

The History of Nan Madol from the Perspective of Archaeology and Oral Tradition

As with other nonliterate islands in Oceania, oral tradition on Nan Madol (Bernart, 1977; Hadley, 2014; Hanlon, 1988; Petersen, 1990) plays an important role in interpreting the site's characteristics and position in the cultural history of Pohnpei Island. Pohnpeian oral traditions divide the island's history into four phases: 1) "The People's period"; 2) "The Saudeleur's¹ period"; 3) "The Nahnmwarki's² period"; and, 4) "The Foreigners' period" (Hadley, 2014).

According to oral tradition, the island of Pohnpei was discovered by Sapwikini's canoe, that sailed from the south³. In the first period (The People's period), six voyages from different locations reached Pohnpei, bringing with them new plants, technology, and ideas, enriching the island through time (Bernart, 1977:7-27).

In the second period (The Saudeleur's period), the seventh voyage brought a group of people from Katau Peidi (literally, 'Downwind Katau'), a mythical land in the west. This group, that was headed by two brothers, Olosihpa and Olosohpa, reached the northern part of the island in the area now known as Sokehs. They tried to build places for worshipping their Nahnsihnsapw religious beliefs at different locations on the island (Mauricio, 1993:183-184), and they built artificial islets on a reef, that later became known as Nan Madol⁴. The megalithic complex was built with the assistance of the people of Pohnpei. The four corners of Pahnkedira Islet, where the Saudeleur's palace was located, were constructed by four stone fitters from four districts; three from Pohnpei (Madolenihmw, Sokehs and Kitti), and one from a mythical land in the east called Katau Peidak ('Upwind Katau'). The corners were named to memorialize individual districts and were magically linked with the fate of those districts (Bernart, 1977:27-30). Shimizu (1990:553) argues that the Saudeleur Dynasty possessed the typical characteristics of a kingship, with a royal capital situated in the center of the world, thus, reproducing the structure of that world. This reproduction reveals that the polity had a structure that was accessible to the outside world; in other words, interaction occurred in both directions, outgoing and incoming. This can be confirmed by several lines of archaeological evidence, as discussed below.

After the death of Olosihpa, Olosohpa became the first Saudeleur chief, and ruled the island of Pohnpei (table 1). Although the reigns of the early Saudeleur chiefs were believed to have flourished, subsequent ones were cruel and harshly misruled the island. The supreme god Nahnsapwe, who was imprisoned by the last Saudeleur chief, Saudemwoi, escaped to Katau Peidak⁵, where he fathered a son with a local woman. This godly child, Isokelekel, later sailed to Pohnpei with three

Table 1: Estimated and historical dates of the reigns of the Saudeleur chiefs, and the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw⁶ (based on Mauricio, 1993:163-164, tables 10 and 11).

	Names	Reigns
Saudeleur	Olosohpa	1160-1185
	Mwoahnwei	1185-1210
	Inenenmwei	1210-1235
	Mwei Lehle	1235-1260
	Soakonomwei	1260-1285
	Reipwinleng	1285-1310
	Reipwinlako	1310-1335
	Sereidensapw	1335-1360
	Ketiparesed	1360-1385
	Ketipareleng	1385-1411
	Pohnmweiririn	1411-1436
	Saudemwoi	1436-1561
	Isokelekel	1461-1485
	Nahlepenien	1485-1511
	Luhken Mweimour	1511-1536
	Nahluhken Nahnsapwe	1536-1561
	Nahluhken Sounpwong	1561-1586
Nahluhken Nahr	1586-1611	
Nahnmwarki	Luhken Mallada	1611-1636
	Luhken Peidoh	1636-1661
	Luhken Usendau	1661-1686
	Luhken Weid	1686-1711
	Luhken Ned	1711-1736
	Luhken Nen	1736-1761
	Luhken Mwer	1761-1786
	Luhkenleng Iso	1786-1811
	Luhken Kesik	1811-1836
	Luhken Kidu or Kideu	1836-1854
	Luhken Mwei Uh	1854-1855
	Luhken Ngar	1855-1872
	Paul	1872-1896
Hezekiaia	1896-1898	
Salmon	1898-1928	
Alexander	1928-1931	
Moses Hadley	1931-1966	
Samuel Hadley	1966-1981	
Salter Hadley	1981-1991	
Ilden Silten	1991-2004	
Koisimy Hadley	2004-2007	
Kerpet Ehpel	2007-present	

考古学と口頭伝承から見たナンマトルの歴史

文字を持たなかったオセアニアの他の島々と同様に、口頭伝承によって語り継がれてきたナンマトルの情報 (Bernart, 1977; Hadley, 2014; Hanlon, 1988; Petersen, 1990) は、遺跡の性格やポーンペイの文化史の中での位置づけを理解する上で重要な資料となっている。ポーンペイの 伝承は、島の歴史を 1) 「人々の世」、2) 「シャウテウル王¹の世」、3) 「ナーンマルキ²の世」、4) 「外国人の世」の 4 時期に分ける (Hadley, 2014)。

伝承によると、ポーンペイ島は、南から航海してきたシャプイキニに率いられたカヌーによって発見されたと言われている³。第一の世 (人々の世) は、さまざまな方向からの 6 回の航海により、いろいろな作物・技術・思想が島にもたらされ、文化的に豊かになっていく (Bernart, 1977:7-27)。

第二の世 (シャウテウル王の世) は、第 7 の航海で「風下の海の彼方の世界」から 2 人の兄弟、オロシーバとオロショーバに引き連れられたグループが現在のショケースに到来することによって始まる。この 2 人は、ナーンイションシャップ信仰 (Mauricio, 1993:183-184) の祭祀場の建設を島の数ヶ所で試みた後、最終的に島中の人々から協力を得て、ナンマトル⁴を造り上げた。王宮のあるパーンケティラ島の 4 隅は、4 つの国 (ポーンペイ島のマトレニーム・ショケース・キチの 3 国と「風上の海の彼方の世界」) の棟梁によって造られ、それぞれの国を記念する名称が付けられた 4 隅は、各国の運命と連動させられた (Bernart, 1977:27-30)。清水 (1990:553) は、世界の中心にある王都は世界の構造を再現するという王権の特徴をシャウテウル王朝も備えており、シャウテウル王朝が外部世界に開かれた構造を持っていたことを示すと議論する。後述するように、このシャウテウル王朝の外部世界への開放性は、考古学的証拠に符号する。

オロシーバの死後、オロショーバが初代シャウテウル王になり、ナンマトルからポーンペイ全島を統治する (表 1 参照)。初期のシャウテウル王の治世は良かったが、その後の王は残虐で過酷な悪政を敷くようになる。最後の王シャウテムオイによって牢へ囚われた島の最高

表 1: シャウテウル王とマトレニーム国ナーンマルキの治世の推定・歴史年代⁶ (Mauricio, 1993: 163-164, Tables 10 and 11 を基に作成)。

	名前	治世
シャウテウル	オロショーバ	1160-1185
	ムオーンムエイ	1185-1210
	イネンムエイ	1210-1235
	ムエイ・レーレ	1235-1260
	ソコノムエイ	1260-1285
	レイブインレン	1285-1310
	レイブインラコ	1310-1335
	セレイテンシャップ	1335-1360
	ケティバレシエット	1360-1385
	ケティバレレン	1385-1411
	ポーンムエイリリン	1411-1436
	シャウテムオイ	1436-1561
	イシヨケレケル	1461-1485
	ナネセン	1485-1511
	ルーケン・ムエイモウル	1511-1536
	ナールケン・ナーンシヤプエ	1536-1561
	ナールケン・ショウンフォン	1561-1586
ナールケン・ナール	1586-1611	
ルーケン・マラタ	1611-1636	
ルーケン・パイト	1636-1661	
ルーケン・ウシエンタウ	1661-1686	
ルーケン・ウエイト	1686-1711	
ルーケン・ネット	1711-1736	
ルーケン・ネン	1736-1761	
ナーンマルキ	ルーケン・ムエル	1761-1786
	ルーケンレン・イショ	1786-1811
	ルーケン・ケシク	1811-1836
	ルーケン・キトウ/キテウ	1836-1854
	ルーケン・ムエイ・ウー	1854-1855
	ルーケン・ガル	1855-1872
	ポール	1872-1896
	ヘゼカイヤ	1896-1898
	サルモン	1898-1928
	アレキサンダー	1928-1931
モーゼス・ハドレイ	1931-1966	
サムエル・ハドレイ	1966-1981	
サルター・ハドレイ	1981-1991	
イーレンテン・シルテン	1991-2004	
コイズミ・ハドレイ	2004-2007	
ケルベット・エーベル	2007-現在	

hundred and thirty-three companions and overthrew the Saudeleur polity (Hadley, 2014).

Isokekel resided in Nan Madol and was ordained as the first Nahnmwarki, the paramount chief of the Madolenihmw chiefdom, marking the beginning of the third period (The Nahnmwarki's period). However, he could not maintain the sovereignty over the whole island. His son, Nahlepenien, became the first Nahnken of Madolenihmw, the highest-ranking chief in the second ruling line, thus creating dual sacred-secular chiefly lines headed by the sacred Nahnmwarki and the secular Nahnken. Nahlepenien later moved north and established the Uh chiefdom, becoming its first Nahnmwarki, by separating from Madolenihmw (Hadley, 2014). In Kitti, although there were three autonomous districts, Soukisehnleng of Onohnleng unified them all and became the Nahnmwarki around the mid-eighteenth century after episodes of armed conflict (Riesenberg 1968:26). Around the same time, in Sokehs, the eastern chief, Lepen Nett, built the Nett chiefdom while the western chief, Wasahi Sokehs, established the Sokehs chiefdom (Ehrlich, 1978:157; Riesenberg, 1968:16). Thus, the island was partitioned into the five present day chiefdoms by the beginning of the fourth period (The Foreigners' period) in the nineteenth century.

According to the results of recent archaeological research, eastern Micronesia was settled from the southeast Solomon Islands and northern Vanuatu region by the descendants of the Lapita culture around 2,000 years ago (Athens, 1990:29; Kirch, 2000:173-174). In Pohnpei, early settlement sites are distributed around the intertidal zone, where mangrove forests and beaches predominate (Athens, 1981; Galipaud, 2000; Nagaoka, 2008). It is possible that sites in such littoral zones may have been stilt villages, similar to those from Melanesia, the homeland of the eastern Micronesian people (Rainbird, 2004:92-94). Since early pottery and shell artifacts were also excavated below islet structures at Nan Madol, it suggests that this area was uninhabited prior to the construction of the megalithic site at a time when this area consisted only of sand bars and beaches (Athens, 1990; Ayres, 1993:29-30). As discussed below, the location of Nan Madol was selected possibly due to the presence of an ancestral settlement.

Long before megalithic construction started, small-scale construction of artificial islets began at Nan Madol around AD 500-600 (Ayres, 1990:204) during the pre-Saudeleur period, that led to the emergence of the island-wide polity. Although oral history describes tension among different social groups, and construction activities at Nan Madol prior to the development of the Saudeleur Dynasty (Petersen, 1990:17-19), the process of political development on Pohnpei has yet to be thoroughly investigated. Islet constructions began near the inner edge of the complex, adjacent to the shores of Temwen Island, and gradually expanded seaward (Ayres, 1993:31). Radiocarbon dates have revealed an increase in the construction of artificial islets, most importantly Pahnkedira Islet, the Saudeleur's chiefly residence, around AD 1000. This seems to suggest that the development of the Saudeleur Dynasty occurred during this period, with Nan Madol as its political and religious center.

It was after AD 1200 that the megalithic construction was in full operation, including the structures at Nandowas Islet, the most important and architecturally elaborate islet in Nan Madol (McCoy et al., 2016). This period was also notable for the beginning of the Saudeleur's Nahnsohnsapw rituals that were held on Idehd Islet (Athens, 2007). Although radiocarbon dates related to constructions on individual islets are still limited, it is possible to model the building sequence during this phase. After the constructions of the seawall islets, existing islets were extended and new ones were built inside the seawalls. These phenomena seem to suggest that this period saw the rise of political growth of the Saudeleur Dynasty, in which large-scale labor organization would have occurred probably following the unification of the island under Dynastic leadership. Additionally, the establishment of the polity's major rituals took place during this period (Kataoka et al., in prep.).⁷ Nan Madol's function and characteristics may have changed through time, but in its final form, it was essentially residential with as many as 80% of structures recorded on thirty-one islets (Athens and Bath, 1990:281). Thus, the residences of the Saudeleur elites and their priests comprised the main function of this complex site.

Megalithic construction at Nan Madol ended around AD 1500, thus, corresponding well with the legendary Isokekel's overthrow of the Saudeleur polity (table 1) (Ayres, 1990:204; Bath and Athens, 1990). As related

神である雷神ナンシャベは、「風上の海の彼方の世界⁵」へ逃れ、そこで地元の女性と子供をもうける。後にこの子供イショケケルが、333人の従者を引き連れてポーンベイへ戻り、シャウテウル王を滅ぼすことになる (Hadley, 2014)。

イショケケルは、ナンマトルを居城とし、ポーンベイの3分国の一つであるマトレニウム国の初代最高首長ナンマルキになり、第三の世 (ナンマルキの世) が始まる。しかしイショケケルは、全島の支配を保持することができず、彼の息子のナーレベニエンは第二の首長ラインの最高首長であるナンケンとなり、聖なるナンマルキと世俗のナンケンによって統括される聖俗二重の首長ラインを創るが、後に北部に移りウー国のナンマルキとなり、マトレニウム国から分裂する (Hadley, 2014)。キチは、3地域に分裂していたが、18世紀頃、オノンレン地域の首長ショウキシェーンレンが武力抗争の後、キチ国を統一し、ナンマルキとなる (Riesenberg, 1968:26)。同じ頃、ショケースでは、東部の首長レベン・ネッチがネッチ国を建国し、西部の首長ワシャーイ・ショケースがショケース国を興す (Ehrlich, 1978:157; Riesenberg, 1968:16)。こうして第四の世 (外国人の世) が始まる19世紀には島が現在の5首長国に分裂していた。

近年のオセアニア考古学研究成果によると、東ミクロネシアは約2000年前に南東ソロモン諸島・北バヌアツ地域からラピタ人の子孫により植民されたと考えられる (Athens, 1990:29; Kirch, 2000:173-174)。ポーンベイ島では、この時期の遺跡は潮間帯のマングローブ林や砂浜に分布しており (Athens, 1981; Galipaud, 2000; Nagaoka, 2008)、東ミクロネシア人の故地であったメラネシアで見ついている水上集落を形成していたと考えられる (Rainbird, 2004:92-94)。ナンマトル遺跡でも人工島の構造の下層からも、初期居住期の土器や貝製品などの遺物が出土しており、巨石遺跡の建設以前にこの地域が礁原の浅瀬か砂州だった頃に居住が開始されたことがわかっている (Athens, 1990; Ayres, 1993:29-30)。後述するように、このことは、ナンマトルの選地をする際、先祖の初期居住地を選んだ可能性があり興味深い。

ナンマトル遺跡における小規模な人工島の築造は、巨石建築が始まるかなり前である紀元500～600年頃から始まる (Ayres, 1990:204)。伝承では、シャウテウル王朝成立以前のナンマトルでの建設活動や地域集団間の緊張関係について語られるが (Petersen, 1990:17-19)、ポーンベイ島の政治発展のプロセスについてはわかっていない。人工島の建設は、チェムエン島付近から外洋側に向かって広がったと考えられる (Ayres, 1993:31)。シャウテウル王の王宮のあるパーンケティラ島を含む、人工島の建設の増加を示す炭素年代から、シャウテウル王朝は紀元1000年頃に成立し、ナンマトルが島の政治・宗教の中心となったと考えられる。

紀元1200年以降は、ナンマトルで最も重要で壮麗なナントワス島の建設が行われるなど (McCoy et al., 2016)、巨石建築がピークを迎え、シャウテウル王朝が行ったと言われるナーンイショーンシャップ信仰の祭祀がイテート島で開始される (Athens, 2007)。人工島建設の年代データがまだ限られているが、この時期は防波堤となる外洋側の人工島の建設後、内側の人工島の新設・増築が行われたというシナリオが考えられる。これらの事象から、この時期は、全島支配の完了に伴う大規模な労働力の組織化や王権祭祀の整備が行われたシャウテウル王朝の政治的発展の時期である可能性が高い (Kataoka et al., in prep.)⁷。ナンマトル遺跡は、時期により遺跡の機能や性格は変遷していった可能性があるが、現在観察できる遺構は居住用の構造物が31人工島で確認されており、全構造物の80%を占める (Bath and Athens, 1990:281)。したがってシャウテウルのエリートや司祭者による居住が、この複合遺跡の主要な機能であったと考えられる。

through oral history (Bath and Athens, 1990; Bernart, 1977), the demise of the Saudeleur Dynasty seems to have been caused by the excessive demand of tributes and labor. After this, only small-scale constructions of residential structures continued at Nan Madol (Ayres, 1990:204), and finally, the complex was largely abandoned by the nineteenth century except for a small number of islets (figure 1) (Fischer, 1964). However, religious ceremonies continued until the mid-nineteenth century (Athens 1984:134-135; Hanlon, 1988:200-201). Isokelekel's successors, the early Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, resided at Nan Madol, but after the devastating typhoon during the reign of the seventh Nahnmwarki, probably in the seventeenth century (table 1), many subsequent Nahnmwarki resided on neighboring Temwen Island (Hadley, 2014). The chiefly family of Madolenihmw could not sustain their occupation of Nan Madol due to the demise of tributes after the decentralization of the island (Fischer, 1964:52-53). Shimizu (1990:555) argues that Nahnmwarki "integrated the society by secular value, centering the one of 'honor,' and military force", in contrast to the rule of the Saudeleur Dynasty through religious authority.



図1: 1910年、ウシェンタウ島のマトレニーム国の高位首長の祭宴堂 (Hambruch, 1936, Plate 2)

Based on the results of past archaeological investigations and oral tradition, Ayres (1990:189) has created a model dividing the cultural history of Pohnpei Island into six phases, with key elements listed for each phase. This breakdown is presented below (table 2).

Table 2: Cultural-historical sequence on Pohnpei Island (based on Ayres, 1990:189).

I. Settlement and Adaptive Integration Inter-tidal occupation; inland forest clearance; calcareous tempered pottery in use.	Phase 500-1 BC
II. Peinai's Phase Stone house foundations; breadfruit storage pits; pottery with limited decorative elements; Nan Madol islets with some columnar basalt construction as early as AD 500-600.	AD 1-1000
III. Nan Madol Phase Expansion and formalization of Nan Madol and formation of the Saudeleur polity; chiefly residential architecture; stylized tombs (<i>lolong</i>); pottery absent or declining in use, with plain ware increasingly abundant.	AD 1000-1500
IV. Isokelekel Phase Disintegration of the Saudeleur polity; new title system; chiefly complexes and new style of assembly house (<i>nabs</i>); post-pottery phase.	AD 1500-1826
V. Early Contact Phase Western contact; Nan Madol occupation continues but in a non-center role.	AD 1826-1885
IV. Historic Phase Western contact and colonial governments (Spain, Germany, Japan, and USA).	AD 1885-present

The Development of Nan Madol and its Influence on Eastern Micronesia and beyond

In the Pacific Islands, political development tends to be discussed in association with population growth and the intensification of agricultural production following colonization, especially in Polynesia (e.g., Kirch, 1984). However, two volcanic islands in eastern Micronesia, Pohnpei and Kosrae, where highly developed chieftainships emerged and the megalithic administrative centres of Nan Mado and Lelu (figure 2) were constructed, are notable exceptions to this model. Petersen (2006) has outlined his so-called "Breadfruit Revolution"⁸ hypothesis that posits that breadfruit hybridization occurred on Pohnpei and Kosrae during the first millennium AD, and led to the growth of productivity and populations. An increase in both of these variables was the key to political development, and consequently led to the emergence of Nan Madol and Lelu. However, this model requires further verification using archaeological data.

巨石建設は紀元 1500 年頃に終焉を迎え、伝承によるシャウテレル王朝滅亡の時期に合致する (表 1 参照) (Ayres, 1990:204; Bath and Athens, 1990)。伝承で語られるように、王朝の終焉は、シャウテレル王による一般の人々への過剰な貢納と労働力の要求に起因すると思われる (Bath and Athens, 1990; Bernart, 1977)。これ以降ナンマトルでは、小規模な住居遺構の築造が続けられただけで (Ayres, 1990: 204)、19 世紀には一部の島を除いて放棄され (図 1 参照) (Fischer, 1964)、19 世紀中頃まで宗教的な儀式が継続された (Athens, 1984:134-135; Hanlon, 1988:200-201)。イショケケレルの後継者である初期のマトレニーム国のナンマルキ首長は、ナンマトルに居住したが、7 代目のナンマルキの治世の壊滅的な台風の後、多くのナンマルキは隣接するチェムエン島に住んだ (Hadley, 2014)。島の政治的分裂後、マトレニーム国の首長家は、貢納に依存するナンマトルでの生活を維持することができなかったと考えられる (Fischer, 1964:52-53)。清水 (1990:555) は、シャウテレル王の宗教的な権威による統治したのに対して、ナンマルキは「『名誉』の価値を軸とした世俗的な価値と、武力によって、社会を統合した」とする。

過去の考古学調査の成果と口頭伝承から、エアーズ (Ayres, 1990:189) は以下のようなポーンベイ島の文化史の以下のように 6 期に分けるモデルを構築している (表 2):

表2: ポーンベイ島の文化史の編年 (Ayres, 1990:189 に基づく)。

I. 植民・適応期 干潮帯の居住、内陸部森林の伐採、石灰質混和剤を混入した土器の使用	紀元前 500 ~ 1 年
II. ペインアイズ期 石積基壇住居、パン果貯蔵穴、限られた装飾要素の土器、紀元 500 ~ 600 年よりナンマトルでの柱状玄武岩を使用した人工島の建設	紀元 1 ~ 1000 年
III. ナンマトル期 ナンマトルの拡大・定型化とシャウテレル王朝の形成、首長の居住建築物、定型化した墳墓 (ロロン)、土器の使用の縮小 (無文土器の増加) または不使用	紀元 1000 ~ 1500 年
IV. イショケケレル期 シャウテレル王朝の崩壊、新しい称号システム、首長の複合遺跡と新しい祭宴堂 (ナース)、土器の消滅	紀元 1500 ~ 1826 年
V. 初期接触期 西洋との接触、ナンマトルの居住は継続されるが、中心地としての役割はない	紀元 1826 ~ 1885 年
IV. 歴史期 西洋との接触と植民地政府 (スペイン・ドイツ・日本・アメリカ)	紀元 1885 年 ~ 現在

ナンマトルの成立と東ミクロネシアとそれ以遠へのその影響

オセアニアの島嶼部では、植民後に人口が増加し、農業の集約化と関連付けて政治的發展が議論されることがポリネシアを中心に多いが (e.g., Kirch, 1984)、東ミクロネシアで高度な首長制を発達させ、その政治・宗教センターである巨石遺跡、ナンマトルとレラ (図 2) が建設されたポーンベイ島やコスラエ島は、そのモデルに当てはまらない事例として特筆される。ピーターセン (Petersen, 2006) は、紀元一千年紀にポーンベイとコスラエでパンノキの異種交配が行われた結果、生産性が増加し、政治發展の重要な鍵である人口増加が起こり、ナンマトルやレルの成立へつなげたという「パン果革命」⁸ 仮説が提出しており、今後考古学的な検証が必要である。

ナンマトルの成立に対して外的な要因があった可能性も考えられる。例えば、紀元 1200 年頃にポーンベイで出現した高位階層者の石積墳墓 (ロロン) が、西ポリネシアの階段状墳墓と関連していたと議論されている (Ayres and Seikel, 2014:161-162)。ポーンベイにおける西ポリネシアとの先史時代の交流を示す言語学 (e.g., Geraghty, 1994, Rehg, n.d.)・民族学的 (e.g., Nagaoka, 2002, Riesenber, 1950) な証拠は、カヴァ儀式・称号・神・聖なる場所などにおける西ポリネシアからの宗教・儀礼的な影響を示唆しており、西ポリネシアとの接触が東ミクロネシア巨石文化の開花に刺激を



図2. コスラエ島のレラ遺跡 (Cordy, 1993:319, Figure 8)。巨石遺構は外枠を黒色。
Figure 2. The Lelu site on Kosrae Island (Cordy, 1993:319, Figure 8), showing the megalithic core of the ruins (outlined in black).

External factors may have influenced the emergence of Nan Madol. For example, the development of high-status stone tombs (*lolong*) in Pohnpei around AD 1200 is possibly linked to west Polynesian stepped tombs (Ayres and Seikel, 2014:161-162). West Polynesian contact possibly stimulated the development of the eastern Micronesian megalithic culture⁹, since linguistic (e.g., Geraghty, 1994; Rehg, n.d.) and ethnological (e.g., Nagaoka, 2002; Riesenber, 1950) evidence suggest that western Polynesian had some degrees of religious and ritual influence over Pohnpei, as shown by such shared elements as kava rituals, chiefly titles, gods, and sacred places.

Saudeleur ('Lord of Deleur') rulers were centered around the Deleur area, the surrounding area of Nan Madol, including Temwen Island and its eastern coral islands (Saxe et al., 1980:92; cf. Petersen, 1990:26-27). It is significant that this region had very limited potential for agricultural production. Thus, it is possible to hypothesize that the polity utilized Nan Madol's magnificent megalithic structures and religious ceremonies that were held there as the primary ideological source of power. This assumption corresponds well with the critical position of mortuary activities and associated rituals during the Saudeleur reign, as shown by the great investment of labor in the mortuary sector (Madol Pah), followed by royal (Madol Powe) and priestly (Madol Pah) sectors (Bath and Athen, 1990:284). It also agrees with modern Pohnpei Island oral tradition that relates the spiritual importance of the location of Nan Madol. That is, the location selected for the construction of Nan Madol was due to the presence of a mythical undersea settlement (*kahimuiweiso*)¹⁰ in Nahkapw Bay where various spirits lived, including those of the deceased. Significantly, there is an entrance to this settlement at the eastern end of Nan Madol (Hadley, 2014). The nature of the site as ancestral place possibly contributed to the selection of the location as the Saudeleur's administrative center (Kirch, 2000:197). Rainbird (2006:314) argues that two political and religious centers in eastern Micronesia, Nan Madol and Lelu of Kosrae, were "places where power was negotiated through genealogy and competition", and represents ancestry and place, two aspects that essential to the establishment of rank in eastern Micronesian conical clans (2006:315).¹¹

In addition to the legendary hero Isokelekel (Petersen, 1990:60), the first Saudeleur chief Olosohpa probably had a local origin, but tracing their mythical origins to spiritually potent mythical lands (Katau) validated their (and their successors') political authority as "stranger kings" (e.g., Hanlon, 1988:198). Pohnpeian traditions

与えた可能性がある⁹。

シャウテレル (「テレルの支配者」の意) は、チェムエン島とその東にある小島群を含むテレル地域 (Saxe et al., 1980:92, cf. Petersen, 1990:26-27) という農業生産の非常に限られた地域を王権の基盤としており、ナンマトルの巨石建造物の大きさやそこで行なわれた宗教的儀式にもとづく観念的な力を権力の源泉とした可能性がある。これは、ナンマトルの3区画の中で労働投下量が多いのは葬送儀礼関連地区 (上マトル)・王族の居住区 (下マトル)・司祭者の居住区 (上マトル) の順番であり (Bath and Athens, 1990:284)、葬送に関する活動やその儀礼がシャウテレル王の統治の上で最も重要であったと考えられることと合致する。またナンマトルの選地の理由が、ナーカップ湾の海底に死者の霊を含めた精霊の世界 (カーニムエイショ¹⁰) が所在していたからで、ナンマトルの東端はその世界への入り口となっているという伝承 (Hadley, 2014) とも符合する。先祖の初期居住の地が選ばれたのも、祖先崇拝の信仰と関連する可能性がある (Kirch, 2000:197)。レインバード (Rainbird, 2006:314) は、東マイクロネシアの政治・宗教センター、ナンマトルとコスラエ島のレラ (Lelu) 遺跡 (図2) は「系譜と競争を通して権力が交渉される場所」であり、東マイクロネシアの円錐クラン¹¹ (conical clan) で序列を創出する上で重要な「系譜」と「場所」を代表すると議論している (2006:315)。

神話の英雄イショケレケルに加え (Petersen, 1990:60)、初代シャウテレル王オロショーパも在地に出自があった可能性が高いが、霊的な力の強い「海の彼方の世界」(カチャウ) に神話上の出自を求めることにより「外来王」としての彼らや彼らの後継者の政治的な権威を正当化したと考えられる (e.g., Hanlon, 1988:198)。伝承で語られるように、シャウテレル王族や司祭者は、本島からの貢納物に依存しながら、一般の人々と空間的には隔離して、不毛なナンマトルの人工島に居住していた。この空間的な隔絶が、シャウテレルの神聖性を強める役割があったことは想像に難くない。またシャウテレル王による貝製威信財の独占的な生産と所有¹²も社会的階層差を示すのに重要な役割を果たしたと考えられる。

シャウテレル王朝の繁栄は、ポーンベイ島を越えて東マイクロネシアに巨石文化の発展を促した可能性が高い。これと関連して、ナンマトルの東隅の入口がナーカップ湾を経て外洋に繋がっており、ナンマトルの建設に「風下の海の彼方の世界」の棟梁が関わったように、シャウテレル王朝は外部世界へ向けて開かれた性格を持っていた (清水, 1990:553)。ナンマトル遺跡とレラ遺跡の間には、立地・構造・年代の類似や伝承から交流があったと考えられるが、レラ遺跡は紀元1250年頃建設が開始され、巨石建築は紀元1400～1600年頃が中心となるため (Cordy, 1993)、ナンマトルがレラに建築的・観念的・社会政治的に影響を与えたと考えるのが妥当である (Ayres, 1990:204)。

グッドイナフ (Goodenough 1986) が、ナンマトルがチュークからマーシャルまで広がる東マイクロネシアのカチャウ信仰¹³の拡散の中心となったと議論するように、前述した「パン果革命」の異種交配によって生まれた新しいパンノキの品種は、母系クランとともに拡散し、カチャウ信仰が伝播したと考えられる (Petersen, 2006:89)¹⁴。ポーンベイの離島のシャブアーフィック環礁 (Goodenough, 1986:561) やマーシャル諸島ナモ環礁 (Tobin, 2002:54-55) で報告されている玄武岩製の「石の神」は、それぞれポーンベイとコスラエから運搬された可能性が高い。これは、ヤップ島と離島のサウエイ朝貢交易において、ヤップの強力な神々への畏怖が観念的な要因であったように (Lessa, 1950:37-38, 45)、ポーンベイ・コスラエから宗教的な影響が近隣の環礁へ及んだと考えられる。

relate that Saudeleur elites and their serving priests were physically segregated from the populace, and their survival on largely barren artificial islets depended on tributes they demanded from the population living around Pohnpei. This spatial isolation also seems to have strengthened the sacredness of the Saudeleur rulers. The monopoly by the Saudeleur on the manufacture and possession of shell valuables¹², that functioned as prestige goods, also had an important role in the signification of social status differences.

The prosperity of the Saudeleur polity may have influenced or spread beyond Pohnpei, stimulating the development of this unique megalithic culture in eastern Micronesia. In this regard, Nan Madol's unique location as a connecting link to the ocean, combined with the participation of the stone fitter from Katau Peidak in the construction of Pahnkedira Islet, is suggestive of the Saudeleur Dynasty's characterization as a polity that was open to the outer world (Shimizu, 1990:553). The similarities between Nan Madol and Lelu, in terms of locations, structures, dates, as well as oral traditions suggest prehistoric interaction between the two sites. However, since the early construction of Lelu began around AD 1250, and its primary megalithic construction was around AD 1400-1600 (Cordy, 1993), it was likely influenced by Nan Madol, both architecturally, ideologically and sociopolitically (Ayres, 1990:204).

Goodenough (1986) states that Nan Madol became the center of influence in the spread of Kachaw cult¹³ in eastern Micronesia, between Chuuk and the Marshalls. Hybrid breadfruit varieties, developed during the "Breadfruit Revolution", probably diffused into the region in association with matrilineal, who contributed to the transmission of the Kachaw ideology (Petersen, 2006:89).¹⁴ "Stone gods" of exotic basalt were found on the coral atoll of Sapwuahtfik Atoll (formerly Ngatik), an outer island of Pohnpei (Goodenough, 1986:561), and Namu Atoll in the Marshall Islands (Tobin, 2002:54-55) were probably transported from Pohnpei and Kosrae, respectively. This suggests that the religious influence of Pohnpei and Kosrae reached neighboring atolls, since fear of powerful Yapese gods was an ideological factor in *sauwei* exchange between Yap and its outer islands (Lessa, 1950:37-38, 45).

Rainbird (2002:142) argues that, as a consequence of Nan Madol construction, megalithic site attracted visitors from other islands who brought knowledge, gifts, trade goods, and people to the island. For instance, stone adzes of west Polynesian type and obsidian artifacts, possibly from the Admiralty Islands in Melanesia (Ayres and Mauricio, 1987), were found at the site¹⁵, and oral traditions speak of "mythical valuables" transported from overseas for Saudeleur chiefs (Bernart, 1977:38-43). Thus, the emergence of the megalithic complex at Nan Madol, and thus, a powerful political movement on Pohnpei, served as an influence for greater eastern Micronesia, and possibly other sociopolitical spheres in Oceania.

Footnotes

¹ The title of the ruler of Pohnpei Island, based at Nan Madol.

² The title of the paramount chief, who ruled and still rules different districts on Pohnpei, after the fall of the Saudeleur Dynasty.

³ According to oral tradition, the island was comprised of only reefs in shallow water, so the people performed magic to build the sacred island. Thus, the name Pohnpei, meaning 'upon a stone altar' (Bernart, 1977:9), is derived from this legend.

⁴ Nan Madol literally means 'between the intervals,' referring to space between the houses on the artificial islets (Mauricio, 1983:208-209).

⁵ In this case, Katau Peidak is often referred to as Kosrae Island, although it means all the islands to the east of Pohnpei (Goodenough, 1986; Mauricio, 1987). There is space for argument as to whether the Saudeleur Dynasty was overthrown by a foreign group, as mentioned in oral history (Petersen, 1990:60).

⁶ Reconstructed dates for the reign based on a 25 year average before 1836, and historical dates after 1836.

⁷ In contrast, Athens (2007) considers the emergence of the Saudeleur polity around AD 1200-1300 and the fall around AD 1500-1600, lasting about 300 years or 400 years at most, based on a series of radiocarbon dates from Idehd Islet where the Saudeleur conducted Nahnsohnsapw rituals.

ナンマトル築造の結果、この巨石遺跡は他の島からの訪問者を引き付け、知識・贈物・人々の来訪を招いた可能性がある」と議論されているように (Rainbird, 2002:142)、遺跡からは西ポリネシア型の石斧やメラネシアのアドミラルティー諸島から搬入された可能性の高い黒曜石の遺物が見つかっており (Ayres and Mauricio, 1987)¹⁵、伝承ではシャウテレル王へ海外から運ばれてきた献上物 (Bernart, 1977:38-43) が語られている。このようにナンマトルの成立というポーンベイ島での強力な政治動向は、東ミクロネシア地域やオセアニアの他地域へ影響を与えたと考えられる。

脚註

¹ ナンマトル遺跡を居城としてポーンベイ島を統治したと伝承で言われる王の称号。

² シャウテレル王朝滅亡後、ポーンベイ島の各地域を統治した最高首長の称号。

³ 伝承によると、当時島はサンゴ礁の浅瀬があっただけで、呪術を使って神聖なる島を築き上げた。このためポーンベイという島の名前には、「石積みの祭壇の上」という意味がある (Bernart, 1977:9)。

⁴ ナンマトルには、現地語で「間隔の間」という意味があり、人工島の上に築かれた家々の間を指す (Mauricio, 1983:208-209)。

⁵ この場合、「風上の海の彼方の世界」(カチャウ・ベイタック) はコスラエ島に比定されることが多いが、この語はポーンベイ島の東側 (風上) にあるすべての島を指す (Goodenough, 1986; Mauricio, 1987)。伝承で語られるように、シャウテレル王朝が外来勢力によって滅ぼされたかは議論の余地がある (Petersen, 1990:60)。

⁶ 1836年までは1世代25年を基にした推定年代、1836年以降は歴史年代。

⁷ これに対して、アセズ (Athens, 2007) は、シャウテレル王がイテート島で行ったと伝承で言われるナーンイショーンシャップ信仰の祭祀が行われた層位の年代から、王朝の成立を紀元1200～1300年、崩壊を紀元1500～1600年、存続期間を約300年間、長くても400年間としている。

⁸ この仮説によると、初期植民者によって両島へ持ってこられたパンノキの栽培種 (*Artocarpus altilis*) が、西ミクロネシアの野生種 (*Artocarpus mariannensis*) と異種交配されたことにより、生産性が高く、自然災害や塩害に強く、労働力を必要としない、多くの新しい品種が生まれたことにより、年中収穫が可能になったとされる。

⁹ この他、ミクロネシアからポリネシアへの共生動物 (ネズミ・ニワトリ・イヌ) (e.g., Addison and Matisoo-Smith, 2010; Matisoo-Smith, 2007; Matisoo-Smith and Robins, 2004; Storey et al., 2012) や作物 (e.g., Ragone, 2001; Whistler, 1991) の拡散が議論されている。

¹⁰ ポーンベイ島の伝統的な死生観によると、死者の霊は海底世界へ行くと考えられている。カーニムエイショは、死者の霊やその他の精霊が集まる海底の場所である。ナンマトルで外洋側の防波堤となる人工島に多くの墳墓が立地するのは、この死生観に基づくと考えられる (cf. Ayres, 1993:88)。

¹¹ 円錐クランでは、クラン構成員同士や同じレベルのリネージ同士は互いに対等であるが、クラン構成員やリネージは、クラン創始者に対する系譜的な近接関係に基づいて序列づけられている (Petersen, 1999)。

¹² ポーンベイ島で、社会的な階層性が高いナンマトル遺跡 (多くは墳墓) に出土が限られている、真珠貝製ルアー・シャンク、大型シャコガイ製貝斧、ピーズ・イモガイ製貝輪・ウミギクガイ製スパーサーなどの装身具は、威信材として機能し

⁸ According to this hypothesis, the hybridization between a domesticated (*Artocarpus altilis*), that was brought to the islands by early settlers, and a wild species of western Micronesian (*Artocarpus mariannesis*) led to the development of a series of hybrids that were highly productive, and tolerant of salt and other natural conditions. This allowed for the availability of different varieties throughout the year and required minimal labor.

⁹ In addition, the prehistoric transfer of commensal animals (rats, chickens and dogs) (e.g., Addison and Matisoo-Smith, 2010; Matisoo-Smith, 2007; Matisoo-Smith and Robins, 2004; Storey et al., 2012) and crops (e.g., Ragone, 2001; Whistler, 1991) from Micronesia to Polynesia has been discussed.

¹⁰ According to the pre-Christian notion of the afterworld, the soul of the deceased goes to the undersea world. *Kahmimweiso* is such a place, where those souls of the deceased and other spirits gather. This belief seems to have influenced the location of many tombs (*lolong*) on the seawall islets at Nan Madol (cf. Ayres, 1993:88).

¹¹ In conical clans, although individual members and lineages at the same level are equal to each other, members and lineages are ranked based on genealogical relationship with the clan founder (Petersen, 1999).

¹² In Pohnpei, *Pinctada* lure shanks, large *Tridacna* adzes, shell ornaments such as beads, *Conus* bracelets and *Spondylus* spacers, that were exclusively found at Nan Madol (mostly in tombs) of high status, probably functioned as prestige goods (Kataoka, 2000). Many unfinished *Pinctada* lure shanks excavated recently at Dau Islet by Kataoka et al. (in prep.) probably suggests a Saudeleur's monopoly in the production of shell prestige goods (Kataoka, 2009; Kataoka et al., in prep.).

¹³ This is a belief that Kachaw (Katau in Pohnpeian, cognate Achaw) is a spiritually-potent land. Due to this ideology, Kachaw is believed to be the origin place of chiefly clans in the region.

¹⁴ The geographical location of Nan Madol at the easternmost corner of Pohnpei, facing towards the easterly trade winds is believed to be the place for receiving foreign groups from the east, as the breadfruit season (*nabk*) is said to be first brought to this area on the island. Considering the ritual importance of breadfruit in Micronesian societies, this notion may have influenced a similar location, the Lelu site in Kosrae, as part of the eastern Micronesian Kachaw ideology.

¹⁵ During the first half of the second millennium AD, shared cultural traits (e.g., backstrap looms, kite fishing, *Terebra Mitra* shell adzes) in Micronesia and Melanesia were transmitted from one place (and island) to another for the mediation of Polynesian outliers in in those two regions. Additionally, obsidian artifacts found at Nan Madol were probably also transferred through this network (Nagaoka, 2004).

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ていたと考えられる (片岡, 2000)。片岡ら (片岡, 2009; Kataoka et al., in prep.) によるタウ島での最近の発掘調査では、多数の真珠貝製ルアー・シャンクの未成品が出土し、シャウテレル王による貝製威信財の独占的な製作を示す可能性が高い。

¹³ カチャウ (またはその同根語アチャウ) は、霊力が強い精霊の世界であるという信仰。この信仰のため、この地域の多くの島々で、カチャウは首長を輩出する氏族の伝説上の起原地とされる。

¹⁴ レラ遺跡と共通するナンマトルの本島の東端という立地は、貿易風の風上である東方から集団や文物が到達する場所と伝承で語られており、パン果の季節 (ラーク) も貿易風がまずこの地域へ運んで来るとされる。ミクロネシア社会でのパン果の儀礼上の重要性を考えると、この観念が東ミクロネシアのカチャウ信仰の一部としてコスラエのレラ遺跡の類似した立地に影響を与えた可能性がある。

¹⁵ 紀元二千年紀前半にミクロネシアとメラネシアにあるポリネシア離島を仲介して、両地域に共通する文化的要素 (機織り・凧揚げ漁・タケノコガイ製貝斧など) が伝播したと考えられ、ナンマトルから発見されている黒曜石はこのネットワークを通して運ばれた可能性が高い (Nagaoka, 2004)。

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