



People. Places. Potential.

16. The Citadel

(Alba Iulia, Romania)



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1 Introduction

This paper presents the redevelopment project of the Citadel in Alba Iulia, Romania. The 110-hectare territory of the Citadel is defined by an 18th-century star-shaped fortification. However, the complex resulted from construction and landscaping activities of almost two thousand years. Starting from around 2000, the territory and the buildings were gradually handed over to the city municipality by the previous occupant, the Ministry of National Defense. Since 2008, the municipality has raised more than 60 million euros for the economic, social, and cultural redevelopment of the Citadel. The project is a part of the municipality's strategy to turn Alba Iulia into a city that is attractive for tourists, investors, and residents.



Figure 1 Aerial view of the Citadel in Alba Iulia, and Alba Iulia within Romania. Source: Wikimedia Commons, © Kiki Vasilescu

Note: This paper contains references to an external document (Appendix 2) with the full list of the building in the Citadel in Alba Iulia. It refers to specific buildings as "App. 2, No. ...".

2 Timeline

- 1715–1738 – Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban erected the Citadel over the remains of the ancient Roman military fort Apulum and the medieval and early modern town.
- 1945–1989 – the territory of the Citadel is used by the army of Communist Romania and for official ceremonies; limited access to public; the historical building stock is neglected.
- 2000 – most of the fort is handed over to the Alba Iulia Municipality; beginning of the revitalization project
- 2007 – Romania joins the European Union, access to the Regional Operational Program 2007–2013, the beginning of large-scale renovations and developments
- 2008–2011 – restoration works in the area of the gates of the Citadel.

- 2009–2011 – rehabilitation of the eastern, southern, and northern side in the Vauban-type fortification.
- 2010–2013 – rebuilding the western access route to the fortification.
- 2010–2015 – rehabilitation of the inner area of the Citadel.
- 2011–2012 – establishment of the “Route of the Three Fortifications” in the southeastern section of the Citadel
- 2014–2015 – creation of the Principia Museum and the Lapidary.
- 2014–2015 – the establishment of a National Touristic Information and Promotion Center in the western part of the fortification.
- 2016–2020 – the renovation of the Palace of the Princes starts, financed from the Regional Operational Program 2014–2020.

3 The story

Though the Citadel forms the center of the city in terms of its spatial development and topography, most of it was inaccessible for the public before the Romanian revolution in 1989. The former Communist leadership focused on developing the surrounding districts into modern housing estates. With a few exceptions, the historical building stock within the Citadel was neglected, left decaying, and several buildings were used by the military forces.

The situation was changed by the emergence of modern democratic Romania, though the revitalization was a longer process. The building stock previously handled by the Ministry of Defense was transferred to the City Hall, the most important parts at the very beginning of 2000. The city management draw up a plan for the revitalization of the Citadel and aimed to attract funding from various national and international funds. A team was created under the leadership of Nicolae Moldovan, who was appointed as City Manager responsible for coordinating fundraising activities, the city’s international relations, European affairs, as well as the relationship with civil society and businesses, including tourism. As he recalls:

Up to 15 years ago, most of the fortress was a forbidden place for those who live in Alba Iulia. After the mayor, Mr. Mircea Hava was able to convince the Ministry of Defense to transfer the property to the city, we started to make plans to change it, to turn it into a vivid and attractive place for those living in Alba Iulia and for the tourists, for those coming here to learn, to invest, and to have some quality time (Moldovan 2019).

In 2007, Romania joined the European Union. Between 2007 and 2014, the municipality of Alba Iulia was able to attract 60 million euros within the Regional Operational Programme 2007–2013 funded by the European Regional Development Fund for the restoration and revitalization of the Citadel (“Project Stories,” Alba Iulia). The program was mostly focused on infrastructure development: establishing a new sewage system, public lighting, pedestrian areas, parking lots, urban furniture, touristic signage, public squares, green areas. Statues, monuments, decorative architecture were placed in the public areas of the Citadel. The gates and the walls of the 18th-century fortress were restored; the western part previously covered by a park was re-opened. The entrenchments between the two ranges of the fortification were organized into a green zone and opened for the public.

The major part of construction works was finished by the end of 2014 – beginning of 2015, but some are still in progress, such as the renovation of the Palace of the Princes (App. 2, No. 10). Parallel with the large-scale project run by the municipality, other property owners in the Citadel also proceeded with the renovation of their own buildings: the Roman Catholic Bishopric (App. 2, No. 11-12), the Romanian Orthodox Church (App. 2, No. 15), the Council of Alba County (App. 2, No. 2), and the University 1 December 1918 (App. 2, No. 21, 22, 25, 51).



Figure 2 Park between the two walls of the fortification. Photo: Volodymyr Kulikov, 2019

The municipality had a double aim: to give the Citadel back to the inhabitants of Alba Iulia, and, at the same time, to develop it into a touristic destination, thus contributing to the economic and social development of the city – all these in partnership with the organizations owning or using properties within the Citadel. To achieve these goals, the city leadership also started to develop a branding strategy in 2010.

4 Context

4.1 Demographic context

The population of Alba Iulia in 2018 numbered 66,369 inhabitants, which makes it the 33rd largest city among the 320 cities of Romania. Its population has been increasing for the last 15 years, while the national trend is population decrease (Moldovan 2017, 7; Maican, Muntean, and Pastu 2018, 16).

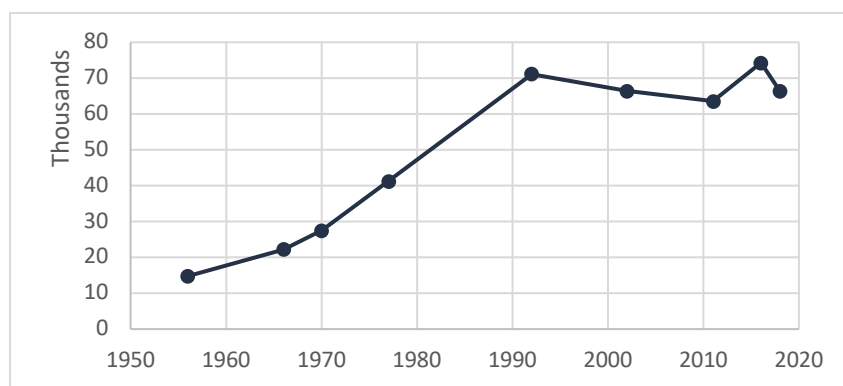


Figure 3 Population in Alba Iulia

According to the census in 2011, the population of Alba Iulia consists of 87% Romanians, 2% Hungarians, 2% Roma, 9% undeclared, and other nationalities. Two third of Alba Iulia’s residents have at least high-school education: 28% have higher education, 5% post-secondary and masters, 30% high-school, and 14% professional and apprentices. In 2017, Alba Iulia had 7 tertiary education institutions, 4,953 enrolled students, and 156 teaching staff (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 232-235). Compared with other Transylvanian urban centers, Alba Iulia has a relatively large share of the population with tertiary education, being surpassed only by Cluj-Napoca, the second university center in Romania (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 130).

In 2016 nearly 47% of Alba Iulia’s population was economically active (compared to the national average of 45,6%), 22% were retired, and 7% officially unemployed (Moldovan 2017, 8). Half of the population is involved in economic activities, out of which 95% are employees, the rest are entrepreneurs, self-employed or unpaid family workers. Overall, the active population, including both employed and unemployed persons, reached 32.242 people, representing 51 percent of the total stable population (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 125). As Table 1 demonstrates, most of the residents work in the tertiary sector.

Table 1 Percent of employed people in the sector from Alba Iulia (2011 Census)

Extraction, processing industry, and energy	24%
Retails and repairs	16%
Public administration, administrative and support services	13%
Constructions	9%
Health and social services	6%
Education, culture, and recreation	7%
Transport and logistics	5%
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	4%
Professional, scientific and technical services	3%
Other services	12%

4.2 Economic background

Alba County is an average Romanian county from the point of GDP per capita and level of entrepreneurship development (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 122-123). Alba Iulia benefits from a local business class: small and medium-sized

enterprises are the basis of both the city's and the county's economy. Most of the employers are micro and small enterprises employing up to 50 workers. The tertiary sector is currently driving the business environment of the city, with a share of around 75% of the total number of companies (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 124). Among the most important manufacturing enterprises are Apulum porcelain factory (a local supplier of IKEA), VCST Automotive Production ALBA specialized in metal processing, as well as several mid-sized textiles, wood, and food processing factories (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 135). The tourism industry is an essential contribution to the economic development of the city. Besides its importance as a significant employer and contribution to the city's budget, the tourism industry creates demand and growth for many other industries.

Alba Iulia Municipality could obtain more than 150 million euros of European and other non-reimbursable funds since 2007. The city has the highest rate among the Romanian cities of absorption such funds per capita. The funds were attracted from European operative programs, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Kingdom of Norway, funds from the Romanian government, and other sources ("Start Up Information, Alba Iulia"). However, the leadership of Alba Iulia wants to attract more financial and human capital to the city. They compete in this respect with the other Transylvanian cities with relatively developed business and hospitality infrastructures, such as Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu, Arad, Braşov, and Timişoara. Alba Iulia tries to define and exploit its competitive advantage. Among the main challenges is the lack of qualified labor force (due to "brain drain") and of a fair quality of educational services, the socially and poor urban areas, and the underdeveloped mobility infrastructure (Moldovan 2017, 139-140; *Project Prioritization 2014-2020*).

4.3 Cultural and hospitality infrastructure

The main cultural infrastructure includes (in 2016): a cultural center, two culture houses, an institution of shows and concerts, two cinemas, 28 libraries, three history museums, six local television channels, one newspaper, and six online local newspapers, three local radio channels (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 239-246).

As of early October 2019, Alba Iulia offered to its visitors accommodation in 17 hotels, including four four-star hotels (booking.com). Airbnb service offers 145 places to stay (airbnb.com). Alba Iulia used to have an image of a small city where there is nothing to see, and tourists spent there on average one night. Since the beginning of the redevelopment project of the Citadel, which is in the focus of tourism development strategy of the city, the average of the nights spent increased to almost three (Maican, Muntean, and Paştiu 2018, 25). According to some estimations, the foreign tourists come mostly from Poland, the Republic of Moldavia, Italy, Germany, and Hungary (Maican, Muntean, and Paştiu 2018, 26). A study conducted at the end of 2013 on the tourists' profile who chose Alba county as a destination demonstrated that more than half of the tourists were searching for a place for resting, recreation, and relaxation. Tourists who practice mountaineering, rural tourism and agritourism also have a significant share, as well as those with other forms of tourism such as visiting relatives and friends, religious tourism and pilgrimage (Muntean and Moisă 2014, 235).

5 The Alba Iulia Citadel

5.1 2000 years of reuse

The Citadel in Alba Iulia is the main attraction as well as the spatial center of the modern city. Today it is a district that is surrounded by the 18th-century fortification walls, but the story goes way back in time.

The Ancient Roman Apulum

The first urban settlement here was the ancient Roman Apulum, founded in AD 106. The fort of the Legion XIII Gemina was built on the plateau bordered by the River Ampoi in the east and by the River Mureş in the west. It had a rectangular ground plan (c. 400 x 400 m) with towers and asymmetrically located gates. In the second half of the third century, when the Roman administration and military forces were withdrawn from the entire Dacia province, the massive stone fortification remained there. It has determined the topography of the settlement ever since then. Archaeological excavations carried out since the late 19th century, but especially after the Second World War have brought to surface numerous architectural and material remains. Many of these are presented today in the Citadel to the broad public and define to a significant extent the image and identity of the modern city (see App. 2, No. 4, 6, 7, 18).

The medieval town

In the centuries after the withdrawal of the Roman Empire from Dacia, various peoples migrated to the region and set up their settlements within the area protected by the walls of the ancient Roman fortification. The next phase of constructions that left their long-term marks on the city was carried out after the year 1000 when Transylvania was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Transylvanian bishopric was organized within the western church hierarchy. The bishopric cathedral and the bishop's residence were built in the southwestern corner of the ancient Roman fort, and they are still among the most important landmarks in the city (App. 2, No. 11, 12).

The capital of the Transylvanian Principality

When the Ottoman Turkish conquest brought the end of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the mid-sixteenth century, Transylvania was turned into a semi-independent tributary state of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by a prince, with Alba Iulia as its capital. Princes in the 16th and 17th centuries fortified the old walls with some new bastions. They turned the medieval bishop's palace into their Renaissance residence (App. 2, No. 10-11). Besides this palace, which is one of the largest architectural complexes in the Citadel today, one more building survived from the seventeenth century: that of the *Collegium Academicum*, a higher educational institution (App. 2, No. 20). Though the Palace of the Princes was handed over to the city by the Ministry of Defense around 2000, the building of the Collegium is still a part of the military complex occupying the eastern part of the Citadel.

The military base of the Habsburgs

When the united military forces of the European powers pushed back the Ottomans from this region in the late 17th century, Transylvania was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire, and Alba Iulia was turned into a military base. Between 1715 and 1738, a new star-shaped fortification system was built around the old town with walls and bastions made of brick and filled up with earth. Within the fortification, large buildings were erected to house various military functions which determine the layout of the Citadel today (App. 2, No. 2, 3, 16, 17, 19).

Besides the army, the Catholic Church also had a share in the Citadel. The cathedral and the palace were given back to the bishopric. They possessed further buildings in the Citadel, for example, a theological seminary was established, and the Jesuit order also moved back to the town (App. 2, No. 22). The Trinitarian order built their church and monastery in the northern part of the Citadel, which was taken over by Bishop Ignatius Batthyany later in the 18th century, to house his book collection and an astronomic observatory. The Batthyaneum, with its precious collection, is one of the most important cultural institutions in Alba Iulia even today (App. 2, No. 49).

The place where Great Romania was born

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (the successor state of the Habsburg Empire since 1867) was dissolved by the end of the First World War, and Transylvania was taken over by the Romanian military forces in 1918. On 1 December, the union of Transylvania with Romania was proclaimed in Alba Iulia, in the former Military Casino building, which since 1968 – the 150th anniversary – has served as a commemorative exhibition hall to celebrate this event (App. 2, No. 17). The rest of the Habsburg military buildings were taken over by the Romanian army (App. 2, No. 19). Another pivotal event of modern Romanian history took place in the Citadel: the coronation of 1922 King Ferdinand I in 1922 in the Orthodox Cathedral built for this occasion in the western part of the fortress, dominating the view since then from that direction (App. 2, No. 15).

In Communist Romania

After 1945, the Citadel remained a place of symbolic significance and housed various official ceremonies in Communist Romania. In 1968, the National Museum of the Union and the Union Hall were moved to the former military buildings of the Habsburg era (App. 2, 16, 17). However, the entire fortress and the buildings within were neglected and left to decay, and a large segment of the citadel was used by the Ministry of Defense. After the revolution in 1989, the Citadel was gradually handed over to the city, and the revitalization project started from around 2000.

5.2 Ownership structure

The territory of the Citadel is in mixed ownership today. Most of it is in public hands, owned by the City Municipality, the County Council, and the December 1, 1918, University. The Roman Catholic Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church both own buildings and lands. The Ministry of Defense still has two military units

in the Citadel. In the northern part of the area, there are also some, though very few properties privately owned by residents.

5.3 The Citadel as a protected heritage site

The Citadel has been on the Tentative List for UNESCO World Heritage Sites since 1991. It is one of the easternmost representatives of a series of fortifications built in Europe in the 18th century, a type named after Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, a French military engineer. A group of similar fortifications in France has been declared as UNESCO World Heritage site (UNESCO, "Fortifications of Vauban").

The Alba Iulia Citadel is one of the most strictly protected areas of archaeological and built heritage in Romania. Archaeological sites within the entire Citadel of Alba Iulia are A category archaeological monuments, that is, of national or universal value (AB-I-s-A-00001; AB-I-m-A-00001.01), the highest level of protection possible in Romania. Both the ensemble of the fortification "Alba Carolina Fortress," with all the components: walls, bastions, gates, curtains, ravelins, etc., and entire urban area called "Alba Iulia Fortress" are protected as architectural monuments in category A (AB-II-a-A-00088). Within the Citadel, there are 28 buildings which are protected individually, seven of these as A-category, the rest as B-category architectural monuments, that is, representatives for the local cultural heritage. In addition to these, there are three B-category public monuments within the fortress (see also App. 2). The General Urban Plan composed in 2014 by the municipality proposed further four sites for protection (App. 2, No. 9, 19, 36, 52; RLU-PUG 2014, 123).

This protected status had to be taken into consideration during the revitalization: archaeological research is required before earthmoving or constructions, and the renovation of protected buildings also has to be preceded by research. The Ministry of Culture and National Identity issues permits for this research, and their approval is also needed to change the function of protected monuments. The City Hall in Alba Iulia, as the owner and initiator of the works in the Citadel expressed that they were dedicated to acting according to the law. Still, they received heavy criticism from the professional community and the broader public for not dedicating enough time and resources for the protection of heritage, especially for the research preceding the renovation of urban areas and buildings. As an example, in 2011, when doing works on the main square, Piața Cetatei, the excavations were carried out according to the law by the municipal museum, but the time available was incompatibly short considering the size of the area and the complexity of the archaeological site. Marius-Mihai Ciuta, archaeologist and expert in the field of protection of the Cultural Heritage observes:

Alba Iulia is a key to understand many processes and moments in the history of Transylvania and not only Transylvania. They did not realize the value of the sites, and the reason was to hurry up so as not to lose the EU funds (Ciuta 2019).

According to the expert opinion, the presentation of the results of the research has not been satisfactory either. Ancient Roman stone carvings were displayed in the square without any protective roof, and they quickly started to decay. They are not interpreted for the public, and the results of the research have not been made accessible for the broader academic community either (Ciuta 2019). Another case that appeared to be problematic is the Palace of the Princes, presently under

reconstruction. When the municipality expressed its plans about this building of immense historical and architectural value, the community of scholarly experts approached the major and offered their cooperation in the research preceding the works. They set up an interdisciplinary expert team which carried out a preliminary survey in the limited time they got and presented their results to the city leadership, pointing out that much more time and resources are needed for the research suitable to the character of the monument before the reconstruction (Burnichioiu 2017). However, these concerns were not fully met by the reconstruction process of the Palace.

Another problem is already visible for the broader public as well: the use of the materials during the reconstruction works on protected architecture. The bricks applied on the Vauban-type fortification proved to be of poor quality and are already decaying. The stone used for paving the street surfaces was also criticized since the original stones were replaced with uniform but worse-quality material (Ciuta 2019).

These issues resulted from problems inherent in the Romanian system of heritage protection: the organizational system is very much centralized, the regulations are strict, but the element of monitoring is not satisfactory, and they are not prepared to handle locally specific situations. As in this case, it largely depends on the owners of the heritage site how pro-active they are in this respect and to what extent they seek and consider experts' advice. However, there is also a pressure coming from the deadlines of EU-funded projects, which might prove more urging than the will to make extra efforts to protect heritage.

6 Urban Development Policy

In 2009, the Municipality created an Integrated Urban Development Plan for the city of Alba Iulia for the period of 2009-2015, a prerequisite of benefitting from the Regional Operational Program (ROP) 2007-2013 funded from the European Regional Development Fund (PIDU 2009). The PIDU 2009 contained an analysis of the entire territory of the Municipality of Alba Iulia in terms of its infrastructure, environmental conditions, economy, tourism, society, education, etc. and set up objectives, strategic priorities, policies, programs, and medium- and long-term development projects. The three strategic objectives were 1) improving the quality of life; 2) turning Alba Iulia into an attractive touristic destination; 3) developing the business environment. For the period of ROP 2007-2013, seven projects were proposed for financing and implementation, and two of these affected the Citadel: the rehabilitation of the public spaces within the area inside the Vauban-type fortification and the reconstruction of the western side of the fortress including the access routes.

As a preparation to benefit from the new Regional Operative Program 2014-2020, the City Hall prepared an Integrated Strategy for Urban Development for the period of 2014-2023 (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*). The Program aimed at turning Alba Iulia by 2023 into an inclusive, open, and smart city (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 316; *Project Prioritization 2014-2020*). The complete renovation and rehabilitation of the Citadel are among steps towards turning Alba Iulia into an

attractive tourist destination, which is one of the three main strategic aims. The sustainable development of cultural tourism combined with effective city branding as an area of intervention is expected to contribute to reaching the objective of sustainable, smart growth and economic competitiveness. Cultural heritage is also seen as a field relevant from the point of view of urban regeneration leading to a sustainable, clean and unpolluted urban environment.

Relevant projects planned for this period continue the reconstruction campaign within the Citadel as well as finding suitable functions for the buildings: the *caponieri* in the Saint Elisabeth and Saint Charles Bastions, and the Trinity Ravelin where they plan to establish an open-air amphitheater, and the Palace of the Princes. The renovation of the latter as well as of the eastern and southern sections of the walls is also planned as a priority project (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 83-85). They plan to develop the access route to the Apur Palace and the Saint Elisabeth Ravelin and to increase the green zones within the Citadel. The renovation and valorization of the Batthyaneum is an integral part of the project package. They plan to renovate and re-valorize the National Museum and the Unification Hall and consolidate the complex of the Incoronation Cathedral. Projects with some more general aims target the presentation of archaeological sites and the creation of a complete built heritage inventory in the city – it is not clear whether they understand only protected monuments here or apply a broader definition of built heritage. A number of projects do not concern the physical reconstruction of the Citadel anymore but its utilization primarily in the field of tourism, e.g. “Ensuring a continuous promotion of the Alba Iulia Fortress, in partnership with the economic agents from the HORECA¹ sector”; and some projects concern it indirectly (smart city, tourism strategy, etc.). Other projects target the development of a regional network of destinations for heritage tourism. The development of the university and the construction of a new psychiatric hospital also affects the function of the buildings in the Citadel, though they primarily target the development of educational and cultural infrastructure to achieve the objective of social inclusiveness. Related to the latter, the construction of a Cultural Center is planned on the Saint Michael's Bastion, which will contain a theatre, the Philharmony, the County Library, and the already existing Museikon Museum Complex.

The strategy does not explicitly consider the role of the Citadel in the identity of the city. This approach seems to be aligned with the national cultural heritage policy in Romania, where preservation has been in focus, and the available financial resources were also centered in this direction (Becuț 2014). However, the Citadel has been an essential element in city branding and marketing (“City branding” 2017, Docea, “City logo”, “Good practice summary” 2017).

CITY BRANDING

The logo of the city is a representation of the star-shape fortress. The marketing strategy is primarily aimed at cultural tourism. They have been developing an integrated approach towards city marketing and smart city technologies (“Alba Iulia Smart City”). Alba Iulia is positioned in this as ‘The other capital of Romania’

¹ HORECA is a syllabic abbreviation of the words Hotel/Restaurant/Café, e.g. food service industry.

referring to its role in the unification of Romania in 1918, and also on its aspiration for a symbolic role, a spiritual capital for the entire country. At the same time, the municipality positions the city as a model for small- and medium-size towns in Romania and Europe due to the developments in the past decade. Alba Iulia was also among the applicants for the title of the European Capital of Culture 2021.

The role of the Citadel in the life and formation of the local community is not discussed in the strategy either. Still, involving locals into the general planning process is an essential element in the Integrated Strategy for Urban Development 2014-2023 for Alba Iulia: it presents in details the participative process in its preparation, and the Local Action Plan recognizes that the lack of feeling of involvement is one of the major problems to handle (Docea, "City logo"). However, the city management does not seem to recognize that treating the Citadel as heritage in the context of the local communities and not just as a protected national monument could be a key to increase the level of involvement. Some actions initiated by the city management show the direction that they recognize this potential. For example, in 2009, Alba Iulia entered the Guinness Book with the largest human hug in the world, when 10.000 inhabitants embraced the fortress for 15 minutes (Moldovan 2019). Though this was a symbolic way to express that people should be involved, this was still a top-down initiative. When a group of locals expressed their wish to be consulted by demonstrating against the elimination of an old park at the main square of the Citadel, the municipality did not follow their request and had the trees cut (Ciuta 2019).

7 Adaptive Reuse

The buildings in the Citadel have been continuously used and re-used for centuries. However, the transfer of the site from the Ministry of Defense to the City Hall created an entirely new situation, when new function had to be found for the buildings in former military use and spaces in the fortification itself. Parallel with this, the city leadership has to deal with some other functions inherited from the Socialist period, which do not fit the new profile they envision for the Citadel, focusing on tourism and culture.

The revitalization of the Citadel and the buildings there are discussed by a series of urban planning documents issued from around 2000 (for the complete list, see PUZ 2013, 1.1-1.2; RLU-PUG 2014; and the summary in App. 1). These regulated all building activity within the Citadel in accordance with its protected status, and defined the functions of spaces and buildings. The rehabilitation of the fortification zone followed the principles established in these documents. Today the exterior side of the wall system – overlooking the surrounding city – is a green area, with some sports establishments and a community garden (App. 2, No. 1.10, 1.20-1.23). As a result of the rehabilitation works between 2009 and 2014, now a continuous park belt runs between the two lines of the walls. The rooms within the exterior fortification line (former guard rooms and storage spaces) open from this park belt; some of these house restaurants, pubs, the Tourist Information Office, a cultural center, and an equestrian school, while others are empty. The rooms

within the inner fortification line are accessible from within the Citadel and are also partially utilized for hospitality purposes. (App. 2, No. 1.11-1.19) This green belt around the walls is mostly used by tourists and only in nice weather. Locals come here if there is some temporary event, festival, which might be of special interest to them.

The interior of the Citadel is structured by a regular street system following the former northwest-southeast axis of an ancient Roman fort. There are about sixty buildings within the walls, most of them large historical structures built from the Middle Ages to the early 20th century, with the exception is two blocks with one-story urban houses in the northwestern corner also erected from the medieval to the modern times. The western side of the Citadel is dominated by the two, Roman Catholic and Orthodox cathedral complexes. The Citadel opens up towards the city in its main axis, with the Orthodox Cathedral complex, the construction of which in 1922 slightly moved into the background the medieval Roman Catholic Cathedral in terms of the cityscape. The latter forms one spacious complex with the medieval and early modern Bishop's Palace and the Palace of the Princes. The area east from the church complexes is occupied by Habsburg military buildings and the University, organized around the main square of the Citadel, Piața Cetatii.

The southeastern part is dominated by ancient Roman architectural remains excavated and presented to the public (App. 2, No. 4, 6, 7, 18), and the two earliest military buildings of the Habsburg era: the former War Commissariat now under renovation to be turned into the administrative center of Alba county (App. 2, No. 2;) and the Warehouse which is now the Hotel Medieval (App. 2, No. 3).

The archaeological remains of the Principia, the central building of the ancient Roman fort were excavated in Piața Cetatii in 2011. The reconstructed remains were covered with a metal and glass museum building and opened for the visitors, together with an open-air lapidary occupying a part of the square otherwise decorated with 19th-century and modern public monuments (App. 2, No. 16, 56-59). The northern side of the square is dominated by the façade of the main building of the December 1, 1918 University which, starting from its establishment in 1991, has step by step occupied several large historical buildings in the Citadel, such as the Baroque building of the former Jesuit monastery, some recently renovated military barracks, and the former Baroque palace of the Apor family (App. 2, No. 21, 22, 25, 51, 52). The latter is flanked by a seventeenth-century building housing the School Inspectorate of Alba County since 2002, and the eighteenth-century building of the Roman Catholic Theology (App. 2, No. 50, 52). The Roman Catholic and the Romanian Orthodox bishopric occupy their historical buildings, including the two cathedrals, which dominate the cityscape (App. 2, No. 11-12, 15).

At present, almost all of the most important cultural institutions in the city – museums, libraries, the university – are clustered in the fortress housed in historical buildings from the Principality and the Habsburg era. Three of these even have a national significance. The Union Hall, established in 1968 in the former Casino of the Austro-Hungarian military forces to celebrate the 1918 foundation of modern Romania borders the western side of the main square (App. 2, No. 17). Behind that, The National Museum of the Union has also occupied since 1968 the former military housing called 'Babylon building' in the Habsburg era (App. 2, No.

16). The northwestern corner of the Citadel is dominated by the Biblioteca Batthyaneum in the former Trinitarian church, a function that has not changed since the 18th century (App. 2, No. 49). There is one more relatively large complex here: that of the former Military Hospital from the Habsburg era, now the Psychiatric Hospital of Alba County inherited from the Socialist era (App. 2, No. 47). The northernmost building of the complex was transformed into a museum of sacred art in Romania called Museikon and opened in 2017, but it is accessible only through the courtyard of the psychiatry located in the 18th-century building of the Habsburg military hospital (App. 2, No. 48), which is a disturbing situation both for the patients and for the visitors. As outlined in the Integrated Strategy for Urban Development 2014-2023, the city management plans to sort out this clash of functions in the forthcoming period (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 311, 352). The other, still problematic area is on the easternmost side of the Citadel, between the main square and the fortification, and it is still used by the Ministry of Defense. Thus, the former Austro-Hungarian barrack buildings, as well as the building of the 17th-century Collegium Academicum, is closed from the public (App. 2, No. 19-20). The city leadership, as well as the residents, seem to agree that the army should have no place in the Citadel anymore, and they hope that the negotiations with the Ministry will soon conclude. However, it is a task on the long run to find a function to these enormous historical buildings along the lines prescribed by the PUG.

The City Hall has to face the same problem about the Palace of the Princes, a 17th-century building already handed over by the Ministry of Defense. They were able to find financial resources for the renovation of the building, and the idea is to create a modern, interactive museum focusing mainly on the Principality period here (Neag 2017, "Palatul Principilor" 2019). Nicolae Moldovan city manager explains:

The Palace will be a museum but also a vivid space for cultural and educational activities. It will not be just a museum, but a space for temporary exhibitions, multimedia halls, with a concrete cultural agenda for the entire year (Moldovan 2019).

Though there was a design competition, and a young architect was selected as the winner with her design of an interactive educational center, the plans are still vague, especially in terms of sustainability. These buildings represent a typical problem the City Hall has to face: their policy is to keep the Citadel for cultural and touristic, and in a limited scale administrative functions, but the buildings they take over were built for military and state administration purposes, which determines their large scale and arrangement. It is especially problematic to fill these buildings with life considering the population number in Alba Iulia. Hence the strategy is to focus on tourism and attract visitors to the Citadel, which might, however, easily lead to a situation where the topographic and historical center of the city is almost entirely outside the sphere of life of the locals.

This would mean a failure in integrating the Citadel into the city despite the spectacular developments there. It is even more difficult because only a few people live in the Citadel. The two northwestern blocks of the Citadel are occupied by small dwelling houses, some of which are used by various foundations and church organizations. As Radu Cadinoiu, the president and program manager of the civic initiative "Carolina Creative Quarter" pointed out:

... those spaces, even if they are extremely beautiful and can tell a lot about our identity and our history, are still preserved as if they were some passive or dead monuments. That is not what we would like to have in our Citadel (Cadinouiu 2019/2).

Despite the emphasis on the touristic potential of the Citadel, the hotel-restaurant-café industry, which could attract both tourists and the locals, is poorly represented inside: the above-mentioned Hotel Medieval in the former Habsburg military warehouse (App. 2, No. 3), a café in the so-called Jericho building (App. 2, No. 9), and a small pub mostly visited by locals (App. 2, No. 24). Tourists can mostly feed themselves in the mobile food wagons installed along the main street of the Citadel. Restaurants and cafés are in a larger number in the spaces within the fortification walls and bastions. (App. 2, No. 1.11-1.19). Some restaurants deliberately build on the atmosphere in the vaulted rooms inside the fortifications. The owner of Pub13 even decided to brand his restaurant based on the specific heritage site, a 15th-century barbican, the history of which is presented to every visitor on the paper plate mats (App. 2, No. 1.11; Ciuta 2019). An art café popular among locals but also attractive for tourists is accessible from inside the Citadel, but technically it is in the fortifications; it is not too easy to find though (App. 2, No. 1.17).



Figure 4 Interior of Pub13. Source: pub13.ro

Existing economic activities - Alba Carolina Citadel
(according the ZUP Alba Iulia Citadel - elaborated in 2014)

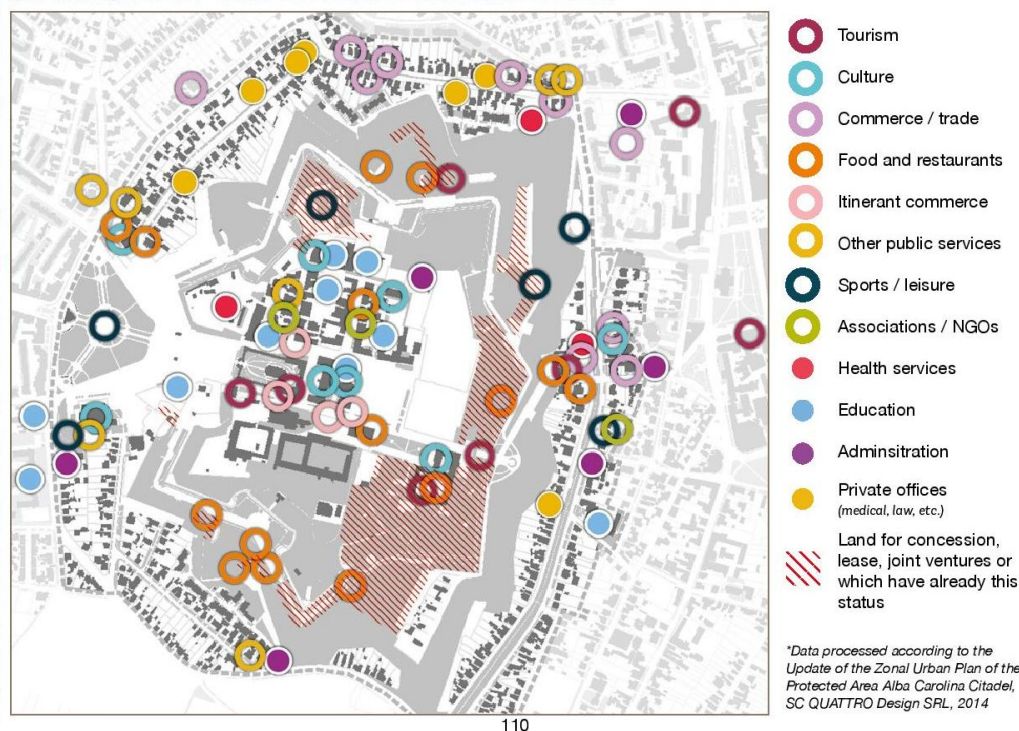


Figure 5 Image source: Project Prioritization 2014-2020, 110.

Hospitality and catering industry seems to be an answer for how to use these spaces; on the other hand, these places are not easy to access from inside the Citadel where tourists are expected for sightseeing and cultural programs. This might be the reason why there are traces of such places among and in the walls, which once operated but are closed down by now. It seems that only those are successful which are located close to the main entrances of the fortification system. The recently established Tourist Information Office in one of the bastions is also difficult to access since it is outside the main tourist route in the Citadel. In general, the orientation towards the hospitality business in the Citadel has not been entirely successful, and there have even been complaining on behalf of the public that there are only profit-oriented enterprises in the Citadel instead of the promised cultural and community spaces ("Cetatea Alba Iulia" 2016). Some others see that focusing exclusively on the business side is not enough.



Figure 6 Venue of a closed summer bar in the Citadel walls. Photo: Volodymyr Kulikov, 2019

Cristian Mladin, the initiator and former vice-president of the Carolina Creative Quarter shares his explanation for the phenomenon:

The question is why there is still no big interest in the Citadel if you have a restored Citadel, nice places where you can eat and drink and have some words with friends or others, still, there is a lack of interest. My explanation is that there is a lack of the kind of infrastructure that supports creativity and all kinds of activities, non-traditional ones in the cultural and economic horizon. (Mladin 2019/2)

The city management also identified the double problem after the bulk of the renovation project: they have too many empty spaces which need a suitable function, and the Citadel is not integrated organically with the rest of the city in terms of urban life (Moldovan 2019). They came up with various methods to solve these problems. The Citadel houses at least 20 public open-air events per year, some of them organized by the municipality (e.g. the Dilema Veche Festival, a private initiative financed by the Municipality and the Alba County Council, historical festivals focusing on the Ancient Roman Period or the Middle Ages, concerts) and some by external organizations (e.g. truck art festival, pet shows). They also seek to strengthen the public-private partnership especially in the hospitality sector, where tourists are the primary target audience. Developing the educational profile of the town is part of the long-term strategy to bring life into the Citadel by strengthening the role of the university there. That could also be an answer to how to use the remaining military buildings from the Habsburg period.



Figure 7 Truck Tuning Art Show between the two walls of the 18th-century fortification, August 3, 2019. Photo: Volodymyr Kulikov

Culture remains the primary profile in the vision of the City Hall about the Citadel (Moldovan 2019). The Integrated strategy 2014-2013 also emphasized the direction to develop the creative and artistic sector by encouraging local creative and cultural industries and attracting investors and involving valuable human capital in the field, which is seen closely interlinked with the conservation and rehabilitation efforts on the historical buildings through the capitalization of the material and immaterial local heritage of the city (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 303).

The forth direction in which the city leadership started to experiment, though still in a relatively small scale, is establishing a partnership with civic organizations in the cultural and creative sector, such as the Theatre Skepsis or the Alba Iulia Creative Quarter, and offering some of the spaces for them to use. The target audience of these organizations is the local community, so their programs and activities can attract locals into the Citadel. Cristian Mladin acknowledges:

Until people still think the traditional way about developing a cultural infrastructure at a place like Alba Iulia, you have no chance. You have to challenge the residents. It is not enough to organize big music festivals in the Citadel on certain days, e.g., the Days of Alba Iulia, all financed by the Municipality. (Mladin 2019/1)

These have been project-based cooperation between the municipality and the civic sector, which resulted in the temporary use of certain spaces in the Citadel. The city leadership recognized the potential of experimenting with temporary use, and between 2013 and 2015, they took part in a program called *Temporary Use as a Tool for Urban Regeneration* financed by URBACT scheme (TUTUR). Within this project, they experimented with the temporary use of various places in the fortress for cultural activities, such as the backyard of the palace of the Princes before starting its restoration. However, these experiments have not been turned into a general practice yet. The former city manager of Alba Iulia Nicolae Moldovan explains the limitations:

To some extent, we are accustomed to this concept [temporary reuse]. We started to use it, but it is not so extensively used right now because we lack resources but also because of the

mentality. We have to educate, open the mentality towards these new concepts in urban regeneration, how to create a vivid city using different arguments with different stakeholders. So, we have started, but we still have a lot of steps to follow in this field. (Moldovan 2019)

Such an experiment has been the cooperation with the NGO Carolina Creative Quarter. The NGO was established in 2017 to activate the cultural and creative industry in Alba Iulia, and the Citadel plays a crucial role in their vision. As Cristian Mladin recalls the circumstances,

The municipality was just finishing the restoration of the Citadel, and the idea was to do something with these spaces, mainly those within the walls of the Citadel..., to activate them somehow, to bring people inside... Our main aim was to activate the local community regarding creativity. We saw that creative hubs and other similar institutions was a trend in Romania, so we tried to do something similar in Alba Iulia, having this great privilege to be in a historical city with a very different type of heritage. (Mladin 2019/2).

The current president and program manager of Carolina Creative Quarter Radu Cadinoiu dreams about the Citadel as a place for the community where civic movement and public engagement flourishing:

Our obsession for the future is to be considered the home of all the creatives of our community who accept us, who are able to do something for the community and who are willing to develop a more meaningful approach to the Citadel instead of seeing it as a dead monument, going there from time to time to place a flower but without understanding that it is a part of our identity. I would like to have a common space, some kind of hub, makerspace, offering them all the main facilities they need, and they do need those facilities. We would like to be the home for our creatives. We would like to have spaces even if they are not owned by us as an NGO but only administered or managed, in order to help the authorities, the municipality, to have a better interaction with the teenagers, meaning the next generation. (Cadinoiu 2019/2)

Already in 2016, the founders of the future NGO brought together all creatives from Alba Iulia and organized an exhibition in the Citadel, combining architectural plans, design objects, jewelry, works of arts, and many other things. In 2017, they won funding for a program from the national program directed by the Ministry of Culture called ACCES dedicated to the centenary of 1 December 1918, the 100th anniversary of the Great Union of the Romanian territories. They developed an urban game combined with urban art using various spaces in the Citadel, the aim of which was to bring together the locals and heritage. In 2018, they organized an international event series called Creative Hubs. They collected people with experience in the field from all over Europe to have a brainstorming on how a creative hub could be established in Alba Iulia. This was combined with workshops for local young people in various creative fields: DJ-ing, video and light design, cultural marketing, modern design, and photography, which took place in the Palace of the Princes and space in the walls called Caponiera in the Citadel. In the end, the results of the programs were presented for the broader public and the city management in the Principia Museum. The Caponiera was renovated by that time by the municipality to be used as a community space by various civic organizations.

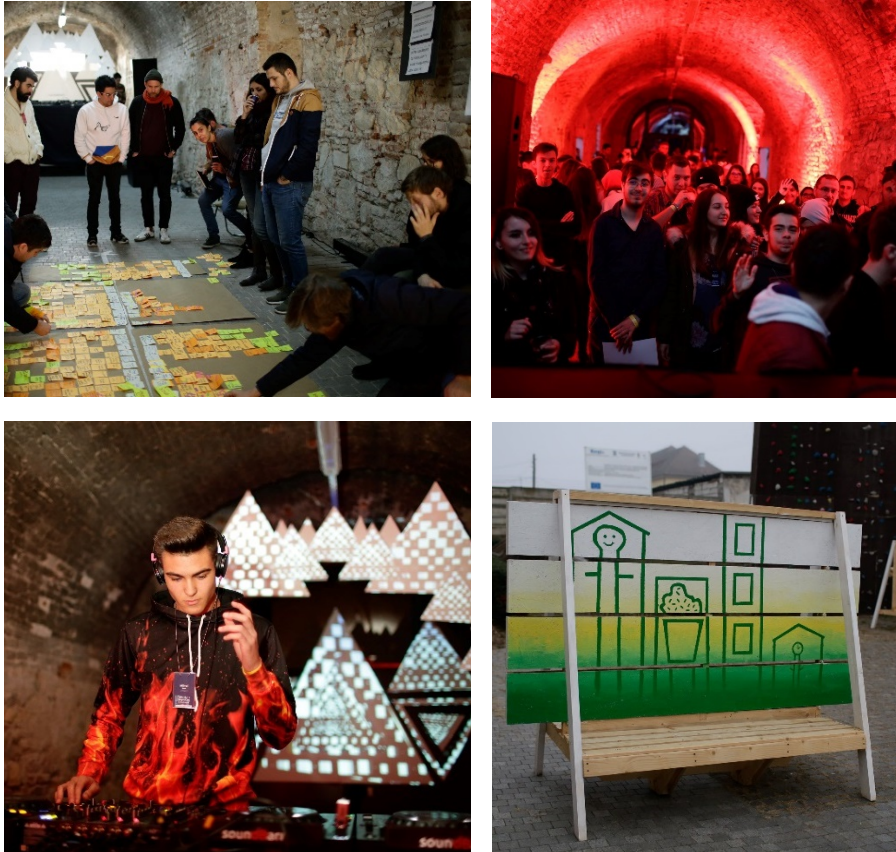


Figure 8 Creative Hubs. Event organized by the Carolina Creative Quarter, 2018 November. Source: Carolina Creative Quarter

Though the activists of Creative Quarter Carolina are satisfied with the results of these events, and they very much value the supportive attitude and openness of the city management, they urge for a more intense cooperation since they feel that they could do much more in developing the cultural and creative sector in the city, in involving and mobilizing the local community, and in bringing life into the empty walls of the Citadel. Radu Cadinoiu emphasizes:

From the very beginning, we cannot imagine our activity without the support of the municipality, that is very clear. We really appreciate that there is a team who is always supporting us... For those two projects we have to thank the municipality; without them the project would not have happened... We would expect more in terms of an official policy regarding our interests and activities ... We expect that in the next few years they would be more open just asking us what we expect to see here, what would be the experience we are able to propose for our Citadel, not even only their citadel but our Citadel. (Cadinoiu 2019/2)

The main issues seen by the activists are the slow rhythm of bureaucracy, the lack of inclusion of civic initiatives in terms of mid- and long-term strategy, and the fear of giving away a part of the control in the case of such an important national monument as the Citadel. They feel that the municipality does not recognize the full potential of civic initiatives and temporary reuse, and they too much insist on keeping the control in the management of the site (Cadinoiu 2019/1, 2019/2). Cristian Mladin thinks that more empowerment could help the decision-makers to understand the prospective direction for the site's development:

I, as a major or council president, would choose a month, let's say July or August, to let all the spaces in the Citadel occupied by some activity. What is the profile of your NGO? Go

there and play cards or have a musical event, have some movie projections, whatever. Go wild! Have rock or hip-hop music there; I don't care, but populate that space. Give it a life. Bring people here. If things go well, I will help you from our budget. (Mladin 2019/1)

8 Actors and governance

The main actor is the municipality of Alba Iulia as the owner of most of the Citadel. They set up the relevant strategies, do the planning at the level of the Citadel, provide access to financial resources, control the partnerships, and dominate the public discourse. The Council of Alba County is one of their most important partners and co-owner of the Citadel. The two, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches are responsible for the management of their own assets within the Citadel. Their cooperation with the city and each other is reduced to the necessary minimum, but the churches have a decisive role in the discourse about the Citadel, and there is clear competition for the ownership of the past where heritage serves as an argument. Since religion is interlinked with ethnicities, in this case, they also represent two, Romanian and Hungarian ethnic groups in the Citadel. The University and the Museum are also among the main partners of the municipality in understanding and communicating what heritage means in the case of the Citadel. Nicolae Moldovan, as a representative of the municipality acknowledges the importance of contribution of the abovementioned institutes:

We had a good and strong and active partnership with these organizations. We were working together to restore and to valorize our properties and to manage to attract funds. A process over 15 years, all those having properties here worked together to change, to open them. (Moldovan 2019)

The private sector in HORECA industry and services is considered as an important stakeholder by the city management. Civic organizations, NGOs have had a relatively small role by now, but there is a segment in this field that urges for deeper involvement. Both the activists and the representative of the city agree that all this is not enough, partnerships should be broadened and strengthened between all actors, and new partnerships should be established (Mladin 2019/2, Moldovan 2019). Nicolae Moldovan indicates that the municipality wishes to intensify the partnership:

Alba Iulia and the fortress needs different institutional partners, some of them are already here, others could be attracted in order to help us to promote the potential of the city outside its boundaries. National Government, through the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Development, Ministry of Tourism, could be a strong partner for Alba Iulia. Also, international tour operators could be attracted here as stakeholders. Relevant transnational networks promoting cultural heritage, such as the Cultural Routes organized by the Council of Europe. Also, a network of universities, cultural and creative industry hubs, from all over Europe. (Moldovan 2019)

To coordinate all processed related to the Citadel, the municipality raised for consideration the idea of creating a special organization called Citadel Heritage Management (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 111).

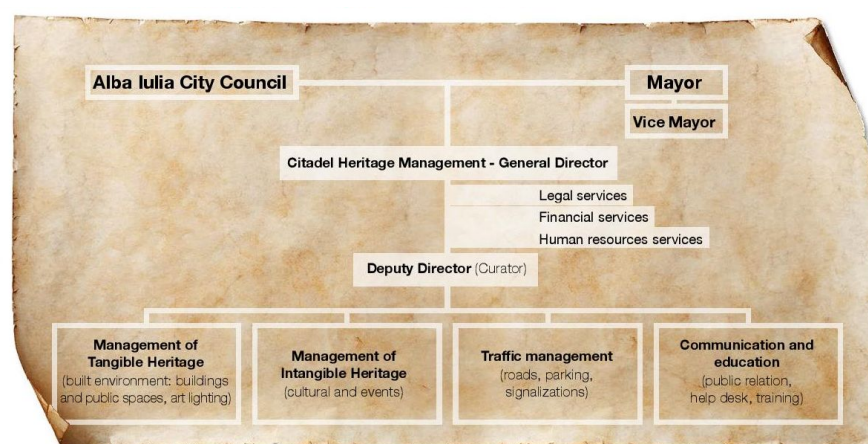


Figure 9 Citadel Heritage Management - organizational chart. Source: *Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 111.

Between 2016 and 2019, the Alba Iulia Smart City Pilot Project runs within the European Innovation Partnership on Smart Cities and Communities (“Alba Iulia Smart City”). The initiative supported by the European Commission bringing together cities, industry, SMEs, banks, research, and other smart city actors. The outputs of the project are based on partnerships with the private creative sector, such as an app to explore the Citadel, wifi hotspots in public areas, an e-Alba Iulia app developed in partnership with Orange. A web application called Local Community Barometer is in the testing phase now, designed to consult city residents on selecting community-relevant objectives and projects proposed for funding or other topics of general interest.

The municipality experimented with some methods to involve the local public into the decision-making processes. In 2007, before starting the project, the town leadership conducted a sociological survey asking people what they wanted them to do with the fortress. The results showed that they wanted to see it as a space for leisure activities (walking, biking) and cultural events (Moldovan 2019). After the project started, the town leadership organized annual surveys together with the university to measure the level of satisfaction, four times between 2014 and 2018 (“Barometrul” 2014, 2015). Participatory processes were also initiated during the preparations of the Integrated Development Strategy 2014-2023, facilitated by the inter-community development association Alba Iulia – AIDA. They set up an Urban Working Group from local actors from civil society, institutions, private investors and in the field of research and development. Public consultations were also organized during the preparation of the document (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 444-452). However, some feel that these participatory initiatives were more formal and not effective (Ciuta 2019). Despite the attempts by the municipality to initiate participative processes and community involvement, the role of the local community in general as an actor is undefined and ineffective. Their role is mostly to act along the initiatives of the government, provide support, and to give feedback in a form also organized by the city leadership. They have acted independently in a few isolated cases, such as by demonstrating – unsuccessfully – for keeping the old trees in the Citadel. The identification and inclusion of marginalized groups into decision making do not appear explicitly in the participatory processes.

9 Financial framework

The primary financial resource for the Citadel project came from the Regional Operational Program of the EU. Projects were submitted for international and national funds and in various partnerships: European Commission (Horizon 2020, Interreg, European Social Funds), Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education of the national government, Kingdom of Norway, and also private investment. These were complemented from local and county budgets (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 343, 358-359). Totally more than 60 million euros were gained, implemented in several projects. (Moldovan 2019). From the works done on the fortress in the period of the Regional Operational Fund 2007-2013, 76% of the investments were funded from EU resources, 9% from national resources, and 15% from the local budget (*Project Prioritization 2014-2020*, 22). For a list of projects with the amounts of funding, see App. 1.

Construction works financed by partners in the Citadel include the reconstruction of the Union Hall and former War Commissariat buildings (App. 2, No. 17 and 2) financed by Alba County. The establishment of a cultural center around the Museicon Museum, in the place of the present psychiatric hospital (App. 2, No. 47 and 48), will also be financed from the county budget. The University was also able to attract funding from the Regional Operational Program 2014-2020 for its buildings (see App. 1). The Romanian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Bishopric funded the renovation of their building complexes, the latter financed by the Romanian state, the Hungarian state, the Catholic Church, and from private donations.

The financial sustainability of the Citadel program is embedded into the economy of the city and the related strategy, but no detailed plans are openly accessible in this respect. In this respect, the main value of the Citadel is defined by the city management as its touristic potential.

10 Communication

The city leadership has put a great emphasis on the efficient communication of the project and city branding in general, which is largely based on the historical past and the Citadel as heritage. On the site, billboards were set up about the phases of the projects, and a permanent pyramid-shaped public monument was installed on Piața Cetatii displaying before-after images. The city leadership regularly informs the local public on the plans, the attained funding, and the steps in the realization of the conservation and renovation project. They use a variety of communication channels: the website of the municipality, six local television channels, three local radio channels, as well as the local newspaper and six online local news sites (*Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*, 239-246). The municipality also has its own Facebook page. They use various events and actions to popularize the project, such as two Guinness record attempts initiated by the town leadership to create a sense of pride among the residents. In 2009, Alba Iulia entered the Guinness Book with the largest human hug in the world around the fortress

embraced by 10.000 inhabitants, and in 2018, a similar action was organized on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of modern Romania (Moldovan 2019).

In 2010, the city started to develop a branding strategy focused on the Citadel in the framework of the URBACT project ("City branding" 2017; Docea, "City logo"). They had a city logo designed which consists of four elements: the star-shaped ground plan of the Citadel, the name of the city and the new slogan at the top ("the other capital"), and a message at the bottom under the name of the city ("welcome to the largest citadel in Romania"). The site visitalbaiulia.com was created as part of the branding project. In 2011, the city started the project called "Breathe the air of history" financed by the Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism. The project aims to promote the tourism potential of the Citadel by creating an integrated package of marketing activities ("Referat" 2019).



Figure 10 The city logo displayed in the Citadel. Photo: Volodymyr Kulikov, 2019

11 Values and identity

The revitalization project focuses on the conservation and renovation of the buildings and their utilization to attract visitors to the Citadel. The core values perceived by the Municipality as manifest in the planning documents is that Alba Iulia is a unique city in Romania with the largest fortress in Southeastern Europe. The Zonal Urban Plan refers not just to the fortification itself but also to "the remarkable building stock of the fortress comprised of fortifications, secular, ecclesiastical and administrative buildings." (PUZ 2013, 177: Study of the historical, architectural and urban values) The official communication emphasizes that this is also the place where modern Romania was born 100 years ago. The strong partnership they were able to establish between different stakeholders and work together in order to change the image of the fortress and to create a new atmosphere based on the 18th-century one is also a value that is emphasized (Moldovan 2019). The branding strategy of the city presents Alba Iulia as a modern, fast-developing town which "might be small" but "rock & roll" ("The Other Capital"). It is presented as "the other capital" contrasted with Bucharest based on its historical significance and heritage, the center of which is the Citadel.

The narrative of the Citadel presented by the city on the site and in various media is based on three historical phases: the ancient Roman military fort, the Habsburg era, and the creation of the modern Romanian state in 1918. The period of the Transylvanian Principality appears in the concept of “three fortifications,” which would be the Roman castrum, the medieval fortress, and the “Alba Carolina Citadel” built in the 18th century (App. 2. No. 7; “Alba Iulia Fortress.”). Medieval, in this case, does not include the real Middle Ages of the town when it was an important regional and ecclesiastical center in the Hungarian Kingdom. This periodization does not correspond to the archaeological interpretation of the built heritage here, which, before the 18th century, suggests more and continuous use and reuse of the site with minor phases architectural transformations from time to time (Ciuta 2019, see also Rusu 2010). The Principality era will receive more emphasis when, according to the plans, the Palace of the Princes will be turned into such a thematic museum. In the Principality period, Michael the Brave Prince of Walachia and Moldavia had the Transylvanian throne in Alba Iulia as well for a brief time, so his rule is regarded as the predecessor of the modern Romanian state, and he himself celebrated as one of the main national heroes (See PUZ 2013, 88-89; “The Other Capital”). The exhibition in the National Museum of the Union is still based on the historical narrative of the Socialist era; the curators modernized only the ancient Roman section.

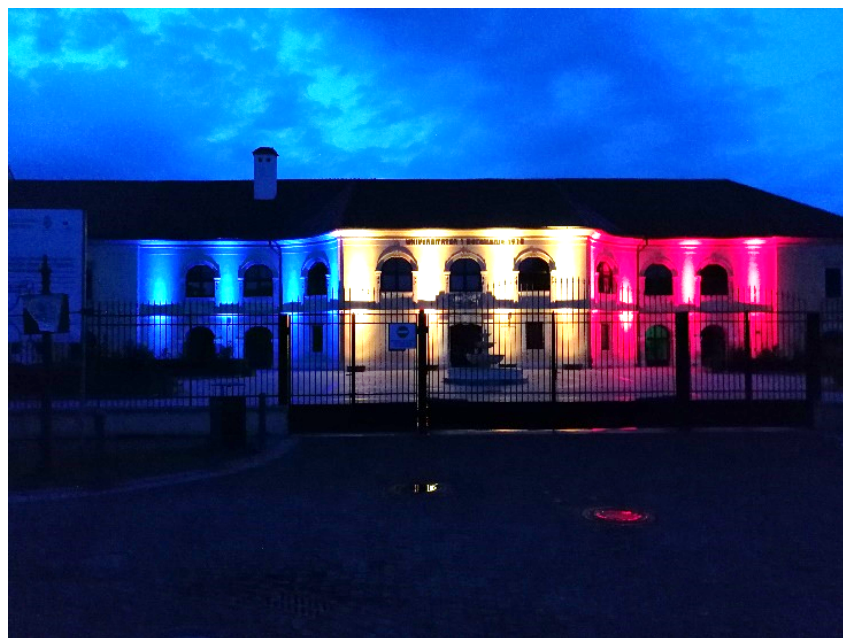


Figure 11 The Apur Palace with the light on the façade in the colors of the Romanian national tricolor. Photo: Volodymyr Kulikov, 2019.

Built heritage and history is emphasized in the modern presentation of the Citadel, intangible heritage is not explored. The historical narrative focuses on the political and ecclesiastical history, while the everyday life of various layers of the population hardly appears. The multiethnic and multicultural character specific for Alba Iulia since the beginnings is not present. There are minority ethnic groups who once lived or still live in the city – Germans, Jews, Hungarians, Roma, etc. – are poorly represented in the narrative. The Hungarian minority is kept present in the Citadel by the Hungarian Catholic bishopric. The heritage represented by their sites, the

medieval cathedral, and the bishop's palace are targeted by tourists from Hungary, who, however, do not connect to the narrative presented by the city. An archaeologist and heritage expert Marius Ciuta think that more inclusive historical narrative can contribute to heritage value of the Citadel:

This is not tourism but a pilgrimage. There is more here: many monasteries, the Baththanyeum, the old streets. The tourists do not know that the streets today are the same streets as in the Roman military camp. Nobody knows that medieval streets had names like Italian (Olasz), German (Szász), Jewish (Zsidó) Streets. It is beautiful, and you should tell them the story of how multicultural was once this city.... If we want to put the Citadel in its real value, we need to assume all moments of its history. Not only Roman history, not only Austrian history, not only Michael the Brave. The kind of history with big jumps is not a good one because frustration will appear on behalf of the minorities. (Ciuta 2019)

CONTESTED HERITAGE

There is also a long ongoing contest for the ownership of the past in the fort, which is also present in the interpretation of the built heritage. Since ethnicity in Transylvania is interwoven not just with language but also with religion, the recent archaeological excavation of a 10th century church in the southwestern part of the fort has again brought to surface the question of who was first here: the western or the eastern church and various historical interpretations connect the ruins to various ethnic groups present in the area (Marcu Istrate 2015).

A research project financed by the Local Council and the City Hall of Alba Iulia in 2014-2019 and implemented by the Department of History, Archaeology and Museology of the 1 December 1918 University in cooperation with the Museum of the Union presents a different and much more inclusive version of the city's past. The output of the project called *Memoria Urbis* is a website and a book. Various layers of the history, as well as the minority groups, appear in it, though mostly related to the districts surrounding the Citadel (Anghel et al. 2018; "Memoria Urbis"). These perspectives still need to find their way to the story presented in and about the Citadel. Cristian Mladin is sure that more sophisticated historical narrative is important not only due to the public curiosity, but it can also be a part of the sustainable approach:

The Citadel in the next 10 or 15 years could have or could add other stories besides the principal story, the historical one. We always see it, that is here, that is a fact. But I think we need to add to the Citadel other stories, maybe unpopular or untraditional stories regarding, of course, the civil society, the arts, crafts, and other similar domains. The only chance for the Citadel to survive and not in the touristic way. (Mladin 2019/2)

12 Impact

The Citadel project, embedded into the context of other EU funded development projects in the city, was able to stop the population decrease in Alba Iulia, which is otherwise the national trend. Moreover, it attracted many visitors, whose number has doubled since 2013. With a population 66,369 residents, Alba Iulia welcomes some 400,000 visitors per year, out of whom 14% come from abroad. Nicolae Moldovan sees it as a positive trend which has direct impact on the quality of life of Alba Iulia residents:

The recent growth of the population shows that we increased the quality of life here, and people moved here. There are also many foreign, national, and private investments in Alba Iulia and the surrounding area, which attracted many labor forces here who decided to stay here. (Moldovan 2019)

Table 2 Alba Iulia Citadel: Museums visits and Hospitality

	Visitors at the museum	Overnights	Accommodation capacity
2009			612
2011		59,510	
2013	91,608		
2014	128,958	78,336	941
2015	154,700	111,446	1,186
2016	167,200		

The mayor who lead the entire process was elected and re-elected by the citizens of Alba Iulia six times, which, as the city management interpreted it, indicates that most people were satisfied with the results (Moldovan 2019). The results of the surveys also indicate general satisfaction despite the occasional criticism.

The Alba Iulia's success was also recognized on the national and EU level. In 2012, Alba Iulia was chosen as one of Romania's Destinations of Excellence under the EU's EDEN tourism project. The European Commission launched the EDEN Destinations of Excellence project in 2006 aimed to promote sustainable tourism and unknown or underdeveloped areas. Romania's Ministry of Communication chose Alba Iulia in 2016 to be the first smart city in Romania because it is one of the first cities to have a long-term development strategy, launched in 2002-2003 and implemented since then. It is also the city that attracted the highest rate of EU funds and started to develop a smart transport system (Vasilache 2016). This award brought to the city prominent technology companies, such as Siemens, Microsoft, Google and Orange (Moldovan 2019).

13 The model

- The municipality is the primary owner, decision-maker, and investor.
- A high level of protection of the entire site and buildings as monuments at the national level.
- Substantial limitations concerning the functions of the building defined by the local municipality: public and cultural functions, tourism.
- Emphasis on tourism and creative industries as a leveler to revitalize the city. Orientation towards modern technologies, interest in using big data, flirting with the concept of urban digitalization, presenting itself as "smart city".
- Project-based long-term developments along with a mid-term strategy. Building new projects on the previous successful ones, e.g., building a branding strategy on the city logo project.

- Financed mostly from EU funds. A desire to increase the share of the private financing which is low compared to the public investments.
- Top-down model, strong administrative and political leadership for a long period.
- Increasing the level of citizen participation, but the potential is still high. The stakeholders believe that inclusiveness should be increased. Controlled participation, a fair level of public empowerment.

14 Recommendation

In addition to moving public institutions into the buildings, community initiatives for the temporary reuse of various parts of the sites could be actively encouraged by the municipality – it would increase the attractiveness and the value of the place (Plevoets and Sowińska-Heim 2018). In general, this is understood in the context of elevating underdeveloped parts of the cities to generate a process of physical restoration, but in this case the method could be adapted to bring life into a highly protected and recently renovated district. The presence of the local communities would increase the touristic attractiveness of the Citadel since this would mean a shift from looking at heritage as a “thing to conserve and protect” to “heritage as a process,” an active creation of heritage, in a broader sense than just presenting historical monuments. To reach its vision and have a livable urban space which economically contributes to the city, the municipality should give up the control of defining the heritage values, and instead, open up the field for value creation for various, even marginalized groups by inviting them and offering partnership. Thus, they would be involved in the creation of the new Citadel understood as a functional site and become a part of its story (Plevoets and Sowińska-Heim 2018, 137).

15 List of interviewees

Cadinoiu, Radu – president and program manager of the Carolina Creative Quarter

Ciuta, Marius – archaeologist, police officer at Heritage Police, faculty at the University of Lucian Blaga, Sibiu

Mladin, Cristian – director of the Batthyaneum Library, initiator and former vice-president of the Carolina Creative Quarter

Moldovan, Nicolae – City manager of Alba Iulia between 2012 and 2019

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Appendix 1

Projects and funding sources between 2009 and 2019

Projects financed from the Regional Operational Program 2007-2013

Sources: PIDU 2009; *Strategia Integrată 2014-2023*; Regio, "Proiecte;" POR 2007-2013.

2009-2013: The total investments in the project "History has a future in the other capital of Romania" amount to EUR 44 670 000, the contribution from the European Regional Development Fund of the EU being EUR 35 878 000 for the 2007-2013 programming period ("Rehabilitation" 2016).

- 2009-2011: Rehabilitation of Historical Center East Route, South Route, and Northern Route, Alba Iulia Vauban-type Fortification - Access roads, exterior lighting and specific urban furniture. Source: Regional Operational Program, priority axis No. 5 – Touristic development and promotion. Total project value: 47 533 652.79 RON
- 2010-2011: "Breathe the air of history." Source: Regional Operational Program. Total budget: 1 033 249.95 RON; ROP funding: 665 850.04 RON, national budget: 94 002.36 RON; local budget: 23 500.59 RON

- 2010-2013: P6. Rebuilding and improving the access to the western of the Alba Carolina Fortress, Vauban Type Fortification, Alba Iulia Municipality. Source: Regional Operational Program. Total project value: 49 763 664.55 RON / **68 347 406.80 RON**
- 2010-2015: Rehabilitation of Alba Iulia Historical Center, Vauban-type Fortification - Access roads, exterior lighting and urban furniture. Inner area. Source: Regional Operational Program. Total project value: 64 102 190.34 RON / **76 087 835.63 RON**

Projects financed from the Regional Operational Program 2014-2020

Source: "Lista proiectelor" 2019

- 2015: National Touristic Information and Promotion Center. Source: Regional Operational Program (National Touristic Development Center). Total project value: 486 752.94 RON.
- 2016-2020: Conservation, restauration, and sustainable valorization of the Palace of the Princes complex in Alba Iulia. Source: Regional Operational Program. Total project value: 21 724 540.94 RON; EU contribution: 21 065 662.54 RON
- 2019: Improvement of the educational infrastructure within the D-body and the H-body of the University 1 December 1918. Source: Regional Operational Program (Regional Development Agency). Total project value: over 24 million RON, of which 23.9 million RON is financed from the ROP. Project owner: University 1 December 1918.

Projects financed from other EU funds:

- 2013-2015: Temporary Use as a Tool for Urban Regeneration. Source: URBACT, Regional Development Fund (TUTUR)
- 2013-2015: City Logo. Source: URBACT, Regional Development Fund (Docea, "City logo.")
- 2016-2019: Alba Iulia Smart City Pilot Project. Source: European Innovation Partnership on Smart Cities and Communities (EIP-SCC), European Commission. Total project value: c. 1 million EUR for 100 projects including projects dealing with the Citadel ("Alba Iulia Smart City").

Projects financed from national and local budget:

- 2006-2007: Consolidation works, restauration of Gate I. Source: Budget of the Ministry of Culture, local budget. Total project value: 2 248 772.33 RON
- 2008-2009: Consolidation works, restauration of Gate II. Source: Budget of the Ministry of Culture, local budget. Total project value: 2 253 396.32 RON
- 2007-2009: Consolidation works, restauration of Gate III. Source: Budget of the Ministry of Culture, local budget. Total project value: 6 927 027.24 RON
- 2004-2009: Consolidation works, restauration of Gate V. Source: Budget of the Ministry of Culture, local budget. Total project value: 2 415 914.26 RON
- 2007-2009: Restauration and development of the Southern Gate of the Roman Fort. Source: budget of the Ministry of Tourism, local budget. Total project value: 1 770 271.34 RON.

Summary of revitalization plans in the documents PUZ 2013: 1.1-1.2 and RLU-PUG 2014

The most important urban planning document explicitly dealing with the Citadel is the Zonal Urban Plan and the related Local Norms of Urbanism created in 2013 (PUZ 2013). According to Law 350/2001 on spatial and urban planning, the relevant PUZ must be aligned with the General Urban Plan, which is mandatory to create for all administrative units in Romania. In Alba Iulia, the revision of the PUG from 1996 went parallel with the elaboration of the PUZ, and it was accepted in 2014 (RLU-PUG 2014). Parallel with these, several Detailed Urban Plans were created from 2015 for various parts of the Citadel, which regulated specific construction activities in detail (for the complete list, see PUZ 2013, 1.1-1.2).

The RLU-PUG 2014 introduced a new zoning system in the city which was based on four factors: 1) the functions permitted in the zone; 2) the mode of construction (continuous, discontinuous, etc.), 3) the height of the buildings, and 4) the level of historical or natural protection. The Citadel located in the Central Protected zone was covered by two sub-zones: CP1 (the territory surrounded by the 18th-century fortifications) and CP2 (the zone of the fortifications), both protected historical monuments in the highest, A category. The RLU-PUG 2014 prescribed the conditions of any developments within this area.

The RLU-PUG 2014 defined which functions are permitted for the buildings in the Citadel: only representative public functions, administrative functions, museums, libraries, cultural centers, educational and cultural functions, student accommodation and other functions related to the university campus, galleries, shops selling religious objects, antiques, art, books, handicraft products, public catering and accommodation for tourists, fine art workshops, and organized and planted public spaces. For the zone of the fortifications, the following functions are permitted: planted public spaces, also with some specific uses, such as outdoor exhibitions, botanic gardens, landscape models; spaces for sport and cultural activities, information services, public sanitary facilities, arts, medieval crafts, exhibitions, shops, public catering such as clubs, pubs, confectioneries, bars, seasonal terraces, as well as travel agencies and guide services. The operation of the kindergarten or the already existing healthcare services are permitted conditionally, until their relocation. Outdoor activities are allowed in the zone of the fortifications in case they do not disturb the neighboring functions and do not damage the vegetation. There is also a list of prohibited functions, which is especially restrictive in the case of the fortification zone: everything is prohibited which is not connected to leisure or tourism.