

THE EVOLUTION OF CETĂȚUIA URBAN ENSEMBLE IN CLUJ-NAPOCA BY USING POSTCARDS: FROM FORTIFICATION TO RECREATIONAL SPACE

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ABSTRACT

Visual representations are a key tool for tourism marketing, incorporating the possibility of transmitting the associated historical and cultural symbols, as well as the messages associated with the official discourse at the same time. This article aims to analyse the evolution of urban and tourist planning since 1900 until now, in the area of Cetățuia urban ensemble in Cluj-Napoca, by using postcards. The methodology consisted of interpreting the visual representations of the studied area from a critical perspective of the official discourse based on the selection of postcards published in different historical periods. The results of the study highlight the changes registered by Cetățuia urban ensemble based on the evolution of the tourist planning, on the one hand, as well as on the narrative associated with the visual representations strongly influenced by the political ideology, on the other hand. This study reflects the role of postcards as a research tool in studies focused on analysing the visual representations of cultural heritage elements as promotion tools, but also a means of understanding cultural buildings and sites. At the same time, the visual representations of Cetățuia and its location encompass coded messages of the official discourse meant to promote their image as a recreational space as part of the modernisation process of Cluj-Napoca during Socialism.

Keywords: visual representations, cultural landscape, official discourse, critical analysis, urban identity

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INTRODUCTION

The various typology of the cultural built heritage and its plurivalents (historical, architectural, symbolic, spiritual, perennial, aesthetic, recreational, etc.) justify its conservation and capitalisation. The cultural heritage is a selection of past elements that have been preserved so far, a selection made based on what society has considered valuable, namely those elements that have a meaning for society and will be preserved and valued depending on the current concerns (De Morales Cortes, 2013, p. 11). Over time, under the impact of the increasing dynamics of urban centres, some elements of cultural built heritage have lost their original

function (Amato, Andreoli & Rovai, 2021; Merciu, Petrișor & Merciu, 2021), which is linked to the need for adaptive reuse as a way of preservation and optimal use, in accordance with the cultural and social needs of the local community members.

At the same time, the cultural built heritage displays characteristics such as uniqueness, authenticity and irreversibility related to various associated values (Merciu, Petrișor & Merciu, 2021) that give a sense of place (*genius loci*) (Watson & Waterton, 2010, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020, p. 38). These characteristics individualise the historical monuments as elements of territorial identity (Munasinghe, 2000; Lewicka, 2008; Kaymaz, 2013; Boussaa, 2018; Ilovan, 2020a; Merciu, 2020). On the one hand, the identity of the place is given by particular features of the cultural built heritage (architecture of buildings) (Munasinghe, 2000; Kaymaz, 2013; Mahgoub, 2007, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020; Merciu, 2020; Amirshaghghi & Nasekhian, 2021), identified between the “objective” and quantifiable qualities of the territory (Banini, 2021). To the built cultural heritage are added the specific nature imprinted by the elements of intangible heritage (Munasinghe, 2000; Göbel, 2021) and the history and influence of socio-cultural factors (Munasinghe, 2000; Gospodini, 2002; Amirshaghghi & Nasekhian, 2021). Thus, the cultural built heritage generates a strong image of a territory both among visitors and the local population (Gospodini, 2002).

Historical monuments include symbolic meanings for the members of the local community because significant historical events are often associated with them. In addition, the cultural awareness of space generates social interaction, and thus a continuity of life, implicitly of the cultural one, generated by cultural production or the mere participation of the population in cultural activities (Munasinghe, 2000; Lewicka, 2008; Amirshaghghi & Nasekhian, 2021).

Once assimilated by society, historical monuments are preserved and often variously represented. The representation of the cultural heritage elements is closely related to the process of building the identity of a territory (Ilovan & Maroși, 2018; Banini, 2021), including national identity (Winiwarter, 2008) under the direct influence of policy makers (Ilovan, 2020b; Merciu, 2020; Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). The cultural heritage is commonly used as a political tool, and the choice of elements to be protected is often based on selectivity and power (Sadowski, 2018). Cultural heritage protection policies can be used according to their role in reaching the local, national, and international interests.

This study aims to highlight the evolution stages of Cetățuia urban ensemble in Cluj-Napoca under the impact of urban and tourist planning since 1900 until now. The evolution of the analysed urban area took place over several historical stages, giving it an increasing attention from the local public administration, reflected by the frequent representations focused on promoting the area both among the local population and tourists over time. The significance of the analysed urban area is related to its historical, cultural and landscape values that have been capitalised on by tourists, which explains the frequent visual representations since both the pre-war and inter-war periods, as well as Communism.

The changes within the analysed urban area and its transformation into a recreational space have been highlighted on the basis of postcards published in different historical periods. The analysis of the postcards also facilitated the identification of the narrative associated with the Cetățuia urban ensemble, which contains the symbols of the political ideology from the Communist period when the area underwent the greatest urban changes. This study, located at the intersection of both cultural and landscape studies, contributes to the role of the geographical approach in analysing the evolution of cultural landscapes within the urban environment as reflected in postcards. Against the background of a long evolution of the

Cetățuia urban ensemble, the study focuses on analysing, interpreting, and extracting the relevant information from postcards regarding the changes registered following the application of the landscaping models since the early 20th century to the present. The questions we will answer are: (1) To what extent are the elements of historical importance capitalised on in spatial planning? (2) Is urban planning the main or secondary topic? (3) How much information can be obtained from observing visual representations? (4) How is urban planning integrated in the visual discourse during the Communist period? (5) Does the current urban planning correct the mistakes of the distant and recent past?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

There are various studies in which postcards have been used more and more often in recent decades as a research tool: socio-humanistic studies dedicated to cultural heritage (Engelen & Sterckx, 2011; Sak & Basa, 2012; Sterckx & Engelen, 2013; Jacobs & Notteboom, 2018; Mârza, 2018a; Mârza, 2018b; Ilovan, 2020a; Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020; Ilovan, 2021a; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021), anthropology (Hamilakis, Anagnostopoulos & Ifantidis, 2009), tourism studies (Kahn, 2000; Rogan, 2005; Winiwarter, 2008; Bonarou, 2021; Spennemann, 2021), studies on colonialism (Kahn, 2000; Torres, 2006; Il Pai, 2013), types of Communist propaganda representation (Rowley, 2010; Ilovan, 2020b; Ilovan, 2021a, 2021b), studies dedicated to changes in urban and rural landscapes (Elliott, 2003; Arreola & Burkhart, 2010; Weis & Hronček, 2017; Hein, 2018; Jacobs & Notteboom, 2018; Maroși, 2018; Koshnick, 2020; Ilovan, 2020b; Ilovan 2021a; Merciu, 2021; Spennemann, 2021; Valjarevič et al., 2021), etc.

Postcards are a great way to analyse the history of a particular place (Brickman, 2016), as they have a significant potential for researching cultural landscapes (Weis & Hronček, 2017; Spennemann, 2021) and specific elements (landscape overviews, individual streets or specific buildings, memorials) (Rogan, 2005; Engelen & Sterckx, 2011; Viñao & Ruiz-Funes, 2016; Jacobs & Notteboom, 2018; Maroși, 2018; Weis & Hronček, 2017; Spennemann, 2021).

Postcards are also an excellent source of social history because they show what was popular or seen as relevant in the area where the postcard is sold (Brickman, 2016). As cultural products, postcards are not just visual representations, but they rather embody ideological messages (Torres, 2006; Winiwarter, 2008; Ilovan, 2020b; Bonarou, 2021; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). Critical analysis of visual representations facilitates the decoding of symbols and the identification of the narrative / narratives of cultural heritage (Watson & Waterton, 2010, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020; Bonarou, 2021) by communicating coded messages of the object and transmitted to the public by official speech (Ilovan, 2020a; Mareci-Sobol & Purici, 2020; Banini, 2021; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021).

The symbolic power of postcards can go far beyond the photographic theme. Thus, as static photographs, the postcards can decontextualise the represented object by transposing it in other contexts (Bonarou, 2021). Postcards as both space and time 'fragments' can become symbols for culturally shaped images as observed realities by making them 'objects' (Edwards, 1996 and Markwick, 2001, quoted in Bonarou, 2021, p. 46). The word 'representation' includes several meanings and interpretations, but literally the verb to represent means to present again (Bonarou, 2021, p. 46). However, the representation should not be considered as a reflection, but rather as an act of reconstruction (Hall, 1982, quoted in Bonarou, 2021, p. 46). Visual representations in postcards are culturally and socially constructed and conceptualised

(Bonarou, 2021). As an essential part of the process by which cultural heritage is produced, representations allow visual culture to be 'read' as a narrative of identity, politics, and power (Watson & Waterton, 2010, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020, p. 44). Thus, the elements of cultural heritage are selected to be represented according to their cultural, historical, aesthetic values, but also to their economic value (Watson & Waterton, 2010, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020).

The essence of postcard analysis is to communicate, to understand and discuss their more profound meanings (Bonarou, 2021). Even postcards used as a tool for advertising tourist destinations involve issues of ideology and identity, depending on particular cultural and social conditions. As a result, the design of tourist landscapes is focused on highlighting certain features that symbolise the desires and fantasies that motivate tourists to travel. These representations may contain more or less authentic images (Bonarou, 2021) created by emphasising the aesthetics of a tourist destination that may reflect a subjective experience (Rogan, 2005). This situation may be a response to modern communication needs, as mass tourism has increasingly developed (Rogan, 2005).

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY

During the late 17th century, after the War of Independence (1703-1711) waged by the Hungarians against the Habsburgs, the Habsburg domination was established in Transylvania. The War of Independence was led by Francis Rákóczi II, the regent prince of Hungary and proclaimed prince of Transylvania in 1704 by the representatives of the Transylvanian Diet (Sălăgean, 2016). The Prince Francis Rákóczi II campaigned for the dissolution of the union with the House of Habsburg. As the former municipality of Cluj-Napoca was under Hungarian administration, the Austrians urgently decided to build a fortification on the territory of Cluj-Napoca to ensure control over the city and to discourage the inhabitants from revolting against the Austrian authorities (Szabó, 1946, quoted in Țoca, 1983).

The Austrians built a modern fortification at a strategic point in the city (Kőmál Hill, Hungarian for "Stony Slope") (Țoca, 1983) due to the additional need to house the imperial troops to control the city. This location was also advantageous due to the hilly relief and the features of the plateau (Kovács, 2014), thus strengthening the defensive function of the fortification. The location will later be named after the fortification (Cetățuia Hill).

The fortification was built according to the map of the Italian military engineer Giovanni Morando Visconti, who began field measurements around 1712 (Pop, 2008; Kovács, 2014). The fortress is one of the first Vauban-type fortifications in Transylvania (Pop, 2008). The period of construction of the fortress was extensive, taking place over two decades (1715-1735) (Țoca, 1983; Kovács, 2014).

To build the fortress, the Austrians confiscated the lands on Cetățuia Hill and destroyed the vines that were previously cropped on the Southern slope (Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, S.C. Planwerk S.R.L. & S.C. Bogart S.R.L., 1999; Sălăgean, 2016). The aggressive action that was the foundation of the fortification was also an act of intimidation of the city's population in order to prevent its mutiny. The fortress was also used as a prison, especially during the 1848 Revolution (Țoca, 1983). One of the heroes of the 1848 Revolution, the Saxon pastor Stephan Ludwig Roth was imprisoned and executed in the prison of the fortification. The prison operated for over 200 years, until the 1960s (Țoca, 1983).

More easily accessible, the fortress had an irregular pentagonal design, equipped on the Eastern, Northern and Western sides with a series of advanced fortifications (bastions and stone gates) (Pop, 2008; Kovács, 2014) to which a redoubt is added, which was replaced in 1950 by the Paratroopers' Tower for the training of paratroopers (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 10). Also, there was an outer dirt wave and a ditch all around (Kovács, 2014), except for the Southern side, which has a steep slope of the hill. Inside the fortified enclosure, a series of buildings were erected to meet the needs of the garrison installed within the fortress: barracks, ammunition depots, food depots, buildings for the command of the fortress (Țoca, 1983).

Nowadays, five buildings are still preserved from the fortified enclosure (three gates: East Gate, North Gate and West Gate, and two enclosure buildings: former powder depot and former grain depot) (Țoca, 1983). The West Gate (Ravelin Gate) is privately owned undergoing recent unauthorised reconstructions (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 10). The North Gate is located in the Northern side of the fortification, at the end of the access stairs on the Southern wing, known as the Viennese Gate (*Wiener Thor*) which was the main access to the fortress (Figure 1, left). The access gangway underwent two stages of construction, the exterior is older (as in the case of the Eastern gate) and is covered by a flattened semi-cylindrical vault with penetrations, shorter than the interior. The newer part of the access corridor was built together with the rectangular building above it (Figure 1, right). There are stone carved frames at the ground floor openings, while the upstairs windows have rectangular frames. The Western gate gang collapsed in part due to landslides. Between the Northern and North-eastern bastions there is also a narrow access corridor to the fortress, cut to the thickness of the earth wave and covered with a flattened vault. Close to the Eastern gate there is a massive, single-storey building, erected on a rectangular plan, delimited by the North-eastern bastion, characterised by unpainted walls, built of stones, housing the powder depot of the fortress (Kovács, 2014).



Figure 1: Water Gate (left); Viennese Gate (right)

Source: A.-M. VasiloIU, May 2021

The Water Gate (*Wasser Thor*) whose opening dug into the outer slope of the earth wave is flanked by two massive buttresses is on the Eastern side former fortification. The access gangway is narrower to the outside, and wider to the inside of the fortress. It is vaulted with baroque vaults with a basket handle profile. The inside of the access gangway is next to a two-storey building (Figure 1, right) (Kovács, 2014).

Towards the late 18th century, the military garrison gradually began to lose its defensive function. In 1782 the Austrian sovereign issued a decree to sell the fortification, but the decree was not complied with (Szabó, 1946, quoted in Țoca, 1983). The role of the fortress diminished as new buildings were built inside the city to house the Austrian army (e.g., the building of Sfântu Gheorghe barracks between 1834 and 1837, in the current Ștefan cel Mare Square, designed by Captain Goró Lajos and built by Winkler György and Kagerbauer Antal, with a capacity to house about two hundred soldiers (Szabó, 1946, quoted in Țoca, 1983).

Later, within the context of the Austro-Hungarian dualist empire, on which occasion the Hungarian government was reformed and resumed the administrative functions of Transylvania, Cetățuia lost its military role. On the one hand, the decommissioning of the garrison was because Cetățuia no longer had the key role of providing an efficient surveillance of the city. On the other hand, the Cetățuia area was perceived as a place of sad memory because it was a place of suffering, especially for the population of Hungarian origin (Greek Catholics were persecuted in the prison within Cetățuia).

Due to its historical value, Cetățuia performed the function of an archaeological site, being classified as a national historical monument over time (it is included in the value group A): code CJ-II-aA-07240. The archaeological site is delimited by the Eastern limit of the plot from number 70 Dragalina street, number 1-27 Șerpuitoare street at the bottom of the plot, Șerpuitoare street and Augustin Bunea street, Călărașilor street at the Northern front, Cetății street at the Eastern front from number 25 to 55, the Western limit of the plot from number 18 Galilei street, Aleea Scării, Dragalina street, the Northern front from number 70 Aleea Scării (Ministry of Culture, 2015).

After 1900, the area where Cetățuia is located has gained tourist value (Gábor et al., 2011; Mârza, 2018b). During the Communist period, Cetățuia was included in an extensive urban development project that aimed to capitalise on it as a space for relaxation (observation platforms, a hotel that by shape and size generated a change in the image of the historical urban ensemble; the construction of the large hotel also led to the destruction of some of the remains of the former fortification).

In this study, focused on the analysis of the urban planning evolution of an area with deep historical and cultural values, the emphasis is on the interpretation of the official discourse through which various meanings were given to a public urban space following its loss of defence. The influence of the political factor has generated new meanings for Cetățuia urban ensemble over time, and the assimilation process of building an identity strongly transformed during Socialism to be achieved by postcards, into an easy tool to spread coded messages among the population.

The main aspects discussed are: (1) the evolution of urban development projects carried out in different historical stages in the analysed area, (2) the messages associated with urban development projects from the ideological perspective and implicitly of the meanings given, (3) the impact of those made in the current period, on the preservation of the urban ensemble and the multiple values associated with it. The structure of this article includes, along with the formal theoretical and methodological sections, an extensive section in which the urban planning projects and their role in highlighting the historical and cultural significance of the Cetățuia urban ensemble are analysed chronologically.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis of visual imagery includes postcards and old images in order to identify detailed elements of the analysed areas, including landscapes or even individual elements that have a number of particular characteristics, for example: economically, politically, socially and culturally important buildings, which are frequently represented in postcards. Postcards have long been considered less appreciated documentary sources (Ferguson, 2005; Hamilakis, Anagnostopoulos & Ifantidis, 2009; Ilovan & Maroși, 2018) or insufficient, whose use also implies a degree of subjective interpretation (Ilovan & Maroși, 2018; Maroși, 2018) correlated with the personality, specialisation, interests, and other information of the authors (Maroși, 2018). But since the second half of the 20th century, postcards have been increasingly used as a research tool (Ferguson, 2005; Ilovan & Maroși, 2018; Maroși, 2018; McMullen, 2020) due to the represented aspects of past and culture (Maroși, 2018; Ali & Henin, 2021). Postcards have become a source of information besides documentation, being a useful tool in studies focused on analysing the evolution of society from a social (Ferguson, 2005; Koshnick, 2020; McMullen, 2020; Ilovan, 2021a; Spennemann, 2021), economic (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021; Valjarevič et al., 2021) and cultural point of view (Rogan, 2005; Sak & Basa, 2012; Jacobs & Notteboom, 2018; Ilovan, 2020b; Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020; Ali & Henin, 2021; Ilovan 2021a; Spennemann, 2021).

Postcards provide visual insights into people, objects, and places (Bonarou, 2021) based on an analysis of their visual representations as well as written elements (e.g., subtitles: publisher, topic, date, location, or messages written by the sender) (Rogan, 2005; Ilovan & Maroși, 2018; Maroși, 2018; Ali & Henin, 2021; Ilovan, 2021a). The names of the settlements, especially in the multicultural regions, provide clues for both identifying and dating of postcards (Maroși, 2018). Background information may be necessary as well as relevant if it is used to provide the rationale and authenticity of the research. This information is relevant in interpreting the visual representations, as part of indirect observation, and the key role of the researcher is to reduce the subjectivity of the research as much as possible by increasing the authenticity of the interpretations (Maroși, 2018).

In analysing the urban history and planning, the postcards which represented landscapes or scenes from a city or region, during a certain moment in history, are more relevant. These visual representations are vital because they are often the only professionally made and preserved images, especially when the official illustrations such as postcards cover a long period of time and capture many changes in the representation and functionality of localities (Maroși, 2018, pp. 9-10).

Postcards are used as a tool in analysing the cultural built heritage elements thus facilitating the understanding of the socio-cultural context, as well as highlighting the aesthetic and inherent values of historical monuments (Watson & Waterton, 2010, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020), while promoting them as tourist attractions (Bonarou, 2021).

A careful examination of the buildings in the illustrations can identify some details of great relevance for dating the images and also the function of the building and even their size, construction styles, architecture and evolution (Maroși, 2018, p. 10).

Studying the past settlements using urban plans made by qualified specialists, which allows the adoption of projects with a high degree of customisation in accordance with local specificities (e.g., identification and conservation of the local identity elements of the settlements, Maroși, 2018), some of which are represented by cultural objectives is equally important in analysing the historical monuments.

Research tool and data collection

This research gathered about 90 old images (old postcards, photographs) of the place where Cetățuia urban ensemble is located. Two sources have been used to collect postcards published in different historical periods (including old photographs): the private collection of the authors and the collections of people who published articles online about the Cetățuia archaeological site or the area where it is located.

The authors selected and analysed 14 postcards and 3 photographs from different periods considered relevant in order to highlight the evolution of the tourist planning made in the area of the Cetățuia urban ensemble. The selected postcards have been sorted chronologically. Each postcard was analysed in detail, in several standardised fields to identify various details (urban planning, architectural details, people and activities), including minor details (street plantations, pedestrian clothing, service infrastructure: road paving) analysed in other studies as well (Arreola & Burkhart, 2010; Jones-Travers, 2018; Ilovan, 2020b; Mareci-Sabol & Purici, 2020; Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021; Spennemann, 2021). The selection of significant visual images was established using several criteria such as: the age and number of postcards, the topic represented, the quality (technique) (Leary, 1985, quoted in Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020), the aesthetics of postcards (which also reflects their popularity) (Rogan, 2005), and the uniqueness of old visual materials. The images of the postcards were also analysed according to the dominant visual representations based on which repeated symbols associated with the official speech were identified.

In order to highlight the successive stages of tourist planning and capitalisation of the Cetățuia urban ensemble as a recreational space, old images and current photographs by the authors were used alternately. Based on the analysis of the postcards, the interpreted data were correlated with the information that resulted from the documentation. Based on the latter, the authors synthesised and processed relevant information in the field of History, territorial planning (General Urban Plan developed in 1999 and Zonal Urban Plan Development of the Cetățuia Urban Ensemble in Cluj-Napoca developed in 2020) and Geography that allowed contextualisation and analysis of the successive transformations registered by the former fortification and the area in which it evolved from the loss of its defence function until now.

Visual analysis and interpretation of data

This article is based on qualitative research that consists in interpreting the visual representations of an urban area that has registered a change in its function over time, from the fortification to the archaeological site and later set up as a recreational space. The interpretation of the visual representations of Cetățuia and its location was made from the perspective of the visual discourse. The interpretation based on a critical analysis of the official discourse involved decoding the messages associated with postcards, especially those published during the Communist period, when the Cetățuia urban ensemble recorded the most intense urban transformations. Thus, the urban area is brought to the centre of attention for the general public in order to highlight its transformation into a recreational space as a symbol of the modernisation process of Cluj-Napoca municipality reached during Socialism.

Postcards were used during the Communist period as a propaganda tool to promote the idea of urban development as well as the general idea of progress (Ilovan, 2020b). Thus, the visual representations were interpreted in relation to the political discourse of the Socialism, focused on highlighting the development level and modernisation of Romanian cities through various

visual markings transformed into icons of the urban landscape (Ilovan, 2020b): new collective housing buildings, elements of tourist infrastructure, etc.

Also, the visual representations are analysed from the perspective of the selecting process of the national identity elements by referring to a series of buildings and memorials within the municipality of Cluj-Napoca, taking into account the relevance of images in the process of identity construction.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of the tourist attractiveness of the Cetățuia urban ensemble and of its location

The Cetățuia urban ensemble is located on the homonymous hill, in the Gruia district, north of the historical centre of Cluj-Napoca, at an altitude of 405 meters, 60 meters above the Someș river, the interfluvium between the Someș valley and that of the Nadăș brook (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020) (Figure 2). The aesthetic value of the urban ensemble is conferred by its location, a value that is completed by the Someș valley, which flows at the foot of Cetățuia Hill.

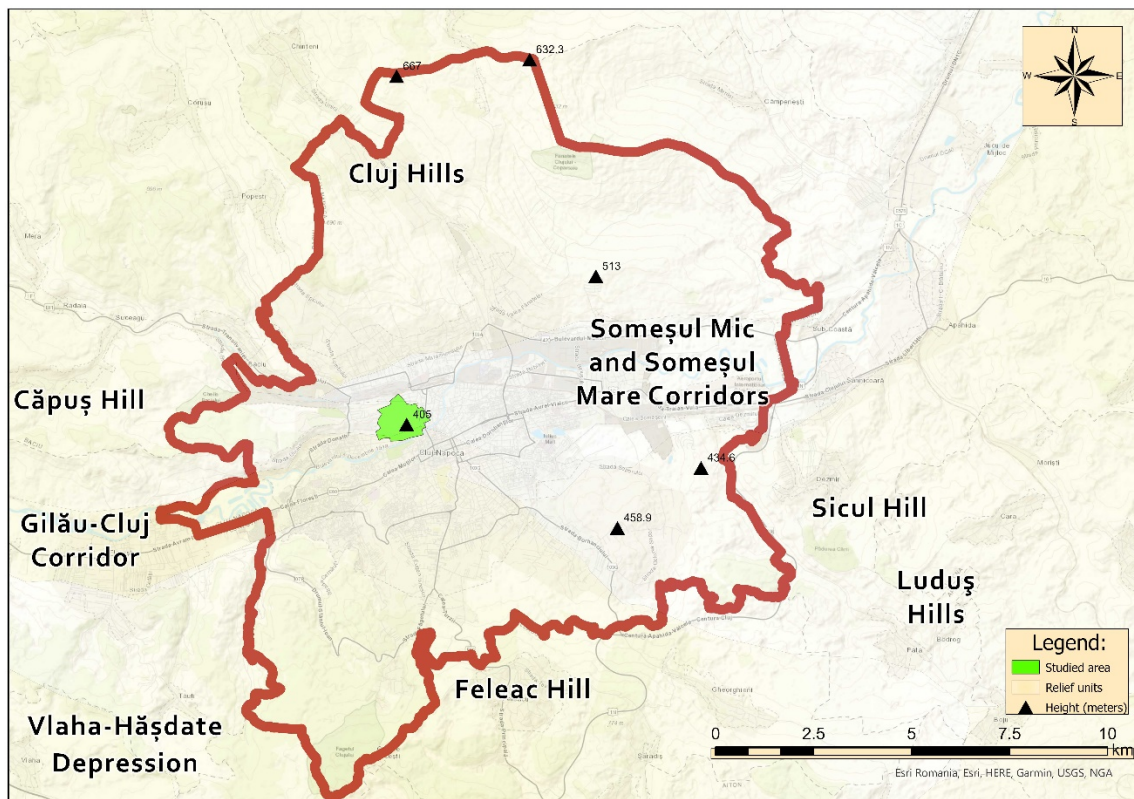


Figure 2: Location of Cetățuia urban ensemble

Cartography: A.-M. VasiloIU, 2021

The analysed urban area has also ecological values, within which partially natural green spaces are registered (Deac et al., 2014). Between 1950 and 1960, planting works were carried out in the current South-Eastern access area (from General Dragalina Street) and on Aleea Scării, in the Northern and Western parts of the fortress, in the area of collective dwellings located at the Southern foot of Cetățuia Hill (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 20). Thus, Cetățuia Hill is included in the category of landscaped green spaces (Cozea, 2013, p. 111).

Cluj-Napoca benefits from a wide panorama from Cetățuia Hill, which is a very popular viewpoint, as it allows to observe the city silhouette represented by a uniform mass of buildings, highlighting the church towers (e.g., St. Michael's Cathedral tower) (Figure 3). Cetățuia Hill is considered the best belvedere location in the city (Cozea, 2013, p. 111).

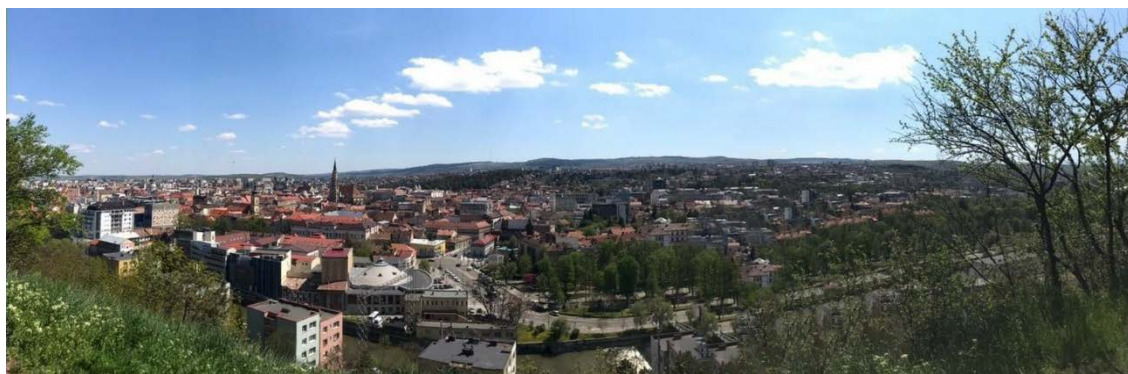


Figure 3: Panorama of Cluj-Napoca from Cetățuia Hill

Source: A.-M. VasiloIU, May 2021

It is noted that the tourist attractiveness of the Cetățuia urban ensemble is given by the multiple values (historical, cultural, educational, aesthetic) it encompasses which draws attention to the fact that its location cannot be identified only as a viewpoint. The Cetățuia urban ensemble represents one of the emblematic places of Cluj-Napoca, being at the same time a spectacular place from the point of view of the urban landscape, visually rich from a historical perspective and frequented by locals and tourists alike (Mârza, 2018a).

The educational value of the Cetățuia urban ensemble is granted by the fact that, on the one hand, it represents an interesting case study that offers the possibility to present an open-air lesson on the history of the city based on the artifacts that it still preserves. On the other hand, Cetățuia area offers the possibility to observe various patterns of urban spatial planning, which can be considered as landmarks in the way of organising the territory by highlighting both planning errors and good practice models.

Regarding the historical value granted by Cetățuia ruins, the access gates from the East, West and North are still preserved, as well as some walls, buildings (two storage spaces) and the tower surrounded by five bastions which was transformed into the Paratroopers' Tower. Because no consolidation works were carried out on the archaeological site, the elements within the site were severely affected by landslides (Cozea, 2013; Metapolis Architects et al., 2020). Although it suffered some losses in the 20th century, the fortress survived the tendency to demolish the urban military fortifications in Transylvania, representing a countless value due to its antiquity, a valuable document revealing historical realities, construction techniques, defence strategies and their evolution (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 18). Due to its historical and cultural

values, but also to its aesthetic aspect, the Cetățuia urban ensemble was selected to film the exterior scenes of two Romanian films. For example, in the summer and autumn of 1964, several scenes of the film “Gaudeamus Igitur” directed by Gheorghe Vitanidis were filmed after the screenplay by writers Vasile Rebreanu and Mircea Zăciu, while several frames of the film “Freckled” were made in 1973 (Chiș, 2020).

Over time, the analysed urban area has retained its aesthetic features granted not only by the morphology of the site, but also as a result of the fact that in 1831 an act was issued in order to ban the construction of tall buildings in the area. Therefore, the fortification was also called the “Cloud Fortress” (Hungarian: “Fellegvár”) (Gábor et al., 2011, p. 41). During the Communist period, the area underwent a wide systematisation in order to be changed into a recreational space.

The evolution of the tourist planning of the Cetățuia urban ensemble

Divided into three parts, the structure of this section is focused on the chronological presentation of the urban planning made within the Cetățuia urban ensemble in order to be transformed into a recreational space. The authors established three stages in the evolution of the process of arranging the studied area: the early 20th century when the first actions of Cetățuia Hill capitalisation as a promenade space were carried out; the Communist period represents the stage in which the area of the Cetățuia urban ensemble has undergone the greatest transformations following an extended process of systematisation. The current period is characterised by building public catering structures, to which the initiative of the local public administration to make planning that allow an optimal capitalisation of the Cetățuia urban ensemble from a cultural and tourist point of view, as well as measures related to the value of the natural setting are added.

Cetățuia urban ensemble as a promenade space during the early 20th century

During the early 20th century, Cetățuia lost its quality of fortification (Țoca, 1983; Kovács, 2014; Mârza, 2018b; Lucuț, 2020). Within this context, the city hall decided to carry out projects for the development of the city’s public spaces. One of the projects was focused on the construction of a promenade in a serpentine within the urban area analysed up to the top of Cetățuia Hill (Mârza, 2018b; Chiș, 2019; Lucuț, 2020). Started in 1889, this project made the connection between the Central Park of the city and Cetățuia (Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, S.C. Planwerk S.R.L. & S.C. Bogart S.R.L., 1999; Mârza, 2018b) by extending the promenade area of the park to Cetățuia Hill (Gábor et al., 2011; Bogosavlievici & Zmicala, 2014; Mârza, 2018b; Chiș, 2019). The alley was named “Elisabeta promenade” in memory of the Empress Elisabeth (Sissi), the wife of the Austro-Hungarian emperor Franz Josef, two years after her death (Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, S.C. Planwerk S.R.L. & S.C. Bogart S.R.L., 1999; Bogosavlievici & Zmicala, 2014; Mârza, 2018b; Chiș, 2019).

To connect the park with Dealul Cetățuia, in 1902 the Cluj City Development Association decided to build the pedestrian bridge on Someș (Pop, 2016), which was named after the Empress Elisabeth (Chiș, 2017, 2019). During World War II, the retreating German troops blew up the bridge, along with the other bridges on the Someș river, to stop the advance of the Soviet army. The bridge was rebuilt during the late 1940s and was restored in 1980 (Bogosavlievici & Zmicala, 2014); later, in the summer of 2011, it was also provided with decorative lighting (Chiș, 2019).

Cetățuia Hill project as a promenade space was correlated with the local population’s increasing desire for leisure and to use the area where Cetățuia was located as a recreational space (Mârza,

2018b; Lucuț, 2020). The promenade space was designed by Lajos Pákei, the city's chief architect: alleys were drawn, trees were planted (Pop, 2016); a year and a half later, a monument was erected in the middle of the promenade in memory of Empress Elisabeta (Sissi), which was unveiled in 1901 (Pop, 2016; Mârza, 2018b; Chiș, 2019). The bust of Empress Elizabeth was removed during the Communist era to erase one of the symbols that referred to the city's stage of evolution when it was integrated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Her bust is currently stored at the Art Museum in Cluj-Napoca, and it is desired to be restored to the public, especially since the concrete pedestal exists on the spot (Mârza, 2018b). The location of the monument was established in the Southern part of the Cetățuia urban ensemble, due to the fact that it was one of the places where Empress Elisabeta was walking during her visit to Cluj in 1887 (Chiș, 2019).

The zig-zag promenade alley and the pedestal of the empress's bust can be seen in a postcard dating back to the early 20th century in which Cetățuia Hill is represented (Figure 4). With a Romanian overprint executed after 1918 (Mârza, 2018b), the postcard is of a special artistic quality, in which the morphology of Cetățuia Hill seen from the "Elisabeta" pedestrian bridge on Someș is highlighted.

The representation of Cetățuia Hill also suggests its quality as a lookout point. This explains the frequency of postcards published in the first half of the twentieth century, in which the central area of Cluj-Napoca using Cetățuia Hill as a lookout point is represented.



Figure 4: Postcard showing Cetățuia Hill: view from the Elisabeta pedestrian bridge on Someș river that connects the city with the old fortification (dating: 1900)

Source: Mârza, 2018b

After 1800, houses belonging to less affluent people were built on Cetățuia Hill, this being considered a residential area of "slum" type (Chiș, 2017; Soica, 2021) at that time, which extended to the banks of Someș (Soica, 2021) (Figure 5). There were caves on the hill where people lived at that time (Soica, 2021).



Figure 5: The houses in the slum on Cetățuia Hill during the early 20th century

Source: Soica, 2021

The houses on Cetățuia Hill were considered ethnically interesting. A project was conceived between 1922 and 1925 to arrange the open-air section of the Ethnographic Museum Transylvania on Cetățuia Hill. Romulus Vuia, the director of the museum at that time, managed to acquire one of the inhabited caves on Cetățuia Hill, with its entire inventory, in order to illustrate one of the most archaic human types of habitation in Cluj-Napoca, preserved until the twentieth century. Subsequently, the Ethnographic Museum was arranged on Hoia Hill (Sălăgean, 2016).

At the initiative of the Greek Catholic Church, a memorial monument was erected on Cetățuia Hill between 1936 and 1937, in memory of the people who lost their lives in the Cetățuia prison. However, this cross was demolished by the Communists in the 1950s (Morar et al., 2008) to remove a representative element of the Hungarian population.

Cetățuia Hill has been used as a lookout point since the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in various visual representations. During this period, it is popularised the panoramic image of Cluj-Napoca, taken from Cetățuia Hill, in old postcards that have the role of promoting its cultural image (Mârza, 2018a). The approximate dating of the old postcards was determined based on the analysis of the written elements, such as the previous Hungarian name of the municipality of Cluj-Napoca: “Kolozsvár”, which was supposed to adapt the name “Clus” from the Latin *clusa* (meaning closed natural place) by the Hungarian population as Clus-vár ('vár' in Hungarian meaning stronghold, fortress) (Maroși et al., 2019, p. 126) or some details written by the person who used them (Figure 6, left and right) are the years when these postcards were circulated: 1902 and 1918.

Both selected postcards are accurate representations of the 20th century urban landscape in the central part of Cluj-Napoca. The frequent representation of the old urban landscape is noticeable due to the architectural and historical values conferred by a series of representative cultural and religious objectives of the city (e.g., St. Michael's Cathedral). At the same time, the analysis of the historical postcards indicates, even if in an indirect way, the morphology of the Citadel's location, which was favourable in order to achieve panoramic images on the old urban tissue of the municipality.



Figure 6: Postcard showing the panorama of the city made from Cetățuia Hill: St. Michael's Cathedral can be seen in the foreground and in the medallion on the lower right: Széki Palace located at the intersection of King Ferdinand and George Barițiu streets, on the left bank of the Someș river (left); Panorama of the city on Cetățuia Hill: the Someș Valley is in the foreground, which has its course at the base of Cetățuia Hill and the first front of houses near the analysed site; the view illustrates a part of the central area of the city (in the background: St. Michael's Cathedral) (right)

Source: Mârza (2018a, p. 265)

The tourist planning of the analysed urban area during the Communist period

During the Communist period, the area of the Cetățuia urban ensemble was included in an extensive systematisation process in order to be transformed into a leisure space devoted to recreation. At the beginning of the 1960s, Cetățuia Hill was predominantly represented as a lookout point and on which the name of the municipality from that period (Cluj) is written (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Collage postcard published in 1960 (edited by CPCS RPR) reflects two representative images from an urban and tourist point of view in Cluj-Napoca: (top) panorama over the city centre seen from Cetățuia Hill and (bottom) Freedom Square (name given during Socialism between 1952 and 1980, currently The Union Square)

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection

On the postcard published in 1960, the name of the city of that period (Cluj) is written. Starting in 1974, the name Napoca will be added to the municipality (by State Decree no. 194 of October 16, 1974) (Maroși et al., 2019) to express the historical significance of the place by reusing the ancient name in addition to the medieval name of Cluj (Ilovan et al., 2018). The change of the name of the municipality was made for political and ideological reasons as it results from the objectives presented in the decree: *to perpetuate the name of this ancient settlement - as a testimony of the antiquity and continuity of the Romanian people in these lands* (Ilovan et al., 2018, p. 106).

Towards the end of the 1960s, when the tourist planning occurred in the studied area, the representations of Cetățuia Hill highlight the results of the Socialist systematisation. In the 1960s, postcards were published nationally in black and white, but they were characterised by a special artistic quality (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021).

At the beginning of the 1960s, the Cetățuia Hill development project firstly involved the demolition of the houses located on the Southern side of the slope to make way for the tourist planning that would contribute to increasing the tourist attractiveness of the studied area (Chiș, 2017; Soica, 2021). Also, the project of systematising the area involved the construction of blocks on Dragalina Street, located at the base of the hill, an action that fundamentally changed the landscape of the area (Chiș, 2017) (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Cetățuia Hill in the early 1960s, before the tourist planning was made (left); Photograph showing the blocks of flats built in the 1960s on General Dragalina Street (right)

Source: Chiș, 2017

The tourist planning was made in stages and was captured in various postcards published during the Communist period. Since 1961, access roads and pedestrian alleys have been arranged on the steeper side of the hill that leads to Someș Valley and to General Dragalina Street (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020) (Figures 9 and 10), as well as a playground for children, a sports field (Cozea, 2013); interventions were carried out to stabilise the Southern slope by drilling depletions and arranging ditches (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020); there were also two pavilions with the role of observation point on the Southern slope that offers the best perspective on the city: Rotonda (circular) and Pergola, built as an open observation platform, delimited by a concrete structure, the latter being located at a lower level than the Rotonda (Figure 9, right) (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 11, p. 26).

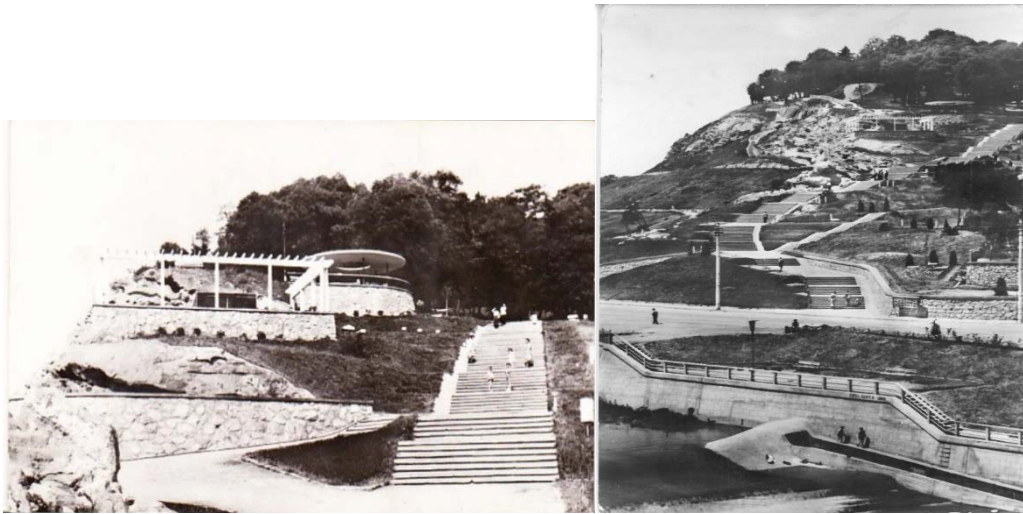


Figure 9: “Cluj – Pe Cetățuia [Cluj – on Cetățuia]” (text edited in Romanian, English, French, German and Russian; Meridiane Publishing House): postcard from the mid- 1960s, which shows in the foreground the urban planning made on the Southern slope of Cetățuia Hill: Rotonda, a circular concrete canopy, built as an observation pavilion; Pergola, built as an open observation deck, delimited by a concrete structure (left); “Dealul Cetățuia [Cetățuia Hill]” (the text is written in Romanian, English, French, German and Russian; photo Al. Mendrea, Meridiane Publishing House): the postcard circulated since the late 1960s showing the tourist planning: concrete alleys, stabilising works of the Southern slope by drilling depletions and arranging ditches; in the background: the observation platforms Rotonda and Pergola (approximate dating according to the evolution registered by the tourist plannings, the postcard circulated in 1968 according to the date written by the sender on the back) (right)

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection

In the 1970s, which represented the stage of maximum development of the Socialism at the national level, the building sector developed in a particularly direct way with the intensification of the urbanisation process and the achievement of tourist infrastructure. In order to comply with the desideratum imposed by the Socialist policy, the representatives of the local public administration decided to expand the hotel network in the central area of Cluj-Napoca and in its vicinity (Pănescu, 2016). Thus, at the beginning of the 1970s, Belvedere Hotel was built on Cetățuia Hill, with the financial support provided by the Ministry of Tourism (Figure 11) (Pănescu, 2016). The decision to build the Belvedere Hotel inside the former garrison was based on several advantages: the ideal position due to the nature of the site, about 40 m above the city hearth, the favourable relief and geotechnical conditions, free land being state-owned, road accesses and easy pedestrian walkways, existing green area, easy connections to the areas of interest of the city (for example, to the town centre, train station, important institutions, other attractions: museums, cultural buildings, parks, etc.) (Pănescu, 2016, p. 328).

To build the hotel, studies with functional and volumetric proposals were prepared, on the basis of which its position, shape and size were established. Hotel Belvedere was built as an accommodation and catering complex on 11 levels, basement 1, basement 2, ground floor, mezzanine and 7 floors. The hotel includes accommodation (200 seats), catering facilities: two dining rooms (200 seats), brasserie (76 seats), day bar (20 seats), night bar (50 seats), covered cafés (116 seats), free café (46 seats), confectionery; four conference rooms; indoor swimming pool, pool terrace, solarium, gym, outdoor parking inside and outside the hotel platform

(Pănescu, 2016, p. 329). The parking lot has been arranged as road access and parking for coaches (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 10). For the construction of the hotel, the East, North and West gates, the winery, and the existing warehouses have been adapted for different cultural and commercial planning (Pănescu, 2016). For example, the Western and Northern trenches of the former garrison provided recreational facilities: stage, outdoor stage, sports fields, arenas for various games, which were made under the pressure of time (Buzuloiu, 1977, quoted in Pănescu, 2016, p. 328). By building the hotel and the cafés changed Cetățuia Hill into an attractive tourist area due to the diversification of tourist services, being arranged as a leisure space. The step terraces, as well as the balconies of the accommodation body, represent places for contemplating and admiring the silhouette of Cluj-Napoca (Pănescu, 2016, p. 329). The extensive action of tourist planning was also correlated with the technical requirements for consolidating the Southern slope of the promontory (Pănescu, 2016).

This extensive development project aimed to facilitate access to the area of Cetățuia urban complex, which offered the local population and tourists the opportunity to spend their free time in a pleasant and special location of the city. Also, in order to facilitate the connection of the city with the Cetățuia Hill platform, three projects were planned, though they were not implemented (e.g. the cable car that would have connected the area at the foot of the hill, George Barițiu Street, and the hotel, over Someșul Mic, cancelled by the construction of two bank offices, elevator with rack accessible as a route parallel to the alley of stairs, having the starting point from the Western parking lot of the Chamber of Commerce, elevator and pedestrian walkway with departure from General Dragalina Street near the current pedestrian over Someșul Mic) (Pănescu, 2016, pp. 328-329). However, this extensive development project was carried out through an unjustified compromise: the buildings on the Southern side of the fortress were demolished (Kovács, 2014) and the topography of the Western and Northern bastions was partially modified (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020). Also, the size of the Belvedere Hotel is considerable, dominating with its silhouette the whole urban ensemble (Figure 10).

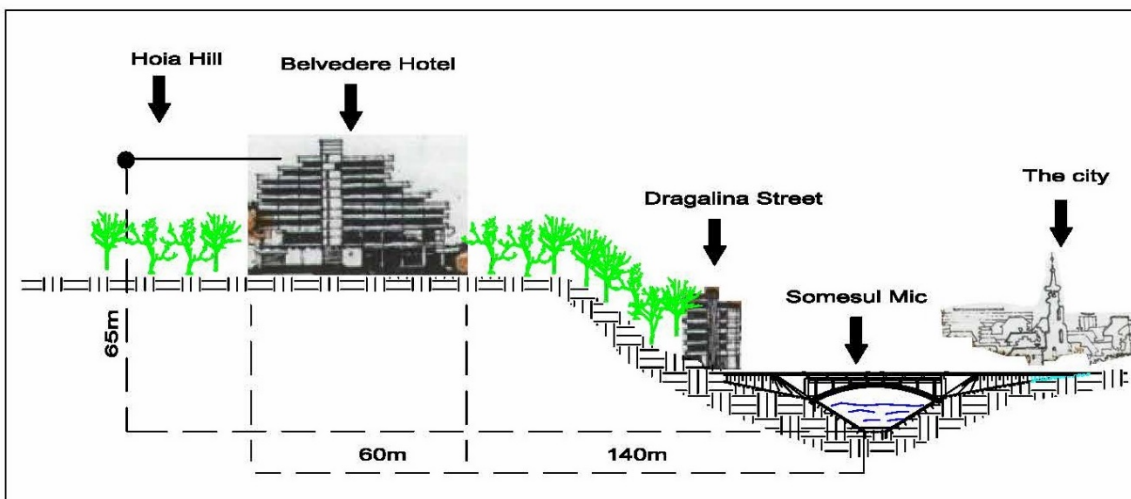


Figure 10: Section showing the position of the Belvedere Hotel in relation with the city

Source: processed by the authors after Buzuloiu, 1977

The tourist planning from the Communist period in the studied area was made at a rudimentary level, the real value and potential of this green space, given its large size and its location near the central area of the city, not being properly exploited (Cozea, 2013). Thus, at the time of

building the hotel and the planning of the stairs, neither the route of the earth-wave fortifications, nor the historical buildings of the former garrison were capitalised, thus losing some of them. In the 1970s, the tourist plannings were completed in the analysed area, so that in many postcards the Cetățuia Hill is represented as a singular element and the details regarding the plannings made for its transformation into a space for recreation and relaxation are highlighted (Figures 11 and 12).



Figure 11: Circulated postcard in which the details regarding the tourist planning of Cetățuia Hill are represented (pedestrian alleys, Pergola observation platform) in the foreground; panorama over the central area of Cluj-Napoca made from Cetățuia Hill in the background (dating: 1972 according to the date written by the sender; Publishing House for Tourism)

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection



Figure 12: “Cluj-Napoca. Cetățuia” (text in Romanian; photo Mariana and Al. Mendrea, Meridiane Publishing House): Cetățuia Hill represented in a postcard from the late 1970s showing the Belvedere Hotel built following the Socialist architectural pattern and the promenade alleys

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection

Also, between the 1970s and 1980s, Cetățuia Hill is frequently represented in collage postcards along with other representative cultural tourist attractions of Cluj-Napoca (St. Michael’s Church,

National Theatre, Tailors' Bastion), educational institutions (headquarters of Babeș-Bolyai University). In the case of collage postcards, Cetățuia Hill is represented in two ways, as a recreational tourist area (Figures 13 and 15) and as a lookout point (Figures 13, 14 and 16).

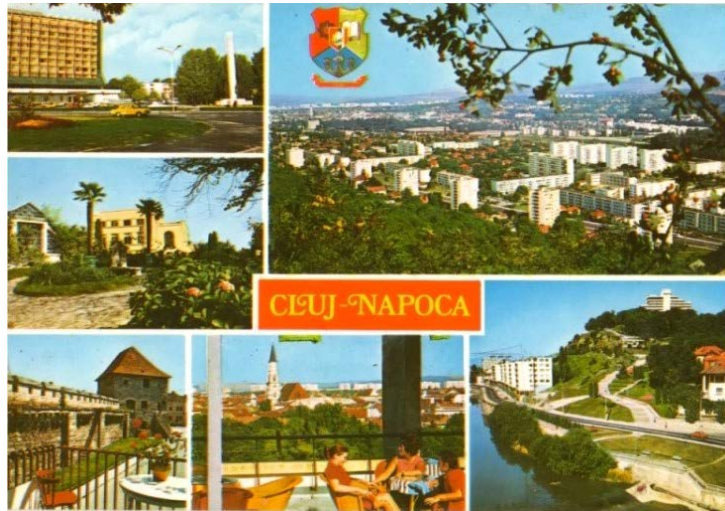


Figure 13: The evolution of Cluj-Napoca from the medieval citadel to the modern Socialist city through visual representations: (top left) The Communist-built Napoca Hotel on the left bank of the Someșul Mic, near the Central Park, at the foot of Cetățuia Hill, (top left) Botanical Garden, (top right) Panoramic view over the municipality: detail on the new residential area located near Cetățuia Hill (Dragalina street), (bottom left) Tailors' Bastion, (bottom left) view on the central area of the city made from the Napoca Hotel terrace, (bottom right) detail on Cetățuia Hill and the blocks of flats built during the Communist period located on Dragalina Street

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection



Figure 14: The economic progress of the Socialist city reflected by the association of representations of cultural objectives with the buildings built during the Communist period: (top left) Napoca Hotel, (top right) Panoramic image of the central area of the city from Cetățuia Hill, (centre) Belvedere Hotel located on Cetățuia Hill, (bottom left) Romanian Opera (active inside the National Theatre building) and the building of the Court of Appeal, (bottom right) Equestrian statue of Michael the Brave placed in the middle of the square that bears his name

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection

Colour postcards have been published nationwide since the 1970s (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021), but the quality of representations has been lower due to low-cost printing. One of the main themes represented in the postcards of this period was the promotion of tourist destinations (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). Through the frequent representations of tourist destinations, especially those in urban areas or coastal areas (Ilovan, 2020b), the process of the Romanian modernisation during the Communist period was highlighted (Ilovan, 2020b; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). Thus, it is observed that Cetățuia Hill is represented together with elements of tourist infrastructure that were built during the Communist period in the case of collage type postcards: for instance, Napoca Hotel.

The frequency of the Cetățuia Hill representations is explained against the background of the successive transformations made during the Communist period in order to be transformed into a recreational space. The Belvedere Hotel, one of the main elements of the Socialist systematisation made on the Cetățuia Hill, is often represented in different images (Figures 13, 14 and 15). In some postcards it appears as a singular element (Ilovan, 2020b) which is imposed by its size and its modern features. The frequent representation in postcards of hotels built during the Communist period, as singular elements or with other types of commercial buildings (department stores), emphasises their importance as a symbol of development and central services (Ilovan, 2020b). The specific elements of hotels built during Socialism, such as size and modern architecture, also suggest the aesthetic value, often associated with representations of the Socialist city (Ilovan, 2020b), although the representation of the accommodation units is unsightly, being included within the pattern of Socialist architecture (Figure 14). The representation of modern hotels suggests the idea of economic progress, a symbol that the population should be proud of (Ilovan, 2020b).

Also, in the panoramic images of Cluj-Napoca municipality made from Cetățuia Hill, blocks of flats built during Socialism are represented (Figures 13 and 14). In various postcards, collective housing was frequently represented along with elements of tourist infrastructure, cultural and administrative institutions (museums, libraries), as symbols of modern cities during the Communist period (Ilovan, 2020b; Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). Thus, the publishing of postcards had a double purpose: on the one hand, the promotion of tourist objectives (some postcards from the Communist period were published by the Publishing House for Tourism); on the other hand, they highlighted the economic and social progress generated by the development policies implemented by the leaders of the Communist Party. Economic progress led to the creation of tourism infrastructure. Also, the representation of the elements of the tourist infrastructure refers to various possibilities of the local population to capitalise on their free time in a pleasant way in different areas of the city, including the Cetățuia Hill. These representations emphasise the improvement of the urban inhabitants' quality of life during Socialism.

The analysis of the representations included in the collages allows the decoding of the multiple messages sent to the public. The insertion of the commemorative monuments next to the symbolic cultural objectives of the Cluj-Napoca municipality is observed (Figures 14, 15 and 16).

The insertion of commemorative monuments in collage postcards has the role of evoking a series of historical stages that are reminiscent of the struggle for the unification of the country. This theme is frequently reflected in postcards from the Communist period, highlighting the country's long history, on the one hand, and the selection of historical milestones considered important from the perspective of the Communist leaders for political results (military victories) (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021).

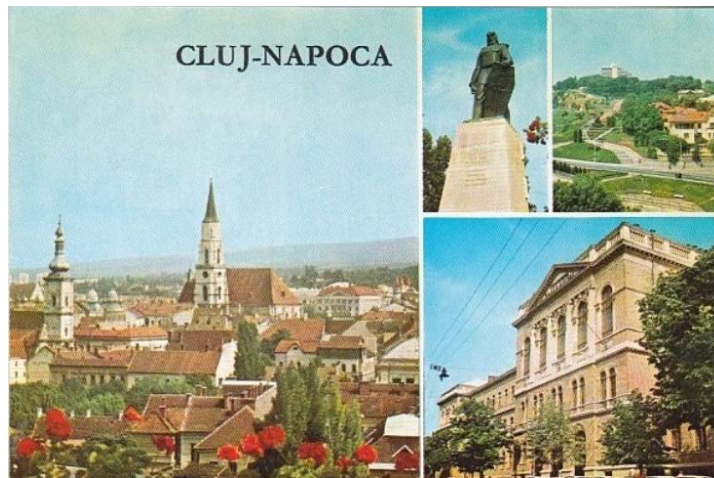


Figure 15: Representation of the old centre and the modernised city during Socialism: (left side) Panoramic image on the central area of Cluj-Napoca made from Cetățuia Hill (St. Michael's Church stands out), (top right) the statue of Baba Novac, (top right) detail of Cetățuia Hill with concrete alleys and Belvedere Hotel, (bottom right) the central building of Babeș-Bolyai University

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection

At the same time, other historical stages were completely neglected in visual representations (for example, when Transylvania was under the Austrian rule or was an integral part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the period when Romania was a kingdom, between 1881 and 1947). On the one hand, the intention to overshadow a series of historical stages in which the city of Cluj-Napoca was not under Romanian administration, was achieved by actions aimed at demolishing the memorials representative of the Hungarian population (the statue built on Cetățuia Hill in memory of persecuted Greek Catholics). This action was also carried out in order to blur the multicultural character of Cluj-Napoca, previously represented by the harmonious coexistence of Romanians, Saxons and Hungarians and the way in which these coexisting communities were involved in local development and the perception of foreign cultural heritage built in different localities of Transylvania (Maroși, 2018). During Socialism, the emphasis is placed on the Romanians' elements of national identity. On the other hand, postcards are used as a propaganda tool for the mystified presentation of reality, bringing to the fore the commemorative monuments that refer to: the Dacian and Roman periods represented by the statue of the Lupa Capitolina (Capitoline Wolf) (Figure 16), the struggle for the sovereignty of the country against the Ottoman Empire (the statue of Michael the Brave, the statue of Baba Novac) (Figures 14 and 15).

The statue Lupa Capitolina is a memorial donated in 1921 by the municipality of Rome to Cluj, as a symbol of the Latin connection between Italy and Romania, as an accurate copy of the wolf on the Capitol, with Romulus and Remus (Bogosavlievci & Zmicala, 2014). The base of the monument in Cluj-Napoca was provided with a bas-relief of Emperor Trajan, a work made of bronze by the sculptor Ettore Ferrari (Figure 16) (Bogosavlievci & Zmicala, 2014). The statue of Lupa Capitolina is represented in a collage-type postcard next to historical monuments and buildings built during the Communist period (e.g., the Napoca Hotel). The latter is named after the city during Roman times. The association of these images in collage-type postcards is relevant in creating the official discourse on national identity (Ilovan & Merciu, 2011).

Usually, the moments considered important in the history of the country from the perspective of the Communist leaders are represented by means of commemorative monuments erected during Socialism, often placed in highly visible places in the city (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021): for instance, the equestrian statue of Michael the Brave, unveiled in 1976 (Ilovan, 2020b), the work of the sculptor Marius Butunoiu, is located in the middle of the square of the same name, having a height of 7 m and is mounted on a base 4.7 m high; the statue is placed on a platform with three banisters, decorated in bas-reliefs, representing the battles with the Ottomans and the Union of Moldova and Transylvania with Wallachia (Morar et al., 2008) (Figure 13); Michael the Brave is one of the key Romanian rulers, who won several victories in the battles with the army of the Ottoman Empire, and whose name is related to the first political union of the three Romanian Lands achieved in 1600 (Andea & Andea, 2002). The statue of Baba Novac was sculpted by Virgil Fulicea and placed near the Tailors' Bastion in 1975 (Horvath, 2012, quoted in Căilean, 2020, p. 55) (Figure 15). Baba Novac was a consistent fighter against the Ottoman Empire, captain of the outlaw army of Michael the Brave; he was considered a national hero of Serbia and respected as a military figure in Romania; Baba Novac was arrested by the Hungarian authorities (Diet) in Cluj, tried on charges of treason, sentenced to death, and burned at the stake in Cetățuia of Cluj (Andea & Andea, 2002).

Thus, visual representations are also used as a tool for building territorial and national identity (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021), but with a careful selection by political actors of the historical and cultural elements. Although the elements of the former fortification refer to a key stage in the history of the city, they are not represented in the postcards from the Communist period. The details frequently represented in the postcards highlight the planning of the Cetățuia Hill as a space for leisure and relaxation. At the same time, on some postcards, the text on the back describes the area as Cetățuia Hill, not mentioning the archaeological site. The lack of representing Cetățuia archaeological site in the postcards published during the Communist period can be explained against the background of the Socialist ideology that fought against the aggressive policies of Imperialism that previously affected the territorial integrity of Romania. The representation of certain historical personalities, especially those who fought for the independence and security of the homeland, are loaded with ideological messages that underline the decision to ensure the integrity of the national territory, assumed by the Communist president, Nicolae Ceaușescu, in the Plenary of the Central Committee in 1968 (Council of State, 1968, quoted in Ilovan & Merciu, 2021, p. 35).

The past is invoked to give greater significance to the present (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). The legacy is respected by the leaders of Socialism who assume responsibility for developing the country's territory, highlighting in parallel through visual representations, presented in kaleidoscopic collages from previous historical stages and the results of the modernising process during the Communist period. At the same time, it is noted that adding the postcards of old buildings with those built during Socialism emphasises the continuity between past and present (Ilovan, 2020b; Merciu, Ilovan & Cercleux, 2020), from which, however, a millennium and a half of the city historical evolution as an effect of the Socialist propaganda is 'cut' to present the distorted continuity as being part of the same narrative (Ilovan & Merciu, 2021). The repetitive representation of the elements built during Socialism next to the old buildings is a way to present the extent of the national territory systematisation process. Thus, the Napoca and Belvedere hotels are represented next to the Tailors' Bastion, the Botanical Garden (Figure 13), the Romanian Opera (historical monument of national importance, built between 1904 and 1906 by the Fellner and Helmer company in Vienna) (Figure 14) (Ilovan, 2020b). Heritage buildings built in other historical stages (e.g., Széky Palace) are included in a collage postcard next to the Napoca Bridge, built during the Communist period, named after the Latin name of the city in

Roman times. The Széky Palace was built in 1893 by the pharmacist Miklós Széky as the family residence, according to the plans of the Budapest architect Samu Pecz (Mihály, 2012), and had a pharmacy on the ground floor. The palace is L-shaped and has two towers on Ferdinand Street. The palace is located on Horea Street (at the intersection between King Ferdinand and George Barițiu streets), one of the oldest and most famous streets in Cluj-Napoca, several hundred years old (Bună Dimineața Cluj, 2015). The association of the two represented elements underlines the connection between the historical evolution of the city and the economic achievements during Socialism (Figure 16).

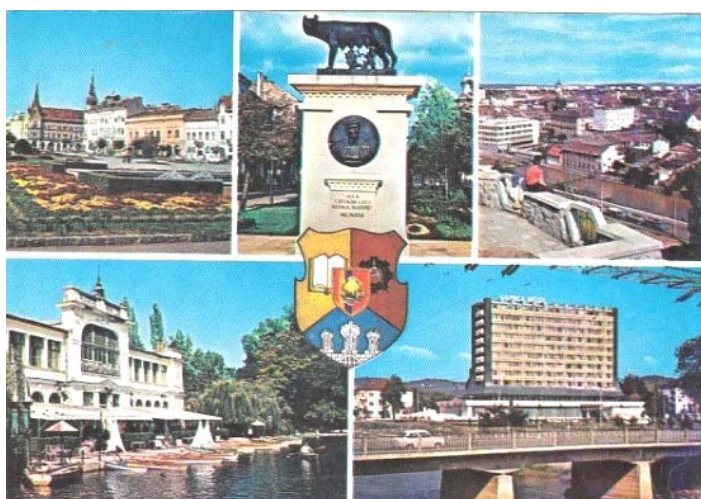


Figure 16: Visual representation focused on comparing the old and new to highlight the historical evolution of Cluj-Napoca and the continuity of economic progress during Socialism: (top left) View from Michael the Brave Square (see Széky Palace in the northwest corner of square), (top left) The statue of Lupa Capitolina (during the Communist period was erected between 1967 and 1973 in front of the central building of the University, later it was moved to the intersection of Eroilor Blvd. with the Union Square, (top right) Panoramic view of the central area of the city made from Cetățuia Hill (in the foreground one can see the Someșul Mic River which flows at the foot of Cetățuia Hill), (bottom left) Chioșc and the Lake in Parcul Mare, (bottom right) Michael the Brave Square – in the foreground: Napoca Bridge over Someșul Mic, in the background: Napoca Hotel

Source: F.-C. Merciu, personal collection

The coat of arms of Cluj-Napoca, whose original was issued in 1300, is also written on most postcards. The original coat of arms of the city was modified during the Communist period by adding new elements. Carved in stone and present on some monuments (Carolina Obelisk in the Museum Square, the frontispiece of the City Hall in Union Square), the original coat of arms has its origin in the symbol of the city's seal from the Medieval period. In fact, it was a symbol of a free city in the Middle Ages. The coat of arms has three towers that refer to the defence towers of the Cetățuia in Cluj (Strâmbu, 2005).

During the Socialism the coat of arms was represented as a Polish shield divided into three sections, gathered in the middle by a French shield on which the coat of arms of the Socialist Republic of Romania is represented. A toothed wheel in the background and a compass in the foreground, on the right an open book; below: the coat of arms with three towers above a

fortress wall, used to commemorate its historical evolution in the medieval period, were represented on the three sections of the coat of arms.

The evolution of urban planning in the current period

In recent years, Cetățuia Hill has been given more attention by specialists in the field of spatial planning and local public administration representatives because of the need to ensure its better planning as a space for recreation and relaxation. This aspect is due to the relevance of the Cetățuia archaeological site from a historical and cultural point of view, all the more so as its integrity was affected by the systematisation achieved during the Communist period. On the other hand, historical and cultural values, as well as those of an aesthetic nature have generated the tourist use of this area which is frequented by both the local population and tourists, benefiting from a favourable location, near the historic centre of Cluj-Napoca municipality.

One of the first measures implemented was the initiative to erect the Monument of the Nation's Heroes on Cetățuia Hill in the mid-1990s following a contest of ideas held at the initiative of the City Hall. The monument represents a cross with a height of 23 meters (Figure 17, left) dedicated to the memory of the Romanian revolutionary killed during the Revolution of 1848-1849. This memorial was designed by architect Virgil Salvanu (Morar et al., 2008). The monument was erected in place of the oak cross that was placed between 1926 and 1937 in memory of the Greek Catholics who were imprisoned in the prison on Cetățuia, a cross that was demolished following the decision of Communist leaders (Morar et al., 2008). There is a change in the symbolism of the commemorative monuments, although they refer to the same historical moment: the monument built in the mid-1990s commemorates the Romanian revolutionaries, as opposed to the significance of the wooden cross which was a representative monument for the Hungarian population.

According to the analysis of the current dysfunctions within the Zonal Urban Plan (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 14) in the studied area, this monument has an out-of-scale volume that aggresses the image of Cetățuia and competes with the Belvedere Hotel (Figure 17, right).



Figure 17: The Monument of the Nation's Heroes (left); Cetățuia Hill seen from the bank of the Someș river: the size of the Monument of the Nation's Heroes is observed, which competes with the Belvedere Hotel (right)

Source: A.-M. VasiloIU's personal collection, May 2021

Another example of the measure is related to the initiative of the representatives of the local public administration to develop pedestrian networks, an action that facilitates the visit of the cultural-historical objectives. Local authorities in Cluj have invested in improving the city's pedestrian infrastructure since 2000 (e.g., Museum Square) (Mot et al., 2015; Ilovan et al., 2018). However, it is necessary to expand the pedestrian areas within the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca (Păcurar, 2013; Mot et al. 2015). Thus, the new projects implemented by the representatives of the local public administration aim at expanding the network of pedestrian areas (e.g., Mihail Kogălniceanu Street, in front of the main building of Babeș-Bolyai University) and improving some of the existing pedestrian paths (for example, in and around the Cetățuia Hill area) (Mot et al., 2015, p. 37).

It is also important to remember one of the most important measures taken recently in order to fix the errors of the urban development project started during the Communist period. In April 2019, the international competition organised by the Romanian Order of Architects was launched, which aimed to identify the best solution for landscaping in the area of the archaeological site so that the urban ensemble can be capitalised and integrated in the wider leisure function of the city (Romanian Architects Order, 2019a). Although the town hall benefits from the project, it does not fully own the land that was the subject of this competition. The land on which the Belvedere Hotel is built is owned by the company UNITA TURISM S.A. This situation will generate a delay in fulfilling the project objectives until the mayor's office will take steps to expropriate the total area of the land. However, through the implementation of this project, the mayor's office has as main objective the integration of the Citadel among the public spaces of great interest in the city. The aim of this competition is to make the area of the archaeological site a very good quality public space, a place for organising outdoor events, a representative place with a strong identity for the whole city and used by both residents and visitors.

Within the competition, 14 projects were submitted, and following the first evaluation stage regarding the formal conditions and the competition rules, the members of the technical committee proposed the disqualification of a project due to non-compliance with the anonymity rules. Each project proposal was evaluated according to the criteria established by the jury members: A) Meeting the functional architectural-urban needs (40 points): A1) The functional criterion (15 points) shows the proposed use scenarios, solving the access points and routes from an urban and architectural perspective; A2) The financial criterion (15 points) – the observance of the investment ceiling indicated in the competition documentation, the reasoning and the sustainability of the functional-spatial solution in relation to the estimated price; A3) Quality and clarity of ideas representation so as to illustrate the candidate's ability to execute the proposed project (10 points); B) Architectural-artistic added value: B1) The character of the area and the general atmosphere of the intervention – the general quality of the intervention, the proposed ambiance, the specific design solutions that add value to the particularities of the site (20 points); B2) Historic-architectural criterion: the integration of the project within the protected built area, maintaining the historic monument character and the proof of a military facility specific to the 18th century, the manner of treating the existing built background and the manner in which the existing fortifications' value are emphasised (20 points); B3) Architectural-landscaping criterion: the manner of relating to the existing vegetation and the manner in which the land's specific geography is used in the project; the plantation and exploitation concepts (20 points) (Romanian Architects Order, 2019b, p. 2).

The projects were analysed by the members of the jury in three rounds of evaluation of the proposed solutions. In the third round, the projects ranked in the first four places were re-

analysed in detail to establish the final hierarchy and to designate the winner, including a field visit to better highlight the link between proposals and topography, vegetation, daily use and of the general feeling of the Cetățuia Hill (Romanian Architects Order, 2019b). Three projects were awarded which were ordered in the ranking according to the quality of the proposed solutions.

In 2020, the Zonal Urban Plan was developed focusing on the planning of the Cetățuia urban ensemble based on the solutions proposed in the project which was awarded the 1st prize in the competition organised by the Cluj-Napoca City Hall together with the Romanian Architects Order in 2019. Important measures provided in the Zonal Urban Plan (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020) regarding the capitalisation of the Cetățuia urban ensemble, correlated with the regulations from the General Urban Plan (2014), refer to the capitalisation of the built fund as a result of the historical relevance of the Cetățuia ensemble, a historical monument of national importance. Thus, the main measures provided are: the enhancement of the promenade route that connects the three gates and the three preserved bastions; highlighting the ditch of the fortress, by clearing abundant vegetation, by equipping it with furniture specific to green spaces and creating a promenade circuit that descends in these areas as well; rehabilitation of the East Gate, which is in a state of profound degradation – conferring a function that allows its proper maintenance in the future, placement of information pieces for tourists and citizens of Cluj who frequently visit the ensemble, but do not know the history and the features of the old Cetățuia (i.e. models); removal of level differences and paved parking as well as inappropriate vegetation that obstructs the visual relationships between the elements of the fortification: gates, bastions, earth wave; clearing the perspectives towards the earth wave from inside and outside by removing the parasitic vegetation) (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, pp. 22-23). Although the Zonal Urban Plan provides for the removal of the hotel car park, this measure is not technically justified as it is necessary for the supply of the accommodation unit.

To these, a series of measures meant to capitalise from a cultural and tourist point of view the Cetățuia urban ensemble: the creation of a multifunctional pedestrian plateau with mineral surfaces and islands of high vegetation, similar to the historical atmosphere of the Baroque fortification; in the perimeter buildings of the plateau, cultural and public food activities open to the public space are allowed, and on the pedestrian surface of the plateau seasonal terraces associated with these functions will be possible to place; encouraging temporary stage activities such as events, fairs, cultural events, exhibitions, film festivals, theatre, etc.; topographic reconfiguration of the earth wave by restoring the initial geometry, recreating the diagonal accesses between the guard promenade, the fortress plateau and the defensive ditches are added (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, pp. 23-24). In the protected area there are a series of other constructions that are subject to the regulations of the Zonal Urban Plan: for instance, the Parachute Tower. It is proposed to enhance and classify the parachute tower as a monument of industrial heritage, and change it into a tourist attraction by removing the fences and allowing the perimeter to public use: changing the tower into an observation point (the upper platform of the tower allows a 360 degree view of the city), the construction of an elevator to facilitate access to the upper level (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 25).

A series of measures regarding the capitalisation of the natural environment (identification of a character of vegetation / planting concept) that can offer the whole site unity and compositional harmony and can change the chaotic and impersonal aspect of today are also proposed; to define a vegetal profile that would offer a complex and convincing decoration in each season is also proposed (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 30).

Regarding the evolution of tourist facilities in the current period, it is noted that after 2000, Cetățuia Hill came to the attention of private entrepreneurs who capitalised on its plateau

aspect to build public catering units: Pergola restaurant, opened in 2007, followed by Panoramic, in 2012, Brewsto and Yamba Garden in 2019 and Electric Castle Garden, inaugurated in 2020.

The Pergola restaurant (Figure 18, left) was built on the site of the most popular observation point on Cetățuia Hill (“Rotonda”) arranged during the Communist period (Figure 18, right) which has experienced a sharp degradation over time. The closure of the pavilion used as an observation point is considered by specialists as inappropriate to be reused with a permanent commercial function, especially since its transformation changed the original architecture, using totally inappropriate materials (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 26).



Figure 18: Pergola Restaurant arranged on Cetățuia Hill in 2007 (left); “Rotonda” lookout point represented in a Communist-era postcard (photo V. Volbură, edited by CPCS) (approximate dating: late 1960s) (right)

Source: A.-M. VasiloIU’s personal collection, May 2021 (left); F.-C. Merciu, personal collection (right)

The Zonal Urban Plan (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020) proposes the return to the original shape of the Rotonda. For this purpose, the function of seasonal public catering with terrace during the summer season is proposed. It is forbidden to perpetuate any function (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 26). In the case of the second element also built during the Communist period, as an observation platform, Pergola, it is proposed to dismantle the upper structure and remodel the parapet for a discreet integration in the topography of the slope in the context of the general concept of renaturalisation of the Southern slope and due to the level of general perception of this construction coming from the city. Thus, the belvedere function will be kept without commercial activities (Metapolis Architects et al., 2020, p. 26).

Electric Castle Garden was creatively set up on the upper terrace of Cetățuia Hill, borrowing from the style of the Hideout scene from the Bonțida festival in order to bring its atmosphere closer to the city. Although the period in which the project was designed was quite uncertain due to the pandemic, it was successful. The success was due to people’s passion for music and the way it was set up: the Hideout scene was reinterpreted within the Cetățuia Food Park project, which was designed to ensure the possibility of serving meals in relaxation and social spaces based on quality music. Thus, an oasis of peace was created where one can stay for a picnic during the day and taste various local drinks (e.g., craft beers from the Clusa collection) (Ilevuța, 2020).

CONCLUSIONS

The historical relevance of the Cetățuia urban ensemble, to which are added the cultural, ecological, aesthetic and last but not least educational values, as well as its quality as a viewpoint that ensures an unparalleled view over the core area of Cluj-Napoca, placed Cetățuia among the most popular tourist attractions in Cluj-Napoca since the early twentieth century until today.

The elements that determined this cultural-historical objective to acquire tourist values were represented by its evolution from the fortification to the archaeological site, the positioning within the city, the morphological characteristics of Cetățuia Hill, the development of the tourist infrastructure focused on building public catering units, accommodation, and leisure facilities.

The study focuses on the detailed presentation of the tourist site evolution of the Cetățuia archaeological site, over three periods: the early twentieth century when the fortification lost its defence function and came to the attention of the public for the first time as a promenade and recreational area, the Communist period and the current period, during which measures were implemented to capitalise on the tourism of the analysed area. In order to capture the evolution of the urban planning of the Cetățuia urban ensemble, postcards were used, which were sometimes compared to the photographs taken by the authors. Based on the results obtained, it can be appreciated that Cetățuia is a representative tourist attraction of Cluj-Napoca.

The interest of the local public administration over time in setting up Cetățuia Hill is noticeable, an aspect highlighted also by the frequent visual imagery in which it is either represented as a viewpoint or as a recreational area. There are two tendencies for the Communist period: on the one hand, the start of an extensive process of setting up Cetățuia Hill as a space for recreation and leisure through endowments that provided various ways of tourism capitalisation brought to the attention of the general public without putting in highlights the historical value of the archaeological site. On the other hand, the public administration from the Communist period intensely promoted Cetățuia Hill together with other elements of cultural heritage or symbolic buildings for the city modernisation during Socialism. Thus, Cetățuia Hill was intensely promoted as a recreational space as part of the modernisation process of Cluj-Napoca, together with the new residential areas or elements of tourist infrastructure.

At the same time, the in-depth analysis of postcards published during the Communist period highlighted their role in conveying to the public the messages embedded in the Socialist propaganda that refer to the distorted account on the history of the national territory. Thus, on the one hand, emphasis is placed on the commemoration of some historical events that marked the struggle for the preservation of the Romanian independence. At the same time, the period of almost a millennium and a half when the city was not administered by the Romanian authorities is overshadowed. The postcards were used as an easy tool to convey the messages of the Communist ideology by carefully selecting the historical stages that refer to the continuity of the Romanian people, messages incorporated into the idea of national identity underlined by repeated representations of Michael the Brave's statue. At the same time, Communist leaders deliberately carried out actions aimed at erasing the historical stages when the city of Cluj-Napoca was under Hungarian, Austrian or Austro-Hungarian administration in order to strengthen the idea of national identity (e.g., demolition of the wooden cross in memory of the Greek Catholics persecuted during the Revolution of 1848, and the removal of the statue dedicated to Empress Elizabeth).

Referring to the current period, the initiative launched by the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca and the Romanian Architects Order to contribute to improving the development of the studied area

reflects the importance given to Cetățuia and its location as territorial identity elements of the city. Thus, the redevelopment process involves actions meant to capitalise on the elements of the former fortification, as well as landscape or tourist development solutions corresponding to the status of national importance historical monument for the Cetățuia urban ensemble.

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