THE CONVENTION CENTRE NARRATIVE

Written by Associate Professor Te Maire Tau, Director of the Ngāi Tahu
Research Centre, University of Canterbury,
includes the essay 'The Great Hall' by Dr Chris Jones, University of Canterbury

Kia atawhai ki te iwi – Care for the people
Pita Te Hori, Upoko – Ngāi Tūāhuriri Rūnanga, 1861

INTRODUCTION

This narrative is written to outline Ngāi Tūāhuriri values and narrative so that architects and design teams may incorporate these values into the proposed Convention Centre for the Christchurch rebuild.

From the outset, this report has required much research and reference to traditional concepts, simply because for Māori there is no real equivalent to a convention centre. The notion of a convention centre is a relatively modern idea originating from an American innovation that in turn evolved from exhibition centres of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The most famous exhibition centre was the Crystal Palace, which was built to house Prince Albert's Great Exhibition in 1851.

The old Christchurch Convention Centre had little relevance to Māori and it was hardly an enjoyable place to visit. The design did not reflect any notion of tribal values and it certainly had no alignment to tribal practices as outlined in our Grand Narrative. We are now presented with a significant opportunity to design and develop a new convention centre that is not only a world-class facility, but is also without precedent because of its reflection of unique Ngāi Tahu cultural values.

From the position of Matapopore, the new Convention Centre has to commit itself to the core values outlined in the Grand Narrative. Those values are:

- whakapapa: identity
- mana-motuhake: independence and autonomy
- manaakitanga: charity
- ture wairua: faith.

This report is based on recognition of, and provision for, two key principles in the design of the Convention Centre:

(1) the articulation of our values outlined in the Grand Narrative and summarised above, into a functional operative design – not just one of decorative purpose

(2) outlining the basic principles behind a wharenui and the great hall so that designers can configure a building that resonates with New Zealanders and Māori, rather than building an American construct in Christchurch.

In particular, the proposed Centre must reflect and incorporate our values of manaakitanga. This is discussed in more detail on the following pages. How will you look after and host our guests in a way that reflects traditional values?

The Centre must also reflect the design components of our wharenui and the whakapapa encapsulated in such design. Again this is outlined in more detail in this report.

We also ask the designers to give appropriate recognition to the early Pākehā concepts of a great hall, which we believe are more appropriate for Christchurch than a 'Convention Centre'.

NGĀI TAHU VALUES

The new Convention Centre has to commit itself to the core values outlined in the Grand Narrative. Those values are:

- whakapapa: identity

- mana motuhake: independence and autonomy

- manaakitanga: charity

- ture wairua: faith.

Implementation of these values in the design phase means more than simply asking an artist to provide some decorative example of mana-motuhake or the hanging the Flag of the United Tribes along the wall. The real question that must be addressed and resolved is: *How will Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Tahu Whānui practise manaaki in this building with a degree of mana-motuhake?*

Secondary to that, designers must also consider the following issues.

- How does the design enable ringa wera (people from our different marae) to feel comfortable in hosting events when they are using the facilities?

- How would our ringa wera use these facilities?

- When we deal with issues of ture wairua and faith, how will an architect place Ngāi Tahu and New Zealand spirituality at the front and centre of the building so that it imposes some disciplines on visitors and hosts when they gather, engage, debate and eat together? How will this be achieved in a way that does not relegate kaupapa Māori and ture-wairua to a back or side room? How will this be done so that visitors do not aimlessly wander around the building but are appropriately hosted and feel comfortable as guests?

- A significant test for this Convention Centre is whether Māori would feel comfortable hosting wānanga (seminars), hui-a-hapū (sub-tribal meetings), hui-a-iwi (tribal meetings) and hui-a-rūnanga (hapū or iwi council meetings) in this building. And just as importantly, how will Convention Centre management feel in overseeing these events?

- When Māori undertake a ritual/blessing/whaka moemiti/pōwhiri, how will the designers create a space to ensure these events are given prominence while at the same time accommodating and managing visitors who may be wandering aimlessly around the Precinct?

This series of questions is challenging and there is no easy or simple resolution. There are few if any precedents for convention centre design that incorporate these values and this makes us question whether the city is constructing a venue that is essentially an American or European concept (ie, a convention centre) with little that resonates with Ngāi Tahu and the citizens of Christchurch?

Māori do not do business in 'convention centres'. Māori meet on marae where matters are formally discussed and, usually, business takes place over shared food either during the hākari in the dining hall or in tribal headquarters – where they feel free to host and discuss issues of the day. In simple terms, Ngāi Tahu wealth was created on marae such as Tuahiwi, in the old

Te Waipounamu House on 127 Armagh Street and in the homes of tribal leaders. A convention centre will need significant 'indigenising' to surpass these places as areas where Māori choose to do business.

Furthermore, notions of taking Māori business away from our traditional venues for undertaking business and politics will be seen as an attempt to assimilate Māori business into western models. This is hardly the direction in which Māori wish to head.

For these reasons, Matapopore suggests that what Christchurch may need more than a convention centre is a building that aligns with who and what Ngāi Tahu and the Christchurch community are – rather than developing a building that positions us as an economic outpost of the American economy. Maybe all this highlights is a case of terminology and what we should really be talking about, and referencing, is a modern and expanded version of the great hall that dominated most English communities throughout their history through to the 19th century. Matapopore believes there is more alignment with this notion than there is with a convention centre.

To help facilitate this discussion, I have asked Dr Chris Jones, medieval historian at the University of Canterbury, to prepare a paper on the history and purpose of the great hall. It is an interesting read that explains how the idea of a great hall eventually became a common feature within towns and universities. The idea of a great hall was incorporated into the old university and, while it is no longer suitable for conferences, there are aspects of the great hall and the old university layout that resonate better with both Ngāi Tahu and, I suspect, Christchurch citizens. This paper is incorporated at the end of this chapter and Matapopore encourages the design team to read the work and consider how to incorporate the vision into the Convention Centre concept.

NGĀI TAHU MARAE

Our core concern is, how will the Convention Centre articulate Ngāi Tahu tribal values other than in simplistic forms of artistic decoration?

To understand this concern and work towards a solution, you need to have some awareness of our history in Christchurch, and the design team must also look to the concepts outlined in the Grand Narrative.

A HISTORY

Before its destruction, Kaiapoi Pā was the principal fort for Ngāi Tahu where the different hapū gathered and for kaihaukai, wānanga, hohou-rongo or any range of tribal activities. The principal reason for the emergence of Kaiapoi as the dominant pā lay in its leadership, location and – for want of a better word – its economic value location in the South Island. From its foundation, Kaiapoi was established as the main fort for Ngāi Tahu, particularly for the hapū in Canterbury (Ngā pakihi-whakatekateka-o-Waitaha) and the West Coast (Te Tai Poutini). Yet even the Ōtākou and Murihiku leaders retained their strong relationships with Kaiapoi and resided inside this fort whenever they were in the region.

Kaiapoi Pā was established by Tūrākautahi once his younger brother, Moki, had secured the region and avenged the deaths of their father, Tūāhuriri, at Waikakahi, along Lake Ellesemere (Te Waihora). Tūrākautahi chose Kaiapoi Pā because it was surrounded by swamp and could only be entered from one direction. The name itself came about when peers asked Tūrākautahi

where the food would come from and, according to the Rev Canon Stack, the food would be swung into the pā from all the villages throughout the region. Stack explains the story as follows:

> The pā got its name Kaiapoi, or rather Kaiapohia, (meaning "food depot") from the answer given by Tūrākautahi to those who criticised his choice of the site for it, and who asked him how he expected the inhabitants of a place so situated to escape starvation, seeing that they were too far removed from the permanent sources of food supply. 'Kai' must be 'poi' or swung to the spot, 'Kai-a-poi-ed' "potted birds from the forests of Kaikoura in the north; fish and mutton birds from the sea-coasts of the south; kiore and weka and kāuru from the plains and mountain ranges of the west." Ready wit of the chief silenced the objections of his critics, and his pā was henceforth known as Kaiapoi,...

There has been some criticism over the years as to the authenticity of the story, but there is a wealth of evidence to support the notion that Tūrākautahi did indeed separate his colleagues and senior chiefs of his tribe into their own areas within Canterbury and that these villages did indeed swing their food towards Kaiapoi. Te Muka elder, Hoani Kaahu, outlined the story of Kaiapoi towards the end of the 19th century:

> Nō waiti a ka nui haere te tangata ka tupu hoki he ngakau toa nō rātou ka tahuri rātou ki te riri kia rātou nā reira ka tirohia te wāhi hei painga mō rātou. Ka puta te kupu a Tūrākautahi kia wehea ngā tangata o ia hapū o ia hapū. Ko Ngāti Hinekakai me Ngāti Hurihia kua wehea mai ki Tuahiwi nei, noho ai hanga ai i to ratou pa. No muri iho nga wehewehea nga tangata i reira a Turakipo ki o Pawaho a

Manuhiri ki Koukourarata haere ki Te Whakaraupo. Ko Makoo i wehea mai ki Wairewa naere atu ki Hakaroa. Me Te Ruahikihiki raua ko tana hunonga ko Kaweriri i wehea mai ki Taumutu nei noho ai. Ko te Ariki i wehea mai ki Arowhenua nei me tōna nuinga me Ngāti Huirapa rātou. Ko te nuinga ia o nga hapū i noho ano ki roto i Kaiapoi ko etahi i haere atu ki Kaikoura. I wehea atu ki reira a Ngāti Tuteahuka me ngā mano o Teiha. Ko ngā mano o Hikawaikura i noho rātou ki Omihi[1]

There are different versions of this tradition, but they all roughly confirm the idea that the principal chiefs, who led the Ngāi Tahu migration into Waitaha, separated into different areas, but referenced back to Kaiapoi as their chief fort and in fact Kaiapoi remained the central Ngāi Tahu pā right through to its sacking in the early 1830s.

The tradition of swinging food into Kaiapoi is really a statement of the growth of Kaiapoi as a meeting point for the exchange of food and taonga. As a result, Kaiapoi became the central meeting place for the different whānau and hapū of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe. Goods were swung towards Kaiapoi and this is where the people met. The role of Kaiapoi as a trade centre became more obvious when the Kaiapoi chief Tuhuru left his village at the Kaikanui, along the Waimakariri River, and gained mana over Te Tai Poutini. Now, rather than pounamu being traded north via Whakatū (Nelson), trade was now redirected through Kaiapoi. It is likely that the underlying reason for the Ngāti Toa attack on Kaiapoi was more to do with securing pounamu than any imagined slight.

Before we go further we need to understand what we mean by trade. The closest equivalent term within Ngāi Tahu to trade is the practice of 'kaihaukai'. Ngāi Tahu elder Tikao, whose family was from Kaiapoi, explained 'kaihaukai' as follows:

1.   Hoani Kaahu Manuscript, Ngai Tāhu Archives, University of Canterbury.

NGAI-TAHU

The people would send word of a proposed kaihaukai some weeks before hand. The people from Kaiapoi might go to Rapaki carrying tuna (eel), kiore (rat), kāuru (cabbage tree), kuri (dog), aruhe (fernroot), kūmara (sweet potato), and so on, while the home people would prepare pipi or kuku (shellfish), shark, marakai (dried fish) and other sea products as a return gift ... In two or three years' time the Rapaki people would carry food to a kaihaukai at Kaiapoi and bring back inland food in exchange.[2]

In this case, Tikao refers to kaihaukai as a system of exchange of foods between two kāinga (villages). Within Ngāi Tahu there are countless examples of inter-hapū and inter-iwi exchanges of food. Kaiapoi is the better known example of this tikanga.

The principal foods that Kaiapoi traded in were kūmara and kāuru. The kūmara or sweet potato was the sole crop among Māori and it would only grow as far south as Kaiapoi. Kāuru was the trunk of the tī (cabbage tree), which was baked in umu (earth ovens) and then dried and left as a sweetener or as a relish to be had with other food. According to tribal manuscripts and early settler reports, the cooking process allowed the saccharine to crystallise along the trunk of the tī tree. It was then separated into strips which were torn apart, mixed in water and chewed.[3]

Trade and economics, however, should not be seen as an activity in themselves. Trade occurred because the political groundwork had been established for Kaiapoi to become the centre point of Ngāi Tahu. One of the more intriguing aspects of Kaiapoi is that it was the home base for Ngāi Tahu leadership, wherever they were. At the fall of Kaiapoi, Taiaroa of Ngāti Ruahikihiki and Te Rakiwhakatia of Ngāti Huirapa were inside the pā and were eventually released by

Ngāti Toa. Equally important is that Kaiapoi was also the home of Ngāti Ruahikihiki chiefs to the south such as Tūhawaiki, Te Whakatupuka and Topi. In fact, both Tūhawaiki and Te Whakataupuka, our principal chiefs in Murihiku, were products of a peace settlement arranged at Kaiapoi Pā, where many of their family elders remained.

After the fall of Kaiapoi Pā, the Murihiku chiefs took the lead role in the fight against Ngāti Toa. The reason for these connections stretches back to the tradition of Tūrākautahi and the underlying principles of Kaiapoi Pā. Stack writes that Tūrākautahi '...had established a reputation for hospitality – a virtue which on his deathbed he enjoined his posterity to continue the practice forever'.[4] Tūrākautahi's directions to his descendants while he lay resting on his deathbed is known as an 'ōhākī' – a final farewell speech. In Māori, the pepeha he left was "Kia atawhai ki te iwi" which roughly translates as "Care for the people" although it also means to show and demonstrate hospitality. This saying was the same pepeha left by Pita Te Hori in the 1860s when he spoke to the Christchurch leaders:

> ...I ahu mai toku ture i a Tūāhuriri, kia atawhai ki te iwi...

Again, the great tohunga of Ngāi Tahu, Natanahira Waruwarutu, instructed his descendants after the fall of Kaiapoi Pā:

> E hoa, ma, e ka uri whakatipu i muri nei, koi pēnei koutou; atawhaitia kā oraka mai o ētahi kaika, whakaputa mai ana kia koutou, koi pēnei ki a koutou; ahakoa pākehatia koutou, kia rakatira e whakahaere mā koutou.

> To you my friends and my descendants who follow after me. . . always offer kindness and hospitality to those who come to you deprived of their homes, lest this may happen to you. And although you may become as the

2. H. Beattie, Tikao Talks, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1939, p 130.

3. James Cowan, The Māori Yesterday and Today, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1930, p 174.

4. Rev. James West Stack, South Island Māoris: A Sketch of Their History and Legendary Lore, 1898, p 72.

White-man, always let your standard of conduct be as gentlemen, be chivalrous.[5]

This is more than a flippant statement of being kind to one another. The reason Kaiapoi Pā became the tribal headquarters is that fighting was not allowed inside the pā. Kaiapoi was to be a place where the ideas of 'atawhai' and 'manaaki' were to dominate. This is the underlying reason why Tūrākautahi separated his leading chiefs into their different regions, as explained by Hoani Kaahu from Te Muka. The pepeha also explains why the only attack that occurred at Kaiapoi Pā was that undertaken by Te Rauparaha. In addition, it explains why sometimes quite different clashing personalities could be found inside Kaiapoi Pā during its years as the principal headquarters. Kaiapoi became the tribal headquarters because the underlying values of 'atawhai' and 'manaaki' established the conditions upon which trade and kaihaukai could occur – making Kaiapoi a place for all to convene.

With the fall of Kaiapoi, a new tribal centre was needed. Te Muka, Otakou and Ruapuke Island all became central gathering points for the tribe until the late 1840s when Tuahiwi took over the role of Kaiapoi Pā as the central gathering place for Ngāi Tahu.

The role of Tuahiwi as the central gathering place evolved from the 1870s when it became the tribal headquarters for the Ngāi Tahu Claim. This was because it was located close to Christchurch where the Native Land Court meetings were held and it was the largest Ngāi Tahu village. The size of Kaiapoi meant that it was able to host tribal members from as far away as Ruapuke on the marae and in family houses. Again, this brings us back to the basic message laid down by Tūrākautahi – kia atawhai ki te iwi. These ideas of manaaki and atawhai are evident in the economic support Kaiapoi was able to provide to the Ngāi Tahu Claim by way of the 'Ngāi Tahu Fighting Fund' – the tribal account set up to fight the Ngāi Tahu Claim. From June 1907–1908 Ngāi Tahu fundraisers raised £277. The contribution from Kaiapoi was £120, close to half the total contribution and by far the largest contribution by a kāinga. This contribution is evidence of the political and economic commitment of Ngāi Tūāhuriri.[6]

The 1879 Rūnanga minutes at Tuahiwi, where all Ngāi Tahu–Ngāti Māmoe Rūnanga gathered, explain how the Rūnanga organised themselves to fight the Ngāi Tahu Claim. Two committees were created. The first committee was the 'Executive Committee' (Komiti Whakatikatika) and the second committee was a council of kaumātua who had signed the various purchase deeds. The Executive Committee was the functional arm of the tribe represented by members from papatipu marae from the Kaikōura region south to Murihiku. As with the raids of Te Rauparaha, Ngāi Tahu had managed to drop hapū loyalties in favour of iwi unity. The pan-hapū view is confirmed in the Tutekawa minutes, which state:

> Ko te whakaaro o tēnei Rūnanga ki te tū he hui mo te mahi a Nutireni[7] e haere ake nei me tū ano ki Kaiapoi nō te mea ko waenganui tenei o Tewaipounamu kia hui ai ngā tangata ka waenganui pērā hoki me te Paremata o Nutireni Kei Poneke Ko waenganui tērā o tērā motu o tēnei motu…

> The thought of this Rūnanga was to hold a meeting concerning te mahi o Nutireni and that it should always be held here at Kaiapoi because this is the centre of the South Island where people will gather like the Parliament of New Zealand at Wellington that is the centre of that island and this island…

Tuahiwi became the focal point for Ngāi Tahu because the Kaiapoi Reserve was in the centre of Te Waipounamu, making it the gathering point for Ngāi Tahu. That the Kaiapoi Māori Reserve

5.   Rawiri Te Maire Tau, I Whānau au ki Kaiapoi, Otago University Books, 2010.

6.   W. T. Pitama Ms, A-17.

7.   Te mahi o Nutireni refers to the work that faced the tribe in completing the promises inherent in the Ngāi Tahu Claim.

was the largest in the South Island and that the Ngāi Tūāhuriri hapū was, along with Ngāti Ruahikihiki and Ngāti Huirapa, one of the more politically and economically active hapū of Ngāi Tahu would have confirmed Kaiapoi as the centre of Ngāi Tahu. Its proximity to Christchurch would have further confirmed Tuahiwi as the centre of Ngāi Tahu.

The 1881 decision to see Kaiapoi as the centre point of Ngāi Tahu was reconfirmed at a Te Muka meeting in 1907, from which the minutes stated that Kaiapoi was to be, "... te tari mo te Iwi o Ngāi-tahu rāua ko Ngāti-mamoe" (the department for the tribes of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe). The reasons for Kaiapoi becoming the centre point are similar to those of the 1870s.

Tuahiwi retained its role as the tribal headquarters well into the 1980s, although the movement of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board from Kaiapoi into Christchurch occurred in 1981, when the first Te Waipounamu House was built on Armagh Street by the Trust Board. The movement had occurred because by the 1980s, the journey from Bluff to Christchurch on a train by Trust Board members was far too long. Bob Whaitiri, the Murihiku representative for the Trust Board, would have to travel by train from Bluff and then catch a train to Kaiapoi and then on to Tuahiwi where he would stay at the home of Whitu Pitama. It was simply easier for the southern members to meet in Christchurch.

However, the transition into Christchurch, while functionally easier and logical, has never been fully accepted as 'tika' by tribal members. Christchurch is a place for Pākehā. It was designed for Pākehā, not Māori. It is where our people were forced to locate because they were never allowed to build on their reserved lands. In fact, the hostility of Pākehā towards Māori has always simmered beneath the surface. When the idea of a

meeting house in Christchurch was raised, quite racist sentiments were expressed by borough councillors. One councillor remarked, "We are putting down an ancient Māori house in one of our best suburbs. It will be quite out of keeping." Another apologetically said, "I understand that it will be looked after properly so that it will not deteriorate into a Māori whare or anything of that sort."[8]

This is not to say that Christchurch today is still hostile to Māori. But while not being hostile, neither does the city acknowledge or show any real appreciation of Ngāi Tahu. To counteract this perspective, it is essential that the Convention Centre articulates our tribal values in ways other than in artistic decoration.

We are not asking that a wharenui be built. That would be a simple response to a difficult dilemma that needs real discussion. The reality is that for our people to feel comfortable in holding a conference and convening a meeting, they must feel that they have a sense of ownership when they provide manaaki and atawhai (kindness, generosity) to our manuhiri.

The new building must translate our values outlined in the Grand Narrative into a functional operative design, rather than one of decorative purpose, and interpret the basic principles behind a wharenui and the concept of a great hall so that designers can configure a building that resonates with New Zealanders and Māori, rather than constructing an American-style convention centre in Christchurch.

8.   *The Press, 16 July 1940.*

THE WHARENUI

Te Ao Marama
Te Ao Marama
Ko Hine Titama
He tauira
Te Whiwhi a Nuku
Te Whiwhi a Rangi
Taka mai a Tama-nui-a-Rangi
E toki ana
E tokia e Tāne Mahuta
I nukunukutia
I nekeneketia
Te Whare a te tangata

This chapter is not written with the purpose of requesting a wharenui. We are simply providing a conceptual idea and framework for the design teams to better understand the creation mythology behind the wharenui.

For Māori, the wharenui is a statement of identity. It is a declaration of who one is and where one comes from. Today, identity is taken for granted, where one can simply state one is a New Zealander. For Māori and the early settlers, statements such as this were meaningless. Identity went straight to the matter of who one was and for Māori that meant declaring one's descent lines and ancestral connections. Identity was a statement of whakapapa.

The connection to the wharenui is that at a community level there were two symbols of tribal identity: the waka and the wharenui. Both were seen as the most prestigious assets of the community and were therefore consecrated during their tapu-lifting rituals as significant ancestors of the iwi.

When Māori gather upon a marae, they greet the whare as an ancestor, not a meeting house.

How the tribal identity was designed into the wharenui or canoe can be seen in the architecture of the wharenui. Once the iwi confirmed the ancestor whose mauri they wish to imbue into the building, the tohunga then designed the whare along the lines of the ancestor. The tipuna for the whare would be carved as the tekoteko who would stand upon the very apex of the wharenui facing the marae-ātea.

The whakapapa or descent lines would run along the tāhuhu of the meeting house, or the ridgepole. For Māori, the ridgepole was the tāhuhu (spine) of the ancestor that represented the senior descent line. From the main descent line, the rafters that reached down from the tāhuhu were known as heke, which our people saw as the ribcage of the ancestor. The heke or rafters that ran downwards would themselves drop down to particular poupou or carved pillars of ancestors standing along the walls of the wharenui.

When other iwi visited, the identity of the home people was made clear when both parties gathered upon the marae (courtyard) to engage in tribal activities and affairs. Internally, the wharenui reinforced the ideas of tribal traditions and customs by way of the carved ancestors that lined the walls and the tukutuku panels that connected each family line.

To an extent, early Christchurch architecture followed this principle of identity. Inside the Cathedral, the Reredos of the High Altar included six carved figures: Samuel Marsden, Archdeacon Henry Williams, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Bishop George Selwyn, Bishop Henry Harper and Bishop John Patterson. This is a clear statement of Anglican identity and interestingly the church leaders were confident enough to place Tamihana Te Rauparaha inside simply because the Gospel was brought to the South Island by the Anglican Church and Tamihana when the peace settlements were being established between the iwi.

Bold statements of identity have never bothered Ngāi Tahu and, as an extension of that thought, it is our view that appropriate consideration be given about how you reference the building currently called the Christchurch Convention Centre. Is this the right name for that structure?

Ngāi Tūāhuriri have clear views on the matter of identity.

The best way to understand how Māori perceive and interact with the wharenui means understanding the wānanga and pūrākau, our mythology and traditions, that we believe establish the origins of the wharenui. More often than not, traditional communities have creation myths, which are essentially traditions that explain the origins and purpose of the practices and traditions of that community. For example, most cathedrals and great churches have a ground floor plan designed around the crucifix. The ChristChurch Cathedral is designed along the same lines and sits on the eastern side of the Square following the Christian tradition of praying towards the East.

For Māori, the tradition for the wharenui can be found in the creation myth of Rangi and Papatūānuku and in particular their separation. There are different accounts of

this tradition among the tribes. For Ngāi Tahu, the creation story starts with the story of Raki, who we identify as the Sky or Heavens. His first partner was Pokohārua Te Pō and from this union emerged the primal ideas of 'hau', which in a sense establishes the winds that flow through Canterbury. The whakapapa below is an example of what is meant by the union of Raki and Pokohārua Te Pō.

We don't need to delve any further into this whakapapa other than to understand what is really meant by this creation tradition is that for Māori, 'hau' signifies the breath of life. 'Hau' is the breath that creates the more common concept known to New Zealanders as 'mauri' or, as Ngāi Tahu know and understand the term, 'mouri'.

The second union of Raki with Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, is where the idea of the 'wharenui' is established.

The first partner to Papatūānuku was Takaroa, the ocean itself. In our traditions, Takaroa departed for a time and, during this interlude, Raki mated with Papatūānuku.
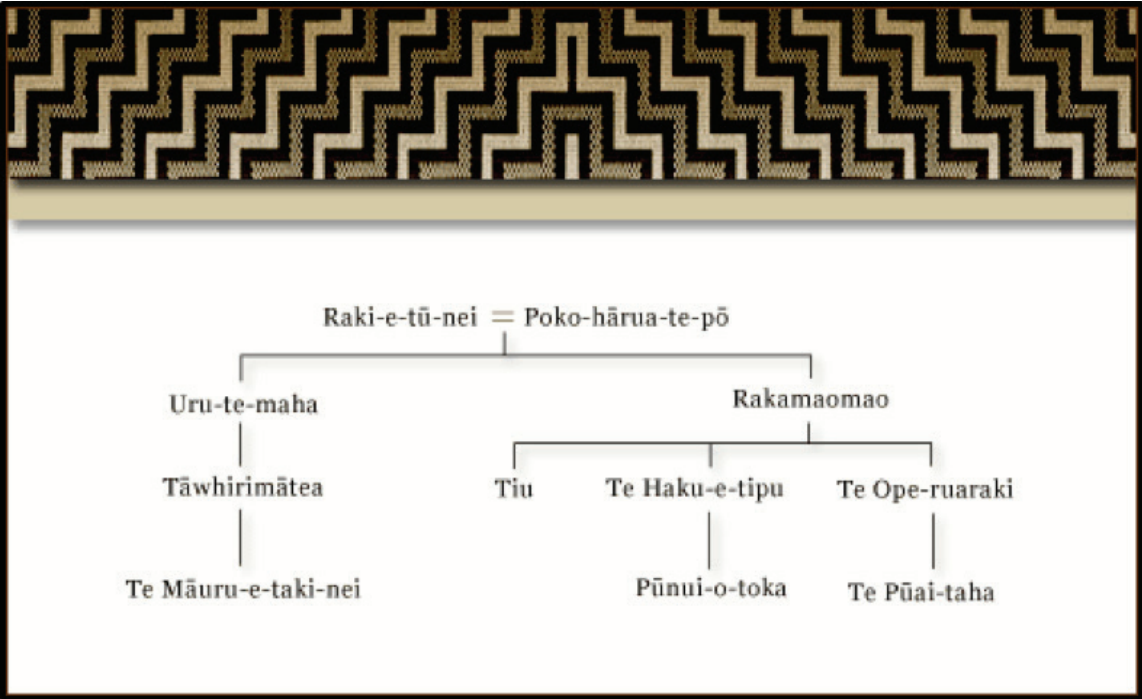
Upon the return of Takaroa, a duel was fought and Raki was defeated when Takaroa thrust a spear into his thigh. Raki collapsed upon Papatūānuku, wounded and close to death. It is at this stage of the tradition that the idea of the whare emerges.

As Raki lay wounded upon the Earth Mother, the children of Raki and Papatūānuku gathered to consider how they could raise their father. In the North Island tradition we have Tāne lying upon his back, pressing their father into the heavens after all the other brothers had failed. In this account, the brothers of Tāne, Tāwhirimātea, Tūmataueka and Tangaroa, resented their brothers actions and declared war upon Tāne and all living creatures. The Ngāi Tahu tradition differs in that their two sons, Tāne and Paia, cooperated in their endeavours rather than the version in the North Island where the brothers compete. Tāne, the second eldest brother, moved quickly to raise his father by using a post called Toko-maunga. As Tāne raised his father, 10 heavens were created, with Rehua, the eldest brother, taking his residence in the 10th.

Paia, the younger brother, then followed by raising his father with a post called Rua-tipua. Tāne then moved around his father carefully, propping up his father in the heavens by establishing more posts along the sides of his father's body. The poles used to separate the heavens were fashioned from the maire tree, which was considered a hardwood. Just as tradition mirrors day-to-day activities and vice versa, maire was often used as a wedge during the felling of a tree or for wood splitting itself. The incantation chanted by Tāne to help the separation ran as follows:

> Wehea ko Rangi ko Papa, kia wehea, Te-maire-toro, Te-maire-toro
> Taua ka wehea Te-maire-toro Te-maire-toro, e,
> Wehea ko te Maku ko Te-maire-toro, kia wehea Te-maire-toro e, i,
> Wehea ko Ari, ko Hua kia wehea, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Rehua, ko Tama-rau-tu, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Uru Te Kakana, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Te-aki ko Whatuia, kia wehea Te-maire-toro
> Wehea ko Tu, ko Roko, kia wehea Te-maire-toro.
> Separate our parents, Rangi and Papa, let the maire tree stretch upwards,
> It is agreed, let the separation commence, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate the darkness as the maire stretches upwards
> Separate the lunar month of Ari when there is a paucity of food and Hua when there is an abundance
> Separate Rehua from Tamarautu, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate the seasons of the year, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate Te Aki and Whatiua, let the maire tree stretch upwards
> Separate the seasons of warfare from the seasons of harvest, let the maire tree stretch upwards.

Besides the separation of Rangi and Papa, the story also outlines the divisions of the year, the seasons and the month. It establishes our basic relationship to the natural world.

These poles referred to represent the principal posts upon which the whare is erected and a variation of this karakia was chanted during the erection of the main posts when they set out to build their own whare. We don't have time to name all the posts used in the separation, although the main posts used were Toko-maunga and Rua-tipua. Other posts that surrounded Rangi, and held him in the heavens were:

- Ka mau ki tua

- Ka mau ki waho

- Ka mau ki waho o te raki.

These three posts really represent the securing of their father in the heavens along the horizon and beyond.

With the main support posts for the whare established, the tradition then goes on to explain how Tāne clothed their father, Raki, with a cloak of stars – in other words, how Tāne adorned the roof.

SUMMARY

The separation of Raki and Papatūānuku is the basic foundation tradition that establishes how Māori see and understand their world and establishes some core values that underpin our worldview. The tradition creates the concept of Te Ao Marama – The World of Light and the world of the living.

Nearly all customs and traditions return to the separation of both parents and the emergence of the principal ātua from this union:

- Rehua

- Tāne nui a raki

- Paia nui a raki

- Wehi nui a maomao.

The account also establishes the tradition of Tāne – who really represents all living things and is essentially mankind itself. What is not dealt with fully in most explanations of the Raki and Papa tradition is the story of how the children from Raki and Papa gathered and decided who would do what. One of the principal children from the union was Rehua, the eldest son, who eventually went to reside in the highest heaven, the 10th heaven. Rehua is always represented as a being-on-high, and is associated with light, summer and the abundance of food.

The next stage of the creation tradition centres on the shame of Tāne that his father lay in the heavens unclothed. To clothe his father, Tāne first sought the 'kura', a red soil that had its pigmentation from the blood created during the separation from his wife. However, Tāne was unhappy with the kura as a suitable way to clothe his father because it only appeared in the evening sky at sunset. Tāne then decided to visit his brother Wehi-nui-a-maomao, who held domain over the stars. Wehi-nui-a-maomao consented to clothe their father in stars and so gave him his tōpuni, 'Te Wehinui-a-maomao', which roughly translates as 'The Cloak of Heavens' as it was a cloak of stars that would cover his father in the night. This cloak was made up of four different tōpuni known as:

- Hira tai

- Hira uta

- Pari nuku

- Pari raki.

Tāne then asked his brother for the stars to cover their father and, with the consent of Wehi-nui-a-maomao, he returned to his homeland and secured the following stars upon the backbone of the heavens:

- Manako tea (White Magellan Cloud)

- Manako uri (Black Magellan Cloud)

- Te ika o te raki (the Milky Way).

Tāne was able to secure Te Ao-tahi (Canopus) in the skyline as the 'ariki-tapu' or the principal star. Te Ao-tahi was the child of two other stars, Puaka (Rigel) and Takurua (Sirius). In our traditions, Te Ao-tahi remained separate from the other stars, the parents and Takurua and Puaka, along with three others, located in the Tail of Scorpio Constellation, that could not be secured to the heavens and were used as pointers for the planting and harvesting seasons:

- Tama rēreti
- Te Waka a Tama rēreti
- Te Punga a Tama rēreti.

We include this material as it should provide inspiration for the development and design of the proposed structure. How can the design team incorporate this vision and rich tradition into the structural components of the new building? How do you reflect this symbolism and worldview in an appropriate manner within the new building? How do you weave the Māori tradition for the wharenui as told in the creation myth of Rangi and Papatūānuku into a modern construct?

The essay that follows has been drafted by Dr Chris Jones and provides a focus on the concept of a great hall. Matapopore ask the design team to consider these concepts and develop a design that blends the Māori tradition for the wharenui with the English tradition of a great hall. This is a challenge but, if successful, it will set an international precedent as a building that draws together two key components of history and culture and establishes a modern form for future generations.

THE GREAT HALL

An overview by Dr Chris Jones, University of Canterbury

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This essay examines the origins and development of the structure known as the 'great hall' in a British context.

In common with other early medieval European societies, the 'great hall' fulfilled both a symbolic and a practical function in post-Roman Britain. While it originated as a means of facilitating communal discussion, the hall rapidly evolved into a mechanism through which local lords – and later kings – could express their authority. Nevertheless, the British Isles offer a distinct case study in the development of such structures.

The 'great halls' that emerged across Britain between the fifth and the tenth centuries were common to both the native Romano-British population and the Germanic settler society that migrated to the island, the latter known collectively today as the Anglo-Saxons. Great halls became a dominant feature of both societies and took a unique form, distinct from similar structures that developed on the continent. Their practical function became largely associated with government, although literary evidence suggests that they retained a wider, symbolic meaning that embodied civilised society. In the later Middle Ages the significance of the 'great hall' declined across continental Europe. England was, however, an exception to this trend. The 'great hall' re-emerged in English society following the Norman Conquest in an altered form, one that suggests that the new English ruling class were consciously seeking to employ the hall as a means of establishing a connection with a semi-mythical 'British' past.

The great hall's decline took place only when significant changes occurred in household structures in the Early Modern era. Nevertheless, it retains to this day a limited symbolic value in contemporary British society. In particular, Westminster Hall continues to play an important role in the political life of the United Kingdom.

ORIGINS AND PURPOSE

The idea of a covered structure as a meeting place for communities dates, in Europe, to the Iron Age.[9] It was once assumed that the form of structure known today as the 'great hall' was introduced to Britain by Germanic settlers in the post-Roman period. Today, the nature and extent of that settlement are heavily debated.[10] In the case of the great hall, neither archaeology nor written sources offer any clear-cut answers, but it seems probable that the evolution of the hall was more complex than has sometimes been assumed. There is now evidence for native Romano-British structures that might be classified as halls appearing at several sites after the departure of the Romans, one notable case being the structure established on the grounds of the Roman fort at Birdoswald.[11] In certain instances, such as Doon Hill, a British hall would appear to have been replaced by a later Anglo-Saxon structure. This may have been a deliberate gesture associated with the expansion of Anglo-Saxon power.[11] Whether or not this is the case, both types of hall would appear to reflect common assumptions about the nature of 'community';

9.   Stephen Pollington, *The Meadhall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn, Ely: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2010, pp 68, 101.

10.   For an overview, see: Robin Fleming, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070*, London: Penguin, 2011.

11.   Guy Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p 121.

12.   Jenny Walker, 'The Recursive Structuring of Space: Socio-Political and Religious Performance in the Hall', in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100*, ed. by David Petts and Sam Turner, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, p 227.

equally, both reflect the changes that took place in the structures of those communities in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon societies, the great hall would appear to have had a central symbolic value. The late date of the only extant manuscript of the most significant surviving work of Anglo-Saxon literature, the poem Beowulf, means that considerable caution is necessary when drawing conclusions from it. Nevertheless, it is striking that the poet chose to begin with the construction of a hall, a gesture that was, as Stephen Pollington has put it, "symbolic of the rise of human society".[13] The hall represented human civilisation. Nowhere is this idea clearer than in the monk Bede's account of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon king Edwin to Christianity. The king, not entirely convinced by the efforts of the missionary Paulinus, turned, Bede recounts, to his counsellors for advice. One responded:

> This is how the present life of man on earth, King, appears to me in comparison with that time which is unknown to us. You are sitting feasting with your ealdormen and thegns in winter time; the fire is burning on the hearth in the middle of the hall and all inside is warm, while outside the wintry storms of rain and snow are raging; and a sparrow flies swiftly through the hall. It enters in at one door and quickly flies out through the other. For the few moments it is inside, the storm and wintry tempest cannot touch it, but after the briefest moment of calm, it flits from your sight, out of the wintry storm and into it again. So this life of man appears but for a moment; what follows or indeed what went before, we know not at all. If this new doctrine brings us more certain information, it seems right that we should accept it.[14]

While Bede's eighth-century account of events that took place at the beginning of the seventh century is unlikely to be wholly accurate, the incident does convey a remarkable contrast between the warmth and refuge afforded by the hall and the world of darkness outside it. The Anglo-Saxon poem The Wanderer reinforces this idea when it implies that banishment from one's hall was the equivalent of being banished from civilisation.[15] And the centrality of the hall was not unique to Anglo-Saxon society: the ninth-century British (Welsh) englyn chooses to sum up a defeat by focusing on the loss of a hall:

> The hall of Cynddylan is dark tonight, without fire, without bed;
> I shall weep a while, I shall be silent after …
> The hall of Cynddylan; it pierces me to see it without roof,
> without fire; my lord dead, myself alive.[16]

If halls came to symbolise civilisation, it was primarily because their original function was associated with the community as a whole. In Old English, the hall was a *mæðelstede*, a meeting-place. Old English verse uses a variety of descriptive terms for halls, many of which encompass this concept. They include *maþelstede* (discussion place) and *mæþelern* (assembly hall). Those who met at a hall did so under the *mæþelfriþ*, a legal peace surrounding any assembly.[17] There seems to have been a strong attempt, both in the early Middle Ages and later, to retain aspects of this 'communal' function. By the time of King Edwin's conversion, however, a conception of the hall as a place belonging to the whole community had begun to come into conflict with the developing hierarchical structures of both Anglo-Saxon and native British society.

The precise development of both British and Anglo-Saxon society in the two centuries immediately following the collapse of Roman authority remains unclear. What is certain is that

13. Pollington, The Meadhall, p 111.

14. "'Talis' inquiens "mihi uidetur, rex, uita hominum praesens in terris, ad conparationem eius quod nobis incertum est temporis, quale cum te residente ad caenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio et calido effecto cenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium, adueniens unus passerum domum citissime peruolauerit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens mox per aliud exierit, ipso quidem tempore quo intus est hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen paruissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, mox de hieme in hiemen regrediens tuis oculis elabitur. Ita haec uita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur, quidue praecesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Vnde, si haec noua doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda uidetur.'" Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, Bk. II, c. 13, pp 182–84; English translation: Bede, The Ecclesiastical History of the English People; The Greater Chronicle; Bede's Letter to Egbert, ed. with an intro and notes Judith McClure and Roger Collins, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p 95.

15. Michael W. Thompson, The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600–1600, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995, p 12.

16. Cited from ibid, p 12.

17. Pollington, The Meadhall, pp 105, 111.

by the seventh century both societies had developed sophisticated hierarchical structures at the apex of which sat royal figures. This shift towards a more structured, hierarchical society would appear to be reflected in the archaeology of the great hall. The earliest known halls, such as Doon Hill, appear to have been open-plan structures that facilitated easy access. Later halls appear to have had more complex internal arrangements. One possibility is that these new arrangements were designed to separate different groups and to introduce restrictions on access. If this interpretation is correct, such changes would reflect a society in which the hall was being transformed from a 'common' space into the hall of the local lord or king.[18] This development was certainly complete by the time Beowulf was written: the poet's audience is left in no doubt that the hall at the centre of the poem belonged to a specific ruler, King Hroðgar. Beowulf paints a clear portrait of the functions that the hall took on in this hierarchical society: it remained a meeting place, but it was also now the place where the ruler could demonstrate his generosity by gift-giving.[19] It was also the place where diplomacy and discussion took place. Above all, however, it was an environment in which feasting took place. Although women were not entirely absent from the hall, Old English verse gives a strong impression that it was a place occupied by a great lord's male retainers. Whether or not halls also occupied a religious function in the pre-Christian era remains unclear. The discovery of a temple at Yeavering (Northumbria), separate from the hall, suggests religious activities may have been conducted elsewhere.[20]

STRUCTURE AND DESIGN

The majority of our information concerning early medieval great halls in Britain and elsewhere comes from archaeology. Both the Romano-British and the Anglo-Saxons built their halls from wood. No halls survive above ground level; indeed only one wooden Anglo-Saxon building, the small church of Greensted-juxta-Ongar, Essex, remains extant.[21] As a consequence, we are restricted to interpreting postholes and aerial photographs. Reconstructions of even identifiable sites, such as the royal palace at Yeavering, remain highly speculative (fig. 1). The halls themselves seem to have sat at the centres of settlements, and were notable for their size. They were not usually placed within defensive structures and it has been speculated that the fact that anyone could approach them may have had a lingering symbolic value connected with their ancient communal function.[22]

Anglo-Saxon written sources provide some descriptions of halls but even these are extremely limited. Beowulf, for example, recounts that parts of the hall at the heart of the poem were fastened together with iron bands and that the structure gleamed with gold; no archaeological evidence has been found to support either assertion.[23] What can be said with certainty is that halls in Britain followed a rectangular floor plan. Unlike those erected on the continent, British halls do not seem to have been divided by aisles.[24] We have no evidence of internal or external decoration, but it seems highly unlikely, given the Anglo-Saxon love of ornamentation revealed by the jewellery and weapons at burial sites such as Sutton Hoo, that there was not considerable decoration, probably in the form of carving.[25] According to Beowulf, the floor of the hall was coloured, a suggestion that has led some to speculate that Roman mosaics were re-used.[26] The ceiling and walls were undoubtedly of wood. Each hall had a central hearth, whose function was to provide light and heat but which was not used for cooking.[27] Beyond this, the furniture seems to have consisted of moveable benches for the lord's companions and the lord's own seat, known as a gift-stool (giefstol), from which he distributed largesse to his followers.[28] Again, we know from Beowulf that while a lord's retainers might sleep in the hall, he himself did not.[29]

Fig. 1: *Possible reconstruction of King Edwin's great hall, c. 627*
The hall was approximately 24m long.

Source: 'Past Perfect' website, Durham and Northumberland County Councils (www.pastperfect.org.uk/sites/yeavering/index.html).

18. Walker, pp 221–39.
19. According to the poet, Hroðgar's first action on completing his hall was to engage in gift-giving: "He beot ne aleah beagas dælde / sinc æt symle" (lines 80–81). English translation: "He broke no promises, but dealt out rings, / treasures at his table." Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition, trans. with an intro and commentary by Howell D. Chickering, Jr., New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1977, p 53.
20. Walker, The Recursive Structuring of Space, p 231.
21. Pollington, The Meadhall, p 77.
22. Ibid, p 102.
23. For the iron bands: 'innan 7 utan irenbendum' (line 774). For the gold: "… guman onetton / sigon ætsomne oþþæt hy sæl timbred / geatolic 7 goldfah ongytam mihton …" (lines 306–08). English translation: "The warriors hastened, / marched in formation, until they could see / the gold-laced hall, the high-timbers". Beowulf: A dual-language edition, p 67.
24. Thompson, The Medieval Hall, p 21.
25. Pollington, The Meadhall, p 79.
26. Ibid, pp 87–88.
27. Ibid, p 79.
28. Ibid, p 83f.
29. Thompson, The Medieval Hall, p 12.

Fig. 2: *Henry VIII's great hall at Hampton Court*
Constructed 1532–35

The hall provided a communal dining room for 600 people and a magnificent entrance to the royal apartments.

The roof was designed by the King's Master Carpenter, John Nedeham, and is decorated with arms and pendants. It was originally painted blue, red and gold.

A substantial stone hall is found at Northampton by the 10th century.[30] Yet, as surviving church architecture demonstrates, the Anglo-Saxons certainly possessed the ability to work in stone long before that. The persistence of wood as a construction material, like the continued use of the same basic ground plan, suggests that wood may have had a symbolic value.[31]

THE LATE MEDIEVAL HALL

In the period following the Norman Conquest, great halls came to be incorporated into both castles and episcopal residences. By the later Middle Ages, what John Goodall terms a 'classic' style of hall seems to have developed across England.[32] This style included a division of the hall into 'high' and 'low' ends, undoubtedly formalising hierarchical divisions that had developed in the Anglo-Saxon period. These divisions were clearest during meals, when the lord would sit at a table set up on a raised dais set out along one of the hall's narrower walls while the remainder of those dining would eat at trestle tables set up at right angles to the lord's table along the length of the hall. Those of the lowest social status would sit at the tables furthest from the lord.

The 'classic' style includes a number of features that are notable for their 'archaic' associations. The first is the striking decision to continue to place a hearth in the middle of the hall. Medieval architects had developed fireplaces with chimneys by the 13th century but hall-designers seemed disinclined to use them.[33] They also seem to have been extremely attached to use of wooden roofs. These became increasingly elaborate, culminating in the highly decorated roof of Henry VIII's great hall at Hampton Court (fig. 2). Another feature introduced that the designers – mistakenly – may have believed was archaic was the division of some halls using aisles, notably Henry III's hall at Winchester.[34]

The reasons for the emergence of the 'classic' style in England and its popularity are only just beginning to be debated. For the majority of Europeans, halls continued to play a distinct role, primarily in a royal context. A prominent example would be the Grand'salle built at the centre of the French royal palace in Paris in the early 14th century. This huge space was designed to promote the strength and legitimacy of France's kings. The hall fulfilled many of the functions of the ancient great hall, ranging from a place in which the business of royal government was conducted to feasting and ceremonial functions.[35] Yet halls such as the Grand'salle were thoroughly 'modern' structures. In this respect, late medieval England took a very different path to the rest of Europe. It may be speculated that in evoking a connection with a semi-mythical 'British' past via an archaic architectural 'vocabulary', England's late medieval ruling elite were seeking to establish a sense of continuity that they were unable to find in their written historical accounts. Viewed in this light, the great hall became a tangible link to the past that both legitimated the present rulers of England and re-stated one of the kingdom's distinctive qualities, its 'communal' values.

THE POST-MEDIEVAL HALL

The later Middle Ages witnessed the concept of the great hall spread beyond the nobility to become a feature associated with towns, guilds and universities. Perhaps, in so doing, it regained at least part of its original function in establishing a sense of corporate identity. While changing concepts of the household – and a move from 'followers' to 'servants' – led to the great hall disappearing from post-17th century building designs, one particular great hall continued to

30.   Pollington, The Meadhall, p 96.

31.   "The hall evoked and defined the traditional way of life, which was immensely important to the Anglo-Saxons; rather than adopt palaces or villas, they clung to the time-honoured building forms." Ibid, p 111.

32.   John Goodall, The English Castle, 1066–1650, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011, p 25.

33.   "The persistence of such an arrangement within this single space is a reflection of how conventionalised the design of the hall became." Ibid, p 25.

34.   Ibid, p 24, plate 10. The usage may also have been intended to echo ecclesiastical architecture: Matthew M. Reeve, 'Gothic Architecture and the Civilizing Process: The Great Hall in Thirteenth-Century England', in New Approaches to Medieval Architecture, ed. by Robert Bork, William M. Clark and Abby McGehee, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011, pp 93–109.

35.   For a recent study of the way in which the Grand'salle functioned, see: Joan A. Holladay, 'Kings, Notaries and Merchants: Audience and Image in the Grand' Salle of the Palace of Paris', in Ritual, Images, and Daily Life: The Medieval Perspective, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012, pp 75–94.

perform a key socio-political function in British society. When it was completed in 1099 by William II, Westminster Hall was the largest hall in Europe. It remains, with the addition of a late 14th-century hammer-beam roof, an impressive structure.[36] For much of the Middle Ages it was the site of England's three main courts: the Court of King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Chancery. Its history includes the impeachment of King Charles I. As part of the modern Palace of Westminster complex, it continues to function as a place of political assembly, and has been, since 1939, the most privileged place from which to address both Houses – Commons and Lords – of the British Parliament.[37] It also serves as the location for the lying-in-state of the reigning monarch in connection with state funerals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People; The Greater Chronicle; Bede's Letter to Egbert*, ed. with an intro and notes by Judith McClure and Roger Collins, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition, trans. with an intro and commentary by Howell D. Chickering, Jr., New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1977.

Beowulf, trans. by Seamus Heaney, London: Faber & Faber, 1999.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Fleming, Robin, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070*, Penguin, London 2011.

Gerhold, Dorian, *Westminster Hall: Nine Hundred Years of History*, James & James, London, 1999.

Goodall, John, *The English Castle, 1066–1650*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2011).

Halsall, Guy, *Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013.

Holladay, Joan A., 'Kings, Notaries and Merchants: Audience and Image in the Grand' Salle of the Palace of Paris', in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life: The Medieval Perspective*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, LIT Verlag, Münster, 2012, pp 75–94.

Pollington, Stephen, *The Meadhall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn, Anglo-Saxon Books, Ely, 2010.

Reeve, Matthew M., 'Gothic Architecture and the Civilizing Process: The Great Hall in Thirteenth-Century England', in *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, ed. by Robert Bork, William M. Clark and Abby McGehee, Ashgate, Aldershot 2011, pp 93–109.

Saunders, Hilary Aidan St George, *Westminster Hall*, M. Joseph, London 1951.

36. *For an overview, see: Dorian Gerhold, Westminster Hall: Nine hundred years of history, London: James & James, 1999; Hilary Aidan St George Saunders, Westminster Hall, London: M. Joseph, 1951.*

37. *In addition to Elizabeth II and her father, the list of those who have addressed both Houses in the hall is limited to two French presidents (Albert Lebrun and Charles de Gaulle), Nelson Mandela, Pope Benedict XVI, Barack Obama and Aung San Suu Kyi.*

Thompson, Michael W., *The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600–1600*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1995.

Walker, Jenny, 'The Recursive Structuring of Space: Socio-Political and Religious Performance in the Hall', in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100*, ed. by David Petts and Sam Turner, Brepols, Turnhout, 2011, pp 221–39.

DISCLAIMER

CONFIDENTIALITY