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3 **Main Manuscript for**

4 Implications of anomalous relative sea-level rise for the peopling of Remote
5 Oceania

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27

28 **ABSTRACT**

29 Beginning ~3500–3300 yrs BP humans voyaged into Remote Oceania. Radiocarbon-dated
30 archaeological evidence coupled with cultural, linguistic, and genetic traits indicates two primary
31 migration routes: a Southern Hemisphere and a Northern Hemisphere route. These routes are
32 separated by low-lying, equatorial atolls that were settled during secondary migrations ~1000
33 years later after their exposure by relative sea-level fall from a mid-Holocene highstand. High
34 volcanic islands in the Federated States of Micronesia (Pohnpei and Kosrae) also lie between the
35 migration routes and settlement is thought to have occurred during the secondary migrations
36 despite having been above sea level during the initial settlement of Remote Oceania. We
37 reconstruct relative sea level at multiple sites on Pohnpei and Kosrae using radiocarbon-dated
38 mangrove sediment and show that, rather than falling, there was a ~4.3-m rise over the past
39 ~5700 yrs. This rise, likely driven by subsidence, implies that evidence for early settlement could
40 lie undiscovered below present sea level. The potential for earlier settlement invites
41 reinterpretation of migration pathways into Remote Oceania and monument building. The
42 UNESCO World Heritage sites of Nan Madol (Pohnpei) and Leluh (Kosrae) were constructed
43 when relative sea level was ~0.94 m (~770–750 yrs BP) and ~0.77 m (~640–560 yrs BP) lower
44 than present, respectively. Therefore, it is unlikely that they were originally constructed as islets
45 separated by canals filled with ocean water, which is their prevailing interpretation. Due to
46 subsidence, we propose that these islands and monuments are more vulnerable to future relative
47 sea-level rise than previously identified.

48 **SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT**

49

50 Settlement of Remote Oceania began ~3500–3300 years ago and coincided with falling sea level
51 across the equatorial Pacific Ocean. Archaeological evidence suggests that people arrived on
52 Pohnpei and Kosrae (high islands in Eastern Micronesia) ~1000 years later than on other high
53 islands. We reconstruct sea level on Pohnpei and Kosrae using mangrove sediment and find that
54 rather than falling, sea level rose by ~4.3 meters over the past ~5700 years because of
55 subsidence. This rise likely submerged coastal evidence for the initial settlement and current
56 estimates of when people arrived are therefore biased young. Our results allow reconsideration of
57 the pathways and interactions between voyaging groups across Remote Oceania, and the
58 interpretation of the Nan Madol and Leluh monuments.

59 **Main Text**

60

61 **INTRODUCTION**

62

63 Settlement of remote Pacific islands began ~3500–3300 years before present (yrs BP) and
64 marked one of the final major phases of pre-modern human migration into uninhabited regions.
65 This migration required formidable long-distance ocean voyaging and the geographic pattern and
66 timing of settlement has long fascinated Western scholars (1). Models for the migration of people
67 into 'Remote Oceania' (2), and the relationship between these voyagers and modern people, are
68 built upon absolute dating of archaeological remains (3, 4), artifact analyses (5), historical
69 linguistics (6), oral histories (7), human genetics (8, 9), computer simulations of voyaging (10, 11),
70 and the history of commensal plants and animals that accompanied humans (12, 13). These data
71 indicate that settlement progressed in two simultaneous, but largely independent, expansions
72 (Figure 1). The Southern Hemisphere route saw migration from Taiwan via New Guinea into
73 island groups south of the equator. This route is marked by a shared Lapita-styled pottery and
74 was foundational to settling of parts of Melanesia, Polynesia, and Eastern Micronesia. The
75 Northern Hemisphere route saw migration out of the Philippines, or other nearby island groups,
76 and was foundational to settlement of islands in Western Micronesia (including Palau and the
77 Mariana Islands).
78 Separation of the two migrations routes is inferred from the apparent delayed settlement of
79 low-lying, equatorial atolls and high volcanic islands (e.g., Pohnpei and Kosrae) in the region
80 between them. People appear to have arrived in this region at least ~1000 years after settlement
81 of high islands to the west (~3300 yrs BP) and south (~3500 yrs BP) as part of a secondary
82 migration (likely from the south; 14). This interpretation assumes that relative sea level (RSL) fell
83 from a mid-Holocene highstand caused by the spatially-variable response of Earth's crust to the
84 transfer of mass from high-latitude continents to the global ocean through ice melt (15, 16). The
85 occurrence of the mid-Holocene highstand and subsequent RSL fall in the equatorial Pacific

86 Ocean is a robust feature of Earth-ice model predictions (16) and is supported by proxy evidence
87 such as raised coral reefs and beach sediments (17, 18). RSL fall increases the likelihood that
88 archaeological evidence of initial coastal settlement (19) is preserved and accessible on land.
89 Delayed human settlement of the low-lying equatorial atolls is consistent with their exposure by
90 RSL fall (20–21). The rapid discovery and settlement of low-lying atolls after exposure is
91 sometimes offered as an example of a natural ‘autocatalysis’ (23, 24:13) for exploration of the
92 unoccupied regions: in this case the area between the migration routes. However, the late
93 settlement of the high volcanic islands of Pohnpei and Kosrae is puzzling. Their elevation means
94 they were not just habitable but likely desirable for settlement long before they were inhabited.
95 Thus, while people on the Southern and Northern Hemisphere migration routes possessed the
96 long-distance voyaging capacity to reach the islands (25, 26), the absence of evidence for earlier
97 settlement has been taken as evidence for their settlement as part of the secondary migrations
98 onto equatorial atolls.

99 We reconstruct RSL on Pohnpei and Kosrae using radiocarbon-dated mangrove sediments. In
100 contrast to other islands in Remote Oceania, RSL at Pohnpei and Kosrae did not fall but rather
101 rose steadily over the past ~5000 years. This sustained rise submerged coastal areas that may
102 hold archaeological evidence for the initial settlement of the islands. The resulting bias in the
103 visibility of the archaeological record may explain the apparent delay in settling these high islands
104 and suggests reconsideration of the degree of separation between the Southern and Northern
105 Hemisphere migration routes. The reconstructed RSL rise also has implications for the
106 interpretation of coastal monumental architecture. We propose that the UNESCO World Heritage
107 Site of Nan Madol (on Pohnpei; Figure 2) and Leluh (on Kosrae) were originally built on land,
108 rather than on islets separated by hallmark canals filled with ocean water.

109

110 **RESULTS**

111

112 Mangroves inhabit low-energy coastlines in the (sub)tropics and are widespread on Pohnpei and
113 Kosrae (Figure 1B–C). The elevation range of mangrove environments is intrinsically linked to the
114 tides, which allows RSL to be reconstructed by dating mangrove sediment preserved in the
115 stratigraphic record (27–29). We measured the modern elevation range of mangroves on Pohnpei
116 and Kosrae using field surveys along transects and combined our results with existing survey
117 data (30) to create a regional-scale dataset. Tidal datums were calculated from water-level
118 measurements made by tide gauges (see Materials and Methods). Survey data were linked to the
119 local tidal datums by correlating water-level measurements from loggers deployed during
120 fieldwork to tide-gauge measurements. The elevation of mangroves is 0.12 ± 0.62 m MTL (mean
121 tide level; 95% confidence interval) on Pohnpei ($n = 233$) and -0.04 ± 0.63 m MTL on Kosrae ($n =$
122 31; Figure S2).

123 RSL rise creates accommodation space that is filled in by *in-situ* accretion of mangrove sediment,
124 which allows the mangrove sediment surface to maintain its elevation in the tidal frame. This
125 process can result in thick sequences of mangrove sediment (31) that record the position of RSL
126 over time. Reports from the literature (32–34) and our own field observations show that Holocene
127 sequences of mangrove sediment up to 6-m thick are preserved on Pohnpei and Kosrae. In the
128 absence of RSL rise, the thickness of mangrove sediment is limited to approximately one half of
129 the tidal range (35, 36). Given (great diurnal) tidal ranges of 0.88 m on Pohnpei and 1.17 m on
130 Kosrae (see Materials and Methods), this stratigraphic observation suggests that sustained and
131 substantial late Holocene RSL rise occurred (37, 38).

132 We compiled new and existing radiocarbon ages from mangrove sediments on Pohnpei and
133 Kosrae (see Materials and Methods) following recommendations made by the HOLSEA working
134 group (Dataset S3; 39). We used the modern distribution of mangroves on Pohnpei and Kosrae
135 as analogs for interpreting mangrove sediment preserved in the stratigraphic record, which along
136 with the radiocarbon age measurements enabled us to produce ‘sea-level index points’ that
137 constrain the unique position of RSL in time and space with vertical and chronological

138 uncertainty. In total, we generated 68 sea-level index points from nine sites on Pohnpei and six
139 sites on Kosrae (Figure 1B–C).

140 Given the similarity of sea-level index points from multiple sites on Pohnpei and Kosrae (Figure
141 3A), we combined results from all sites and both islands into a single dataset. This decision is
142 supported by Earth-ice models which predict almost indistinguishable Holocene RSL histories for
143 these islands (Figure 2A; 16). To provide a quantitative RSL history with a probabilistic
144 assessment of uncertainties, we used a statistical model (40) that fits 2000, equally-likely RSL
145 histories to the sea-level index points and decadally-averaged tide-gauge observations from
146 Pohnpei for 1970 to 2019 CE (Figure 3A). Reported values are the mean ($\pm 1\sigma$) of the 2000
147 individual members in the model ensemble. RSL rose by 4.3 ± 0.4 m from ~ 5700 yrs BP to
148 present (Figure 3A), at a mean rate of ~ 0.7 mm/yr (Figure 3B). The consistency of RSL
149 reconstructions across multiple sites and both islands indicates that sustained RSL rise is not the
150 result of local-scale processes (Figure S3). Comparison of basal (unlikely to be compacted) and
151 non-basal (susceptible to compaction) sea-level index points (Figure S3A) demonstrates that the
152 rise cannot be attributed to post-depositional lowering of the samples used to reconstruct RSL
153 (41).

154 We also compiled radiocarbon ages on samples that were interpreted (at the time of their
155 publication) to represent human activity on islands throughout Remote Oceania (Datasets S4–5).
156 The median calibrated age for the oldest archaeological samples on Pohnpei and Kosrae is
157 ~ 2500 yrs BP, and our analysis indicates that RSL rose by 2.5 ± 0.4 m since this time (Figure
158 3A). RSL rose by 0.94 ± 0.3 m and 0.77 ± 0.3 m since the construction of Nan Madol (770–750
159 yrs BP; 42) and Leluh (640–560 yrs BP; 43), respectively.

160

161 **DISCUSSION**

162

163 **Absence of a mid-Holocene highstand**

164

165 All reasonable combinations of Earth models and ice-melt histories predict a mid-Holocene RSL
166 highstand in the equatorial Pacific Ocean (15, 16), although its timing (approximately 6000–2500
167 yrs BP) and magnitude (approximately 0.6–2.5 m above present) varies among models.
168 Geological proxies (e.g., elevated coral reefs) across the region record the occurrence of the
169 mid-Holocene highstand (20, 44). In contrast, we reconstruct sustained late Holocene RSL rise
170 on Pohnpei and Kosrae (Figure 3A), which we attribute to ongoing subsidence. Five additional
171 lines of evidence support our interpretation that Holocene RSL did not exceed present on
172 Pohnpei and Kosrae. First, several studies (37, 38, 45) and our own field observations failed to
173 find convincing geomorphic or sedimentary evidence of a RSL highstand despite explicitly
174 searching for it. There is no proposed evidence for a highstand on Pohnpei in the literature. On
175 Kosrae, the proposed evidence is radiocarbon-dated allochthonous coral fragments in beach rock
176 (46, 47). Beach rock can form quickly through transport of allochthonous material during storms
177 and rapid cementation (48). For example, (38) identified cemented beach rock above
178 contemporary sea level in Micronesia during fieldwork in the 1960s and noted that it contained
179 material from World War II alongside older allochthonous coral, which indicates that dating the
180 coral would return unreliable ages of formation. In a wider context, the only proposed evidence for
181 a highstand at Chuuk (a high island archipelago ~700 km west of Pohnpei) is an undated notch
182 cut into resistant basalt (49), that may not be above the influence of present storm surges and
183 sea spray (38). Furthermore, there is no evidence of a Last Interglacial (~125 kys BP) shoreline
184 preserved above present sea level, in contrast to other islands in Remote Oceania (50, 51).
185 Second, a GPS CORS (Continuously Operating Reference Station) on Pohnpei measured
186 subsidence of 1.0 ± 0.2 mm/yr since 2003 CE (1σ error; Figure 4). There is no GPS CORS on
187 Kosrae. Although a short time series, this rate is approximately the difference between RSL
188 predicted by Earth-ice models (-0.4 mm/yr, i.e., RSL fall) and reconstructed from mangrove
189 sediments (~0.7 mm/yr; Figure 3B). This subsidence trend is anomalous in the wider context of
190 equatorial Pacific islands that are not on active tectonic margins (52), which suggests that the
191 mechanism of subsidence is unique to the high islands.

192 Third, analysis of RSL measurements made by the Pohnpei tide-gauge reveals subsidence.
193 Decomposition of the observed trend following (53) estimates the temporally-linear contribution to
194 be 0.59 mm/yr (0.1–1.0 mm/yr; 66% credible interval; 54; Figure S6A). This contribution includes
195 Earth-ice processes and subsidence and is therefore comparable in composition and magnitude
196 to our long-term estimate of RSL rise at ~0.7 mm/yr derived from mangrove sediment. It is
197 notably fast in the context of the equatorial Pacific Ocean outside of islands experiencing active
198 tectonism and/or volcanism (Figure S6A). For example, at Kapingamarangi atoll (~750 km away)
199 where Earth-ice models predict that RSL is almost indistinguishable from that at Pohnpei and
200 Kosrae, there is modest net emergence of -0.1 mm/yr (-0.7–0.5 mm/yr; 66% credible interval).
201 This pattern suggests that subsidence is likely restricted to high islands rather than being regional
202 in scale. The difference between the rate of sea-level change measured at one location by
203 satellite altimetry and a tide gauge is proportional to the rate of vertical land motion (55). The
204 difference (1.7 mm/yr; 56; Figure S6B) at Pohnpei indicates subsidence and is anomalously large
205 for an island in the equatorial Pacific not undergoing active tectonic forcing, although quantifying
206 an absolute rate of subsidence is challenging using this approach (55). For comparison, the
207 difference at Kapingamarangi is 0.2 mm/yr indicating relative stability.

208 Fourth, the distribution of U/Th ages on coral used to construct mortuary buildings at Leluh is
209 skewed towards younger ages (43). This distribution may support RSL rise because the most
210 accessible construction material is likely young coral in shallow water, while older material is less
211 accessible since it is in deeper water. RSL fall from a highstand would have left relatively old
212 coral on land as accessible construction material resulting in older ages for fill. This interpretation
213 assumes that the people building Leluh consciously chose the most conveniently located material
214 to use as fill. However, the columnar basalts used to construct the outward-facing structures at
215 Nan Madol are evidence of the willingness and ability to move large volumes of heavy material
216 considerable distances (57). The presence of coral fragments from a range of species
217 representative of a complete coral colony, their unweathered condition, and oral histories indicate
218 that coral living in shallow water (rather than dead coral that was, for example, left exposed by

219 RSL fall) was harvested for construction material at Leluh (43). We propose that the age, type,
220 and condition of construction materials used at Leluh are compatible with RSL rise on Kosrae.
221 Fifth, much of the earliest archaeological evidence on Pohnpei and Kosrae was excavated from
222 intertidal or fully submerged sites (58–60). These diverse and independent lines of evidence
223 support our result that late Holocene RSL rose on Pohnpei and Kosrae due to island-scale
224 subsidence out-pacing the regional-scale RSL fall from a mid-Holocene highstand. As part of the
225 Caroline Seamount Chain, Pohnpei and Kosrae are islands formed by hotspot volcanism (61, 62)
226 that ceased when plate motion moved the islands away from the upwelling mantle reservoir.
227 Subsidence of hotspot volcanic islands is well documented globally, although at many islands —
228 including Pohnpei and Kosrae — observed subsidence rates are greater than would be expected
229 given hotspot swell bathymetry, overriding plate motion, and the age of the lavas (which for
230 Pohnpei and Kosrae are ~5.2 and 1.4 million years, respectively; 61, 62, 63). High subsidence
231 rates specific to Pohnpei and Kosrae may point to localized subsidence processes resulting from,
232 for example, coral loading, or the viscoelastic relaxation of the lithosphere in response to volcanic
233 loading (63, 64), although an exact mechanism has not yet been determined for these islands.

234

235 **Archaeological evidence for human arrival on Pohnpei and Kosrae**

236

237 On Pohnpei, the oldest age (median of calibrated range) associated with pottery, a definitive
238 marker of human settlement across Remote Oceania, is 1863 yrs BP (65). The oldest age for
239 ceramic-bearing cultural layers on Kosrae is 1895 yrs BP (58; Beta-30787, Dataset S4). Recent
240 assessment of these earliest ages indicates that Pohnpei and Kosrae were continuously settled
241 since 2000–1800 yrs BP (66). However, on Pohnpei, a charcoal fragment in a sediment core
242 (interpreted to have an anthropogenic origin since the wet climate makes wildfire rare; 58, 67)
243 yielded an age of 2540 yrs BP (Gak-7647; Dataset S4), but the sample was not recovered from
244 an artifact-bearing horizon. On Kosrae, charcoal fragments and changes in pollen assemblages
245 in sediment cores (with an age of 2430 yrs BP; Beta-31733, Dataset S4) are interpreted as

246 evidence of human modification of natural forest including cultivation of breadfruit and use of fire
247 (34). These ages point to settlement of Pohnpei and Kosrae at least 1000 years (and possibly
248 more than 1500 years) after high islands to the west and south (Figure 1A). There are ample
249 radiocarbon ages from archaeological sites on Pohnpei (n = 16) to suggest that these apparent
250 young ages are unlikely caused by insufficient sampling. While there are fewer ages from
251 archaeological sites on Kosrae (n = 5), based on this suite of ages, Pohnpei and Kosrae appear
252 to have been settled at the same time as the atolls between the Southern and Northern
253 Hemisphere migration routes in a secondary pulse of migration within Remote Ocean at ~2000
254 yrs BP (Figure 1A).

255 This proposed timing and geographic pattern of settlement of Pohnpei and Kosrae is puzzling. If
256 these high islands were settled at the same time as the equatorial atolls, then atoll emergence
257 was indeed an autocatalysis for the discovery of Pohnpei and Kosrae (23, 24:13) and earlier
258 voyagers did not find (or at least chose not to settle) these islands. However, we argue that it is
259 unlikely that two high volcanic islands (separated by ~500 km) were missed by people on either
260 the Southern or Northern Hemisphere routes during the initial phase of settlement beginning
261 ~3500–3300 yrs BP only to be settled near-simultaneously. People migrating along both routes
262 possessed the long-distance voyaging technologies and skills required to locate Pohnpei and
263 Kosrae (25, 26), although we note that these technologies and strategies changed during the
264 period of migration. Although proximity is not always a good predictor of settlement of small
265 islands in the vastness of the Pacific Ocean, the central location of Pohnpei and Kosrae places
266 them on shortest-voyage trajectories between several island groups and prevailing winds or
267 ocean currents would not make them less likely to be discovered (10, 11), depending on where
268 voyages began from. Equatorial atolls were settled during a later, secondary migration not only
269 because atoll existence relied on RSL fall from a mid-Holocene highstand (68), but because they
270 are less desirable for settlement than high islands. Atolls have poor access to freshwater,
271 poor-quality coralline soils for agriculture, limited building material (in amount and variety), and

272 are vulnerable to storm surges compared to high islands (69). Therefore, the high islands of
273 Pohnpei and Kosrae were desirable targets for settlement.

274

275 **Implications for human migration into Remote Oceania**

276

277 On Pohnpei and Kosrae, archaeological deposits bearing ceramics were recovered below
278 present sea level (66), and there are two possibilities to explain the submerged archaeological
279 material. Under an assumption that a mid-Holocene RSL highstand (and subsequent RSL fall)
280 occurred, some researchers proposed that the high islands were settled by people living in
281 houses built on stilts over the shallow coral reef (66, 70). However, there is no direct evidence of
282 stilted houses on Pohnpei or Kosrae. Our results support an alternative explanation, where
283 people lived on the coast as they did elsewhere in Remote Oceania (19, 71), particularly given
284 the steep terrain that characterizes the interior of both islands. Therefore, submerged
285 archaeological evidence is the result of RSL rise (Figure 3A). We argue that evidence of earlier
286 settlements was submerged by this anomalous RSL rise, and that the current estimates of initial
287 settlement are systematically skewed young because of the difficulty accessing submerged and
288 buried evidence, coupled with land above sea level being the target of previous archaeological
289 investigations because of the assumption of RSL fall.

290 There is another example of local RSL trends obscuring evidence for human settlement in
291 Remote Oceania. In Sāmoa, the earliest evidence for settlement (at ~2750 yrs BP) is a
292 pottery-bearing horizon discovered nearly 2 m below present sea level during construction of a
293 dock (72). Sāmoa's location on an active tectonic boundary makes it prone to vertical land
294 motion, including episodic subsidence during earthquakes (73). Although the mechanism for
295 subsidence is likely different to Pohnpei and Kosrae (which are located far from active plate
296 boundaries and show no evidence for episodic vertical motion), the impact on the archaeological
297 record (submergence of evidence) is similar. Sāmoa also has multiple, independent lines of
298 evidence for anomalous, subsidence-driven RSL rise including direct measurement by a GPS

299 CORS (52, 74) and the presence of thick sequences of mangrove sediment (75). IPCC AR6 sea-
300 level projections for Sāmoa include 1.3 mm/yr of subsidence estimated from tide-gauge
301 measurements (54).

302 Evidence of earlier settlement on Pohnpei and Kosrae may yet be uncovered in shallow marine
303 environments (59). The age and nature of such evidence could provide new information on the
304 interactions between Lapita voyagers on the Southern Hemisphere route and their Northern
305 Hemisphere counterparts who settled the Palau and Mariana archipelagos. Ancient DNA of
306 commensal animals, notably pigs (76), dogs (77), and chickens (78), suggest these began as
307 largely independent, parallel migrations into Remote Oceania. At present, the only artifact
308 indicating a direct link between the islands of the Federated States of Micronesia and those
309 settled during the Southern Hemisphere migration is a stone adze uncovered through reef
310 dredging on Pohnpei (59, 79).

311 Studies of human genetics offer insight into the long-term history of human migration across
312 Remote Oceania (9, 80). Newly reported DNA from people living on Pohnpei and the Chuuk
313 archipelago coupled with ancient DNA from eight burials at Nan Madol defined a 'Central
314 Micronesian' population (80). Comparison of this Central Micronesia population to others in
315 Remote Oceania suggests a genetic origin rooted in migration of people from the south, although
316 a genetic contribution from the west cannot be excluded (80). The DNA of individuals buried at
317 the Nan Madol mortuary complex at 500–300 yrs BP may, or may not, be representative of a
318 population that arrived earlier on Pohnpei, but whose remains were submerged along with other
319 archaeological evidence by sustained RSL rise. Thus, it is possible that the high islands in
320 Central Micronesia were part of the earlier initial migration into Remote Oceania from the west,
321 prior to major migration from the south.

322 More directly dated material evidence (including human remains) is required to parse between
323 competing models of interaction between the Northern Hemisphere and Southern Hemisphere
324 migrations. This evidence may lie submerged around Pohnpei and Kosrae.

325

326 **Implications for monumental architecture**

327

328 Nan Madol (sometimes described as the ‘Venice of the Pacific’) is an administrative and mortuary
329 architectural complex on Pohnpei (Figure 2). It is characterized by artificial islets constructed from
330 columnar basalt, boulders, and corals, and surrounded by narrow ‘canals’ currently filled with sea
331 water and shallow coral reef (81). Nan Madol’s massive sea break walls are interpreted as being
332 constructed to shield the site from storm surges (66). Columnar basalt was sourced from
333 locations across Pohnpei and U-Th ages on coral fill places construction of the tomb of the
334 island’s first rulers at ~770–750 yrs BP (42). The prevailing interpretation is that Nan Madol was
335 intentionally constructed in a shallow marine environment to allow the political elite to isolate
336 themselves from mainstream society on Pohnpei (66), and that this isolation was greater at the
337 time of construction than observed today because of subsequent RSL fall. Modern flooding of the
338 lowest-lying buildings at Nan Madol during high tides was thought to indicate that the islets
339 subsided since construction (82). Leluh is a monument on Kosrae that shares many architectural
340 characteristics with Nan Madol. U-Th ages on coral from three mortuary buildings show
341 construction began at ~640–560 yrs BP (43).

342 Based on our RSL reconstruction, we propose that Nan Madol and Leluh were built on land
343 above the reach of the high tides (and likely most storm surges). We estimate that RSL rose by
344 0.94 ± 0.3 m and 0.77 ± 0.3 m since the construction of Nan Madol and Leluh, respectively
345 (Figure 3A). We surveyed the bottom of the canal adjacent to one of the main mortuary buildings
346 at Nan Madol (islet H113; 81) to be approximately -0.2 m MTL (-0.68 m relative to mean higher
347 high water, MHHW). Assuming a stationary tidal regime and no sedimentation of canals, this
348 location was at ~0.26 m above MHHW when Nan Madol was constructed. Over the 1983-2001
349 tidal epoch the 1% inundation level for the Pohnpei tide gauge is 0.23 m above MHHW and the
350 single highest water level was 0.63 m above MHHW. Therefore, the canals at Nan Madol were
351 likely dry when constructed, except during rare and transitory events when water depths of just a
352 few centimeters could have occurred. Due to ongoing RSL rise, low points surrounding buildings

353 at Nan Madol would have become increasingly flooded, leading to the formation of individual
354 buildings as 'islets' and the famous 'canals' separating them. However, this was a slow process
355 on human timescales. When the rulers of Nan Madol were overthrown at ~350 yrs BP (83), and
356 the site was no longer the primary seat of political power over the island, it is unlikely that the islet
357 we examined would have been surrounded by a permanent canal as it exists today (although
358 sections of it were likely flooded at high tide).

359 Subsidence-driven RSL rise through the late Holocene indicates that these sites (and modern
360 socio-economic activity on Pohnpei and Kosrae) may be more vulnerable to future rise than
361 previously anticipated (39, 36, 84), since current projections underestimate the contribution from
362 subsidence (54). Thus, our results have implications for both the interpretation and ongoing care
363 of these World Heritage Sites, and more broadly for the island nation of the Federated States of
364 Micronesia.

365

366 **CONCLUSIONS**

367

368 Models for human migration into Remote Oceania beginning ~3500–3300 yrs BP assume that the
369 equatorial Pacific Ocean experienced RSL fall from a mid-Holocene highstand. Separation and
370 isolation of Southern and Northern Hemisphere migration routes is inferred from the delayed (by
371 at least ~1000 years) settlement of equatorial atolls and high volcanic islands (including Pohnpei
372 and Kosrae) in the region between them. While emergence of atolls in response to RSL fall made
373 them more habitable through time, the apparent late settlement of high islands is puzzling
374 because they represent desirable, available, and reachable targets for settlement. It is possible
375 that Pohnpei and Kosrae, like more distant targets such as the Hawaiian Islands, were beyond
376 the seafaring strategies and technologies of people during the initial stages of settlement in
377 Remote Oceania. However, given the similar settlement timing for Pohnpei and Kosrae, we
378 suggest that this shared pattern is due to a shared RSL history. Using mangrove sediment, we
379 find that Pohnpei and Kosrae experienced sustained RSL rise of ~4.3 m during the past ~5700

380 years at a rate of ~0.7 mm/yr because of island-scale subsidence. We suggest that estimates of
381 when these high islands were settled are systematically biased young because RSL rise
382 submerged evidence for the initial occupation of low-lying coastal sites. This finding invites
383 reexamination of the degree of separation between the Southern and Northern Hemisphere
384 migration routes. The new RSL history also has implications for interpreting the long-term socio-
385 political and architectural histories of monuments. In contrast to prevailing interpretations, the
386 administrative centers of Nan Madol and Leluh were originally built on land only to become
387 inundated over subsequent generations due to ongoing RSL rise. Our study highlights the
388 importance of site-specific reconstructions of past environments and relative sea level, as local
389 environmental changes can depart from those predicted by broad-scale models.

390

391 **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

392

393 **Tide analysis**

394

395 *Pohnpei*

396

397 We downloaded hourly water-level measurements (expressed relative to station datum) made by
398 the Pohnpei-B tide gauge from the University of Hawaii Sea Level Center (85; last accessed May
399 12, 2022). From these measurements, we calculated tidal datums following the National Oceanic
400 and Atmospheric Administration definitions and using the national tidal datum epoch (currently
401 1983–2001). We isolated high and low tides from using the VulnToolKit package (86) for R
402 (Figure S1A, Dataset S1). In this step, each tide was identified as a higher high, lower high,
403 higher low, or lower low and means for these groups provide the elevation of tidal datums
404 (relative to station datum) for the location of the Pohnpei tide gauge (in Kolonia; Figure 1B).
405 To determine if tides vary around Pohnpei, we deployed pressure transducer water loggers at five
406 sites across two field seasons (two sites in 2016 between July 4–8th, and three sites in 2019

407 between July 19–28th; Figure 1C). Each logger was deployed in open water immediately
408 adjacent to the seaward edge of the mangrove at low tide to ensure that all subsequent low and
409 high tides were measured by the loggers. Water-level measurements at six-minute intervals were
410 corrected for atmospheric pressure changes measured by an additional logger that was
411 simultaneously deployed close by. Comparison of water levels among sites and with those made
412 by the Pohnpei-C tide gauge (hourly measurements) indicates that the timing and magnitude of
413 tides does not vary between them, hence tidal datums established at the tide gauge (Dataset S1)
414 are applicable elsewhere on Pohnpei. By correcting for the difference between water-level
415 measured by the tide gauge (relative to station datum) and each water-level logger (depth), we
416 established the elevation of each water logger relative to tidal datums.

417 The United States Geological Survey also deployed water-level loggers at two sites on Pohnpei
418 from July 2016 to March 2017 (30). Water-level measurements made by these instruments are
419 reported relative to the EGM2008 geoid. The uncertainty of the EGM2008 geoid is typically
420 $\pm 0.05\text{--}0.1$ m (87). The two water loggers were deployed at elevations where they could only
421 measure high tides, and alignment of the two time series shows no spatial difference in water
422 level variability and that measurements showed near-identical variability to the Pohnpei tide
423 gauge. This further confirms our conclusion that tides are invariable around Pohnpei, and that the
424 relationship among tidal datums established at the tide gauge are applicable elsewhere. Through
425 differencing these water-level measurements with those made simultaneously by the Pohnpei-C
426 tide gauge, we estimate that EGM2008 lies at -0.92 m MTL (0.18 below station datum for the
427 Pohnpei-B tide gauge).

428

429 *Kosrae*

430

431 There are no published and accessible tide-gauge data for Kosrae. However, the National
432 Institute of Water & Atmospheric Research/Taihoru Nukurangi installed a tide gauge at Leluh
433 which collected observations between 2011 and 2016 (88). We used these data from Leluh

434 (which is measured relative to the Kosrae Local Datum) to calculate tidal datums as for Pohnpei,
435 except that 2011–2016 rather than 1983–2001 was used as the tidal epoch out of necessity
436 (Figure S1B; Dataset S1). To determine any spatial variability in tides around Kosrae, we
437 deployed water-level loggers at three mangrove sites around Kosrae (July 8–15th 2019). Water-
438 level measurements were corrected for atmospheric pressure changes measured by an
439 additional logger that was simultaneously deployed close by. We observed no changes in timing
440 and magnitude of tides around Kosrae. Therefore, tidal datums established at the site of the
441 Kosrae tide gauge can be applied at other sites on the island, with the caveat that the 2011-2016
442 window of measurements is shorter than the 19-year window typically used to calculate datums.
443 We established the elevation of each water logger relative to tidal datums by applying a
444 correction to measured depths to remove the difference to simultaneous water-level
445 measurements made by the tide gauge.

446

447 **Elevation of the mangrove modern analogue**

448

449 We used two sources of data to estimate the elevation occupied by mangroves in Micronesia.
450 First, surveys by the United States Geological Survey (30, 36) investigated the elevations of
451 mangroves at seven sites around Pohnpei. Mangrove surfaces were surveyed using several
452 methods and elevations are reported relative to EGM2008 and converted to orthometric
453 elevation. We applied the 0.92 m adjustment (established empirically from water-level logger and
454 tide-gauge measurements; see Tidal Analysis) to each EGM2008 elevation observation to
455 express it relative to MTL (from which correction to other tidal datums is achieved using the
456 relationships determined over the tidal epoch, Dataset S1). Our analysis is limited to observations
457 from 2019 that are noted to have mangrove plant species present at the measurement site (and
458 therefore are measurements of sediment surfaces within a mangrove).

459 The USGS survey is inherently a conservative dataset to use for estimating the paleo-elevation at
460 which mangrove sediment preserved in the stratigraphic record accumulated. In Micronesian

461 mangroves (and elsewhere), site geomorphology dictates that a large proportion of the change in
462 elevation between the lower and upper limits occurs in a spatially-narrow band close to the
463 landward edge of the mangrove. Consequently, the majority of mangrove surface area lies within
464 a smaller subset of elevational range (see for example Figure 7 in 30 and Figure 5 in 36) and the
465 probability that a sample of mangrove sediment recovered in a core accumulated within the
466 narrow band at the seaward or most landward edge of the mangrove is low (in the absence of
467 additional proxy evidence to refine the environment of deposition).

468 Second, we conducted new surveys of modern mangrove distribution at five sites on Pohnpei and
469 two sites on Kosrae (Figure 1B–C). We used an autolevel and staff to measure surface elevation
470 at points located along transect through each site. Transects began inland of the upper limit of
471 mangroves and extended to the seaward edge of the mangrove where shallow, sub-tidal
472 environments occur. The elevation of each point surface station was established relative to tidal
473 datums by autolevel survey to water-loggers or by taking timed water-level measurements using
474 the autolevel and staff, which were compared to simultaneous measurements made by the
475 Pohnpei-C tide gauge.

476 We combined these two sources of data into a single dataset ($n = 233$ for Pohnpei and $n = 31$ for
477 Kosrae). Since tidal range is different on Pohnpei and Kosrae, we expressed elevation as a
478 standardized water level index (SWLI) value:

$$479 \quad \text{SWLI} = \left(\frac{\text{sample elevation (m MTL)}}{\text{MHHW elevation (m MTL)}} \times 100 \right) + 100$$

480 Where a value of 100 SWLI is equivalent to local mean tide level (MTL) and a value of 200 SWLI
481 corresponds to local mean higher high water (MHHW). Mangroves on Pohnpei and Kosrae occur
482 at elevations of 7-249 SWLI (95% confidence interval). For Pohnpei this corresponds to
483 elevations of 0.12 ± 0.62 m MTL. For Kosrae, this corresponds to elevations of -0.04 ± 0.63 m
484 MTL (Figure S2).

485

486 **New mangrove radiocarbon ages**

487

488 Mangrove sites were selected based on existing literature that describes the coastal stratigraphy
489 around both Pohnpei and Kosrae (e.g., 32). We selected sites that showed the deepest
490 mangrove sequences (to potentially obtain the longest, highest resolution records), as well as
491 those that showed mangrove sediments overlying incompressible substrate (e.g., carbonate
492 reefs) to assess any post-depositional compaction on the sediment sequence. One mangrove
493 sediment core (Pwok) was collected using a Eijelkamp peat sampler, and core top elevations
494 were surveyed using differential levelling from timed water level measurements. Three mangrove
495 sediment cores were collected using a Hiller corer and elevation obtained using a Trimble
496 differential GPS (30, 36). Bulk mangrove sediment samples were prepared for radiocarbon
497 analyses by pre-treatment with acid to remove carbonate and were measured at the U.S.
498 National Ocean Sciences Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Facility and Beta Analytic. Reported
499 radiocarbon ages were calibrated individually using the Intcal20 calibration curve (89) using the
500 BChron package for R (90). Data is available in Dataset S2.

501

502 **RSL database construction and analysis**

503

504 To reconstruct RSL, we collated and standardized published radiocarbon ages from coastal
505 sediment samples on Pohnpei and Kosrae into a database following the protocols developed by
506 the HOLSEA program (39), including our new radiocarbon ages. Inclusion in the database
507 required each sample to have: 1) a geographic location; 2) an age (with uncertainty) of sample
508 formation (in this case a radiocarbon age with a unique identifier); 3) an estimate (based on
509 sample type) of tidal elevation at the time of formation with uncertainty (termed the reference
510 water level); and 4) a modern altitude relative to sea level. Samples were excluded from the
511 database if any of these attributes could not be estimated. Radiocarbon ages were individually
512 calibrated using the IntCal20 dataset for terrestrial material (which includes mangrove sediment).
513 The susceptibility of each sample to physical compaction was categorized based on its
514 stratigraphic context (91); base of basal (sample overlies, within 10 cm, an incompressible layer,

515 compaction unlikely), basal (sample is from lower stratigraphic unit, compaction possible),
516 intercalated (sample is from intercalated stratigraphic unit , compaction possible), surface peat
517 (sample is from upper stratigraphic unit, compaction possible), and unknown (no suitable
518 stratigraphic details were available to assign sample a compaction class).

519 For each sample in the database relative sea level (RSL) is reconstructed as:

$$520 \quad \text{RSL} = \text{Altitude} - \text{Reference Water Level}$$

521 Where altitude is measured directly as depth in core, and core top elevation is expressed relative
522 to tidal datums. If the sample had a thickness, we used the mid-point in our calculation of RSL
523 and treated the thickness as a source of uncertainty. Frequently, core-top elevation was not
524 reported, but rather a core top was qualitatively described as being in a mangrove. In those
525 instances, we used the elevation range of modern mangrove environments established from the
526 modern surveys as the core top elevation (with uncertainty). The reference water level for
527 samples determined to have formed in a mangrove is also the range of modern mangroves
528 established from modern surveys (see Elevation of the mangrove modern analogue). The proxies
529 used to confirm that a sample formed in a mangrove environment are principally descriptions of
530 sediment texture, although a small subset of samples present other evidence (e.g., pollen
531 assemblages). The age of each sample in calendar years is from calibration of the radiocarbon
532 age. The result of this approach is the creation of individual sea-level index points which constrain
533 the unique position of RSL in time and space, with vertical and chronological uncertainty. The
534 creation of individual sea-level index points assumes a stationary tidal prism over time. The
535 database and references are available in Dataset S3 and SI References, and the general locality
536 of relative sea-level data is presented in Figure 1B–C.

537 A RSL history was generated by applying the errors-in-variables integrated Gaussian process
538 (EIV-IGP) model (40) to the database of 68 sea-level index points (Dataset S3). The model was
539 developed specifically to analyze late Holocene RSL reconstructions characterized by vertical
540 and temporal uncertainties, and an uneven distribution of observations through time. Based on
541 the coherence in RSL histories between Pohnpei and Kosrae, among sites on each island, and

542 stratigraphic context (susceptibility to compaction), we analyzed all sea-level index points as a
543 single dataset. In addition, we calculated decadal average RSL from the Pohnpei tide gauge
544 measurements to include in the EIV-IGP model. Hourly tide-gauge measurements were binned
545 into 10-year increments (starting in 1970) and averaged. The temporal position for each 10-year
546 average is the mid-point (e.g., 1975) with an age error of ± 5 years. The vertical error is the 95%
547 confidence interval of the measurements. The EIV-IGP model estimated RSL and the rate of RSL
548 change with uncertainty (95% credible intervals) at timesteps of 100 years from ~ 5730 yrs BP to
549 present.

550

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552

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805 Figure Legends

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809 **Figure 1.** (A) Distribution of calibrated radiocarbon ages on archaeological samples across
810 Remote Oceania (excluding eastern margins; see Dataset S4). Oldest ages and number of
811 observations at an island scale (circles = atolls, triangles = high islands) are represented by color
812 and size. The green squares highlight the high volcanic islands of the Federated States of
813 Micronesia (FSM) (Pohnpei and Kosrae, west to east) of focus in this study. Arrows represent the
814 approximate route taken by the Southern Hemisphere and Northern Hemisphere migrations into
815 Remote Oceania. The black dotted line denotes the boundary between Near Oceania and
816 Remote Oceania. (B, C) Location of modern mangrove surveys (from this study) and sites
817 (numbered) with RSL data compiled in the database of sea-level index points for Pohnpei and
818 Kosrae (Dataset S3).

819

820 **Figure 2.** (A) Satellite imagery of Nan Madol (6.84° N, 158.34° E) with polygons showing the
821 position and shape of building foundations (81). Sometimes called the 'Venice of the Pacific,'
822 prevailing interpretation has been that monumental architecture found at this former island capital
823 were built as artificial islets connected by a series of canals. (B) Image of a 'canal' next to the
824 tomb of the island's first rulers a structure called Nandowas, identified as feature #113 in (93, 94).
825 We present new evidence that demonstrates that 800-600 years ago when Nan Madol, and a
826 similar site called Leluh on the neighboring island of Kosrae, were constructed, relative sea level
827 was significantly lower. Both sites were originally built on dry land only to become submerged by
828 rising relative sea levels. The impacts of anomalous sea level rise described in this study, and

829 encroaching mangrove, continue to threaten the integrity of architecture across the site, as seen
830 at (C) Lelou (#120), (D) Lemenkau (#129), (E) Peitaup (#44), and (F) Peiniot (#118). Photo credit:
831 © Osamu Kataoka (images reused with attribution).

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833

834 **Figure 3.** (A) Relative sea level reconstructed for Pohnpei (purple) and Kosrae (orange) using
835 radiocarbon-dated mangrove sediment. Each of the 68 sea-level index points is presented as a
836 box that captures vertical and chronological uncertainty. Decadally-averaged tide gauge data
837 (green) are also presented as boxes. Application of the errors-in-variables integrated Gaussian
838 process (EIV-IGP) statistical model (40) was applied to this dataset to generate a relative
839 sea-level history (shaded envelope represents the 95% credible interval; CI). The dashed line is
840 relative sea level predicted by the ICE-7G_NA (VM7) Earth-ice model (16) for Pohnpei and
841 Kosrae. For reference, the vertical dashed lines show the approximate timing of the initial
842 settlement on high islands Pohnpei and Kosrae, the construction of Nan Madol (Pohnpei) and
843 Leluh (Kosrae) (B) Rate of RSL change at Pohnpei and Kosrae as calculated by the EIV-IGP
844 model (50th percentile and 95% credible interval).

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846

847 **Figure 4.** Vertical land motion measured by a GPS Continuously Operating Reference Station
848 (POHN) on Pohnpei. Data points are vertical positions and the red line is a least-squares (LSQ)
849 model fit to the time series. The LSQ rate is -0.9 mm/yr and the MIDAS rate is -1.0 mm/yr (see
850 Supplementary Text for LSQ and MIDAS rates definitions; Dataset S6).







