditional crafts and skills. The HP&CA should work with the Department of Education to revive traditional crafts and skills as once existed at Nan Madol. The two offices could work together to incorporate these elements into the school curriculum.

5.2.2.3 Tourism

Take tourists only to selected islets. Designate islets which tourists can visit based on the criteria established in Section 4. Limiting the number of islets open to tourists minimizes potential site destruction and vandalism, as well as liability issues.

Train tour guides to take visitors to Nan Madol. Guides should be instructed about the site's history and legends as well as the importance of its preservation. In addition, guides could be trained in traditional crafts and skills for potential demonstrations for visitors.

Ensure that tourists are always accompanied by trained tour guides. This would help preserve the site by providing some control and supervision of tourist activities. It would also create jobs for tour guides.

Support tourism activities in increments. Since Nan Madol currently receives only a limited number of tourists, activities in support of tourism should begin with preservation efforts on selected islets and the training and accompaniment of tour guides as described above. Should tourism demands increase, consideration as to the development of a cultural center, a museum and supportive
infrastructure can be given.

5.2.2.4 restoration/building

Restoration and building at Nan Madol should aim to give visitors a sense for what the place once must have looked like without risking loss of the site's sanctity and mystery. This means focusing preservation activities; for example, vegetation clearing, possible restoration of stone structures, and construction of one or two traditional houses, on selected islets. It also means introducing no new buildings to the site inconsistent with what was once there.

5.3 Access

Designate a drop off point on Temwen Island for visitors. People arriving both by boat and by automobile could converge at this point. This would be an appropriate site for a visitor's station where information could be given, tourists assembled for guided trips, and fees collected.

Support access through Nan Madol via traditional canoes. Prohibit the operation of motor boats in Nan Madol. Contract with local canoe builders to provide boats for Nan Madol. Visitors could then experience Nan Madol the way its original inhabitants must once have, while avoiding the noise and air pollution caused by motorized boats.

Limit pedestrian access to selected islets. Islets should be selected for pedestrian access based on the criteria listed in Section 4. In this way, potential damage, vandalism and liability for injuries will be minimized.

Do not construct bridges or walkways on site. Such structures are not authentic to the original Nan Madol structure. In addition, they could potentially further mangrove growth and thus obstruct access to the islets.
SOURCES


Ballinger, Bill. "Mysterious 'Atlantis' of the Pacific."


Nan Madol: Pohnpei Island, Micronesia Brochure.


APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Q1: How long have you lived in Pohnpei? Which district are you from?

Q2: Have you ever been to Nan Madol? If so, how many times?

Q3: Why is Nan Madol an important site?

Q4: Are there any problems with Nan Madol now? If so, what are they?

Q5: What kinds of activities should and should not be allowed in Nan Madol?
   a) Should research be conducted in Nan Madol?
   b) Should school children be taken to Nan Madol?
   c) Should tourists be allowed to visit? Should they be allowed to wander around the site independently or should they always be accompanied by a guide?

Q6: Should an entrance fee be collected for Nan Madol? If yes, who should be charged? What should the money be used for?

Q7: If a fee is charged, who should collect and manage the money?

Q8: Who should be responsible for the preservation of Nan Madol?

Q9: Do you know of any other sources of funding that could be used to preserve and manage Nan Madol?

Q10: What would you like Nan Madol to be like twenty years from now? Please describe it in terms of: (a) appearance- restoration; (b) activities; and (c) access.

Kalahngan.
APPENDIX B

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

1. Senator Etse
   Vice Speaker of the Pohnpei Legislature

2. Edgar Santos
   Chief, Division of Parks and Recreational Facilities

3. Youser Anson
   Executive Director, Tourism Commission

4. Honorable Joseph Moses
   Chairman, Committee of Education and Cultural Affairs

5. Emensio Emperiam
   Chief, Division of Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs

6. Herson Anson
   Chief, Division of Forestry

7. Timakio Ehsa
   High Commissioner, Madolenihmw Municipal Government

8. Melsohr Gilmete
   Field Researcher, Division of Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs

9. Masuo Silbanuz
   Speaker, Madolenihmw Municipal Council

10. Simon Ham
    Chief Justice, Madolenihmw Municipal Government

11. Ersin Costigan
    Vice Speaker, Madolenihmw Municipal Council

12. Waltis Ferdinand
    Member, Madolenihmw Municipal Council

13. Frederick Ringlan
    Chief, Nanwai Section, Madolenihmw Municipality

14. Yosuo Phillip
    Chairman, Committee on Research and Development

15. Yasuo Yamada
    Director, Department of Land
16. Ruth Fleischman  
Museum Programs Director, Division of Historic Preservation and Cultural Affairs

17. Miquel Marquez  
Associate Land Commissioner, Department of Land and Chairman, Historic Preservation Board

18. Dageo Jano  
Pohnpei Studies Coordinator, Department of Education

19. Dorothy Moore  
Secretary/Treasurer, Nan Madol Foundation
Sites visited are categorized as physical(P), cultural(C), sacred(S) or some combination thereof and are briefly described below:

1. Usendau (C): This site served as a residential area for priests during the Saudeleur era and was later a residence for the Nahnmwarkis. This is also one site where tributes were paid to the Nahnmwarki. An important historic structure on the site is the U-shaped meeting house.
2. Nan Douwas (P): This is Nan Madol's most visually impressive site, attracting the greatest number of visitors. The Saudeleurs were buried there. In the past this was a sacred site but has since become a primary visitor destination. Cultural activities there consisted mostly of religious rituals.

3. Nan Mwaluhsei (P): This site served as a terminal/port for Nan Madol. Its large stones and high walls served as wave breakers protecting the Nan Douwas area from destruction.
4. Pahnwi (P/C): The boulders used on this islet are the largest and heaviest of any single structure. The amount of coral fill on this islet is very high. The site features house platforms and tombs.
5. *Kelepwele* (P): This was the reception center for visitors to Nan Madol. It was also the site where Isokelekel and his crew stayed when they arrived at Nan Madol and it is where the revolt against the Saudeleurs began.
6. Wasau (C): This was the site where food was stored and prepared for the Saudeleurs. Its major features are residential platforms and mounds.

7. Konderek (C): This is the place where the priests gathered and performed their magic which is said to be responsible for the building of Nan Madol.
8. Dapahu (C): This site was used for canoe making.
9. Darong (C): This was an important ritual site. Here clams were cultivated, harvested and presented to the Saudeleurs.
10. Dau (C): The guards of Nan Douwas stayed on this site during ceremonies. Women were not permitted on this site.

11. Peikapw (C): This islet contains two important pools. The larger one was where turtles were kept for ceremonies on Idehd. The other one was a magical pool where the Saudeleurs could view all events taking place on Pohnpei and beyond.

12. Pahn Kadira (P/C): This was the site of the royal residence for both Saudeleurs and Nahnmwarkis. It was built by people from different parts of the island. Each corner of the site is designated to a particular area, namely: Sokehs, Kitti, Madolenihmw, and Katau ('land outside').
13. Idehd (P/C): This was the main religious center of Nan Madol as it was the dwelling site of the eel which was worshipped as the form of a sacred spirit. An annual religious ritual was performed here. In addition, this site has stones representing each member of Isokelekel's party. Only a few remain now.
14. Lemenkau (P/C): This is the site of the hospital for Nan Madol. It contains many sakau stones and a healing pool.
15. **Peinering (C):** According to oral historian, Masuo Hadley, this site was the storage and manufacturing center for coconut oil.

16. **Kariahn-Pahnmwasangap (S):** These are sacred sites because they contain the tombs of high priests.
17. Peinmwek (C): This was the women's traditional dance area where performances to the Saudeleurs were held.

18. Pahn Douwas (C): During Nan Douwas rituals, the wives of the men participating in the rituals came here bringing food for their husbands.
19. Usenamw (C): Tributes to the Saudeleurs were brought here. It features in each corner of the site a high platform.

20. Peilapalap (P/C): Tributes to the Saudeleurs were paid on this site. The foundation of a house of a legendary figure named, Satokawai is located here.