# Canonizing New Heroes: The proposed Heroes Monument in Durban

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Two years ago, a competition was held for a Heroes' Monument to be erected in Durban, as part of the City's wider initiative to celebrate the heritage of those previously marginalized and redress imbalances of the past. However, as a new canon of heroes is thus being created, important questions must be raised around selection criteria and the very concept of hero worship. Such questions also fundamentally affect the aesthetic aspect of any monument design.

In every society, the definition and celebration of a shared heritage plays an important role in developing group identity. One aspect of the multicultural adjustment of South African heritage during the post-apartheid period, is the embrace of the idea of erecting new monuments to events and persons previously marginalized or written out of the official record. Yet, decisions around heritage always involve problematic questions of inclusion/ exclusion and the associated impact of visibility/ invisibility of persons, events and achievements of different cultural groupings.

This paper will examine the recent competition for a heroes' monument in Durban. After presenting some theoretical framework on monuments, heritage and identity, I will first discuss issues around formal design solutions and their appropriateness in the specific context. I then intend to raise some more fundamental questions around the politics of such a project, notably the criteria for determining heroes and the mechanism for their selection.

## Monuments, Heritage and Identity

Monuments are an integral part of heritage and there can be no doubt that South Africa is currently fascinated, if not obsessed, with heritage. This fascination with heritage - involving not only the preservation, but sometimes actual re-creation of the past - is a broader international phenomenon that can be said to characterize our current age.[1]

The term heritage is by no means clearly defined. Graham *et al* define heritage as "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social."[2] Heritage is what is inherited from the past and valued in the present. It is by definition subjective and functional. Especially in times of major socio-political change, heritage contributes to reshaping identity through the "framing" of (selected) memories in the form of heritage sites.

The issue of memory has extraordinary currency today, evidenced by a rapidly expanding body of literature on the topic. Some researchers have

attributed this to a crisis over identity, because identity is based on memory. As Lambek and Antze have noted, when "identity is taken for granted, the past is less of an issue."[3] This crisis of identity – often considered central to our postmodern age – affects both individuals and nations.

Much of this body of literature on memory draws on the work of Pierre Nora, who has provided one of the most insightful and influential analyses on the issue of memory to date.[4] Nora points out that in European societies before the 19th century, only the aristocracy, the church and the state saw a need for monuments.[5] For ordinary people memory was a pervasive part of life, they lived in a "milieu or environment of memory". Through the process of industrialization and its associated social changes, these *"milieux de memoire"* began to erode. As a result, the need for *"lieux de memoire"*, memory sites, such as archives and monuments arose. In Nora's opinion, such memory sites are just "exterior scaffolding or outward signs"[6] to cover for the fact that memory is no longer experienced from the inside.

Although Nora's work has not remained without criticism[7], and specifically the applicability of his theories for the non-European context has been questioned, there are indeed compelling parallels between Nora's analysis of memory in 19th and 20th century European societies and present-day South Africa. Migration, fragmentation of traditional family units and destruction of community cohesion as a result of political and socio-economic pressures, as well as other social changes (including HIV/Aids), have impacted negatively on the tradition of oral history. "Grandparents

are no longer doing the memory work they once performed", says John Gillis.[8]

It is often lamented how little South Africa's youngsters know about important persons and events even in the recent past. Museums, monuments and other heritage sites are being called for to fill this crucial gap. They are meant to replace or complement the oral tradition, the deteriorating *milieux de memoire,* as a conserver of memories and thereby assist in constructing a new identity.

In this process of reshaping identity, selective remembering is often a matter of negotiation and such negotiations over memories can give individuals and groups in society a changing identity.[9] Nuttall and Coetzee's important book *Negotiating the past. The making of memory in South Africa* (first published in 1998, reprinted twice since), reflects the many different shades of South Africa's current project of reworking memory and rewriting history. The obvious question in this context is, who decides what the "right" memories are? Who determines whose heritage should be preserved and for whom? Who "owns" heritage and who reconciles conflicting claims to such ownership?[10] Ultimately, decisions about heritage, just as decision about almost anything else, are made by those (on a macro and micro level) who hold the power to do so. But, being selective and subjective, privileging particular viewpoints over others, heritage is always a potential subject of contestation.

Monuments in South Africa have certainly been debated and contested at length in recent years. One of the first (and still much debated) issues concerns the fate of the abundant existing body of monuments accumulated during the colonial and apartheid eras. Although some monuments considered particularly

offensive, were removed, the current Government policy on monuments is to abstain from a radical iconoclasm. This policy was conceived in the spirit of inclusivity, nation-building, racial reconciliation, national celebration of democracy and multiculturalism as the foundation of the "rainbow nation".

Rather than replacing them, existing monuments are to be supplemented with new structures that could "tell the other side of the story". As a result, a tremendous number of new heritage sites have been identified all over the country, new monuments have been built, and proposals for further monuments and heritage sites emerge almost on a daily basis. Some older sites are also being (re)interpreted or appropriated to fit in with new value systems.[11]

**The Competition**

In Durban, too, a number of new monuments have recently been erected or proposed.[12] None of these, however, comes close in scale and aspiration to the proposed Heroes' Monument. The idea first emerged in the context of the reburial of three anti-apartheid activists at Chesterville Cemetery. This consequently raised the need for a "heroes acre", where those who had lost their lives in the struggle for liberation could be adequately commemorated (Arthur Gammage, personal conversation). A committee was established, which recommended as a site Botha's Garden, a small park opposite the Technikon Natal City Campus at the fringe of the Durban CBD. Towards the end of the year 2000, a competition was held, the brief requesting participants to include in their monument proposal a recommendation for the future of the Louis Botha statue -

designed by Anton van Wouw and erected in 1921 - which forms the focal point of this small park.

Among the 30 entries received, five were submitted by architects, 15 by students of Architecture and another ten from various members of the public.[13] Any competition provides a unique opportunity to examine trends, prevailing attitudes and current thinking around the issue of monuments and their formal design. This paper cannot deal with an in-depth analysis of all proposed solutions. Suffice it to say that a very large number of entries envisaged some sort of tower or obelisk, in one case with (rather patronizing) African references. Other entries were based on the idea of a route with stopping points throughout the park, metaphorically representing the path of history as a journey. The stopping points were usually conceptualized as statues or small structures of some sort.
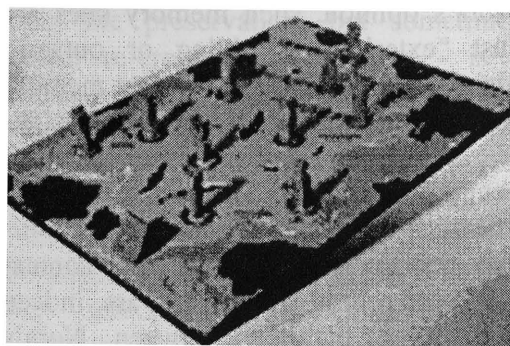


Figure 1

*Heroes' Monument competition.* **Durban. 2000. Entry number 39.**

Only very few participants implicitly or – in one case explicitly - questioned the relevance of such conventional means of commemoration, steeped in colonial tradition, and proposed "living monuments" in the form of community service facilities of various kinds (e.g. a clinic or a crèche). It is interesting to

note that the jury did not consider any of these proposals, perhaps anticipating that the majority of the population tends to hold conservative views about the aesthetic appearance of a monument deemed fit to honour their heroes.

This is certainly suggested by a cursory glance at the range of monuments and memorials that have been erected during the post-apartheid period, ranging from simple steles to large architectural structures (such as the Sharpeville monument), to realistically rendered statues (e.g. the Gandhi statue in Pietermaritzburg or Steve Biko in East London).[14]

The entrenchment of western monument conventions, the desire to mimic Eurocentric, even colonial, models may appear paradoxical in the context of defining a new, more distinctly African, identity. However, in light of the post-apartheid government's conservation policy towards older monuments, one cannot ignore the existing record of memorials and statues.[15] According to post-colonial theory the post-colonial agent can appropriate the (visual) language of the colonizer as a means of "writing back" or "de-scribing", thereby expressing his/her own message or countering the colonial record.

This approach can frequently be observed in post-apartheid monuments, which have often deliberately been placed in immediate visual juxtaposition with existing older monuments, taking the latter's aesthetic into account. Examples of such juxtapositioning include the Ambush Rock Monument near the existing Police monument (just on the other side of the road), or the Ncome monument opposite the Blood River monument. The new monuments thus seek confrontation with the colonial

and apartheid legacy and aim to set up a constructive and reconciliatory dialogue. Monuments also create visibility both on a metaphorical and literal level. Oha[16] in his analysis of road monuments in Nigerian cities, has observed that visuality is an important aspect of "cityness". "In fact, one can say that ... the city (re)constructs itself to be seen, and also speaks to its inhabitants and visitors through what it makes them to see."[17] Almost all new monuments in South Africa have been erected quite consciously as part of the country's emerging domestic - and especially international - cultural and heritage tourism industry. Monuments thus construct a particular identity, through which South Africa represents itself to the outside world; the tourist as "Other" helps define the South African self.



**Figure 2**
*Heroes' Monument competition.* **Durban. 2000. Winning entry. Architect Collaborative.**

**The winning design**

Unlike the majority of entries, the winning design for the Durban Heroes Monument, developed by Paul Mikula's team[18] at Architects Collaborative, is conceptualized not as an object, but as part of a larger urban context, upon which it is envisaged to make a positive impact - a trigger for urban renewal. The design draws on local African traditions,

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specifically Zulu traditional spatial formations, albeit translated into a modern idiom. The jury rejected Eurocentric designs outright as inappropriate in view of the multicultural diversity of the local population and decided unanimously in favour of this entry.[19]

It envisages the definition of a roughly oval shape, suggesting the plan of a traditional Zulu homestead through a series of large columns with entangled steel branches in emulation of a thorn hedge fence. Lights from above and below would let the hedge appear like a "ring of fire" at night, especially when viewed from an incoming plane headed for the nearby airport[20]. Paralleling the *isibaya*, or cattle kraal in the centre of every traditional homestead, the proposal envisages an amphitheatre for 8 - 10 000 people, meant to be used by the Technikon or other communities within the city. The open-air theatre is focussed on a large granite Wall of Remembrance, sheltering the seating area from the street and the other half of the park. (The street is meant to be closed off for special occasions).

According to the competition entry, the Wall of Remembrance is to be topped with a monumentally enlarged version of a wood sculpture by Hilton Gasa, entitled Mathambo Hlanagani or "Bones unite", a didactic work with complex symbolism referring to the fact that below our skins we are all made of the same material. The sculpture tends to be criticized most in informal discussions about the monument proposal, especially because of its gruesome imagery. However, Mikula points out that this specific sculpture is not an integral part of the design and could be replaced by any suitable

creation, as long as it is made by local artists.

While this proposal attempts to root itself in Zulu tradition, one may ask whether this does sufficient justice to the multicultural diversity highlighted by the jury. Furthermore, how meaningful is the concept of the traditional *isibaya* to the present generation of Zulu speakers who have grown up in an urban environment, pursuing strong western aspirations? It is worth noting that none of the African competition participants have based their entries on traditional Zulu or African forms.[21]
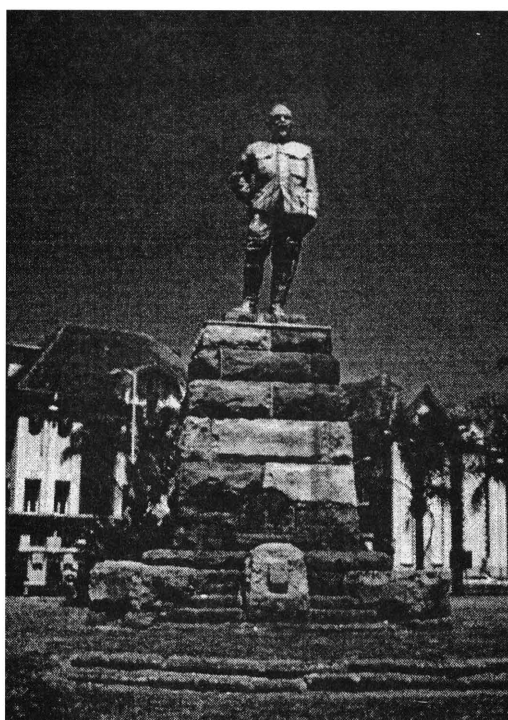
**The Botha statue**

But the most controversial aspect of the winning design concerns the proposed future of the Botha statue and the treatment of the park around it. The Botha statue is to be retained and joined by various other statues of "the old guard" to be relocated to the park from various sites in the city, similar to the way Soviet era heroes have been moved into public parks in Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union.[22] This, according to Mikula, is the place for the *amadlozi*, our ancestors, where "they can be seen and visited and their stories can be told." [23]

Furthermore, all statues, including Botha, are to be taken off their pedestals and lowered to the ground to stand on their feet. No objections were raised when Mikula presented the winning design to the City Council, but upon its publication in the KZN Institute of Architects Journal, a letter by South African architect, Hans Hallen, promptly arrived from this new home in Australia, ridiculing and strongly opposing the idea of lowering the Botha statue.[24] Hallen argues that van Wouw would have

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conceptualized the over-life size statue with the pedestal in mind, compensating for the foreshortening, which would make the lowered statue appear top-heavy. This is without doubt correct, although similar size statues in the Soviet Union do not appear to have suffered unacceptably from the removal of the pedestal. One might speculate that Hallen's aesthetic argument disguises his politically motivated opposition to the thought of deposing Botha and other heroes of the colonial and apartheid era. Hallen, himself, it must be remembered, was, during the heydays of apartheid, closely associated with the commemorative endeavours of the Afrikaners through his participation in the design for the Voortrekker Monument at Winburg.[25] Hallen's criticism alerted Amafa, the Heritage KwaZulu Natal agency, which refused permission to alter the Botha or any other existing statue.

Concerns about aesthetic quality and the integrity of an artwork collide here with a postmodern embrace of populist values and a postcolonial challenge to the symbols of colonial authority. However, as Michael Taylor from Amafa rightly pointed out on behalf of the Heritage Committee, it would be wrong to classify General Louis Botha simply as a representative of the colonial and apartheid era, because he was "highly regarded by the Zulu people [as] he assisted in the negotiations over claims for land rights."[26] Classifying complex personalities with varied life experiences into a simplistic scheme of good and evil, ordinary and extraordinary, poses problems not only for the heroes of the past, but also for the heroes of the present.



**Figure 3**
*Louis Botha statue.* Anton van Wouw. Botha's Garden, Durban.

## Heroism

Why do we need a monument for heroes? Who are the heroes, and who determines the criteria for heroism? Postmodernists insist that memory is not simply retrieved but actively constructed. Thelen.[27] states:

> A memory becomes not a fixed or fully-formed record of a past reality but an invention that can be assembled with many contents and styles

As identity is based on memory, memories must be revised constantly to suit our current identities.[28] Thus the events we identify for commemoration, the heroes we select, reflect what kind of identity we are attempting to construct.

Heroism is always closely associated with myth. Myth, as Graham *et al*

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explain, is not something necessarily untrue, but

> ... it is true in a special sense, in that it has truth for a great many people, and this general belief gives it a contemporary validity.[29]

## Myth, according to Barthes

> ... abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences ... it organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth ... it establishes a blissful clarity.[30]

New nations need a compelling foundation myth in which selected persons ("heroes") act as main protagonists. Various writers have shown how the Afrikaners mythologized the Great Trek and how the celebration of this shared heritage, through monuments and rituals, functioned as a powerful unifier, which assisted in forging a coherent group identity amongst people with diverse origins.[31]

In post-apartheid South Africa, the dominance of the old meta-narrative of the Voortrekkers has now been replaced with the "Struggle" as a foundation myth intended to similarly forge people of diverse origins into one nation. Almost all new monuments, built and proposed in post-apartheid South Africa, are in one way or another linked to the notion of struggle or resistance, not only against apartheid, but against colonial domination and all forms of disenfranchisement of the non-white population and negation of their value systems. Thus, an important function of myth is to provide a context, into which the chosen heroes can be embedded.

When the idea of the "heroes acre" in Durban was first mooted, the emphasis was entirely on commemorating those who had died in the struggle for liberation.[32] Most heroes' monuments are war memorials, exemplified, for instance, by Heroes' Acre outside Harare in Zimbabwe, where fallen liberation fighters are entombed. This imposing, North Korean designed monument in socialist realist style contains all the predictable, and much overused, elements of heroic war memorials, including a grand black staircase, a triumphant figure representing the unknown soldier, a didactic frieze in bronze relief, heavy granite slabs, and an eternal flame.[33]

Clearly the concept of "heroism" underlying the initial plans for the Durban project was derived from such a military (or paramilitary) context. Heroism in this sense is associated with (male) bravery, courage, military strength, and making sacrifices (including one's life) for others or for an ideal. Heroism, however, can be defined in many different ways and the concept has changed its meaning over time and in different historical contexts.

The origin of the term lies in ancient Greek mythology, where the hero - usually being the offspring of a God and a human being – distinguishes himself through bravery, strength, courage and extraordinary deeds.[34] In Greek tragedy, characterized by its emphasis on human dilemmas, the hero is intrinsically free to choose between alternatives in a society where it was assumed that humans largely shape their own destinies. Here it is not necessarily strength and courage, but moral law, ideals and ethical commitment that inspire heroism.[35]

The Christian concept of heroism (as exemplified in the story of Job) is essentially marked by love for God and humankind, patience, self-sacrifice ("martyr"), and unrelenting commitment to Faith. In contrast, Friedrich Nietzsche developed an alternative model of

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heroism with his concept of the Ubermensch[36] - the heroic, superior human being who functions as a substitute for God and who is meant to replace ordinary humans in a new social order beyond the age of Christianity. Nietzsche's concept of "hero" does not imply serving common humanity. Rather, it carries notions of control, power, mastery, superiority, and strict hierarchical ordering of society; it is profoundly anti-democratic and marked by contempt for humankind.[37]

In all the above conceptions, heroism is essentially an exclusivist, elitist and anti-democratic concept, which implies a hierarchical ordering of society, in which the "heroes" form the apex. There is also an implicit assumption that heroes tend to be male. Recent postmodernist and post-structuralist discourses, which question all notions of male superiority or other hierarchical orderings, as well as elitist concepts, grand narratives and binary oppositions of all kinds, pose a profound challenge to the concept of hero-worship.

If anything, heroism is an ever-changing and highly relative concept. For instance, the same deed may be an act of heroism if performed by one person, but not if performed by someone else. It is upon others to determine what acts count as heroic for whom. Heroism does not simply manifest itself, but it is identified and attributed to someone by others - in short: heroism is socially constructed.

Not much of all this is reflected in the Durban proposal for a heroes' monument. However, it appears that the monument committee felt that the original conception of the heroes' acre – focused entirely on past political activism – would be too narrow, elitist and male-dominated. A heroes' acre of the Harare type would clash with the new image that the City of post-apartheid eThekwini tries to project - marked by inclusive "rainbow nation" values and an optimistic outlook into the future, rather than dwelling on the hardships of the past.

The committee thus significantly broadened the definition of "hero", opening the door for many (rather than a select few) to be celebrated: "During the course of Durban's eventful history, men and women of extraordinary courage, vision and enterprise have come to the fore. The varied achievements of many of these heroes and heroines are as yet unrecognized in the city's public spaces," states the briefing document.[38] In other words, the new Heroes Monument was meant to honour extraordinary persons in a wide variety of fields, which could include the economic sphere, entertainment or any other sector of life.

The Monument committee's concern for inclusiveness is also evident in the explicit mention of women in a context where "heroes" (especially war heroes) have always tended to be male. The new definition, in fact, allows for a fundamental shift in the very identity of the proposed structure, turning it from a solemn memorial in honour of deceased freedom fighters to a potentially cheerful structure, celebrating heroes from all walks of life, including those still living. The new definition may also have been prompted by the need to distinguish the new Heroes Monument from the then proposed (now completed) Resistance Park - an initiative by Ismail Meer – to be established in the in Gale Street area in Durban, not very far from Botha's Garden. Resistance Park was originally intended to commemorate the 1956 Resistance Campaign by the Indian

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community in Durban, but was broadened in its conception, to focus on a series of events and persons associated with the Struggle against white domination in South Africa. In other words, the commemoration of "Struggle heroes" was taken care of.

Furthermore, the changed definition of heroism as espoused in the competition brief served to shift the focus of heroic persons and deeds from national to local level. This made sense in light of the then recently announced plans for a national heroes monument, Freedom Park, in Pretoria[39].

## The competition entries

When considering the various entries, the definition of "hero" as stated in the competition brief was reiterated by individual competition participants, but often with variations, sometimes narrowing or re-focusing the original definition and reflecting the respective participants' own interpretation and value systems. Needless to mention that slight changes in wording can translate into significant differences in the selection and subsequent canonization of so-called heroes.

More important is that the very idea of a heroes monument is completely uncritically embraced and the problems around issues of selection and determination of criteria are – with the exception of one or two designs – not addressed at all. Most entries envisage some space on their various proposed structures, where names of heroes are to be engraved. A typical example is entry #31, which reads:

As you walk into the spirals, on the wall there will be text recording the history of Natal and it's (sic) liberation. There will also be a list of our heroes and heroines.

Most designers have chosen to ignore the question of how this "list of heroes and heroines" is to be generated, retreating instead into a position that implicitly defends the autonomy of art over concerns of a political or ideological nature. However, upon reflection it should be obvious that such questions cannot be ignored, even if one is merely interested in formal issues. There are numerous questions which impact crucially on aesthetic and practical aspects of the monument design. These include, for instance, the number of heroes and heroines to be commemorated (ten or ten-thousand?), and whether the list is complete or whether it will have to be changed or added to in future. It is evident that virtually no critical awareness about issues of heroism and monuments and very low levels of familiarity with critical theory appear to exist among the participants. This is despite the fact that many of the entries were submitted by professional architects or students of architecture, mostly from the University of Natal.

Only one entry engages critically with the selection of heroes. The text on competition entry #8 - by Melissa Wilkins - includes a number of questions that reflect a critical awareness of the subjectivity and constructedness of any definition or selection of heroes:

What makes a hero? Must a hero be famous...? Is consensus important ...? Or are individual views more vital? Who makes heroes ... Who decides ...? Can 'heroism' be measured ...? Can one hero be better than another ...? Isn't everyone a hero in one way or another ...?

Wilkins' entry also emphasizes the need for broad community involvement and transparency, proposing a non-imposing, ever-changing monument that consists of a blank community canvass on which

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people can "express their own ideals & celebrate their own heroes".[40]

In a similar vein, the winning entry does not consider the heroes as a given component, but rather proposes that the process of determining heroes – in an inclusive manner, through community involvement - must be built into the design. This implies, for instance that the structure allows for names to be added on a regular basis. According to the proposal, on special occasions, different constituencies within the city – schools, businesses, various civil societies and associations – select their own heroes, whose names are to be added to various components of the monument – the wall, the "tree" columns, the open book of the sculpture. "Every year ... new heroes are elected and carved into the stones until "everyone's name is there."[41]

This is indeed a very different concept of heroism from that implied by most other competition participants and probably from that envisaged by the monument committee. It fundamentally subverts the essence of the concept of "hero", which by its very definition is based on exclusivity. Mikula[42], on the other hand, insists that the broad inclusivity of his firm's proposal was not meant as a critique. He envisages the monument to be an incentive for extraordinary action, signaling that anybody can make a difference and become a hero. However, upon reflection, he considers that if everyone becomes a hero, there would be no need for such monuments.

I certainly do not mean to argue that there is no need for the new Heroes Monument in Durban or that no new monuments should be built in general in post-apartheid South Africa. My point is that there is urgent need for more critical debate about monuments in general and about such concepts of hero-worship specifically. There is a need for more awareness about the social constructedness and arbitrariness of any canon of heroes. "Hero" should be understood as a temporary, ever-changing category, and we should be aware that even today's most celebrated heroes might not command much esteem tomorrow. This means that we need to think carefully what type of commemorative structures or practices will be meaningful for the present and future generations.

## Conclusion

Establishing a canon of heroes creates a solid base of controlled memories. Connerton[43] emphasizes the importance of a shared memory upon which a new social order can rest. Images of the past serve to legitimate a present social order, in that memory places the experience of the present into a context, which is causally linked with the past. Monuments, dedicated to the remembrance of pre-selected events and persons of the past, are thus a means of controlling the perception of the present. In order to create social cohesion, consensus must be created about the past as a foundation of a mutual understanding and experience of the present. But how does one create such consensus?

One way is to generate a fixed "text", such as a list of heroes, that is non-negotiable and sanctioned through different media and repeated ritualized action.[44] The other approach, broadly inclusive, accessible and transparent, presumes an open text, forever changing and expanding until "everybody's name is there".

Using a post-modernist theoret-ical framework, the function of monuments

can be seen as expressing the values of different cultural groupings and thereby contributing to the shaping of their identity. But the very concept of monuments, and most especially heroes' monuments, is also a very non-postmodernist one, in that it represents history as a grand narrative, driven by the story of heroic persons, most of them, furthermore, being male. The winning design for the Durban Heroes Monument can be interpreted as resolving this contradiction. It envisages that, over time, the entire space will be covered with markers and names of an infinite number of heroes. In its final consequence, then, the heroes' monument develops into something that makes its own existence obsolete.

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**Notes**

[1] It is not within the scope of this paper to explore the reasons for this fascination with heritage. Among the many authors who have contributed to this debate, the reader may best be referred to the writings of R.Hewison's, especially his seminal book on the 'Heritage Industry' (Methuen: London.1987), and Pierre Nora. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire'. Representations, 26 (Spring) 1989:7-25.

[2] B. Graham, G.J. Ashworth, and J.E. Tunbridge. A Geography of Heritage. London: Arnold, 2000, p.17.

[3] M. Lambek, and P. Antze, 'Introduction. Forecasting Memory', in: Tense Past. Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory. Edited by Michael Lambek and Paul Antze. Routledge: New York and London, 1996, p.xxii.

[4] Nora, op.cit.

[5] See the discussion of Nora in J.R. Gillis, 'Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in J.R. Gillis (Ed), Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity. Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J., 1994, pp.3-24.

[6] Nora, op.cit. p.13.

[7] See, for example, Lambek and Antze, op.cit.

[8] Gillis, op.cit. p.14.

[9] D. Thelen, 'The Postmodern Challenge of Introducing Past to Present: Teaching about Memories and Monuments'. Perspectives in Education, Vol 14, No2, 1993, pp.117-138.

[10] See Graham et al, op.cit. p.24, as well as S. Hall, 'Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'The Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation'. Third Text 49. Winter, 1999-2000, pp.3-13.

[11] The prime example is Robben Island, a place of extraordinarily rich and diverse history, recently accorded the status of a World Heritage Site. But Robben Island is also a place of contested memories and one of the South Africa's most symbolically charged sites. See P. Davison, 'Museums and the reshaping of memory'. In: Negotiating the past. The making of memory in South Africa. Edited by Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee. Oxford University Press South Africa: Cape Town, 1998, chapter 10 and H. Deacon, 'Remembering tragedy, constructing modernity: Robben Island as national monument', in the same book, (chapter 11).

[12] Examples include two Ghandi statues (in Phoenix and in Chatsworth) and the recent construction of the 'Resistance Park' Monument in the Gale Street area (officially opened in May 2002). A statue of Shaka Zulu is proposed for the new theme park development of Ushaka Island.

[13] W. Peters, 'Heroes Monument Competition, Durban'. KZNIA Journal 1, 2001, p13.

[14] The Women's monument in Pretoria with its conscious attempt to contravene conventional monument practices could perhaps be considered a rare exception.

[15] Paul Mikula from Architects Collaborative, in a recent personal conversation, expressed skepticism about the relevance of conventional monument structures and sculptures on pedestals, but points out that one cannot ignore the existing record of statues and obelisks. "One cannot say – this hospital is my answer to that; or one could say that, but it takes a very generous and mature audience to accept that and maybe we are not yet ready for that."

[16] O. Oha, 'Signs, Cities, and Designs of Capacities: The Semiotics of Road Monuments in Some Nigerian Cities.' The African Anthropologist, Vol.7, No.1, 2000, pp.33-47.

[17] Ibid. p.33.

[18] Participants were Paul Mikula, Kevin Macgarry and Yousuf Patel.

[19] See the jury's report in Peters, op.cit. p14.

[20] L.Clarke. 'Cultures will collide in heroes' park'. Sunday Tribune 3/06/01.

[21] Participants presumed to be African (based on their names) include E S F Sibisi, L C Nzimande, T.K. Bako, L Mabulu, C Dlamini (not submitted), A Mugabe.

[22] In Moscow statues of communist leaders have been moved into the Park of Art; in Hungary's capital, Budapest, a special park or open-air museum was even specifically built for the purpose of housing the removed statues. See Anonymous, 'Tearing down the remnants of an antiquated communist past'. The Star 6 July, 1995.

[23] Competition entry documentation by Architects Collaborative (Paul Mikula). 'Monument Isibaya Sase Thekwini', 2000.

[24] H. Hallen, 'Botha Monument: An amusing late night idea over a beer'. KZ-NIA Journal, Issue 2, Vol.26, 2001, pg.0.

[25] Hans Hallen and Maurice Dibb jointly won the design competition for the monument, administered by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereiniginge (FAK) in 1965. See D. Bunn, 'Whited sepulchres: On the reluctance of monuments', in blank_ Architecture, apartheid and after. Edited by Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavi_. Nai Publishers and David Philip: Rotterdam and Cape Town, Undated, p.105.

[26] Taylor, M. (Cultural Officer: Compliance for Director) Amafa aKwaZulu Natali. Letters to Arthur Gammage, dated 23 May 2001 and 11 October 2001.

[27] Thelen, op.cit. p.119.

[28] Gillis, op.cit. p.3.

[29] Graham et al, op.cit. p.18.

[30] R. Barthes, 'Myth today'. In: In: Evans, J. and Hall, S (eds). 1999. Visual Culture. The Reader. Sage Publications: London, Thousand Oaks. New Delhi, 1973, p.58.

[31] See Bunn, op.cit., or Graham et al, op.cit.

[32] "The definition expected to be used for defining what a hero is will be taken from the preamble of the constitution which honours those 'who suffered for justice and freedom and those who have worked to build and develop our country.'" L. Seeliger, 'Monumental problem faces city'. Mercury 1/9/1998.

[33] See the entry on Heroes' Acre in B. McCrea and T.Pinchuck. The Rough Guide to Zimbabwe. Rough Guides: London.2000, p.83.

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[34] Collins Concise Dictionary defines 'hero' as "a man [sic] distinguished by exceptional courage and nobility" or "a man who is idealized for possessing superior qualities in any field; or, in classical myth, "a being of extraordinary strength and courage, often the offspring of a mortal and a god." Collins Concise Dictionary of the English Language. Second Edition. Chief edited by Patrick Hanks. Collins: London and Glasgow, 1988.

[35] See Vassiliki A. Lanara (Heroism as a Nursing Value. A Philosophical Perspective. Sisterhood Evniki Publications. Athens 1981), who has compared heroism in the Greek, Hebrew and Christian tradition.

[36] Literally meaning 'superior human being', the term is often translated in English, somewhat inaccurately, as 'superman'.

[37] See E. Bently, *A Century of Hero-worship*. 2nd edition. Beacon Press: Beacon Hill, Boston, 1957.

[38] City of Durban. Metropolitan, North and South Central Councils. Heroes Monument. Competition Briefing Document. 2000.

[39] In June 2000 the *Mercury* reported about a proposal to build Freedom Park, a 'struggle' monument in Pretoria, which would include a monument of those who died in the struggle. M. Granelli, '"Struggle" monument for Pretoria skyline'. *Mercury* 2 June 2000.

[40] Competition documentation attached to Wilkins' entry.

[41] Competition documentation quoted in Peters 2001, op.cit. p.14. In a personal conversation, Mikula, Macgarry and Patel criticized the competition, because it appeared to foster the concept of a monument as something 'time-locked' (Patel). They insisted that a monument must always be dynamic to remain meaningful to people in a changing society. Likewise, any canon of heroes must be thought of as ever changing. In this light it can be assumed that the designers envisage not only names of new heroes to be added to the list, but perhaps some also being removed again in future.

[42] Personal conversation 2002.

[43] P.Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge et al. 1989.

[44] Oha observes that in Nigerian cities "the authorities necessarily impose 'texts' of monuments on the city, indeed acting the roles of gatekeepers and (re)producers of ideology." Oha, op.cit. p.41.

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