ROȘIA MONTANĂ.
AN OVERVIEW ON THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE.*

Ştefan Bâlici**

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Abstract: Roșia Montană (County Alba, Romania) is a gold mining site known and exploited since Roman or even pre-Roman times until the recent past. Traditional, family- or small group-operated mining has been going on for roughly two millennia, with even farther precedents, and lasted until the 1948 Communist nationalization, making of this place one of the most long-lived traditional mining centres known today. This particular endurance translates into a systematic and profound interrelation between natural setting and cultural phenomena – from deep down into the mountains, all the way to the surface, from topography to fauna and flora and to the human communities of the area, which produced one of the richest and most spectacular cultural landscapes of Romania and possibly of Europe.

In this paper, an overview of the cultural heritage of the site is presented, based on acknowledged or emerging multidisciplinary research and evaluations. Consequently, two currently confronting visions for the development of the site are presented, a large-scale short-term open-cast mining project with already felt damaging effect on the cultural heritage, and the long-term sustainable development based on the rich cultural and natural resources, with a vision for the inscription of the site in the World Heritage List.

Rezumat: Roșia Montană (jud. Alba) este un sit minier aurifer cunoscut și exploatat încă din antichitatea romană sau chiar preromană și până în trecutul recent. Mineritul tradiţional la scară mică, familială sau de grup, s-a desfășurat de-a lungul a circa două milenii, cu precedente chiar mai îndepărtate și a durat până la naţionalizarea comunistă din 1948, această istorie îndelungată făcând din Roșia Montană unul dintre cele mai longevive centre miniere cunoscute astăzi. Această anduranţă se traduce într-o interrelaţionare sistematică și profundă a cadrului natural și a fenomenelor culturale – pornind din adâncurile munţilor până la suprafaţă, de la topografie la faună și floră și la comunităţile umane din zonă – care a generat unul dintre cele mai spectaculoase peisaje culturale ale României și, posibil, ale Europei.

În contribuţia de faţă este prezentată o privire de ansamblu asupra patrimoniului cultural al sitului, bazată pe cercetări și evaluări multidisciplinare consacrate sau emergente. În continuare sunt prezentate două viziuni contradictorii privitoare la dezvoltarea sitului. Una promovează un proiect minier de mari dimensiuni, pe termen scurt, în carieră deschisă, care și-a făcut deja simţite efectele distructive asupra patrimoniului cultural. A doua propune o cale de dezvoltare pe termen lung, durabilă, pornind de la resursele bogate constituite de patrimoniul cultural și natural, susţinută și prin iniţiativa de a înscrie situl în Lista Patrimoniului Mondial.

Sixteen years after the granting of a mining concession for the area of Roșia Montană and no less than thirteen years after the first discussions on the fate of the cultural heritage of the site faced with contemporary open-cast mining,[1] we are still in an uncertain position on this matter. Despite strong and continuous pressure from the professional milieu and the public, exerted both nationally and internationally, the decision to protect and enhance instead of destroy and erase has not yet been reached, notwithstanding clear legal provisions which demand the protection of those buildings and areas which are listed as historic monuments and of their relevant surroundings.[2]

Context: Roșia Montană is situated in the Metalliferous Mountains, a division of the Apuseni Mountains, the western section of Romania's Carpathians, in an area called the Auriferous Quadrilateral,[3] well-known since Antiquity for its rich deposits of precious metals. The entire area has been mined intensively since

* The present article draws on previous contributions regarding the site of Roșia Montană presented by the author, together with Virgil Apostol, at the Symposium "Architecture. Restoration. Archaeology".

** Ștefan Bâlici: conservation architect, associate professor at the Department for the History & Theory of Architecture and Heritage Conservation, "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism, Bucharest, e-mail: stefanbalici@yahoo.com.

1 Since 2000, when the project first came to the attention of the National Commission for Historic Monuments. See also *infra*, "The heritage scenario".

2 Law 422-2001 on the protection of historic monuments, art. 11 (2), which reads: "The suppression, partial or total destruction, profanation, as well as the degradation of historic monuments are forbidden and are sanctioned according to the law." or Law 85-2003 on mining, art. 11, which reads: "Mining activities on plots of land where there are historic, cultural or religious monuments, archaeological sites of special interest, nature reserves [...] are strictly forbidden." To these, add many other provisions and international commitments relevant in the case of Roșia Montană, such as the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Revised, ratified by Law 150-1997), the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (ratified by Law 157-1997) or the European Landscape Convention (ratified by Law 451-2002).

3 Rom. *Patrulaterul Aurifer*, a region covering some 2 500 sq. km, stretching from Baia de Arieș to the north, to Zlatna to the south-east, on River Ampoi, and to Certej and Săcărâmb to the south, close to Deva and Mureș Valley.

Caiete ARA, 4, 2013, p. 205-228.

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Roman times, with clear signs of previous mining activity starting with the Bronze Age.[4] Roșia Montană has been one of the active gold mining centres of this area ever since, with highlights during the Dacian and Roman Antiquity, through the Middle Ages, all the way into the Modern Times and until the recent past. Traditional, family- or small group-operated mining was stopped in 1948, with the communist nationalization (followed by industrial, state-run mining, ended in bankruptcy in 2006). This is, therefore, one of the most long-lived traditional mining centres known today. This particular endurance translates into a systematic and profound interrelation between the natural setting and the cultural phenomena – from deep down into the mountains, all the way to the surface, from topography to fauna and flora and to the human communities of the area, everything bears the signs of or stems from this interaction of man and the environment, which produced one of the richest and most spectacular cultural landscapes of Romania and a very significant one in the international context.[5]

Recently-established Roșia Montană Gold Corporation[6] is trying to push through a large scale open-cast mining project, now under evaluation for permitting by Romania's relevant state authorities. If approved, the mining project would lead to the total and irreversible destruction of the largest part of the site, starting with the mountains themselves, which hold the valuable gold and silver ore, but also the unique, invaluable Roman and later mining systems.

General overview of the site: For the purpose of analysis, the cultural heritage of Roșia Montană can be separated into several consecutive layers. Deepest into the mountains which surround the present-day mining town lie the *underground mining systems*,[7] consisting of galleries, extraction chambers, vertical workings, shafts, drainage channels and other technical features. This network counts more than 150 km of galleries known to this day,[8] of which 7 km are Roman, all adding to the many spectacular, vast extraction chambers and other works, true man-made caverns carved during the centuries. Not surprisingly, this exceptional extension comes with a lot of variation, both determined by geological reasons, such as the mineralization of the rock, with galleries following the veins and searching for them in uneven course, or indeed by different contextual reasons, such as the organization of work and the mining technique of each epoch.[9] Under this latter category fall the differences between the Roman works and galleries – opened by means of fire or systematically and orderly carved into the rock with hammer and chisel, maintaining a constant trapezoidal cross-section, with the walls punctured by small lamp notches set at regular intervals, and the floor bordered along by narrow drain ditches (Fig. 1), – and the later, medieval ones – carved freely, with no regular shape or course (Fig. 2) – or modern ones – set into grid layouts or systematically connecting all previous underground fields by a magistral gallery (Fig. 3). The same variation can be observed on the extraction chambers, regularly sustained by pillars spared into the rock, in the Roman sections (rooms with pillars), and strikingly irregular in later extraction voids, artificial caves and crevices carved and later blast off with the help of black powder and then dynamite (Fig. 4). The vertical communication between so many underground horizons differs in time, too, from the inclined galleries of Roman Antiquity, with steps more or less adapted for the high slope, to the vertical passages and eventually elevator shafts of later times. Wooden frameworks to sustain the galleries appear along all historic periods. More recent are the wooden tracks for the push- or horse-drawn-carts (wooden, too), discovered in several areas of the underground system.

4 N.C. Rișcuţa 2007, Ciugudean 2012.

5 On the superlative nature of the place see Cauuet *et alii* 2003, Dossier de soumission 2010, Akeroyd 2012, or the resolutions of ICOMOS (see *infra*).

6 A venture of Canada-based Gabriel Resources (Toronto), with a minority participation from Romania's state mining operator Minvest (Deva).

7 Wollmann 1996; Cauuet *et alii* 2003; Cauuet *et alii* 2004; Cauuet, Tămaş 2012; Rus 2012.

8 By 2003 the underground research had reached more than 70 km of galleries: Cauuet 2003, p.483. The latest figure indicates a total of more than 150 km: Rus 2012, p. 9.

9 Wollmann 1996; Cauuet *et alii* 2003; Cauuet, Tămaş 2012; Ciugudean 2012, p. 220; Rus 2012.

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Fig. 1. Roman gallery in Mt. Orlea (photo: I. Rous, www.bergwerkpunk.com).



Fig. 2. Modern workings in Mt. Orlea (photo: I. Rous, www.bergwerkpunk.com).



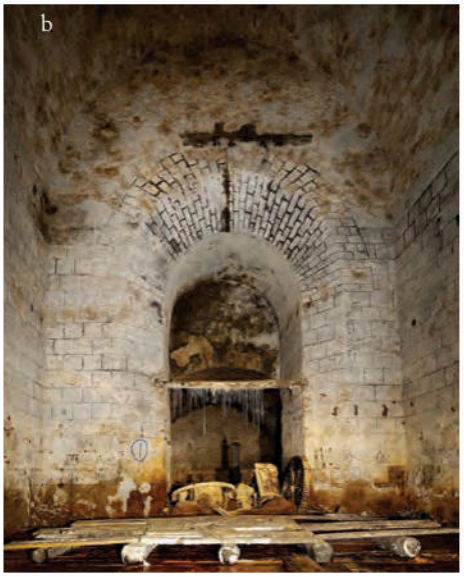


Fig. 3. Modern workings in Mt. Orlea: a. The Sf. Cruce (Holy Cross) magistral gallery in Mt. Orlea; b. Room of extraction winch in the Cetate shaft, from 1910 (a., b. photo: I. Rous, www.bergwerkpunk.com).

The range of methods employed for winning the mineral-rich stone is impressive, from hand carving with hammer and chisel, to the method of "fire and water" attested in two areas, in Mt. Cetate, in the point suggestively named Găuri (Holes)[10] and again on the south slopes of Mt. Cârnic, and from open-cast ancient exploitation areas (in the uppermost part of Mt. Cetate, now disappeared),[11] to underground mines and to gold panning, which ceased by mid 20th century, at the same time with the entire system of traditional mining.

[10] Ciugudean 2012, p. 221; Piso 2012, p. 47.
[11] Cauuet *et al.* 2003, pp. 479-481, Figs. 13, 14; Ciugudean 2012, p. 220. See also Steclaci 2011; Rus 2012.



Fig. 4. Medieval and modern extraction voids. a, b. Mt. Cârnic , c. Mt. Văidoaia (a, b. photo: I. Rous, www.bergwerkpunk.com; c. photo; L. Niculae).

A few rare and spectacular features of Roman origin emerged during recent archaeological research, such as the spiral stepped descent in Mt. Cârnic or the dewatering system in Mt. Carpeni, consisting of a sequence of four chambers with wooden elevating wheels – a discovery that appeared for the first time in a controlled archaeological context which allowed its documentation and interpretation.[12]

Altogether, the Roman elements make one of the most extensive and important gold and silver mining systems in the Roman world.[13] On the large scale, the entire underground landscape of Roșia Montană is characterized by great architectural diversity and highest historic relevance.

Above ground, the subterranean works connect to *a network of elements of the processing system*. Of its Roman traces not much is known today,[14] but for the following periods these elements are very much present on the ground, with pathways and roads for the transportation of ore (Fig. 5), later completed with a narrow

[12] "Il s'agit d'une découverte majeure sur le drainage des mines romaines par machinerie qui survient pour la première fois depuis les années 1930 et les découvertes fortuites faites dans les mines du sud de la Péninsule Ibérique. Ici elle s'est faite dans une contexte archéologique qui va permettre de comprendre l'ensemble du dispositif et de le restituer en totalité." Cauuet 2008, p. 65.

[13] "Minele de aur și argint de la Alburnus Maior constituie fără îndoială unul dintre cele mai vaste complexe miniere de epocă romană" [The gold and silver mines of Alburnus Maior constitute without any doubt one of the largest mining complexes of Roman age (my translation)], Cauuet *et alli* 2004.

[14] Traces of processing areas have been possibly identified during the archaeological research campaigns, but the subject was never followed, because of the way in which the research was conducted. Simion *et alii* 2004. See also *infra* n. 22.

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Fig. 5. Mine adits and transport tracks for ore hauling (a. postcard, start of 20th cent.; b. postcard, 1929).

gauge railway and an incline, a web of water channels supplied by over 100 reservoirs built on the slopes around the town (Figs. 6, 8), a few hundred water-powered stamp mills (now lost) and later the processing plant and other early industrial structures (Fig. 7).[15] Of all these elements, the reservoirs, interesting examples of 18th century engineering, display remarkable architectural features in the configuration of their dams and water control chambers. The design and detail of the stone masonry, the treatment of portals (Fig. 8) and other features make these constructions significant examples of the pre-industrial technical architectural heritage of the site.[16] Other structures of architectural interest in the same category are the 18th and 19th century headquarters and workshops of the former state mining company,[17] and the mid-19th century processing plant.[18]

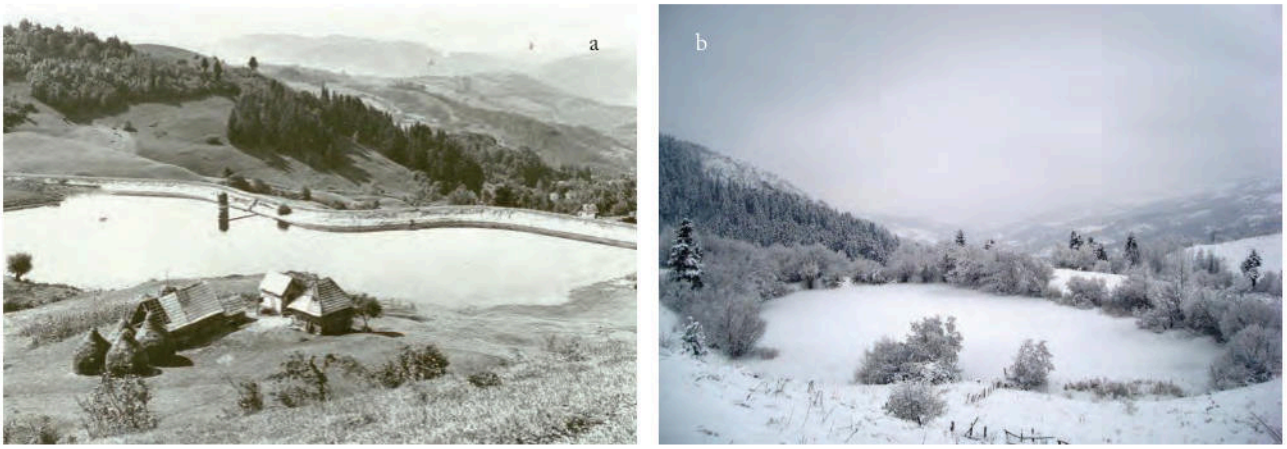


Fig. 6. Reservoirs: a. Corna; b. Anghel (a. historic photograph, A. Bach; b. photo S. Florian).

[15] Zotinca 1928; Roman, Sîntimbrean, Wollmann 1982; Bonfert, Wollmann 2002; Wollmann 2010; Wollmann 2011.
[16] Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen 2002; Documente de arhitectură I 2010, p. 9, pl. 44-46.
[17] Bonfert, Wollmann 2002.
[18] Zotinca 1928, Wollmann 2010.



Fig. 7. Processing structures and plant: a. Historic stamping mills; b. The processing plant at Gura Roșiei built in 1851-1852; c. 19th c. roll-call and shaft house at the state mine (a. historic photograph, beginning of 20th cent.; b, c. Zotinca 1928).

The mining activity is also reflected in the countless small historic waste heaps and dumps – which have transformed the landscape, giving it characteristic undulating shapes (Fig. 9) – and the deforested, rocky mountain slopes (Fig. 10) surrounding the town. All around, the natural backdrop still shows the signs of traditional mining, which demand dedicated investigation, conservation and enhancement works, a direction of action not undertaken until now.[19]

At the surface, right under the green, on the hills and mountains around the town, another layer of the site gathers archaeological vestiges of the *Roman settlement(s) and burial areas*[20] developed in relation to the mining centre: public edifices, temples, roads and extensive necropoleis (Fig. 11). All these provide precious insights into the particular culture of the site – such as the unusual discovery of many altars dedicated to different divinities in the same temple precinct in Valea Nanului area,[21] or the special circular funerary monument of Tăul Găuri (Fig. 12) which belongs to a prestigious type, present elsewhere in the empire, but rarely attested in Roman Dacia.[22] Nevertheless, more than each singular revealing instance, it is the broader view of all vestiges together, understood in terms of landscape, which gives the true sense of this heritage layer. The outlines of the necropoleis, the disposition of tombs, the terraces cut into the bedrock on the natural slopes, these features recompose fragments of a striking Roman funerary landscape lying just a few inches bellow the present day grass. It is an aspect which has been completely ignored by recent research and assessment of the archaeological heritage. The same happened to the later, medieval and modern habitation areas, almost absent

[19] For the numerous signs of ancient mining to be read in the landscape see Ciugudean 2012, pp. 220-222.
[20] Alburnus Maior I, II, III/1.
[21] Zirra *et alli* 2003.
[22] This is the second recording of such a monument in Dacia. Its preserved elements allow a theoretical reconstruction, unlike the other example, preserved only at the foundation level. Apostol 2005, pp. 262-272.

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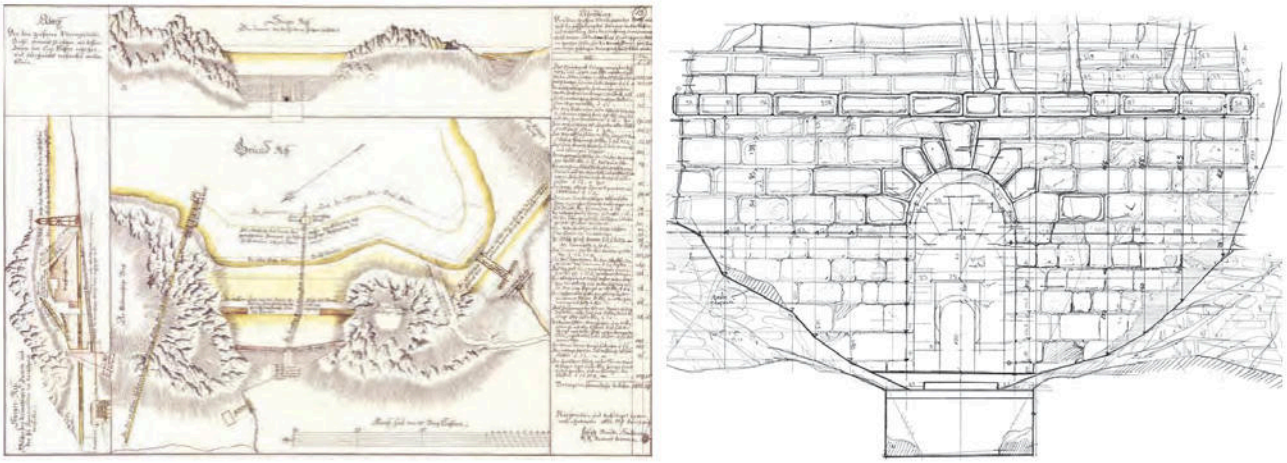


Fig. 8. The reservoirs – design and details: a. project of 1779 for the dam strengthening and enlargement at Tăul Mare – The Grand Reservoir; b. survey of the portal of exhaust chamber of Tăul Cornei – Corna Reservoir (a. Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen 2002, Cat. no. 45, p. 346; b. Documente de arhitectură I 2010).



Fig. 9. Waste rock heaps: a. Heaps dumped bellow the mine adits and trails crisscrossing the barren slopes of Mt. Cârnic; b. small re-vegetated heaps in Corna Valley (a. Csiky 1900; b. photo L. Niculae).

in the published research and reports. All need to be further investigated in order to get a full picture of the site's extension and complexity.[23]

Set between the mountain slopes, *the mining town*[24] with its particular appearance can be explained only in relation to historic mining, too (Fig. 13): the general structure and the street pattern respond to the territorial distribution of extraction areas, the numerous now-abandoned public functions set into the town centre speak of prosperity and of the bustling life of gold mining, and so do the conspicuous 'cultured' features

[23] There has been sustained criticism on the way the recent archaeological excavations were conducted, concentrated too much on the areas targeted by the mining project and aiming to facilitate their archaeological discharge. See Piso 2012, p. 50.

[24] See Bâlici, Apostol, Apostol 2007, pp. 18-20, 37-40; Niedermaier 2002; Pop 2002; Stroe *et alii* 2009; a selection of monuments in Documente de arhitectură I 2010 and Documente de arhitectură II 2012; a collection of now historic photographs of the town in Csiky 1900.

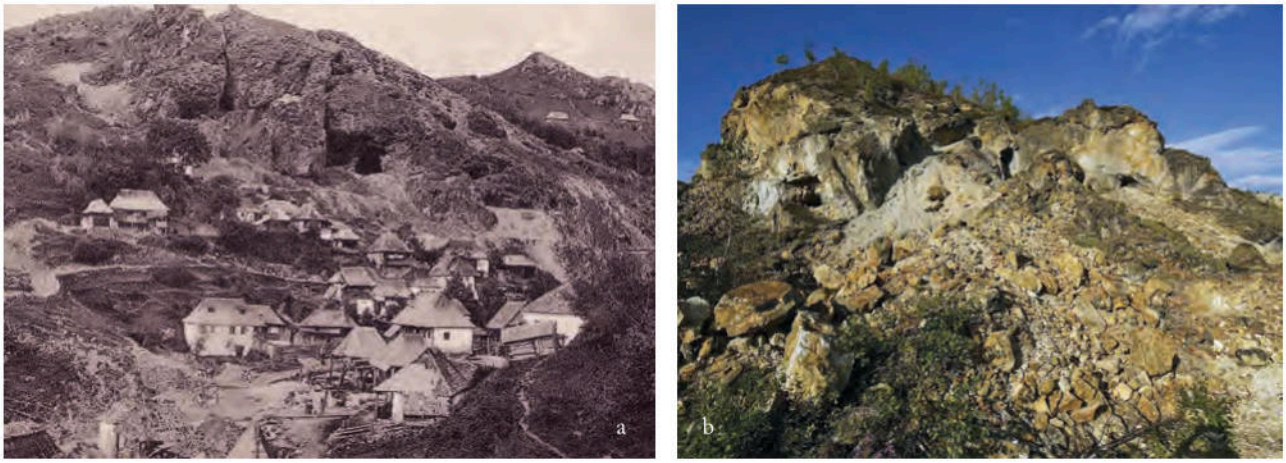


Fig. 10. Barren rock faces: a. Mt. Văidoaia; b. Mt. Cârnic (a. Csiky 1900; b. photo I. Rous, www.bergwerkpunk.com).

of the street façades of most houses in this area. Starting off from the Central Market Square, where the public activities were concentrated in an urban architectural ensemble with a strong representational character, the urban structure gradually dilutes into the mining-and-agro-pastoral suburbs which are represented by loose groups of households which combine common agricultural areas and annexes – barns and pens and gardens – with traditional mining processing installations and spaces or even mine adits opening in their backyards.

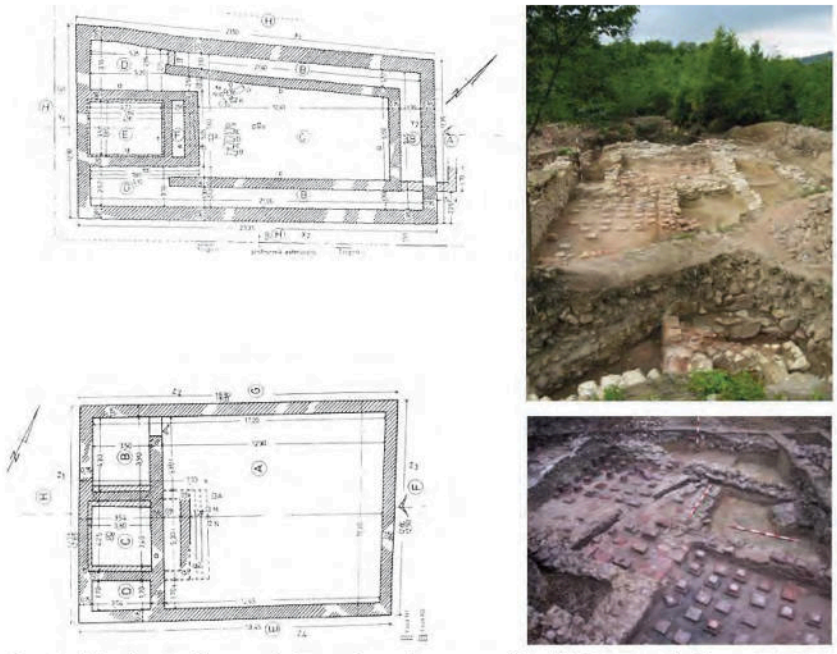


Fig. 11. Worship and civic edifices siding the main valley (C. Crăciun, A. Sion, *Edificiul de cult din punctul Drumuş (Edificiul T II)*, in Alburnus Maior I, pp. 255 *sqq.*, Figs. 4, 6; E. Bota, O. Ţentea, V. Voişan, *Edificiul public din punctul Tomuş (E 1)*, in Alburnus Maior I, p. 433 *sqq*, Fig. 17.)

The architectural heritage of the place, mostly 18th to mid 20th century, illustrates a synthesis of the persistent vernacular base and cultured trends from Transylvanian historic architecture. The architectural fabric is dominated by a typological background identified throughout the town, that of traditional structures made by a sequence of rooms connected by an exterior distribution space, the porch. Against this background stand out numerous architectural features borrowed from the Classical and Baroque repertoire (Fig. 14). To be found mostly in the area of the Central Market Square (Fig. 15), these influences appear primarily in the configuration of façades facing the public space. The five historic churches of the town, each of a different denomination, bear witness to the ethnic and cultural

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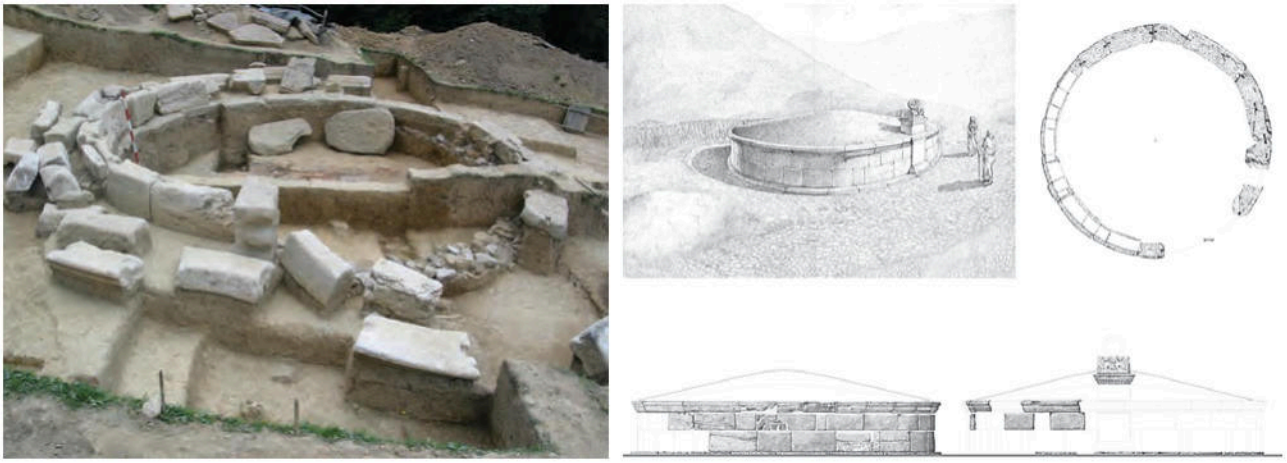


Fig. 12. The circular funerary monument: a. archaeological situation; b. theoretical reconstruction (a. photo V. Apostol; b. Apostol 2005).

diversity of the place (Fig. 16). All these features, interwoven, outline the unique character of a traditional mining village frozen in time at the starting point of the urbanisation process.[25]

The neighbouring village of Corna, which develops along the homonymic valley, and other villages spread on the slopes around Roșia Montană preserve a rich vernacular building stock, with many remarkable examples (Fig. 17). The two 18th century churches of Corna are among the most valuable historic edifices of the area.[26]



Fig. 13. General view of the upper part of the town.

The *natural surroundings* – more than mere setting – become an integral part of the site, a layer which is relevant for both natural and cultural attributes. The permanent coexistence of mining and agro-pastoral occupations, demonstrated by botanical, archaeological and associated research[27] and shown by the particular setup of households, has left its imprint on the natural landscape, either by the barren slopes and transformed morphology, in case of mining, or by the fragmented stretches of land, pastures, hayfields and small gardens divided or enclosed by simple fences, dry-stone walls and boundary planting, in the case of farming (Fig. 18).

Many of the grasslands around the town, with a remarkably high level of habitat diversity and complexity, fall under the incidence of protection measures,

[25] Dossier de soummission 2010, p. 2.

[26] The Greek-Catholic Church in Documente de arhitectură I 2010, pp.6-7, pl. 20-24; the Orthodox Church in Documente de arhitectură II 2012, p. 10, pl. 25-28.

[27] Palinologic and geo-chemical research at Cauuet *et alii* 2005. For botanical research see Ackeroyd 2012, p. 105: "The area well demonstrates historical interactions between mining, farming and forestry, and associated land use – it is effectively a relict Bronze Age landscape, set among scenery that is striking and of great beauty. The botanical interest and HNV landscape complement all this."



Fig. 14. Vernacular architecture in Roșia Montană: a. former club/casino on the Market Square; b. former Calvinist parish house (now close to collapse); c. former Hungarian school; d, e. traditional dwellings with features of the local rural-Baroque f. former Maternity Ward and miners' dwelling; g, h, i. houses with gradulay diluted urban influnce and a stronger local underlayer.

Fig. 15. Market Square, northern front: a. Historic photograph; b, c. Images from feature films shot on location in Roșia Montană; d. Reconstruction drawing (a. Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen 2002, b. Nicolae Mărgineanu, *Flăcări pe comori*, 1987; c. Mircea Veroiu, *Nunta de piatră. Fefeleaga*, 1971; d. drawing by C. Muşter).



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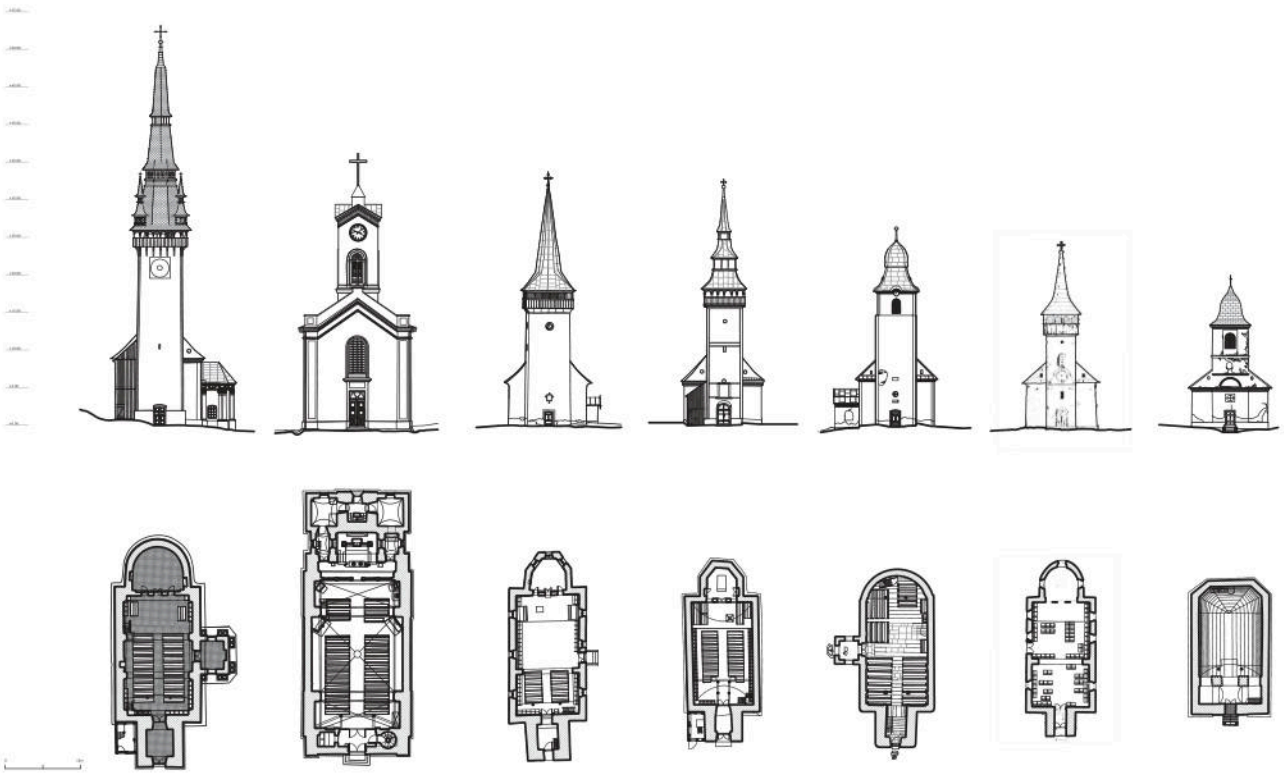


Fig. 16. Historic churches from Roșia Montană and Corna. Greek-Catholic, Roman-Catholic, Orthodox, Orthodox (Corna), Unitarian, Greek-Catholic (Corna), Calvinist, from left to right (after Documente de arhitectură 2010).

both at national and European level. Moreover, there are large areas of High Nature Value pastures and hay-meadows.[28] The woodlands are just as rich.

The fauna includes animal species in decline or even threatened in Europe, among which the wolf is a priority.[29] Recent research into the bat populations of the area has led to the discovery of previously unreported species in mine adits and in town and, moreover, has raised (again) interesting issues such as the biodiversity of the site and its ecological value, considering that the bats are good indicators of unpolluted environment. Hence the necessity for further, extensive research and protective measures.[30]

The geology of the site is of particular importance, too, due to its high mineral diversity – with a variety of ores such as gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc and rare elements, such as germanium, molybdenum, tellurium, tungsten – and scientific and educational relevance.[31]

Epigraphic pieces, pottery, metal or stoneware, numerous findings emerged by chance during the past two centuries in and around Roşia Montană or revealed during the archaeological excavation campaigns

[28] Up to 60% of the territory around the town. Akeroyd 2012, p. 8.
[29] Akeroyd, Jones 2006, p. 13.
[30] Murariu, Pop 2011, p. 538. The researchers conclude: "This large diversity of bat species may indicate a high diversity of the habitats, a relative good state of their conservation (excepting lotic ecosystems, knowing the heavy metal pollution of the tributaries of Roșia stream), and a large diversity of the floral and faunal species, this thing requiring the inclusion of this area in a coherent programme of biodiversity conservation."
[31] Mârza 2012, Sântimbrean 2012; Akeroyd 2012, p. 106.



Fig. 17. Vernacular architecture from the neighbouring villages: a, c. Houses in Ţarina b. Thatched barn in Ţarina; d. House in Corna (a. photo A.I. Mânecan, c. photo A.Ş. Bălan).

make the rich *movable archaeological heritage* of the site.[32] Of all items stand out the well-known Roman waxed tablets discovered in several points in the underground mining system of Roşia Montană during late 18th century – first half of 19th century and studied by many prominent scholars, among which Theodor Mommsen, who published them in a volume of his monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.[33] Dated between 131 and 167 AD, the texts, written with a *stilus* in the wax coat spread on the wooden tablets, record commercial and civil contracts and are considered as one of the major sources for the research of Roman law.[34]

Of the Roman epigraphic pieces or plain construction blocks, many have been discovered in secondary positions, embedded or even consciously exposed in the walls of several houses in the modern town, testifying for a significant local tradition of using Roman *spolia* in the construction of new buildings or the embellishment of existing ones,[35] and thus for a special, living relation with the remote history of the place, which goes beyond mere utilitarian considerations.

[32] See Alburnus Maior I, II, III/1; Wollmann 1996.
[33] CIL III - I, II.
[34] Russu 1975, pp. 165-256; Hoffmann 2002; Wollmann 2002; Piso 2012, p. 48.
[35] Bâlici, Apostol, Apostol 2007, pp. 45-46. Even if many of them have been removed and transported to the museums in the region, some of these pieces survive embedded in the walls or used as improvised stairs (ex. houses nos. 208, 342, 391, 409). A Roman marble block used as a step at the entrance of house no. 391 (unpublished), in a section of the house dating from 1933, is a certain example of re-reuse, attesting a practice which has survived up to the recent past.

Excerpt from ARA Reports 4, 2013.



Fig. 18. Agro-pastoral landscape (a. photo L. Niculae; b. photo P. Mortu).

A broader relation between the material evidence on site and universal history is revealed by several associations, such as that between surmised pre-Roman extraction points at Roșia Montană, the legendary gold wealth of the Dacians, and the history of the economic revival of Roman empire after Trajan's conquest of Dacia[36] or, later, between the gold mines of Western Carpathians (Munţii Apuseni), of which Roşia Montană has been a key point, and the economy of European gold commerce during the middle ages and further into the modern era.[37]

All these associations to local and universal history belong to a rich *intangible heritage* of the site, which also comprises the knowledge and practices of traditional mining – from the extraction of rock and down to its crushing in the water-powered stamping mills and the washing of the resulting powder, or the ancient practice with mythological aura of collecting gold dust from the rivers by means of sheep fleece, still used in the area until the first half of 20th century, all recorded in several cycles of photographs by one of the most important documentarists of the site and its surroundings, Bazil Roman.[38] The social structure of the traditional mining society, the particular culture, with strong urban features and at the same time imbued by particular beliefs and practices related to mining,[39] all these elements belong to the precious intangible heritage.

Finally, *a review of the heritage categories relevant in the case of Roşia Montană* indicates that there is almost no specific area of this field to remain uncovered by the multiple and interrelated features of the site: the *mining-archaeological heritage*, represented by the underground extraction system; the surface *archaeological heritage*, with the vestiges of the living areas and extensive necropoleis; the *technical mining heritage*, with elements such as the Roman dewatering systems or the more recent stamping mills; the *early industrial heritage*, comprising the mid-19th century processing plant at Gura Roşiei and other buildings and structures; the *railway heritage*, with the narrow gauge industrial railway which connected Sf. Cruce (Holy Cross) magistral gallery with the processing plant or the narrow gauge passenger railway Turda – Abrud; the *architectural heritage*, with the remarkable Roman vestiges or the modern and contemporary buildings in the present day town; the *urban heritage*, represented by the urban structure of the town, dependent both on natural relief and position and the distribution of mines and processing installations, with strong rural features; the *vernacular heritage*, with numerous rural structures, houses and farmsteads, with particular mining features, such as the special spaces spared in the basement of many houses for wintertime mining activities (washing crushed ore)

[36] Piso 2010, Piso 2012, p. 47.
[37] Piso 2012, p. 49: "Between the end of the Crusades in 13th century and the discovery of America, Europe's main source of gold lay in the Western Carpathians."
[38] Roman, Sîntimbrean, Wollmann 1982, Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen 2001; Sîntimbrean, Bedelean, Bedelean 2008.
[39] Studiu etnologic 2004. Rișcuța 2007.

and important urban influences; the *funerary heritage*, with many Roman necropoleis, but also with significant 18th to 20th century monuments[40] in the cemeteries around Roşia Montană and Corna or directly in the backyards of remote homesteads; the *natural heritage*, with the relief features, the rich geological substrate and the particular fauna and flora; the *landscape* of the site, with the specific morphology of the relief, the wide scenic views opening from the higher grounds and the directional perspectives of the valleys, or the specific character of the mining town;[41] the *literary and cinematographic landscape*, comprising those generic places and qualities (*e.g.* mountain tops, barren rocky slopes, mine adits) and particular points (*e.g.* Tăul Mare – The Grand Reservoir, Marketplace Square, specific houses) which are featured in important literary or cinematographic works, such as the short stories and novels of Ion Agârbiceanu, a significant figure of the Romanian realist novel (e.g. *Fefeleaga*, *La o nuntă*, *Arhanghelii*, 1914), or the accounts of Geo Bogza, a pioneer of literary reportage (e.g. *Ţara de piatră*, 1939), both authors touching on the striking features of the site, especially of the underground world of mining, and on the difficult lives of the miners; the works of other writers, like Ovidiu Bârlea and Maria Botiş Ciobanu (descendant of one of Roşia Montană's most important families) bring up other significant aspects of the immaterial heritage, the beliefs and practices of everyday life;[42] the feature films of renowned screenwriters and directors Dan Piţa (*Nunta de piatră - La o nuntă*, 1971; *Duhul aurului - Lada*, 1974), Mircea Veroiu (*Nunta de piatră - Fefeleaga*, 1971; *Duhul aurului - Mîrza*, 1974), Nicolae Mărgineanu (*Flăcări pe Comori*, 1987) or the more recent, much appreciated documentary by Hungarian director Tibor Kocsis (*New Eldorado*, 2004) are also connected with features, fragments of landscapes, scenes and places of Roşia Montană; the *social landscape*, with the particular structure of the community, to a certain extent mono-occupational and multi-ethnic, with most of the people involved in mining, even women and children, especially in the central part of the town and with the ethnic structure related to more general local traits of Transylvania (the Romanian and Hungarian populations) and specific conditions of the site (immigrants and colonists attracted by gold mining); the *intangible heritage*, reuniting many of the previously mentioned and adding other cultural and spiritual elements, like legends, beliefs, practices, both of traditional mining and of traditional life or those of building; the *movable heritage*, with the wax tablets and numerous archaeological artefacts and findings, such as the Roman monoxile ladders,[43] the recent mining gear (tools, lamps, helmets) or the artwork in the churches and other buildings; the *associative heritage*, comprising places and areas which bear significant associations with people, events, historic developments or beliefs, such as the mining galleries and the wax tablets, or elsewhere the Greek-Catholic church and cemetery, where Simion Balint, an important figure of local and national history served as a parish priest and was buried; the *scientific heritage*, with the rich geological features to be found in the underground mining systems and even at the surface, or the many features pertaining to other disciplines relevant for the site, such as the rare or endangered plant and animal species or the Dacian toponymy and Roman epigraphy.[44]

Roşia Montană mining landscape: The most appropriate instrument to bring together all these features, categories and values is the *cultural landscape*, which can grasp not only the entire stratification and breadth of the place, but its multiple connections too. As defined in the World Heritage Convention and

[40] Slotta, Wollmann 2002.

[41] All these landscape aspects are best caught in a quote of film directors Dan Piţa and Mircea Veroiu: "When setting foot in Roşia Montană, you first walk about 7 km on a road bordered by houses. In the middle, a river is gently flowing by. In fact, all the houses in Roşia Montană are somehow connected by rivers and creeks, like in a big web. Then you reach a kind of square with two churches. Here is the industrial village. No matter who you ask, they would all answer that this is Roşia Montană. But walk another 400 meters and you step into a different world. You enter a fascinating small town with all its houses arranged on slopes, having cosy little inner yards paved with cobblestones and surrounded all over by rocky mountains. No thread of grass grows here. A genuine Rock Country. Each house here has a past. Each stone, each door handle has a story to tell. Even colours seem special, ranging from that pale brick-red to white on white… [our translation]" (Dan Piţa, Mircea Veroiu, *Ţara de Piatră*, Cinema 8, 1978).

[42] Ovidiu Bârlea, *Şteampuri fără apă*, Bucureşti, 1979; Maria Botiş Ciobanu, *Ţara Moţilor: legende şi credinţe*, Arad, 1928.

[43] See Cauuet 2008, p. 71.

[44] Piso 2010; Piso 2012, p. 47.

Excerpt from ARA Reports 4, 2013.

its Operational Guidelines, cultural landscapes represent "combined works of nature and of man" which are "illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal."[45]

Roşia Montană is a landscape of high visual quality, preserving in a consistent and relevant form the traces of its evolution as a mining centre since pre-Roman antiquity up to recent past (Fig. 20).[46] Its vast underground mines, transport and processing networks, water management systems, ancillary structures, settlements, farms, pastures and grasslands together reflect an exceptionally long history of extensive traditional, small-scale mining set into an agro-pastoral environment. The substantial remains and intangible features are testimony, in an inter-related and legible way, to the scope and success of traditional pre-industrial mining in this area.

The value of many heritage components is recognized by their listing as "historic monuments",[47] as well as by their designation as "historic monuments of outstanding national value". The entire municipality is recognized as "territorial-administrative unit with very high concentration of cultural heritage values".[48] The area also includes two listed "nature monuments" – Piatra Corbului (Raven's Rock) and Piatra Despicată (Split Rock).[49] According to applicable Romanian law, the protection and enhancement of these recognised values represent works of *public utility* and *national interest*.[50]

The relation that produced this outstanding mining landscape was forced to a halt in 1948, with the communist nationalization of all production means.[51] The start of open-cast mining in Mt. Cetate in 1970 brought further – though localised – damage, leading to the destruction of the upper part of this mountain,[52] later extended to a fraction of Mt. Cârnic and fortunately arrested with the closing of the state mine in 2006. What is left behind the latest episode of state mining is a picture of abuse, social, environmental, cultural and even economic.

Now the cultural landscape is threatened by irreversible change if open-cast mining exploitation starts again, leading inevitably to the destruction of cultural heritage, the real resource for a sustainable development of the area.

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The mining 'deal': The open-cast mining plan entails the opening of four quarries overlapped on the main mountain massifs which flank the valley, two at the north, Orlea and Jig-Văidoaia, two at the south, Cetate and Cârnic. This equals to the destruction of the largest part of the underground mining systems and of a large part of their surface complementary elements. It also requires the demolition of much of the mining town, the erasure of most of the other elements which make up the mining landscape and a total change of geo-morphological conditions. Only the historic centre is spared direct demolition, remaining however caught between four main quarries and other features of the mining project, disconnected from its immediate surroundings and from the neighbouring settlements.[53]

[45] UNESCO 1972, art. 1, UNESCO WHC 2011, paragraph 47.
[46] More on the definition of the cultural landscape of Roșia Montană at Apostol, Bâlici 2012, pp.30-32.
[47] There are 51 listed historic monuments at Roșia Montană, protected under the provisions of the Law for the protection of historic monuments (L. 422-2001). For a brief picture see Apostol, Bâlici 2012, p. 33. More in Bâlici, Apostol, Apostol 2007, pp. 24-31.
[48] Under the provisions of the Law on the approval of the National Territorial Plan, Section 3 – Protected Areas (L. 5-2000). See Apostol, Bâlici 2012, p. 33.
[49] L. 5-2000, art. 4, Annex 1.
[50] L. 5-2000, art. 3.
[51] The nationalization of June 11th, 1948, by which all the wealth of the soil and subsoil, as well as all private enterprises and businesses were seized by the state caused serious disruptions in all levels of the society, with strong effects on the built heritage, mining landscapes included.
[52] Steclaci 2011.
[53] On the potential effect of the mining project on the area of the historic centre, but also on the entire town, see Bâlici, Apostol, Apostol 2007, Chapter 6.1, pp. 31, 32 and Raportul Comisiei Prezidențiale 2009, pp. 90-91, 183-189 [pp. 29, 60-61 in the on-line edition].



Fig. 19. General view of the landscape, from the heighest area in the east (Mt. Süley), looking west, down along the Roşia valley (photo: P. Mortu, 2007).

The 'remedial' solutions offered by the mining company in exchange for this massive destruction of heritage are building of replicas ("facsimiles")[54] of certain tracts of the underground network (of Mt. Cârnic), conservation and opening to the public of one tract (Cătălina-Monuleşti gallery), restoration of all the previously vacated houses in the historic centre, building of tourism infrastructure and, lastly, a considerable financial contribution to Romania's fund for the restoration of historic monuments.[55]

If approved, the mining project would lead to the total and irreversible destruction of the largest part of the site, starting with the mountains themselves, which hold the valuable gold ore, but also the unique, invaluable Roman and later mining systems.

Meanwhile, until a decision on the mining project is reached at the state level, there are already significant negative consequences to be identified on the site, regarding the cultural heritage. Despite the fact that the mining project has not received as of now, after 16 years of attempts, any legal approval or permit, the company has already acquired some 80% of real estate in the area of the project and proceeded to extensive demolition. Thus, more than 130 houses out of 550 in the town of Roșia Montană and many others in the neighbouring villages have been demolished during the past years.[56] Many more have been abandoned to self-destruction (Fig. 22), with late and limited temporary protection measures adopted by the company after reactions against this treatment emerged.[57]

The acquiring of properties by the mining company caused a massive depopulation of the town and neighbouring villages, with severe consequences in the social structure and, consequently, in the heritage fabric. A living heritage is brought to a halt and put in a crisis situation.

The restoration works announced by the mining company have been completed on a few houses and one public building. In this case the result was the total demolition of one of its wings and its reconstruction in concrete blocks with reinforced concrete structure, and massive consolidation with reinforced concrete lining at the remaining walls in the wing facing the square.[58] Altogether, this intervention falls in the category of destruction through fallacious restoration. Two more buildings, among the most important historic public

[54] The international practice of utilizing replicas in conservation is aimed at better preserving the orginal, and not at replacing it.

[55] The transaction has been announced by the Minister for Culture and National Heritage, Mr. Kelemen Hunor, on the same day when the ministry's county office released a new archaeological discharge certificate for Mt. Cârnic (see *infra* "The heritage scenario" and n. 60). The Minister called the agreement with the mining company a victory in the fight to save the heritage of Roşia Montană (sic!).

[56] Apostol, Bâlici 2008a. Estimate of number of houses demolished based on the official registry of construction works permits, kept by the Municipality of Roșia Montană and on the constant, direct survey of the site, as of summer 2012.

[57] Condemnation of this practice at *ibidem* and Bâlici 2010.

[58] Bâlici 2010.

Excerpt from ARA Reports 4, 2013.

edifices of Roșia Montană, the former Administrative Palace and the Old School, both built in the later part of 19th century, seem to follow in the same direction. They belong to the municipality and their concession has been granted to the mining company, which is preparing to convert them into the first hotels of the site. Construction works started last summer by the complete evisceration of the structures and installing of reinforced concrete slabs. More destruction is likely to follow.

This case, of the public buildings being granted to the mining company for an alleged restoration, actually reveals itself as (just another) case of *captatio benevolentiae*, or plain propaganda in response to the charges of destruction of cultural heritage raised against the company. It seems that the response is intended to be purely visual: it is supposed to *show* a restored building, in a convincing manner, at least for the untrained eye. And to put a figure to this image, presented as investment in cultural heritage.

In what concerns the underground mining heritage, the company is preparing a tract of a Roman gallery, Cătălina Monulești, to be opened to the public. In exchange, the largest part of these outstanding features and many unexplored, uncharted areas would disappear, blown up and turned into dust.

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The heritage way: Considering the variety and extension of heritage resources and their importance on national and international level, the heritage scenario – entailing the protection, enhancement and use of heritage for the public benefit – has attracted strong international and national professional and public support, with positions such as that of the over 1000 European researchers and institutions in the field of archaeology, history and classical studies,[59] that of ICOMOS, expressed through repeated resolutions and letters addressed to Romanian authorities[60] or those of Europa Nostra,[61] the International Union of Architects, the Architects' Council of Europe,[62] the Romanian Academy,[63] the national organisations of architects, numerous organisations of the civil society and many individuals.[64] Even if not specifically addressing the issue of heritage, and especially that of material heritage, the position of the historic Churches of Transylvania against the destruction of the site is highly relevant in terms of spiritual and intangible heritage.[65]

The most comprehensive analysis of the state of cultural heritage in today's Romania, undertaken by the Presidential Commission for the Built Heritage and the Historic and Natural Sites refers consistently to Roșia Montană, stating that "*The partial or total destruction of Roșia Montană would mean the most serious*

[59] One of the earliest initiatives, dating from 2003, that of professors Alföldy Géza and Ioan Piso, with the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, the Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica or the European Association of Archaeologists among the 1038 signatories [http://www.rosiamontana.ro/doc_ro.shtml?x=1854, retrieved January 2012].

[60] Starting with 2002, every General Assembly of the organisation brought a new resolution on Roșia Montană. The most recent was adopted in December 2011 in Paris, at the 17th General Assembly and was followed by a personal letter addressed by the president of ICOMOS, Mr. Gustavo Araoz, to Romania's Minister for Culture and National Heritage, Mr. Kelemen Hunor. [http://www.icomos.ro/pdf/LETTER_Kelemen_Hunor_20111206.pdf, retrieved February 2012]. In reply, Minister Kelemen declined any interest or responsibility in the issue, refusing ICOMOS' offer of expert support and declaring he would gladly refer any report by ICOMOS "to the competent authorities" [http://www.icomos.ro/pdf/scrisoare-Ministru.pdf, retrieved February 2012]. The three ministers who have succeeded him since did not act differently.

[61] Europa Nostra has been constantly monitoring the case of Roșia Montană, adding it on its Heritage in Danger list and urging the Romanian authorities to save this precious heritage, with the most recent appeal in July 2012 [http://www.europanostra.org/UPLOADS/FILS/20120717-Letter-Romanian-PM.pdf, retrieved December 2012].

[62] The joint resolution of June 28th 2006, of UIA – The International Union of Architects, ACE – The Architects' Council of Europe, OAR – The Romanian Chamber of Architects, UAR – The Romanian Union of Architects and the "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism, Bucharest, followed by the resolution of UIA, adopted on July 4th 2008 at its 23rd World Congress in Turin [http://www.simpara.ro/GB/Comunicat-UIA-2008-196.htm, retrieved December 2012].

[63] The most recent positions adopted on July 27th and October 28th 2011 [http://www.acad.ro/forumuri/pag_forum_RosiaMontana.htm, retrieved December 2012].

[64] The most recent call for support for Roșia Montană, and specifically for its cultural heritage, running from November to December 2011, mainly in Bucharest, raised more than 150,000 signatures.

[65] Joint position statement of the Roman Catholic, Unitarian and Calvinist churches, adopted on October 24th 2002 and restated on July 21st 2003 [http://www.rosiamontana.ro/doc_ro.shtml?x=1825, retrieved December 2011] and statement of the Orthodox Church, adopted on November 12th 2003 [http://www.rosiamontana.ro/doc_ro.shtml?x=1830, retrieved December 2011].



Fig. 20 . Historic houses demolished or abandoned to self-destruction in the Sosași neighbourhood, adjacent to the historic centre, in the proximity of the Market Square and elsewhere within the historic town. The blue plate on the house in the lower right corner reads: Property of the Roșia Montană Gold Corporation.

amputation of the Romanian historic environment, the destruction of a unique cultural landscape of universal value" and concluding that "*The Roșia Montană case exemplifies to the highest degree the possibility to affect the national security through the destruction of under- and above-ground heritage in the name of an economic investment abusively presented as the only solution for sustainable development*" [my translation].[66]

The organisation of inhabitants defending their land and culture – named "Alburnus Maior", like the Roman settlement – has fought in justice for the protection of cultural heritage and against the misjudgements and illegal decisions of the public authorities. Among their legal actions in this field the most prominent remains that against the archaeological discharge of Mt. Cârnic issued in 2004. The case was won irrevocably in 2008, with a ground-breaking decision which recognises the value of the underground heritage of that

[66] M. Mărgineanu Cârstoiu , *Starea patrimoniului construit și a siturilor istorice – 1. Monumentele istorice*, and *3. Monumentele arheologice*, in Raportul Comisiei Prezidențiale 2009, pp. 91 and 186-187 [pp. 29 and 60-61 in the on-line edition].

Excerpt from ARA Reports 4, 2013.

particular mountain and the inappropriateness of its destruction.[67] Meanwhile, in 2011 the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage, through its county office, has issued a new discharge certificate for the same area, which is being contested in justice.

Over the years the advocates of heritage and the residents did offer solutions for the dead-lock situation starting from the simple, personal ones – mutual support and collaboration; volunteer involvement in providing information or guided tours in the area; attempts to establish small independent tourist accommodations – to more complex and structured ones, such as the publishing of the first tourist guide of the site,[68] based on scientific information complemented by personal, engaged knowledge of the place. A call for projects to identify and promote development solutions alternative to mining organised by the Soros Foundation a few years ago has produced two complex, articulate strategies[69] which rely on the wealth of cultural and natural resources to attain long term, sustainable development.

The most visible and successful event organized by the supporters of Roșia Montană is the yearly festival FânFest, which takes place in late summer, in full hay season (*fân* means hay), bringing together people from across the country and the world to learn about Roșia Montană and the universal significance of not only its heritage, but of its problems and struggles, too. Thus, the festival, initiated in 2004 as a musical protest, grew into a complex informal cultural and social event, with documentary film screenings, poetry readings and theatre performances, seminars and discussions, workshops and courses, conferences, theme tours in the town and around, and of course, music. Since 2010 the festival is placed under the motto "Roșia Montană in UNESCO World Heritage", mobilizing the energies in the particular direction of promoting the development of the place starting from its natural and cultural resources, as a viable form of sustainable development.

The cultural heritage of Roșia Montană has been the focus of successive actions of the Association "Architecture. Restoration. Archaeology" (ARA) for the past six years. The aim of these actions is to help preserve the architectural heritage of the site both by research and documentation, and by actual conservation work, with the involvement of local community, provoking as wide an impact with the general and professional public as possible, at national and international level. Briefly the actions are: *Research and documentation* of vernacular architecture by measured drawings and condition surveys,[70] with students in architecture; *conservation plans* prepared for a number of previously surveyed buildings, with students in architecture; *field schools*, with students in architecture and guest speakers and tutors among the best experts in the country and invited professionals from abroad, with involvement of local and guest craftsmen;[71] *practical conservation works*,emergency interventions at the Calvinist and the Unitarian parish houses, systematic conservation works (under completion) at the Unitarian parish house, formerly abandoned, to be used as Parish Office and Centre for Studies in Vernacular Architecture, and works at several further buildings; *public presentation of the conservation site* of the Unitarian parish house; *public lectures* on the cultural heritage of Roșia Montană, with particular application to the built heritage; *scientific papers* on the built heritage of Roșia Montană; *engaging with the professional milieu*, by means of direct consultations and permanent communication, resulting in

[67] "*Subsolul zonei prezintă un interes arheologic deosebit, fiind unul dintre cele mai mari centre miniere antice ale lumii romane descoperite*" [The subsoil of the area presents a particular archaeological interest, being one of the largest ancient mining centres of the Roman world discovered so far] and "*Instanța de fond a reținut că exploatarea unei părți din Masivul Cârnic este incompatibilă cu obligația protejării galeriilor miniere romane descoperite în zonă*" [The trial court retained that the exploitation of a part of Mt. Cârnic is incompatible with the obligation to protect the Roman galleries discovered in the area] (my translations), a judgement validated by the high court. Înalta Curte de Casație și Justiție, Secția de Contencios Administrativ și Fiscal, Decizia nr. 4607 din 9 decembrie 2008 [High Court of Cassation and Justice, Administrative and Fiscal Litigation Section, Sentence no. 4607 from December 9th 2008], p. 26.

[68] Roșia Montană. Cultural tourist guidebook, Cluj-Napoca 2011, published by the local Fundația Culturală Roșia Montană [Roșia Montană Cultural Foundation]. The initiative has been followed hastily by the mining company, which published its own guide, presenting the mining scenario in the form of a tourist story.

[69] The projects were submitted by two organisations, Cultours and Terra Mileniul III. More information here: http://www.soros.ro/en/program_articol.php?articol=70, retrieved December 2012.

[70] Documente de arhitectură I 2010, Documente de arhitectură II 2012.

[71] See the article dedicated to these actions further in this volume, pp. 271-278.

public letters and official position statements or resolutions in favour of saving the cultural heritage of Roșia Montană, such as those of the Romanian Academy, the Romanian Chamber of Architects, the Romanian Union of Architects, Europa Nostra, ICOMOS Romania or the most recent ICOMOS GA resolution.

Potentially the most influential initiative of ARA was to demand the *inscription of Roșia Montană on Romania's Tentative List for the World Heritage*[72] and to prepare and submit the required file to the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage for consideration. Gaining support from the general public and professionals, the request was unanimously adopted in January 2011 by the National Commission for Historic Monuments, advisory body to the Ministry for Culture and National Heritage. The file, submitted to the Ministry in 2009 and again in 2010, and has been under evaluation ever since.

The aim of this action is not, however, limited to the inscription on the list, as prestigious as it is, but it is maybe even more that of provoking and getting access to national and international cooperation and support in dealing with this heritage and of stimulating associated actions and economic growth. Needless to say, the aim is also to place the site under the highest form of international protection.[73]

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Conclusions: The picture which has been articulated over the last decade shows a cultural landscape of outstanding value – the Roșia Montană mining landscape –, a large-scale opencast industrial mining project and a series of small-scale, community-based or community-linked actions aimed at saving and activating this landscape in the general public benefit, all these topographically overlapped.

Consequently, the choice to be made appears to be this: the mining project – a large-scale, short-term intensive process harvesting the mineral resources and annihilating the natural and cultural resources of the place (by direct and irreversible destruction, for the largest part of the site, or by indirect effects, such as depopulation, disuse, decontextualisation, long-term exposure to vibration, shocks and pollution for the area of the historic centre, not included in the mining plan), with comparably small to insignificant public benefits – or the cultural heritage scenario – a range of long term, potentially permanent, small- and medium-scale activities which are sustained by the (re)activation of local natural and cultural resources in the benefit of the community and of the public.

From the perspective of the cultural heritage there is only one answer: conservation, and there is no acceptable middle way, since each element of the mining project would destroy and replace one sequence of the cultural landscape. Each quarry would consume a mountain which contains invaluable vestiges of past mining; the tailings pond would drown in mud an entire village – Corna – with its historic fabric, houses, churches, cemeteries, memories, history; waste piles would bury historic reservoirs, roads would cut through Roman necropoleis, and so on. But this perspective is not – and should not be – just that of the cultural heritage, since it touches on all aspects of human life in the area. Perhaps it is appropriate to remember a saying of the Native Americans, which has become almost a motto of the sustainability movement: "We do not inherit the Earth from our Ancestors, we borrow it from our Children."

[72] Dossier de soumission 2010. See also Bâlici, Apostol 2006, Apostol, Bâlici 2008b, Apostol, Bâlici 2012. World Heritage listing was first demanded officially by OAR, on February 22nd 2007, not followed by any concrete action. The request was opposed by the local authorities, placed under the 'aura' of the mining company. Thus, the Mayor of Roşia Montană chose to refuse and even oppose the potential inscription in the World Heritage List, as impending to the mining project.

[73] Protection is actually the primary aim of the Convention, popularly known as *The World Heritage Convention*, but actually named *The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. See UNESCO 1972. Following the same logic, of protection, one needs to remember a very important document agreed upon by UNESCO and ICMM (International Council on Mines and Metals) in 2003, defining world heritage sites as no-go zones for mining, thus placing them under a form of protection from mineral resource development. This pledge is a *de facto* recognition by both sides of the incompatibility of mining and heritage protection (see ICMM 2003).

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