

# The Turist Shop

A researsch into modernist heritage from the Soviet period through the concepts of lived & built memory

The Turist Shop - A researsch into modernist heritage from the Soviet period through the concepts of lived & built memory

Research plan

written by Iveta Nikolova

Cover figure: Sketch of the Turist Shop (Source: Väljas & Karu, 2012, p. 50)

Tutors: Eric Ferreira Crevels Jorge Mejia Hernandez Klaske Havik Willemijn Wilms Floet Willie Vogel

AR3A010 Research Plan (2023/24 Q1)
MSc 3/4 Graduation Studio: A Matter of Scale
Chair of Methods of Analysis & Imagination
TU Delft | Faculty of Architecture & the Built Environment

November 2023

## **Contents**

INTRODUCTION	5
FRAMEWORK & CONCEPTS  1. The Object	7
2. The Lived Memory	14
3. The Built Memory	18
METHODOLOGY	23
PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION & REFLECTION	27
REFERENCES	28
LIST OF FIGURES	30



#### Introduction

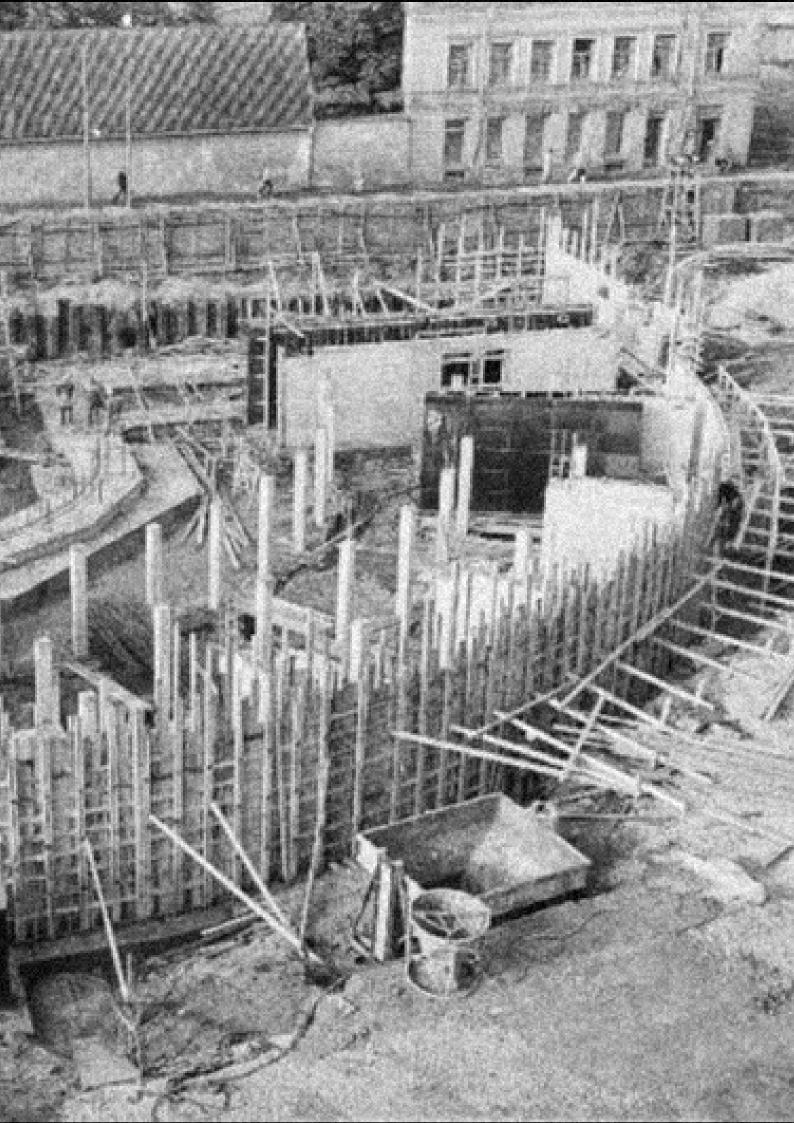
Originating from Bulgaria, a former satellite state of the Soviet Union, my curiosity for the subject of this research has been sparked already before the beginning of this graduation studio. Listening to the stories and recollections of my parents and grandparents from the communist era and imagining how different their life has been compared to mine, has always fascinated me. During my studies, I increasingly found myself intrigued by modernist buildings reminiscent of that era, along with the memories and associations they inherently bear from a past that some who lived through, often opt to overlook.

Our excursion to Tallinn, as part of the course, marked my first encounter with the remains of a Soviet past in a different country and re-confirmed my fascination with the subject. Throughout our research trip, I began mapping and analysing buildings from the Soviet period, trying to understand their history and the transformations they underwent following the end of the Soviet occupation. The examples which I came across varied widely in condition: from monumental structures in complete decay (most prominent examples of which is Linnahall<sup>1</sup>), buildings currently undergoing renovation (such as the National Library of Estonia<sup>2</sup>), others which have gone such renovations that they have become almost unrecognisable (like the former Central Post Office of Tallinn, now Postimaja Shopping Centre<sup>3</sup>) to wellpreserved and re-purposed buildings (an inspiring example to me was the building of the State Forest Management Centre<sup>4</sup>). Inevitably during my research, I also encountered buildings from the Soviet period that face demolition plans, such as the chosen site for my project - the former currency shop Turist.

With this research I aim to achieve two objectives: firstly, to explore the intricate relationship between memory and architecture stemming from the Soviet ideology and secondly, to establish an argumentation for the preservation and refurbishment of this architecture in a contemporary context and as a reflection of new values. The conducted research will result in challenging the current faith for demolition of the chosen site, with the hope that it can set a sensible example for preserving Soviet modernist heritage. Thus, the primary research question this study will focus on investigating is "How can the intricate relationship between lived and built memory in architecture frame a sound strategy of revitalizing modernist architecture from the Soviet period through the case of the former Turist shop?".

Figure 1. Photograph of the entrance of the Turist shop (Source: "The Turist Foreign Currency Shop", n.d.)

- 1. Built for the Summer Olympic Games of 1980 and designed by Raine Karp and Riina Altmae ("Tallinna Linnahall", n.d.).
- Designed by Raine
   Karp and completed in
   1992 as the last Soviet
   megastructure in Tallinn
   ("National Library of
   Estonia", n.d.
- 3. Martinéz (2017) delves into the re-design of the building, describing it as "architectural taxidermy".
- 4. The older part of the building was designed by Otto Schott and built in 1903 and the newer part by Siim Jõe in 1974 ("RMK Forest House", n.d.).



## Framework & Concepts

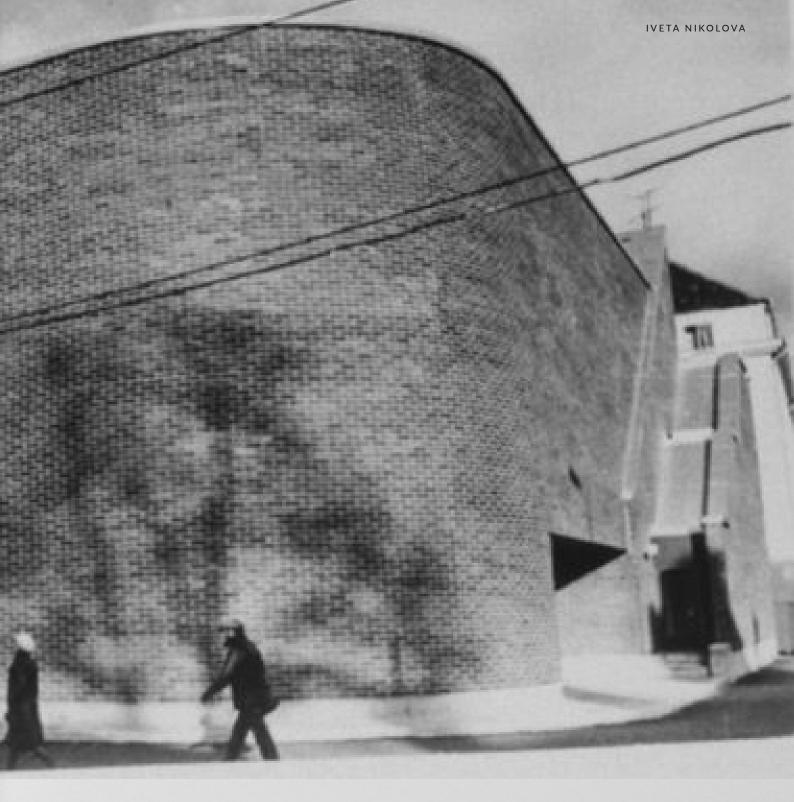
This research will be examined through a conceptual framework, with memory serving as a central theme that connects the proposed concepts. As Pallasmaa (2009) states "One who cannot remember can hardly imagine, because memory is the soil of imagination.

Memory is the ground of self-identity; we are what we remember (p. 18)." Therefore, this research is rooted in the belief that the act of remembering is crucial for envisioning a future that sustains one's self-identity. The following section will expand individually upon the core concepts that frame this research: the *object*, the *lived* memory, and the *built* memory.

Figure 2. Construction works of the "Turist" store on Tartu highway. (Source: Hiis, 1981)



Figure 3. Exterior view of the "Turist" store (Source: Trapped, 1982)



# 1 The Object

"A hopelessly contradictory task: an insignificant place for Tallinn residents and a sought – after destination for foreign tourists."

- Peep Jänes, Architect Peep Jänes

The chosen site for this research, the former currency shop Turist was designed by Peep Jänes and Henno Sepmann between 1980-1981 and completed in 1982. The interior designer of the project is Aulo Padar<sup>5</sup>. The building was originally designed as a foreign currency shop. In anticipation of the 1980 Olympic Games in Tallinn, organized by the USSR in 1980, a huge number of tourists was expected, namely for whom the Turist shop was intended. After the fall of the Soviet regime, the Estonian Social Bank (Eesti Sotsiaalpank) was housed in the building from 1992 and following the bank's bankruptcy, it was once again used as a store (Hallas-Murula, Kalm, & Kodres, 2002). Then, in 2004 a nightclub started operating there (Ojari, 2013). The building continues to be used as a night club up to this day.

Unlike architecture from the earlier periods of the USSR, where symbols with ideological meaning were added to the design of the buildings (Kodres, 1999), the Turist shop belongs to a later period, devoid of such ornamentation. Lindpere (1999) describes the realisation in the 50s that ornamentation typical for the Stalinist period had made the construction process both slow and costly, which ultimately led to the abandonment of the decorative ideological elements and marked the transition from neo-classicism to a rationalist style. Following the joint directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers passed on November 4, 1955 and titled "Elimination of Excess in Design and Building", architects were no longer required to incorporate ideologic decoration in their designs and were legally permitted to look for inspiration from Western architecture, which led to Finnish design strongly influencing architecture in Estonia in the 60s (Lindpere, 1999).

Different sources point to the design of the former Turist shop also having been influenced by Finnish architecture and specifically by Alvar Aalto's design principles (Lige, 2022; "The Tourist", n.d.). The contractor of the project was also a Finnish company named Keskus - SATO (Ojari, 2013; Raam, 1993). Like most buildings from the late Soviet period, the building was constructed from monolithic reinforced concrete, however the exterior finishing of the façade was rather unusual for the time and employed the use of clinker bricks (Lige, 2022). Lige (2022) states that the high quality of the construction may be attributed precisely to the involvement of a Finnish company and to the use of materials imported from Finland.

**Figure 4.** Site plan showing the context of the Turist shop

5. Peep Jänes and Henno
Sepmann were the lead
architects of the building
and as such they were
responsible for the
conceptual plans and the
technical project. Kalle Heikki Narinen and Tapio
Hänninen were in charge
of the working project and
Mati Krivel was the project
manager (Väljas & Karu,
2012; Jagodin & Pihlak,
2020).



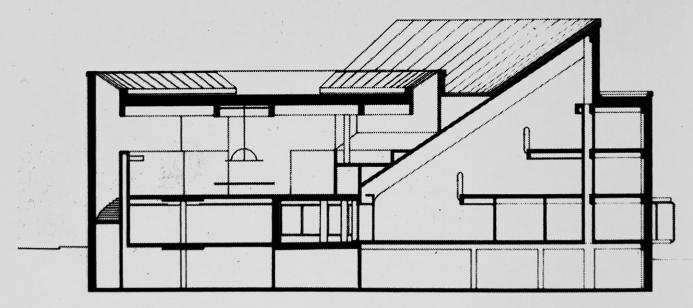


Figure 5. Section of the Turist Shop (Source: Väljas & Karu, 2012, p. 51)

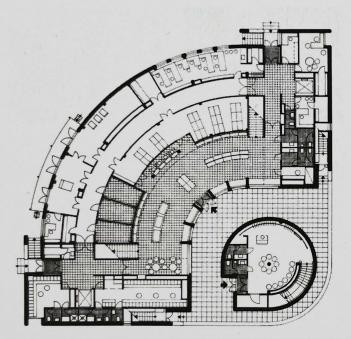


Figure 6. Ground floor plan (Source: Väljas & Karu, 2012, p. 50)

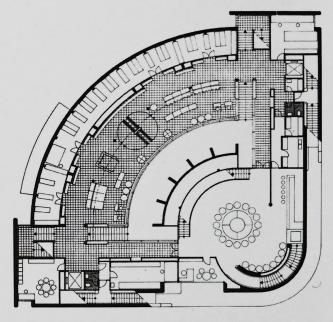


Figure 7. 1st floor plan (Source: Väljas & Karu, 2012, p. 50)

As described by Ojari (2013), the facades around the corner of the street have been designed in a uniform manner and as such, the building doesn't have a clearly distinguishable front façade. The plan of the building is in the shape of a fan and the total area of the Turist shop used to be around 900 m2. Inside there are two inner balconies and a hall with a sloping ceiling, extending through the floors as an atrium. A two-storey art salon with a separate entrance was located next to the sales hall. Originally this art salon was planned as a disco hall, however the design underwent alterations due to youth disturbances which occurred in the early 1980s (Väljas & Karu, 2012).

The interior architecture of the building, designed by Aulo Padar, was one of his most important works (Lige, 2022). While the building has largely retained its original architectural form, the interior has been transformed completely over the years. The only interior piece that has survived is the chandelier from the meeting room on the second floor, which has been relocated to the atrium of the Estonian Academy of Arts (Zybina, 2021).



Figure 8. Meeting room on the second floor (Source: Jagodin & Pihlak, 2020, p. 91)

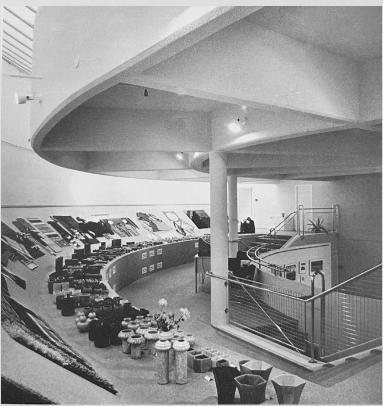


Figure 9. View of the Turist shop's sales floor (Source: Jagodin & Pihlak, 2020, p. 90)



Figure 10. View of the main sales floor (Source: Jagodin & Pihlak, 2020, p. 94)

## 2 The Lived Memory

"It was the early 80s and I was a young girl of about 10 years old. There were several shops in the proximity of our home and one of them was particularly near, yet oddly distant - the Corecom shop. It was impossible to go somewhere and not pass by it, however my family, like my friends' families, was not allowed to shop there. As kids we often gathered by the storefront windows, peeking inside and trying to imagine the taste of Coca-Cola, the Toblerone bars and the Kinder Surprise chocolate eggs. The latter were the most peculiar to me. I'd heard stories how they consisted of milk and white chocolate, with a hidden toy inside but I couldn't wrap my head around how everything fits together. With my friends we would often make business plans - we would make candy apples, sell them for dollars and buy Kinder eggs with them. This never happened though. Once I shared these ideas with my parents they laughed and then explained to me how it was illegal, and we could get arrested. Only people who worked abroad were allowed to have dollars, the rest like us weren't.

One evening, my mum told me how we'll go to the Corecom shop the next morning, and she would buy me a Kinder egg. I couldn't sleep the whole night – what if they arrested us? She reassured me that it would be fine – a colleague of hers had a husband who worked abroad as a construction worker, he was going to shop in the Corecom, and my parents were going to pay him back in Bulgarian levs. I remembered who that family was, their children were the only ones I knew who had jeans and jeans you could also buy only from the Corecom. We went to the store, together with my mother and the husband of her colleague. There wasn't anyone in the world happier than I was – for the first time I had a "Kinder" chocolate egg. It was also the first time ever I tried white chocolate. It wasn't like anything else I had tasted. I will also never forget the tiny toy house I got. I kept it for years..."

- My mother, in personal communication

The so called Corecom stores in Bulgaria functioned much like what used to be the Turist shop in Tallinn. Besides Western goods, the Turist shop also sold art and souvenirs, handcrafted By Estonian artists ("The Turist Foreign Currency Shop", n.d.). The quote at the beginning of this chapter, though not directly from Estonia, offers a brief glimpse into the reminiscent memories from such establishments, which operated throughout the former Soviet countries.

In Tallin, besides the tourists visiting for the Olympic Games, certain people who could earn currency from abroad could also shop there, however they needed to possess a certificate which could prove their income. Regular citizens could not easily enter the building and the possession of foreign currency without proof was considered a crime (Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2016). Through its former function, the building could be understood as a reflection of the power of the Soviet Union, particularly within the consumer culture, in a period marked by a pursuit for foreign currency, business ventures, the unique status of foreigners and the quest for goods in times of scarcity (Ojari, 2013). As such, despite lacking ornamentation reflecting the communist regime, when considered within its historical context and original purpose, the building could be interpreted as a symbol of an ideology in itself.

Malpas (2012) argues that "there is no place without memory; no memory without place; and since there is no architecture that is not engaged with place, neither is there architecture that is not engaged with memory" (p. 12). In the context of Soviet heritage, one might argue that it is inevitable to draw associations between buildings from that era and the memory of a period of occupation. This is also precisely one of the reasons Lige (2022) states as a root for scepticism towards preserving reminiscent modernist heritage from the Soviet era. He deepens his argument, stating that modernist space is "alien to Estonians politically, socio-psychologically as well as aesthetically" since it did not come as the result of a natural development but was imposed by a regime of occupation (p. 76). Thus, the Soviet time, has become an object of the collective memory of the nation, whose architectural remnants still serve as a reminder of an oppressive past for many people.

Pallasmaa (2009) makes a clear distinction between what he terms "lived existential space" and physical space (p. 26). He further elaborates on this concept, emphasizing that it is shaped by an individual's memory and personal experiences. Within this realm, the entire body of the individual is engaged in perceiving through its senses and in the process of remembering. In contrast to the individual's perception of this "lived existential space", Pallasmaa (2009) also discusses how collective groups and nations can share experiences that influence their collective identity and unity. In light of this and the arguments presented earlier, with the concept of the *lived* memory this research aims to delve deeper into exploring memories and recollections from the Soviet past, by drawing connections between the individual's perception of place and the formation of collective memory.



Figure 11. Interior view of the "Turist" store (Source: Cara, 1983)



Figure 12. The former Turist shop in 2023, housing a night club



## 3 The Built Memory

"Architecture emancipates us from the embrace of the present and allows us to experience the slow, healing flow of time. Buildings and cities are instruments and museums of time. They enable us to see and understand the passing of history, and to participate in time cycles that surpass individual life."

- Juhani Pallasmaa, The Eyes of The Skin: Architecture and the Senses

With the concept of the built memory this research defines architecture as a collector of tangible memory through physical, built form. In support of this assertion, Treib (2009) makes a comparison between how many cultures value the wisdom of the elderly and states how similarly buildings can offer insights and knowledge through their built form, provided that we are willing to inquire and listen to them. Pallasmaa (2009) also contributes to this perspective, describing how buildings can be understood as "memory devices" (p. 18). According to him, they fulfil this role in several ways. Firstly, they physically materialize and preserve the passage of time, making it tangible. Secondly, they contain and project memories. Lastly, they encourage us to reminisce and imagine.

In alignment with the articulated ideas, Malpas (2012) describes how buildings encompass and convey memories through diverse means. On one hand, buildings can trigger memories through the sensorial properties derived from their specific built form and materiality - the scent of a building, the textures of its surfaces and the acoustic characteristics of a place collectively influence memory and can evoke a recollection from the past (Malpas, 2012). This relationship between architecture, as a physical object, and human perception is a central theme to Pallasmaa's book *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Pallasmaa, 2012).

Another means of buildings to convey memories is the direct remembrance of a particular aspect of a building, sparked by specific elements such as the orientation of a wall, the particular positioning of a door and a window or the way of light entering the building (Malpas, 2012). Some might argue that this form of remembrance might not be commonly experienced by individuals who are outside of the field of architecture, as they might not actively seek or analyse these elements. However, the Turist shop both during the Soviet era, as well as in the present, represents an intriguing typology, which stands out from its site-specific context. Therefore, the possibility of passersby now, or visitors of the shop back then, noticing specific architectural features of the building remains a possibility.

Another way through which buildings can evoke memories is through the gradual engraining of these memories on their surfaces through the process of weathering and decay (Leatherbarrow & Mostafavi, 1993, as cited in Malpas, 2012). In this sense memories can be physically traced through the materiality of buildings. In the case of the Turist shop, what once used to be an inaccessible place for the regular Estonian citizens, reflected in its sealed façade, is now a night club, with graffiti covering its brickwork. By analysing this transformation in the material expression of the building, one can draw conclusions about how the perception of the place has changed through the years.

Considering the presented arguments, the objective behind the concept of the *built memory* is to unravel the narrative conveyed by the building and to analyse the memories encapsulated through different means in its material expression and forms.









Figure 13. (left) Corner of the Turist shop Figure 14. (right) Street signs attached to the building

Figure 15. (left) Graffiti covering the facades
Figure 16. (right) Side entrance with garbage bins in front

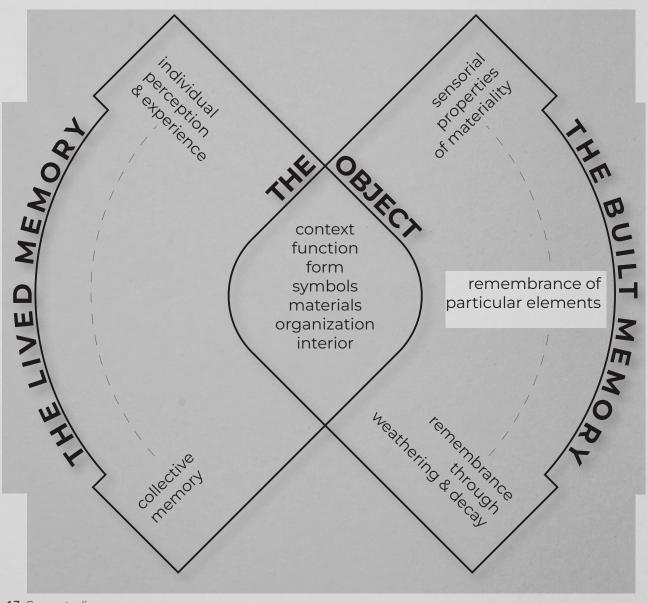


Figure 17. Concepts diagram

### Methodology

The methodology of this research is rooted in the earlier mentioned statement of Pallasmaa (2009) that remembering is fundamental for the process of imagining. Thus, the research will follow three distinct phases: the *remembrance phase*, the *imagination phase*, and ultimately, these two would lead to the *design phase*.

The initial phase of the research will delve into the proposed concepts that underpin the research framework, along with their corresponding subthemes. The Turist shop, being *the object* of this research, will be analysed on urban, architectural, and interior scale. Each scale of analysis employs different methodologies, as detailed in the Research diagram (Fig. 18). Understanding the urban context, as well as the architectural and interior design is vital for formulating a new function for the building.

The concept of the *lived memory* and its related subthemes will explore how people during the Soviet era experienced, perceived and remembered the Turist shop. To explore personal recollections, individuals will be reached out through social media platforms and invited to share their memories of the place. The collective memory will be explored through analysis of archival materials and publications from the past.

With the help of the produced drawings and materials from the analysis of the first two concepts, for each subtheme of the *built memory*, a series of drawings will be created. The sensorial properties of the materiality of the building will be examined through a comprehensive material analysis. Details on a scale of 1:10 and 1:20 will be produced to highlight important architectural elements of the building. To explore the weathering and decay of the Turist shop over time, an axonometric drawing will be created to illustrate the transformations it has undergone.

During the next stage of the research, various precedents will be analysed as case studies, which would serve as an inspiration towards formulating a design proposal. The exact buildings for case study analysis will be selected at a later stage, however some initial considerations include heritage preservation projects, community centres, libraries and art galleries.

In conclusion of this chapter, by researching the former Turist shop from a past perspective and exploring the *lived* and *built memory* of the place, while drawing inspiration from different precedents, this research aims to propose a new community centre with various functions in the building of the former Turist shop.

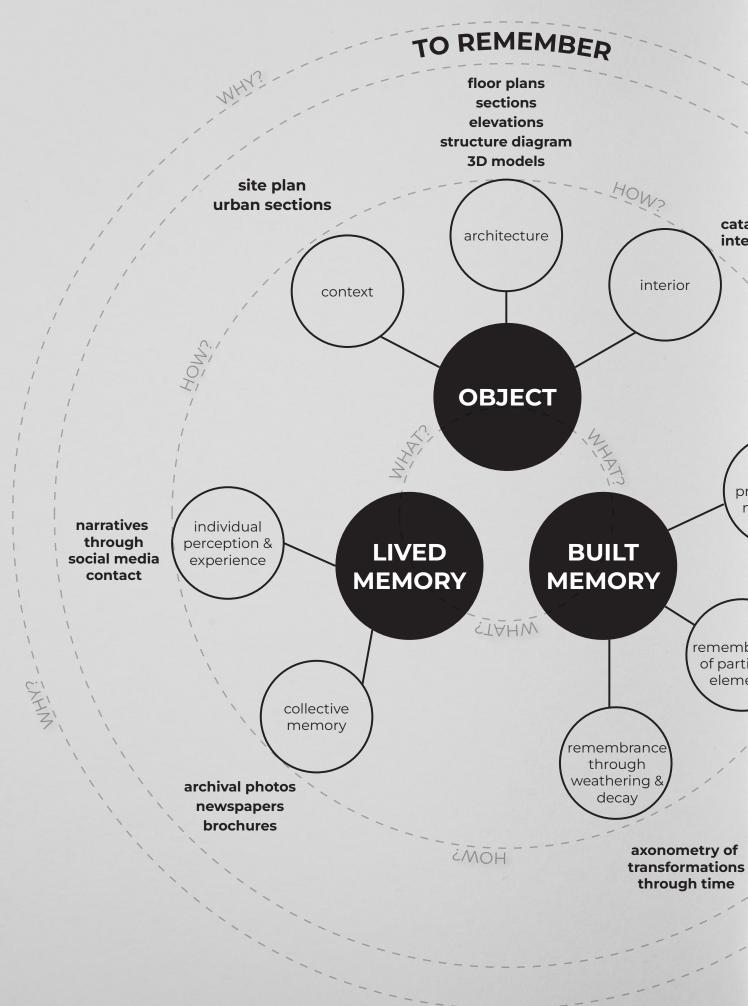
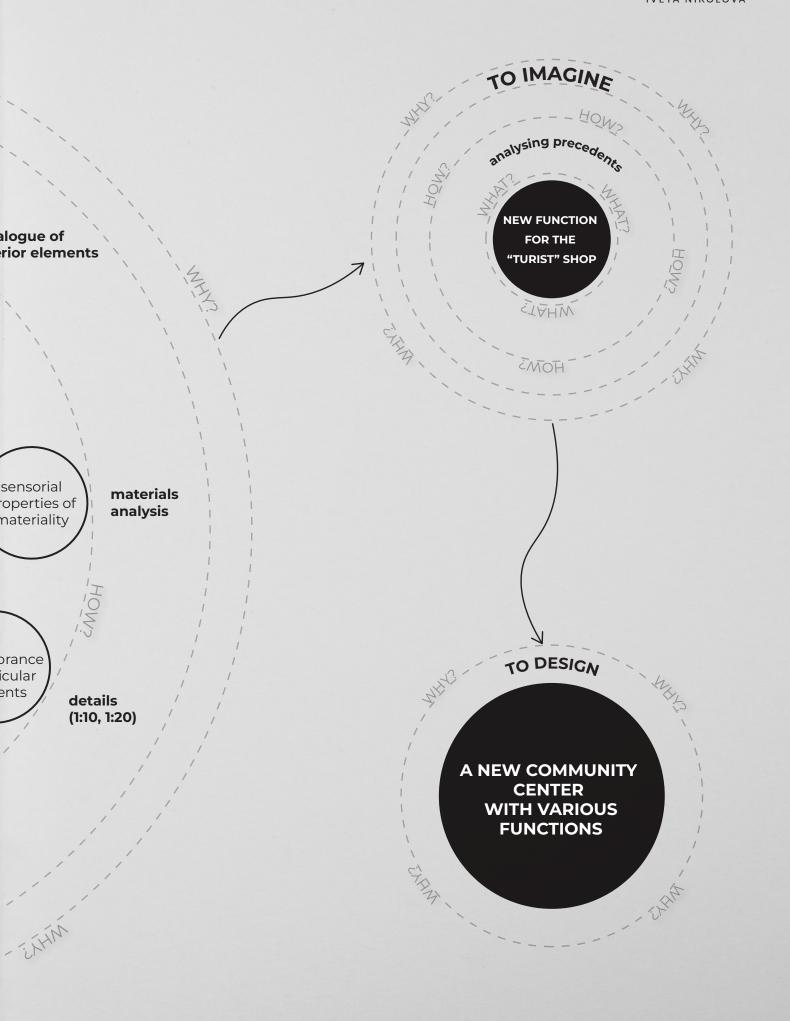


Figure 18. Research diagram





## **Preliminary Conclusion**

The process of writing this research plan has not only deepened my original curiosity for modernist heritage from the Soviet period but also broadened my perspective through the relevant literature incorporated here. This, in turn, also allowed me to discover the overarching theme of memory and construct a theoretical framework based on the research object - the Turist shop, and the concepts of the lived and built memory. Through the lens of memory, this research aims to emphasize on the notion that memory, experience and perception are fundamental aspects to how we comprehend and design architecture.

The overarching goal of this research is twofold: firstly, to unravel the intricate relationship between memory and architecture and secondly, to use the forthcoming findings for advocating towards the preservation and repurposing of the chosen site. A current limitation of this research might be considered the fact that it does not dive very deeply into the demolition plan and the project that has been approved to replace the former Turist shop. However, in the future, the examination of the demolition and the proposed new project could serve as an antithesis that would inform my personal design proposal.

By proposing the site of the Turist shop to become a community centre, I aim to re-imagine the building from a place that to a broad extent signified exclusion during the Soviet era, to an inclusive environment that contributes to the current needs for public spaces in Tallinn. On a bigger scale, this research, and the future proposal for redevelopment of the Turist shop have the potential to serve as a model for how to address heritage from the Soviet period not only in Estonia but also in other countries that endured the oppressive regimes of that era.

Figure 19. Street view of the former Turist shop and surrounding buildings

#### References

Hallas-Murula, K., Kalm, M., & Kodres, K. (2002). *Tallinna 20. sajandi arhitektuur*. *Arhitektuurijuht* [20th-Century Tallinn Architecture. An Architectural Guide]. Eesti Arhitektuurimuuseum.

Jagodin, K., & Pihlak, S. (2020). Turist shop. In *Interior Architect Aulo Padar*. Estonian Museum of Architecture.

Kodres, K. (1999). The Attachment of Ideological Meaning to Space and Form. In L. Lapin (Ed.), *Space in 20th century Estonia* (pp. 152–173). Center for Contemporary Arts Estonia.

Lige, C.-D. (2022, October). Controversial modernist heritage. *MAJA*, (109–110), 69–79.

Lindpere, P. (1999). 1955-1970 - The Renewal of Modernism. In L. Lapin (Ed.), *Space in 20th century Estonia* (pp. 152–173). Center for Contemporary Arts Estonia.

Malpas, J. (2012). Building Memory. *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts*, 13(13), 11-21. https://doi.org/10.24135/ijara.v0i0.433

Martinéz, F. (2017). *Architectural Taxidermy*. Estonian Art. Retrieved from https://www.estonianart.ee/architecture/architectural-taxidermy/

National Library of Estonia. (n.d.). Estonian Centre for Architecture. Retrieved from https://estonianarchitecture.com/project/national-library-of-estonia/

Ojari, T. (2013). "Tourist" Shop. In L. Välja (Ed.), 100 Steps Through 20th Century Estonian Architecture (pp. 58–59). Estonian Museum of Architecture.

Pallasmaa, J. (2009). Space, Place, Memory and Imagination: The Temporal Dimension of Existential Space. In M. Treib (Ed.), *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape* (pp. 16–41). Routledge.

Pallasmaa, J. (2012). The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses (3rd ed.). Wiley.

Raam, V. (1993). *Eesti arhitektuur: Tallinn* [Estonian Architecture: Tallinn]. Valgus.

RMK Forest House. (n.d.). Open House Tallinn. Retrieved from https://www.openhousetallinn.ee/en/location/rmk-forest-house

Tallinna Linnaarhiiv. (2016, April 18). Muinsuskaitsepäev ja endine valuutakauplus Turist Tartu mnt 17 [Heritage Protection Day and the former currency exchange store Turist Tartu mnt 17]. [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/551068118254360/posts/1435232169837946/

*Tallinna Linnahall.* (n.d.). Architectuul. Retrieved from https://architectuul.com/architecture/tallinna-linnahall

The Tourist. (n.d.). Estonian Centre for Architecture. Retrieved from https://estonianarchitecture.com/project/tourist-shop/?xdomain\_data=Aia2VyMhCeCvJN7yYWj08Yo%2BnooTRsxtlpsRKP85uX5ShP3HNx-OC2hUdNxqvNZ4o

The Turist Foreign Currency Shop. (n.d.). The Tallinn Collector. Retrieved from http://thetallinncollector.com/see-and-do/theturistforeigncurrencyshop/

Treib, M. (2009). Yes, Now I Remember: An Introduction. In M. Treib (Ed.), *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape* (pp. 10–15). Routledge.

Väljas, M., & Karu, M. (2012). "Turist" currency shop in Tallinn, 17 Tartu Rd. In *Architect Peep Jänes* (pp. 50–51). Museum of Estonian Architecture.

Zybina, E. (2021, June 20). Атриум Художественной академии украсили люстрой из бывшего магазина "Турист" [The atrium of the Art Academy was decorated with a chandelier from the former Tourist store.]. ERR.ee. Retrieved from https://rus.err.ee/1608252576/atrium-hudozhestvennoj-akademii-ukrasili-ljustroj-iz-byvshego-magazina-turist

### **List of Figures**

Cover figure: Väljas, M., & Karu, M. (2012). "Turist" currency shop in Tallinn, 17 Tartu Rd. In *Architect Peep Jänes* (p. 50). Museum of Estonian Architecture.

Figure 1: *The Turist Foreign Currency Shop* (n.d.). The Tallinn Collector. http://thetallinncollector.com/see-and-do/theturistforeigncurrency-shop/

Figure 2: Hiis, M. (1981). Construction works of the "Turist" store on Tartu highway. https://www.ra.ee/fotis/index.php/en/photo/view?id=436786&\_xr=654e632de032e

Figure 3: Trapped, I. (1982). *Exterior view of the "Turist" store*. https://www.ra.ee/fotis/index.php/en/photo/view?id=416152&\_xr=654e6e2aad68d

Figure 4: Site plan showing the context of the Turist shop

Figure 5: Väljas, M., & Karu, M. (2012). "Turist" currency shop in Tallinn, 17 Tartu Rd. In *Architect Peep Jänes* (p. 51). Museum of Estonian Architecture.

Figure 6: Väljas, M., & Karu, M. (2012). "Turist" currency shop in Tallinn, 17 Tartu Rd. In *Architect Peep Jänes* (p. 50). Museum of Estonian Architecture.

Figure 7: Väljas, M., & Karu, M. (2012). "Turist" currency shop in Tallinn, 17 Tartu Rd. In *Architect Peep Jänes* (p. 50). Museum of Estonian Architecture.

Figure 8: Jagodin, K., & Pihlak, S. (2020). Turist shop. In *Interior Architect Aulo Padar* (p. 91). Estonian Museum of Architecture.

Figure 9: Jagodin, K., & Pihlak, S. (2020). Turist shop. In *Interior Architect Aulo Padar* (p. 90). Estonian Museum of Architecture.

Figure 10: Jagodin, K., & Pihlak, S. (2020). Turist shop. In *Interior Architect Aulo Padar* (p. 94). Estonian Museum of Architecture.

Figure 11: Cara, P. (1983). *Interior view of the "Turist" store*. https://www.ra.ee/fotis/index.php/en/photo/view?id=464376&\_xr=654e73819a885

Figure 12: The former Turist shop in 2023, housing a night club

Figure 13: Corner of the Turist shop

Figure 14: Street signs attached to the building

Figure 15: Graffiti covering the facades

Figure 16: Side entrance with garbage bins in front

Figure 17: Concepts diagram

Figure 18: Research diagram

Figure 19. Street view of the former Turist shop and surrounding buildings

All unattributed images within this research are produced by the author, unless otherwise referenced.





