

Listing and Protection of Industrial Heritage in Latvia

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the last two centuries, industrial development has been essential for the economic and sociocultural development of Latvia. Industrialization has had an immense impact on the society in general and on urban development in particular during the 1st, 2nd and 3rd wave of industrialization. Consequently, the industrial heritage within Latvia is comprised of two interconnected components. One is the 'imminent' industrial heritage, i.e. the production facilities and other premises directly related to production activities, energy production, storage and the like. The second component is 'supportive' industrial heritage, i.e. offices, housing and public buildings, constructed at an industrial site, next to it, or – as in numerous cases in Latvia – simply to ensure the possibility of future industrial development. This state of affairs complicates any effort to distinguish Latvia's industrial heritage from Latvia's heritage in the general sense.



This paper is the first attempt to outline the current situation in listing and protection of industrial heritage in Latvia in the general context of cultural heritage protection. The aim is to highlight and analyze listed industrial heritage cases in Latvia, in order to provide the first overview of the actual level of awareness and legal protection this part of the cultural heritage can expect to enjoy. To reach this goal, the article will examine listing practices in the past and at the present, it will touch upon publications and activities of heritage enthusiasts who created the basis for industrial heritage recognition in Latvia, while also drawing attention to the complex institutional and legal circumstances influencing the entire process of research and listing. The current situation concerning direct and indirect listing of industrial heritage will also be examined based upon the listing information available on-line.

Regarding the terminology, there are Latvian specifics that must be kept in mind when discussing this subject: from a total list encompassing 8948 cases (including movable heritage), there are 7317 cases of immovable heritage in Latvia today.¹⁾ Of these, only 27 are listed as "Industrial monuments" as a separate typological category. However, industrial heritage simultaneously figures within the monument list in the form of various typological categories. The subject of this paper is the whole entity of industrial heritage as listed inside the monument list of Latvia, regardless of the typological category under which it is listed.

The data for the paper was obtained predominantly from the official page of, and other sources provided by, *Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvalde* (NKMP / National Heritage Board of Latvia; former *Valsts kultūras pieminekļu inspekcija* or VKPAI / The State Inspection for Heritage Protection of Latvia), from the archive and publications of the same institution, from other publications of heritage researchers and enthusiasts, and from interviews with both current and former employees of the institution.

Mechanical workshop with cable car system in the port of Ventspils, early 20th century, listed as industrial monument of national significance in 2021, Ventspils, K. Valdemāra iela 12. See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/9273>. Photo: A. Anteniške.

AWARENESS RAISING ON INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN LATVIA

It should be noted from the onset that there are production facilities still in operation, and some of them have been operating for more than 100 - 150 years in its original capacity. These are mostly food production companies: distilleries, breweries, chocolate and dairy production factories. Their visibility in urban space is clear, representing several architectural styles and including true palimpsest-type architectural ensembles in urban and rural landscapes. Enterprises for communal services, such as various types of transportation, water supply and energy supply are still operating on the original premises, as are some textile factories and shipyards established during the interwar period or after WWII. Adapted re-use is nothing new for Latvian factories: due to the evacuation of original machinery to Russia during WWI and subsequent non-return of their equipment when the war ended, quite a number of former grand factories had to be split, adapted, and reused for new functions as early as the 1920s-1930s. In a sense, that was the first Latvian experience of dealing with an industrial crisis, and came with a necessity to repress the collective memory; due to the damage and trauma of WWI, the historical narrative of Latvia as a golden land of only agriculture ended up firmly rooted in the national discourse.

The second time society had to learn to "forget" its industrial and economic achievements was during the Soviet occupation. All private – or even state-owned industrial production units left-over from the nationalizations that happened throughout the interwar years in order to deal with the economic crisis, and to ensure economic efficiency – had to be reconceptualized and treated as "bad remains of capitalism", so that a new, Soviet era of happy workers and happy factory life could come about.²⁾ Thus, the 2nd half of the 20th century – with Soviet occupation and centralized planning of industry distribution followed by workforce relocation and colonization policies executed by the centralized power in Moscow – was in no way helpful in making industrialization a welcome part of self-identification of Latvian people. The closure of ex-state-owned industrial enterprises either prior to or shortly after post-Soviet privatization, as well as cheaply selling off the

LATVIAN HERITAGE PROTECTION (SIMPLIFIED)

1923 Protection of Monuments

The act emphasizing the importance of architectural monuments and includes ancient monuments, churches as well as private buildings. 1932 the range of protected monuments was expanded and it was made possible to list building ensembles.

1948 – The *Regulation of Heritage Protection* of the USSR was adopted by the Council of Ministers of Latvian SSR after the occupation of Latvia by USSR.

1992 – The *Law on Heritage Protection* was passed by the independent Republic of Latvia

2003 – The *Law on preservation and protection of the historical center of Riga* was passed, there are several other legal acts regarding a few smaller building ensembles in force in Latvia, too.

2021 – The *Regulations for survey, protection, use and restoration of cultural monuments* was passed by the Cabinet of Ministers of Republic of Latvia.

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commercial premises to foreign "investors", strengthened alienation from the industrial past, while the small companies still exporting or producing for local market could not maintain the image, strength and pride in the industrial development that had characterized the people of Latvia in earlier times.

Visibility of industrial heritage has increased immensely during the last 25-30 years in Latvia, especially in recent years. It was – and still is – a complicated and complex process that creates a new, adapted image of former industrial sites for the general public, focus groups and potential actors of conversion. This new visibility is achieved via protection and listing activities, via preservation, renovation and re-use, via cultural activities (contemporary art, contemporary culture events) in former industrial sites, via debris tourism and extension of romantic appreciation from ancient to recent ruins. If churches, manor houses and Art Nouveau heritage might be regarded as icons of "established" heritage with a certain place in public conscience (even if not always benefiting from good maintenance and protection), industrial heritage is in the process of ascension to a comparable recognition.

Surveys of windmills, watermills and other proto-industrial sites begun during the early decades and continued into the 2nd part of the 20th century. This led to surveys of factories, bridges, technical monuments and military sites, and aided in the creation of museums that communicate information on industrial activities in their expositions.³⁾ Proto-industrial and even industrial sites could be found well-described in travelers' guide-books published during the interwar period, while new industrial structures were promoted in books devoted to the success of the independent state of Latvia.



VEF – The State Electrotechnical Factory – on Brīvības gatve 214, Rīga, 4 buildings, including those on the picture, are protected as architectural monument of national significance.⁵¹⁾ See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/6650>. Photo: A. Antenišķe.

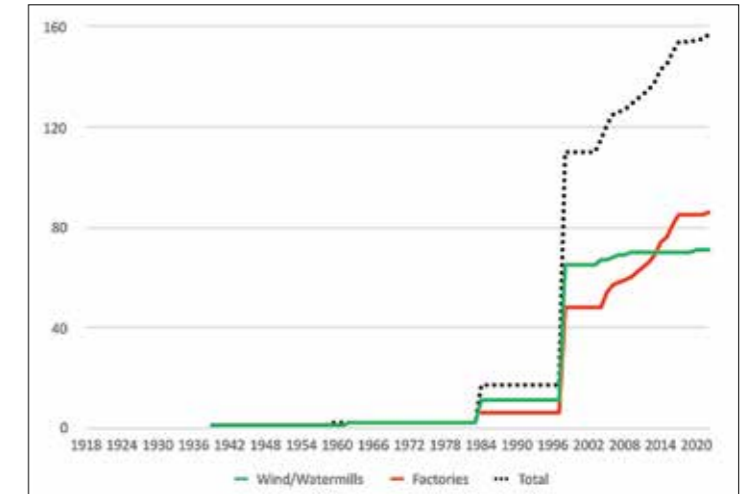
The interest in industrial past exceeding the circle of ancient windmills and farmsteads began during the 1970s, mostly among historians and historians of engineering; first semi-public lectures on industrial history were held in the early 1980s, while the first scientific conference was held in 1985.⁴⁾ Early enthusiastic renovation of ancient vehicles and other grass-roots movements characterize early stages of industrial heritage protection in Latvia, too. Publications on various aspects on the history of production, transportation and other industrial activities as small books, almost like brochures, were published on various aspects of technological history, the work carried out with the support of Academy of Sciences.⁵⁾

In 1992, already after the independence, a non-governmental organization *Latvijas industriālā mantojuma fonds* / The Industrial Heritage Trust of Latvia was established.⁶⁾ Headed by a multidisciplinary team of industrial heritage specialists, and researchers from various backgrounds and organizations to ensure coordination of activities and search for financial support for individual and collective research, international research, cooperation and dissemination of knowledge nationally and internationally; it has served its purpose well during the subsequent 30 years. An international conference held in Riga in 2002 put the industrial heritage of Latvia in a broader international context followed by a bilingual book of conference proceedings. The same year, 2002, “*Latvijas industriālā mantojuma ceļvedis / Guide to Industrial Heritage of Latvia*” was published, remaining the most important source of information on industrial heritage, listing 230 crucial industrial heritage sites within Latvia.⁷⁾ The National Heritage Board of Latvia gives access to the book online, along with their annual thematic publications devoted to specific heritage subjects chosen for the celebration of European Heritage Days. This includes a publication on transporta-

tion heritage in Latvia in 2021, and on the centenary of heritage protection in Latvia in 2023.⁸⁾ In 2020, the Board issued a publication emphasizing good practices of maintenance and renovation of cultural heritage *Būv kultūra*, including several examples of well-renovated industrial heritage buildings, among them also non-listed sites.⁹⁾

There have been several publications on transportation heritage in Latvia, especially on various aspects of railway heritage by Toms Altbergs,¹⁰⁾ written alone or in collaboration with other colleagues, and an impressive overview of the history of public transportation in Riga.¹¹⁾ Several books have been published on the history of automobile and bicycle production in Latvia by Edvīns Liepiņš.¹²⁾ A two-volume historical overview of State Electrotechnical Factory VEF¹³⁾ came out a few years ago, while companies like *Latvijas Gāze*¹⁴⁾ and *Latvenergo*¹⁵⁾ have published books on their history, including information on technologies and structures. Books on lighthouses¹⁶⁾ and bridges¹⁷⁾ of Latvia provided a spectacular insight on this particular heritage, too. All of these publications contribute to the visibility of industrial heritage and to the acknowledgement of its presence in contemporary urban and rural landscape. Scientific articles on various aspects of industrial heritage, published in scientific press in Latvia and abroad, have been written by Anita Antenišķe, Andis Cinis, and Inga Karlštrēma.¹⁸⁾ Ms Karlštrēma has also contributed to the National Encyclopaedia of Latvia on the subjects of history of art in general and on industrial heritage in particular. This uneven writings on various aspects of industrial heritage has led to a very specific situation in the coverage of industrial heritage in the monumental multi-volume edition of *Latvijas mākslas vēsture / History of Latvian Art*. Its article on industrial heritage pays most attention towards buildings related to railway heritage, while the architecture of factories and other industrial premises are covered very briefly.¹⁹⁾

Listed industrial heritage in Latvia, combined numbers of architectural, industrial, historic and urban monuments categories, in all the levels of listing including national, regional and local level. Data gathered from the monument list of Latvia available online at www.mantojums.lv, and from older, printed monument lists.



The visibility of industrial heritage is greatly enhanced by technology museums, which organize educational and communal activities for children and families, thus bridging the gap between the new generations and the distant past. However, there is still not a single museum anywhere in Latvia devoted to industrial development in general. There are small museums in several windmills and watermills, some open-air museums touching upon proto-industrial heritage and some rural industrial technologies of the 19th century. Examples are the Riga Motor museum, the Railway Museum, also in Riga, the Energy Museum in Aizkraukle and Ķegums, the Museum of Water Supply in Baltezers near Riga, the Museum of the State Electrotechnical Factory VEF in Riga, and several others.²⁰⁾ There used to be small museums and/or archives almost at every enterprise in Latvia during the 2nd part of the 20th century; however, due to their closure and/or ownership changes, and/or limited and narrow material presented in those museums, most of those exhibitions have ceased to exist.

A number of brand new museums have been an instant success, like *Daugavpils Skrošu rūpnīca* / Daugavpils Shot Factory, while art related activities in both abandoned and regenerated factories, and on former industrial premises, are helping to highlight the importance of industrial heritage for a wider audience.²¹⁾

LISTING OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

The heritage protection activities in the territory of Latvia date back as early as the 19th century, when historians and heritage enthusiasts started to express concern and began to promote protection of medieval castles, ruins and churches. The first ethnographic expedition was undertaken during the 2nd part of the 19th century, and the first congress was held in Riga. A dramatic albeit a logical shift towards archaeology and ethnography (exploring pre- and early medieval heritage and history) happened after the proclamation of the independent state of Latvia in 1918. The increasing interest in a distinctly Latvian past served as a counter-force against the then-prevailing focus on Latvia's “German” history. With the political system changing 8 times during

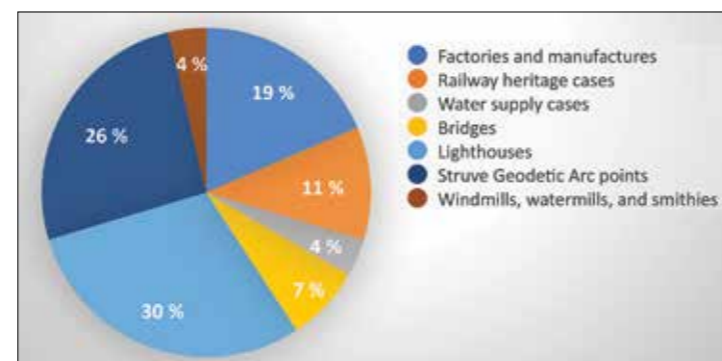
the 20th century (not counting a couple of revolutions and a couple of World wars), politicization has always been potent in heritage protection and listing in the territory of Latvia; consequently, heritage protection involved a lot of brainwork to ensure the physical survival of diverse, remarkable structures from the past, especially during the Soviet occupation after WWII.

The 1920s was the first period of formalization of cultural heritage. In 1923 legislation was introduced on heritage protection, and a special commission was appointed to make the list of structures to be labelled as heritage for protection.²³⁾ The list created by *Pieminekļu valde* / Heritage Board included 980 cases.²⁴⁾ The listings were already divided in typological groups of archaeological, architectural, art (mostly including movable heritage), and urban monuments (The Old Town or *Vecpilsēta* of Riga). Churches and ancient castles were on the top of the list, but townhouses and medieval storage houses also made a huge part of the list, both prior and after the WWII. Interest in local, “home-grown” heritage led to collection and moving of vernacular buildings to the Open-Air Museum near Riga, including the first listed windmill.²⁵⁾ All the farmsteads moved there consisted of various buildings and structures, including some smithies or other proto-industrial premises and tools, too.

After the Soviet occupation, since the 1940s, the listing system changed. Two separate lists were introduced: the so-called republic-level listing and local listing. The lists, based on revised inter-war lists, was published as books in 1959, 1969 and 1984, as well as a photocopy in 1950 and a kind of “working list” in 1962.²⁶⁾ It should be noted, that during the Soviet times, even by in the 1980s, there was an on-going demand from the government to “shorten” the list of monuments proposed by the authorities of heritage protection as it was “too long”. The creative solution invented by heritage caretakers was merging several buildings and/or objects located nearby into one single case.²⁷⁾ Cases on the list were to be protected by the state. In contrast, the local lists, approved by municipal authorities on their own schedule and terms, were never published nor widely available; the first time both types of lists were examined and combined was in the 1990s.

Social activities, similar to grass-roots movements elsewhere, also took place in Latvia, some more, some less formal, under the umbrella of *Latvijas dabas un pieminekļu aizsardzības biedrība* / Latvian Society for Protection of Natural and Cultural Monuments, established 1959.²⁸⁾ Membership in the organization's local branches was wide, people could be active or just following the processes, but there were congresses organized and publications issued by this society, marking the beginnings of the first publications and activities regarding industrial archeology. It was in the 1970s when a group of multidisciplinary experts started to dig deeper into industrial heritage, combining efforts on surveys by historians, archaeologists, engineers and other specialists to make the first surveys and publications on monuments of technology. Parallel to that, industrial heritage cases were examined for their architectural value, too. As the legal protection of heritage was slowly moving on, running parallel to some degree with general tendencies in the world, there were heritage enthusiasts working quietly around in Latvia.²⁹⁾ They made semi-official surveys of buildings and structures, creating multi-disciplinary research teams under the roof of the designated heritage research institution of the time. The institution was *Latvijas PSR Kultūras ministrijas Muzeju un kultūras pieminekļu zinātniskās pētniecības padome* / Scientific Research Council of Museums and Cultural Monuments of the Ministry of Culture of Latvian SSR and it merged in 1988 with The State Inspection for Heritage Protection).³⁰⁾ These enthusiasts even marked some un-listed buildings with monument emblems on the walls with a hope that they would be backed by an official inclusion in the monument list someday.³¹⁾ Crazy as it may sound, those small grassroots activities raised awareness and contributed to the survival of some of the structures throughout the turbulent 1970s, 1980s, and well into the 1990s.

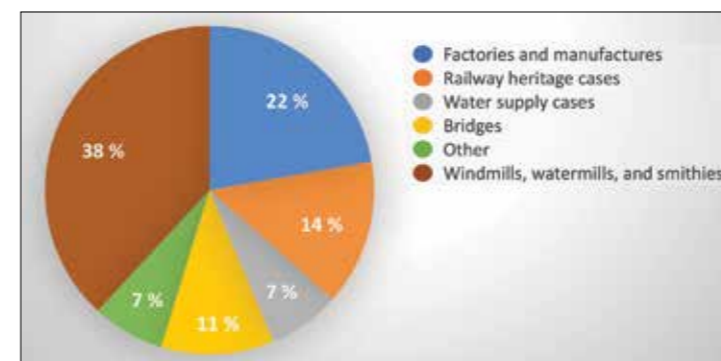
The year 1984 is the actual turning point for protection of industrial heritage, as it is the time when nine new windmills and watermills appear on the republic-level protected heritage list following a long period when only two were listed. This year's list also included first water towers listed, three in Riga and one in Jūrmala, located and listed alongside a sanatorium it served. Further and for the first time a factory in Riga was listed, the VEF,



making the architectural monuments' list 17 industrial heritage cases strong including the historical center of Līgatne paper-mill village.³²⁾ The Alūksne–Gulbene Narrow-Gauge Railway Line was listed as a local monument in the same year, and risen to an industrial heritage monument of national importance in 1998.³³⁾ Nevertheless, all of them were listed as architectural heritage at that time, reaching the list in a fierce competition with residential and public buildings distinguished for their outstanding architectural values. The category of industrial heritage was introduced only at the next turning point in listing history – the year 1998. Up to that, during the 1990s, a huge revision of listed heritage was carried out and all the municipally listed cases were incorporated into the national register, with the appropriate levels of their relative significance mostly retained. In 1998, more than 100 cases of industrial heritage of national, regional and local significance altogether were listed.³⁴⁾

Currently, according to the Latvian legislation, “objects of international or Latvian importance with outstanding scientific, cultural-historical or educational significance can be included in the list of state-protected cultural monuments as cultural monuments of national significance”. Further “objects with special scientific, cultural-historical or educational significance specific to a certain region of Latvia can be included in the list of cultural monuments of national importance as cultural monuments of regional significance”.³⁵⁾ In addition, objects specific to a certain area can be protected by the state as cultural monuments of regional importance, or of local importance.

The dominant groups on the monument list of Latvia are monuments of national significance (2846 cases listed) and of regional significance (3013 cases listed), followed by monuments of local importance (1458 cases listed). There are five typological groups for cultural monuments in Latvia: archaeological monuments, architecture and urban construction monuments, monuments of art, industrial monuments, and sites of historical events.³⁶⁾ The narrowed definitions of typological groups were intended to provide a precise framework for designations, but in practice – especially concerning industrial heritage – they are often working against the broader, international perception of industrial



Typology of industrial heritage listed as industrial monuments and as architectural monuments in Latvia, current situation.

heritage contents, as cases of industrial heritage could be found in almost all typological groups.

In so far as the typological group of industrial monuments goes, the legislation states that an industrial monument of national importance, buildings, equipment, objects and other technical equipment of international or Latvian importance older than 50 years, related to the development of production, transport and territorial infrastructure or military history, and which have outstanding scientific, cultural-historical or educational significance, can be included in the list of cultural monuments.³⁷⁾ A similar description can be found for regional and local designation. Regarding architectural heritage, the legislation states that the following objects of outstanding scientific, cultural-historical or educational importance may be included in the list of cultural monuments as architectural monuments of national importance:

Significant places – combined human and natural formations (historical cores in cities, villages, gardens, parks, etc.) and cultural-historical man-made landscapes up to and including the 19th century. It also includes territories that have international or national architectural, historical, aesthetic and ethnographic value. This could be groups of urban and rural buildings (e.g. manors, public buildings) of international or national importance; buildings or other structures, including their details and decorations, which may be examples of styles of international or national importance, and works of famous architects or buildings of rare types.³⁸⁾ There is no particular demand for architectural quality regarding proposals for industrial heritage list, albeit most of the cases do possess it, and there is neither prohibition against industrial heritage to be listed under the architectural heritage category, nor an option to single industrial heritage out as a sub-category.



VEF – The State Electrotechnical Factory – on Brīvības gatve 214, Rīga: one of recently renovated and converted building inside the area, see figure 4. Photo: A. Anteniške.

Textile factory *Juglas manufaktūra*, 1911; since 1929, a part of “*Rīgas manufaktūra*”; currently – *Mārkalnes kvartāls*, a multifunctional rental area with offices, shops, and various production activities; neither listed nor protected by urban planning, *Mārkalnes iela 1*, Rīga. Photo: A. Anteniške.



72 Considering the industrial history of Latvia in general and that of Riga – an 800-year-old-trade center with more than 150 years of industrial history in particular – one might expect at least 300 or, probably, more than 1000 industrial, proto-industrial and industrial development-related cases on the list. Instead, from all the 7317 items of listed heritage, there are just 27 (!) objects listed as industrial monuments, 23 of them of national significance and 4 of local significance. The first two cases were listed as industrial heritage of national significance in 1998, the relatively staggeringly large number of 5 cases was included in 2005, and the numbers kept rising on at a modest pace of 2 in 2006, one in 2007, 2 in 2010, a single one in 2011, 3 in 2013, 4 cases in 2014, then again one in 2015, 2 in 2016, 3 in 2017, and a single one per year in 2018, 2020, and 2021.³⁹⁾

These listings classified as industrial heritage provides quite a narrow and fragmented image of Latvia, and has developed slowly. All these cases are worth a closer examination in order to understand why the listing of industrial heritage in Latvia is not that simple or complete as it might be expected from a public or an international point of view. Seven among those cases are coastal lighthouses listed as monuments of national importance, listed in 2005-2018. One lighthouse is listed as industrial heritage of regional importance. Another seven are points on the Struve Geodetic Arc, listed 2006-2017. Three listed cases belong to the narrow-gauge railway heritage (two listed in 1998, one in 2015), one is a windmill (listed in 2007), one is a pellet factory tower (listed in 2014), one is a rural dry-house for cones (listed in 2020), and the last one is a mechanical workshop in the port of Ventspils, listed in 2021. Among listed industrial heritage of local importance, there is one lighthouse, one bridge, one water tower/cistern, and one rural dry-house for seeds. Among industrial heritage of local importance, there is one bridge listed in 2011, and a small fish processing facility from the interwar period, listed in 2016.

The situation with listing of industrial heritage looks much more relevant to the industrial history of Latvia if the list of architectural monuments is examined closer, case by case, picking them out by key words or prominent locations of industrial ac-

tivities by hand, and double-checking the list by reading it carefully in chronological order. Among the 3507 monuments protected as architectural heritage, actually 39 industrial heritage cases of national significance and 86 cases with both regional (50) and local (36) significance are listed, counting altogether at least 125 cases of industrial heritage with high architectural value.⁴⁰⁾ Thus, the combined list of industrial heritage becomes 152 cases strong, already before a closer examination of the heritage listed as urban ensembles and historical monuments.

To conclude, the largest amount of industrial heritage listed remains under the category of architectural heritage. A slow (on average, one case per year) but consistent increase of listing has been going on since 2002, adding recent industrial heritage like Spilve Airport from 1954,⁴¹⁾ a petrol station in Ogre from 1960,⁴²⁾ and a factory club house (1957-1980s)⁴³⁾ to the list. Sometimes, the industrial objects are listed as architectural heritage of regional importance, with almost no new proto-industrial cases among them. However, sometimes the cases of heritage of industrial origin listed as architectural heritage display very minimal architectural detailing or specific qualities. All while hundreds of urban industrial buildings possessing similar or even more distinctive architectural features, character and details remain as of yet unlisted. It seems that historically there has not been a clear consistency in the practice of listing or rejecting cultural heritage of industrial origin as monuments.

For a detailed typological overview of all the listed industrial cases, the numbers are to be combined from the list of architectural monuments, from the industrial monument list, and from other typological lists combined (the data is available only in Latvian, the lists have been thoroughly revised during 2022).⁴⁴⁾ Early industrial heritage is the largest group, including some 45

listed watermills and windmills, 15 of them listed as of national and 30 – as of regional or local significance, and with other early industrial heritage like smithies and smaller rural technical and production facilities the numbers top 70. Regarding factories, the most prominent part of industrial heritage, there are just 13 of them listed, 4 listed as of national and 9 – as of either regional or local significance; however, together with smaller, rural manufactures and distilleries the group of production units is 28 cases strong. With more than 150 industrial enterprises operating in Riga alone as early as in 1900, this appears a way too short a list of designated cases. However, the paradox seems to arise from the very history and the development of legislation, as with such an immense amount of structures it is hard to mark the majority of them “unique” or of “exceptional architectural quality or a style”. The third largest typological group is railway stations and sites that includes 21 cases, 5 of them listed as of national and 17 – as of local significance; the question of listing and/or saving more of them is still an open and on-going process, especially with the Rail Baltica project speeding up. There are 14 bridges, mostly small ones, listed, followed by 9 water works and 9 cases of various industrial heritage (mostly from recent times) listed. Finally, there are 7 coastal lighthouses on the list, 6 listed as of national and 1 – as of regional significance.

Successful proposals for listing heritage cases have been made by heritage protection authorities or, most recently, by owners.⁴⁵⁾ New listings must receive approval of their owners prior to listing, therefore owner proposals are most likely to be accepted if they meet the criteria of value, regardless of typological group. However, there is no information on the exact numbers of cases by proposing party on particular categories available, including numbers for industrial and architectural heritage cases.

Finally, yet importantly there are workers' housing areas listed as urban ensembles. The best known (and one especially designed for the workers of a particular enterprise, a unique case for Latvia) is the village of Ļīgatne paper factory workers.⁴⁶⁾ Another papermill listed as an urban ensemble is in Staicelev. There are other, spontaneously constructed – and still surviving – areas, mostly in Riga (Ķīpsala, Čiekurkalns, Grīziņkalns etc.) of historical workers' housing, some of them are protected as urban ensembles, not by listing, but rather by urban planning regulations.

Via the listing of urban ensembles, indirect protection is ensured to industrial heritage in the cases when this heritage is located immediately inside the urban historical center. Altogether there are 28 historical centers protected as urban heritage, 18 listed of state importance, 15 as of regional, and 9 as of local importance, providing small but relative protection to industrial and early industrial cases, albeit newer accounted for in precise numbers or recognized formally as industrial heritage listings. The most powerful are UNESCO World Heritage Site listings of the Riga City Centre (1997) with its buffering protective area, and the recent addition of the historical center of Kuldīga (2023). The UNESCO World Heritage Site listing of the Historical Centre of Riga covers 438.3 hectares (with its buffering zone – 1574.2 hectares) with some 4000 buildings on it. As most of the buildings in the area are over 100 years old, all of them are subject to heritage evaluation prior to renovation, alteration or demolition. In the years following the listing, most of the structures have underwent evaluation, according them a specific degree of heritage value.⁴⁸⁾

It is hard to guess, even approximately, what number of industrial heritage objects may be affected by this designation. According to historical surveys from the beginning of the 20th century, there were more than a 100 of industrial activities of various

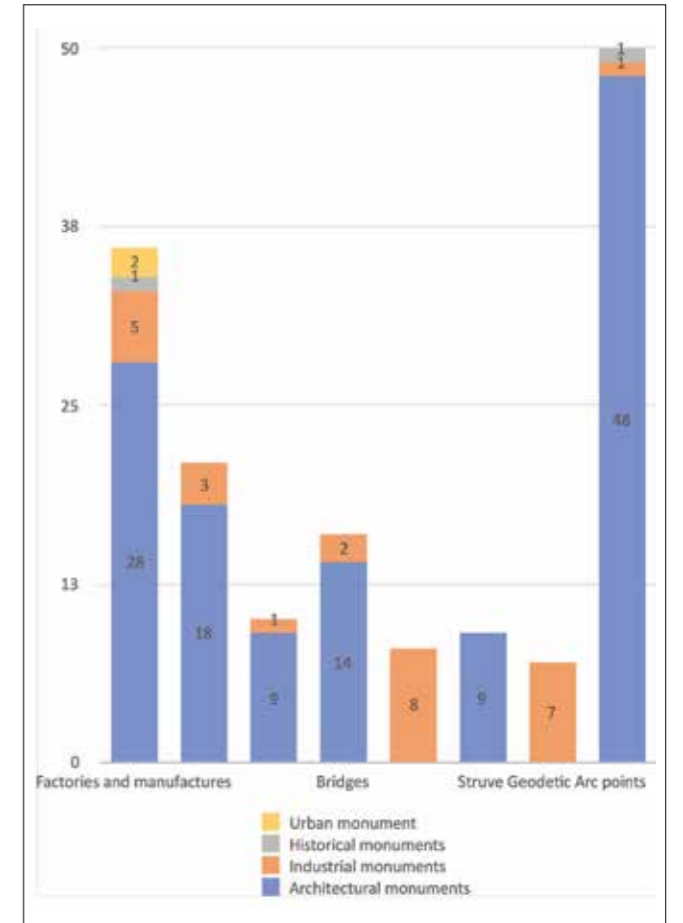


Windmill in Drabeši, 1852, municipality of Cēsis, parish of Drabeši, listed architectural monument of national significance. Photo by D. Ķibilde (see the Cultural Heritage Management Information System of *Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvalde (NKMP) / National Heritage Board of Latvia (NHBL) Mantojums/Heritage* at <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/6231?tab=pictures>).

Typology of listed industrial heritage in Latvia, and current dispersion of industrial heritage under various categories of monuments. Data gathered from the monument list of Latvia.

scales in the central areas of Riga as early as prior to WWI.⁴⁹⁾ Therefore, at least a 100 might still be the number of industrial heritage cases falling into the protection pool of industrial heritage in the historical center of Riga alone. This indirect listing and methodology of evaluation has affected not only the World Heritage Site and its buffering area, but is currently affecting all the 50+ year-old-buildings in Riga. The Riga Department of Heritage Protection, an institution established as early as in the 1968 under the Riga Municipality,⁵⁰⁾ has already applied this methodology as a tool to evaluate all historical buildings proposed for conversion in order to ensure a broader, more wholesome protection of the historical substance of the city. The department is currently going to become *Kultūrvēsturiskā mantojuma saglabāšanas birojs / Heritage Protection Office of Riga* with the main goal to ensure survey, evaluation and listing support of built heritage on all the territory of the city, providing a new hope for better protection even to the recent industrial heritage.

This means that there are certain procedures and regulations that should be followed when renovating, altering, pulling down expanding etc. any historical structure, including industrial heritage, almost anywhere in Riga. A large number of industrial enterprises were (and still are) located outside the area pertaining to the historical center of Riga and the current World Heritage Site; quite a number of them are located outside of the protected area. The threat in evaluating those cases is that industrial buildings are often evaluated not in a context of a broader perspective of industrial heritage, but rather from a very narrow perspective of architectural style and quality. Poor technical conditions are also taken into consideration, increasing the threat of dismantling to old – and not very old – industrial premises. With the machinery long gone, and the original owners, archives and workers gone before it, there is almost no way a historical industrial structure can be subject to evaluation for its outstanding importance to industrial history. Still, a renovation of a building with a moderate heritage value might be carried out with more creativity, economic balance and sustainable outcome than that of a building listed as a monument, despite the tax reductions offered on the listed monuments in the legislation.



FINAL DISCUSSION

Interest in the history of technology was one of the driving forces behind recognition and surveys of industrial heritage, while the main stimulus for listing was the architectural quality of buildings. However, there were specific aspects in the heavily industrialized Latvia: Many historical factories were regarded more as enterprises still active, not merely relicts or historical landmarks from the past, and the oldest cases got listed first. Changes in production, both economic and technological, coincided with a growing interest in industrial heritage.

Publications on industrial heritage have been either very broad, or devoted to a specific category of industrial heritage; very little comparative analysis has been carried out, on any level – national or international. A thorough survey of the entire industrial heritage of Latvia, or on the history of its protection, has never been undertaken. However, there have been general research on the listing practices and the history of listing of cultural heritage that helps understand the heritage protection system in Latvia.

There are multiple levels and categories under which heritage cases, including industrial heritage, can be listed; it makes any survey and analysis on the development of industrial heritage listing a hard and complicated task. Historically, the architectural and artistic quality have been crucial for a listing of any building

or structure in Latvia; rarity or historical importance, either on national or on a local level could contribute to listing, too. It was – and remains – a difficult competition for industrial heritage to be listed.

Historically, the listing of industrial heritage has been rather modest: starting with a single windmill listed and moved to the Open-Air Museum in Riga in the 1930s followed by just one more windmill listed as a national monument in the 1960s; the list reached 17 listed cases in 1984. A significant rise of listings was achieved in 1990s, both by new listings and by incorporating monuments with regional and local significance on the monument list. A slow but continuous rise of numbers has happened since, reaching a combined of almost 160 listings of industrial heritage under various typological categories of monuments in 2023.

This number suggest that there are suspiciously few industrial heritage objects listed, considering the huge impact of industrialization on Latvian urban environment, landscape and broader society. However, from another perspective, quite an amount of structures benefits from indirect listing inside larger urban ensembles, or from protection via urban planning regulations in certain historic areas of cities and towns. Therefore, it is impossible to accurately state the total numbers of industrial heritage cases protected, or even to be sure if the numbers of saved structures are rising or declining, and at what speed this may be taking place. Still, there is a very clear legal basis for protection of listed heritage, there are cadastral value and tax reductions for listed buildings, and some municipalities offer support for renovation, even if it differs from place to place. However, non-listed buildings benefit from more relaxed building regulations regarding renovation and conversion approaches in contrast to the listed buildings, as it offers the more flexibility to owners and architects to reinterpret and highlight the specific features of historical structures in the context of contemporary architecture. The positive tendency here is that a broad and diverse scope of industrial heritage is covered with listing, and the expansion of the list is going on with a great care and consideration of all the relevant aspects.

Notes

- 1) See Juris Dambis, *Protection of Cultural Heritage. Latvia*, Rīga: State Inspection for Heritage Protection, 2018, available online: <https://www.nkmp.gov.lv/lv/media/1552/download?attachment>
- 2) The economic background and the process is well outlined in Edmunds Krastiņš, *Latvijas rūpniecība XIX-XXI gadsimtā*, Rīga: Jumava, 2018, an economic history overview of industrial development in Latvia.
- 3) See Andris Biedriņš, Edvīns Liepiņš, *Latvijas industriālā mantojuma ceļvedis / Guide to Industrial Heritage of Latvia*, Rīga 2002, and Jānis Stradiņš, *Zinātnes un augstskolu sākotne Latvijā*, Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2009.
- 4) Interview with Andris Biedriņš, September 2023, who gave one of those lectures; the author of this paper happened to be present at one of them (held at one of the institutes under Latvian Academy of Science) as a child.
- 5) See V. Pāvulāns, *Satiksmes ceļi Latvijā XIII-XVII gs.*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1971; A. Anteins, *Melnais metāls Latvijā*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1976; A. Anteins, *Bronza Latvijā*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1988; J. Aizenbergs, *Rīgas tramvajam 100 (1882 - 1982)*, Rīga: 1982; J. Ločmelis, *Simt gadu ar telefonu*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1984; J. Ločmelis, *Simt piecdesmit gadu ar telegrāfu*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1986; J. Ločmelis, *Telekomunikāciju vēsture*, Rīga: 2000 and *Telekomunikāciju vēsture II*, Rīga: 2002; U.Bambe, *Rīgas pilsētas ūdensvada un kanalizācijas saimniecības attīstība*, Rīga: 1988; Andris Biedriņš, Leonīds Ļakmunds, *No Doles līdz jūrai*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1990, etc.
- 6) See website www.i-mantojums.lv, accessed 28.10.2023.
- 7) Andris Biedriņš, Edvīns Liepiņš, 2002.
- 8) *2021 Eiropas kultūras mantojuma dienas: Transports*, Rīga: Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvalde, 2021, available online, in Latvian and in English: <https://www.nkmp.gov.lv/lv/media/3548/download?attachment>
- 9) *Būv kultūra. Eiropas kultūras mantojuma dienas 2020*; Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvalde, 2020, available online, in Latvian and in English: <https://www.nkmp.gov.lv/lv/media/1708/download?attachment>
- 10) See Toms Altbergs, *Vidzemes bānātis*, Rīga: Latvijas dzelzceļnieku biedrība, 2000; Toms Altbergs, Andris Biedriņš, *The Vidzeme railway*, Rīga, IHTL, 2008; Toms Altbergs etc., *Dzelzceļi Latvijās*, Rīga: Latvijas dzelzceļš & Jumava, 2009.
- 11) See Andris Biedriņš, Edvīns Liepiņš, *Rīga: sabiedriskais transports no 19. gs. vidus līdz mūsdienām*, Rīga: Rīgas Satiksme, 2015.
- 12) See Edvīns Liepiņš, *Automobiļu vēstures lappuses*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1983; Edvīns Liepiņš, *Rīgas auto*, Rīga: Baltika, 1997; Edvīns Liepiņš, *Rīgas auto. 2. pārstrādātais izdevums*, Rīga: Rīgas motormuzejs, 2007; Edvīns Liepiņš, Juris Sereģins, *No Leitnera līdz Erenpreisam. Velosipēdu rūpniecība Latvijā 100 gados*, Rīga: LMF, 2008; Edvīns Liepiņš, Andris Biedriņš, *Rīgas Auto*, Rīga: CSDD and Rīgas Motormuzejs, 2018, etc.
- 13) See Juris Binde (ed.) *Nezūdošās vērtības. VEF – 100*, Rīga: Latvijas mediji, 2019, in 2 volumes.
- 14) See (Ilze Martinsons; not mentioned on the cover) *Gāzei Latvijā – 140 (1862 – 2002)*, Rīga: Aģentūra VB Plus, 2003.
- 15) See a number of publications, most of them made around the turn of the century, and a few on the major electrical plants in particular: I. Bauga, *Ziemeļu elektriskajiem tīkliem – 60 (1940 - 2000)*, Rīga: 2000; I. Čače,

Augstsprieguma tīkla vēsture, Rīga: 1999; A. Enģelis, *Augstspriegumu tīkls gadu gaitā*. Rīga: 1999; H. Jaunzems, *Pļaviņu hidroelektrostacija, Daugavas HES kaskāde*, Rīga: 2000; I. Kupce, *Rietumu elektriskie tīkli (1899 - 1999)*, Rīga: 1999; *Ķeguma spēkstacija (1936 - 1940)*, Rīga: 1989; I. Lastovecka, *Cilvēki, zibens un elektroenerģētika. Dienvidu elektrisko tīklu vēsture*, Jelgava: 2001; *Latvijas energosistēma gadu gaitā*, Rīga: 1999; *Latvijas Republikas austrumu daļas enerģētikas attīstība*, Daugavpils: 1999; *Rīgas TEC-1 no pagātnes uz nākotni*, Rīga: 2000 (on thermo-electrical plant that was sadly demolished soon afterwards); A. Rorbahs, A. Žeidurs, *Rīgas elektrotīkls 1905 – 1980*, Rīga: 1980.

- 16) Andris Cekuls, *Latvijas bākas. Lighthouses of Latvia*, Rīga: Capital, 2010.
- 17) Jānis Klētnieks, Romvalds Salcevičs, *Tilti Latvijā*, Rīga: V. elements, 2004.
- 18) See Anita Anteniške, *Artistic Features of Industrial Heritage/ Industriālā mantojuma mākslinieciskie aspekti // in Scientific Proceedings of Riga Technical University: Architecture and Construction Science*, Rīga: RTU, 2005, pp. 10–19; Anita Anteniške, *Architectural and Semantic Transformation of the Urban Industrial Landscape in Riga // In: Actes du congrès TICCIH Lille Region 2015. Le patrimoine industriel au XXIe siècle, nouveaux défis – Proceedings of the XVth TICCIH Congress. Industrial Heritage in the 21st Century, New Challenges*, France, Lille, 6-11 September, 2015. Paris: CILAC, 2018, pp.31-37. etc. Andis Cinis, *Liepāja Military Harbour "Karosta" 1890-2001 // in Patrimoine de l'industrie / Industrial Patrimony, 7/2002*, pp. 7–14, etc. Inga Karlštrēma, *Rīgas pilsētas gāzes fabriku arhitektūra 19. gadsimta otrajā pusē un 20. gadsimta sākumā // in Mākslas vēsture un teorija*, Rīga, 18/2005, pp. 34–47; etc.
- 19) See *Transporta ēkas un infrastruktūra* (Buildings for transportation and infrastructure), pp. 465 - 470 vs *Rūpnīcas un inženiertehniskās būves* (Factories and technical structures), pp. 470 – 471, in Eduards Kļaviņš (ed.) *Latvijas mākslas vēsture, IV, 1890–1915*, Rīga: Neputns, 2014.
- 20) See <http://motormuseum.com/>; <https://www.railwaymuseum.lv/>; <https://latvenergo.lv/en/energetikas-muzejs/ekspozicija-plavinu-hes>; <https://www.rigasudens.lv/lv/vesturiska-ekspozicija-0>; <https://www.vef.kp.lv/lv/vef-riko/vef-vestures-muzejs/>
- 21) See <http://www.dsr.lv/en/>
- 22) Mārtiņš Mintauris, *Arhitektūras mantojuma aizsardzības vēsture Latvijā*, Rīga: Neputns, 2016, pp.31-78.
- 23) See Mārtiņš Mintauris, 2016, p.87.
- 24) The original list in poor technical conditions is located at the archives of NKMP; a digital version of it was made by Jānis Asaris, deputy head of the Board, for the use of specialists working with the heritage, and consulted for the purposes of this paper, too.
- 25) On the first windmill in Open-air museum of Riga, see *Pieminekļu valdes Brīvdabas muzejs*, Rīga: I.M. Pieminekļu valdes izdevums, [1939], p. 29-33, or *Latvijas etnogrāfiskais brīvdabas muzejs*, Rīga: Zinātne, 1978 – on all the structures available for visits there during the 1970s.
- 26) *Kultūras pieminekļu saraksts Latvijas PSR teritorijā*, Rīga, 1959. *Latvijas PSR vēstures un kultūras pieminekļu saraksts*, Rīga, 1969. *Latvijas PSR vēstures un kultūras pieminekļu saraksts*, Rīga: Avots, 1984. *Latvijas PSR Valsts aizsargājamo arhitektūras pieminekļu saraksts*, Rīga, 1950; NKMP archive No. 286-58. *Latvijas PSR Valsts aizsargājamo arhitektūras pieminekļu saraksts*, Rīga, 1962, Vol. I-II; NKMP archive No. 6989-30-KM (original location: VKPAI Pieminekļu dokumentācijas centrs, Dokumentu fonds, Inv. Nr. 6989-30-KM).

27) Juris Dambis, 2018.

- 28) See *Latvijas Dabas un pieminekļu aizsardzības biedrība*, https://lv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvijas_Dabas_un_pieminek%C4%BCu_aizsardz%C4%ABbas_biedr%C4%ABba#
- 29) See Mārtiņš Mintauris, 2016, p.165-169.
- 30) On transformation of heritage protection system in Latvia at that time, see Mārtiņš Mintauris, 2016, p.223-224.
- 31) Interview with Gunārs Silakaktiņš, at that time inspector of heritage protection of Liepāja, around 2000.
- 32) See Latvijas PSR vēstures un kultūras pieminekļu saraksts, Rīga: Avots, 1984.
- 33) Interview with Andris Biedriņš, September 2023, and see <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/8339>
- 34) Data extraxted from the Cultural Heritage Management Information System of *Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvalde (NKMP) / National Heritage Board of Latvia (NHBL)*. Mantojums/Heritage at <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects>
- 35) Criteria for enlisting are explained on the page of the National Heritage Board of Latvia: <https://www.nkmp.gov.lv/lv/kriteriji-kulturvesturiski-nozimigu-objektu-ieklausanai-valsts-aizsargajamo-kulturas-piemineklu-saraksta>
- 36) *Ibid.*, <https://www.km.gov.lv/en/conservation-historic-monuments>
- 37) <https://www.nkmp.gov.lv/lv/kriteriji-kulturvesturiski-nozimigu-objektu-ieklausanai-valsts-aizsargajamo-kulturas-piemineklu-saraksta>, 3.4.
- 38) *Ibid.*, 3.2.
- 39) See Heritage list of Latvia, *Mantojums/Heritage*: <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects>
- 40) *Ibid.*
- 41) See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/8807>
- 42) See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/9086>
- 43) See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/9368>
- 44) See Heritage list of Latvia, Mantojums: <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects> and Latvijas kultūras mantojuma aizsardzības sistēmai 100. Eiropas kultūras mantojuma dienas 2023, Rīga: Nacionālā kultūras mantojuma pārvalde, 2023, available online, in Latvian: <https://www.nkmp.gov.lv/lv/media/4629/download?attachment>
- 45) Interview with Simona Čevere, the head of Cultural Heritage Information Centre of National Heritage Board of Latvia, September 2023.
- 46) See both Heritage list page for Līgatne case: <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/7427> and information page on the town of Līgatne: <http://www.visitligatne.lv/ligatnes-papirfabrikas-stradnieku-majas>
- 47) See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/8777>
- 48) The definitions of value levels are provided here in free translation of Latvian terminology by the author of this article as there is no official translation of evaluation levels in English available.
- 49) See historical map of Riga published on inner cover of Andris Biedriņš, Edvīns Liepiņš, *Rīgas sabiedriskais transports no 19. gs. vidus līdz mūsdienām*, Rīga: Rīgas Satiksme, 2015.
- 50) Juris Dambis, 2018, p. 10. There is hope that the heritage authorities of Riga with the political support of the municipality might be ready to take the next step: to make a preliminary survey of industrial heritage in the city, at last, including its locations, conditions, and estimated architectural and historical value; however, it is not confirmed.
- 51) See <https://mantojums.lv/cultural-objects/6650>
- 52) See, information provided only in Latvian.