

Listing Industrial Heritage in Lithuania

What National Lists Can Tell About the Concept of Industrial Heritage

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ABSTRACT
National lists of cultural properties are an interesting phenomenon of institutional heritage protection development in the modern period. They convey important cultural turns, national and international heritage policy changes as well as political regimes as the case of Lithuania can demonstrate. The paper uses the critical heritage studies approach for this research. It deals with the concept of industrial heritage and its development in the Lithuanian context, highlights the most important turning points, and shows the relevance of individual researchers and academic disciplines in the process but also the political circumstances affecting heritage processes in three different histo-

rical periods: the First Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940), the Soviet occupied Lithuania (Lithuanian SSR, 1945–1990), and the independent Republic of Lithuania (1990–2020). The analysis is based on previous literature, unpublished reports and previous writings on industrial heritage producing understanding about the layers of heritage processes in the specific case of industrial heritage.

INTRODUCTION

National lists of cultural properties are an interesting phenomenon of institutional heritage protection development in the mo-

dern period. They convey important cultural turns, national and international heritage policy changes as well as political regimes as the case of Lithuania can demonstrate. Although the term ‘industrial heritage’ is fairly new in Lithuania, dating back to 2000, the interest in the preservation of ‘technological heritage’ can be traced back to the 1930s, when the ethnological interest in the legacy of rural technical artefacts began. However, the official listing of technological heritage began in the 1970s, when Lithuania was under Soviet occupation. The paper therefore focuses on the comparison of two periods of industrial heritage listing: 1973–1990 (the Soviet occupied Lithuania) and 1990–2020 (the Republic of Lithuania). The aim of this research is to interpret the official cultural heritage lists from the point of view of cultural history as the representations of the official cultural heritage policy as well as the academic research interests.

This article uses the approach of critical heritage studies – its differentiation from ‘heritage studies’ rests on its emphasis of cultural heritage as a political, cultural, and social phenomenon.¹⁾ The research is based on comparative methodology and statistical analysis. Comparative research was carried out by comparing academic research (published papers and unpublished reports), the public press dedicated to industrial heritage, and the typology of listed buildings in three different historical periods: the First Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940), the Soviet occupied Lithuania (Lithuanian SSR, 1945–1990), and the independent Republic of Lithuania (1990–2020). Typological and statistical analysis of the listed industrial/technological/technical properties was carried out using the digital data base of the National Cultural Heritage List (*Kultūros vertybių registras, KVR*)²⁾ of the Department of Heritage Protection at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania (from 1995 to the present), and the previous lists published as books in 1973, 1977, 1988 and 1993.³⁾

The IHP fieldwork ‘Recording Living Industrial Heritage’ at the match factory ‘Liepsna’ in Kaunas, Lithuania. Photos: Marija Drėmaitė, 2001.



BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF LITHUANIAN HERITAGE PROTECTION ACTS

1919, the Lithuanian government adopted the *Law on the State Archaeological Commission*. Systematic protection of cultural monuments began in The State Archaeological Commission (established in 1919 under the Ministry of Education) which took care of the protection and research of archaeological, architectural and artistic monuments.

1926, the Reference Office for the Protection of Ancient Monuments began to operate under the Ministry of Education.

1936, the monument protection was transferred to the Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture, where the position and department of the conservator of Lithuanian monuments was established.

1938/1940, the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments* was prepared in the Republic of Lithuania in 1938, but it was officially adopted only on July 20, 1940, already in the soviet-occupied Lithuanian SSR. An institution for the protection of cultural monuments was established under the People's Commissariat of Education, it inventoried cultural properties in nationalized estates and handed them over to museums.

1967, the second *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Lithuanian SSR* was adopted (on the level of republic). This law created a system for the protection and management of monuments, which operated until the restoration of Lithuania's independence.

1977, the *All-Union Heritage Protection Act* came into force in the Lithuanian SSR. During the Soviet occupation period, heritage protection became institutionalized and specialized in heritage research, protection and restoration branches.

1990, after the restoration of Lithuania's independence, the monument protection system was reorganized. Department of Monument Protection under the Government of the Republic of Lithuania was established.

1994, the new *Law on the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Lithuania* was adopted on 22 December 1994 (No. I-733). Required subordinate legislation has been drafted and approved as part of the law's implementation, including the regulation of cultural heritage identification and inventory, declaration of protected status, management, etc. The Law was updated in **2004**. A new updated version is expected in **2024**.

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THE INCREASING INTEREST IN INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN CONTEMPORARY LITHUANIA

The term 'industrial heritage' is fairly new in Lithuania, dating back to 2000. It developed in close connection to the increasing international cooperation in the field of industrial heritage, especially the Nordic-Baltic cooperation.⁴⁾ The point of departure for this cooperation was an international seminar, 'Industrial Heritage in the Nordic and Baltic countries', held in October of 1999, in Helsinki, Finland. This first seminar was followed by a second, 'Future's past' – sponsored by the Swedish Institute and held in June 2000, in Norberg, Sweden. Finally, the 'Industrial Heritage Platform (IHP)', a three year cooperation project (2000–2002), initiated by the Nordic countries, funded by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and coordinated by the National Board of Antiquities in Finland, was started. It resulted in a fruitful framework: six mutual meetings, five international training courses, two international seminars and numerous national events in seven countries where the appreciation and preservation of the industrial heritage had a very different status.⁵⁾



The IHP fieldwork 'Recording Living Industrial Heritage' at the match factory 'Liepsna' in Kaunas, Lithuania. Photos: Marija Drémaitė, 2001.

One of the main aims and tools of the IHP has been training. In 2001, one bilateral course was organised in every Baltic country. These courses had a focus on different aspects of industrial heritage, such as reuse, large scale documentation and transition processes. Altogether two hundred individuals and thirty institutions have been involved in these courses. The Norwegian-Danish-Lithuanian pilot course on surveying, inventories and photo documentation of the industrial heritage, aimed to teach and discuss the effective and qualitative documentation of the industrial heritage.⁶⁾ The objective of the field course was to train participants in organising their observations in such a way as to produce relevant, structured and understandable information in an archival form, and to create a documentation report of a factory or industrial installation. The fieldwork was titled 'Recording Living Industrial Heritage' and took place in September 2001 at the match factory 'Liepsna' in Kaunas, Lithuania. In 1930, Swedish 'Svenska Tändsticks Aktiebolaget' purchased the factory and a large proportion of the process machinery from the 1950's was still in use in 2001. The fieldwork tested different approaches to inventorying: ranging from material records to social studies of an industrial enterprise.

Another IHP affiliated initiative in Lithuania was the 'Power of Water' project (2001), dedicated to education. Schoolchildren were taught to see the connection between industry and water-power, and to produce material suitable for tourists. In 2002, the project continued with an inventory course and exhibition of an old paper mill.

The final joint IHP training course 'Industrial Heritage and Urban Change' in 2002 took place in two harbour towns Helsingør, Denmark and Klaipėda, Lithuania. The main idea of the course was to compare industrial heritage in two industrial harbour cities. The event in Klaipėda discussed urban transformation and raised awareness about understanding of industrial heritage in Lithuania. Interestingly enough, it took place on the site of the former medieval castle and fortress where the shipyard was later constructed in the 19th century. The site had always been presented as 'the Castle' in Lithuania, and industrial buildings on the site have been treated as merely obstacles to be removed. How-



Match production building, S facade with loading ramp.



Resting area for male workers.



Box folding machine.



From the left: storage, pile of used billets, conveyor, boiler house. In the background: trestle crane.



Resting area and personal things of female workers.



Box filling machine.

The final joint IHP training course 'Industrial Heritage and Urban Change' at the Lindenau Shipyard in Klaipėda, Lithuania. Photos: Marija Drėmaitė, 2002.



Table I. Number of listed properties with technical or technological values. Sources: *Lietuvos TSR kultūros paminklų sąrašas* [List of cultural monuments of the Lithuanian SSR], Vilnius: Mokslinė metodinė kultūros paminklų apsaugos taryba, 1973 and KVR.

Periods	1973-1990	1990-1995	1995-2005	2005-2020
Number of listed properties of technical and industrial heritage	67	85	133	81



ever, through fieldwork, the 'Lindenau Shipyard' underwent investigation as a 'zone of tension', one where the traditional heritage of the former castle, the remains of the shipbuilding, the Soviet period constructions, and the contemporary ship repairing practice all intersect. The municipality also expressed the needs of the city to make the area a public space, as well as encouraging commercial interests to appropriate the place. Consequently, the

questions discussed at the course were not only industrial buildings and their re-use but also the impact of industries on the social, economic and urban changes of the cities. During and after the course, the main thesis was raised and discussed – are mediaeval and industrial heritage of similar cultural value, and can they co-exist on the same site?

The IHP initiative was followed by a long-term academic co-

operation between Nordic and Baltic researchers. The research project 'Industry and Modernism' (2001–2005) resulted in a book,⁷⁾ and the Nordic-Baltic industrial museums' travelling exhibition project 'Dream Factories' (2007–2009) in all seven countries, as well as a doctoral training program entitled 'Industrial Heritage and Societies in Transition' (2002–2006) which culminated in several dissertations, papers, and a jointly composed book: 'Industrial Heritage around the Baltic Sea'.⁸⁾ It constituted a crucial element of the movement, profoundly changing the perception and appreciation of industrial heritage in Lithuania at the beginning of the 21st century.

The significant impact of these events, initiatives and projects was clearly reflected in the increased listing of industrial heritage in Lithuania. The highest activity in listing industrial facilities took place in the period from 1995 to 2005. During this decade, 133 properties of industrial and technological value entered into the National List (Register) of Cultural Properties (*Kultūros vertybių registras* – KVR). Whereas the period from 1995 to 2002 focused primarily on rewriting the properties from the previous lists, the period 2002 to 2005 proposed qualitatively new properties of industrial heritage. International cooperation also increased and the three geodetic points of the Struve meridian arc in Lithuania were admitted into the UNESCO World Heritage List as part of a serial nomination involving ten countries.⁹⁾

In 2005, the National Cultural Heritage Register encompassed 1073 positions of listed buildings, and 543 positions of groups of buildings. Among these, technical and technological values were attributed to 248 buildings and 79 groups of buildings. However, only 13 buildings and 24 groups of buildings were connected to industrial history or architecture. This data demonstrates that, indeed, the primary interest within Lithuania centres yet still on the history and heritage of technology and engineering, rather than on the industrial remains themselves. This phenomenon might be interpreted as the very infancy of industrial heritage according to prof. Marie Nisser.¹⁰⁾ or as a specific case of a country which found itself missing its own particular, national 'grand narrative' of industrialization. The following chapters will try to trace the beginnings and the development of this phenomenon.

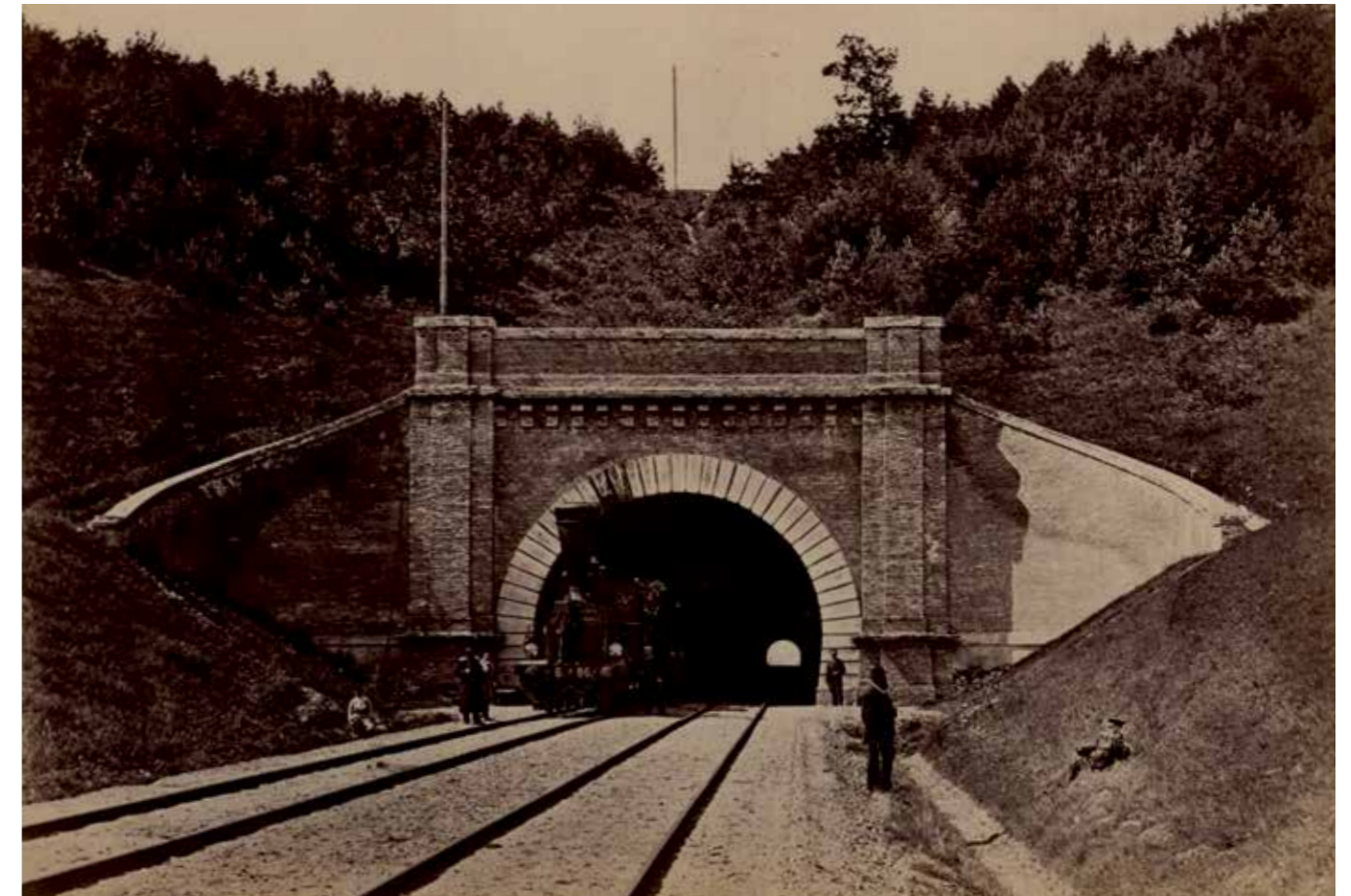
THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY IN LITHUANIA AND THE ROLE OF ITS INTERPRETATION IN THE NATIONAL HERITAGE POLICY

The acknowledgement of industrial heritage in Lithuania went a long way in the 20th century and was rather complicated. The missing grand narrative of the local industrial development complicated the understanding and appreciation of this heritage for the larger parts of the society. It also resulted in the unsystematic process of evaluation and listing of industrial heritage.¹¹⁾

Lithuania is presented as a rural country because of the late and relatively small scale of industrialization, especially if compared to its neighbours Latvia and Estonia.¹²⁾ Political changes were abundant in the preceding two centuries and were instrumental in shaping the different phases of the country's industrial development; phases which may be characterised as involving intense periods of development – "shortcuts" – rather than a consistent, steady pace of industrial expansion. Four periods might be distinguished in the industrialization of Lithuania: (1) pre-Industrial Revolution period; (2) 19th century industrialization in Russian empire; (3) the emphasis on local industry during the inter-war period of the nation state, 1918-1940; and (4) large scale industrialization during the Soviet occupied period in 1945-1990.

The first attempt to industrialize Lithuania was taken in 1770 by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth King's treasurer, count Antoni Tiesenhausen (Tyzenhauz), who wished to generate capital by means of industry. His industrialization differed significantly both in scale and ideology from the arts-and-crafts focused profit-seeking efforts of the count's fellow aristocrats. Tiesenhausen summoned English and Scottish masters, and establishing around 70 factories in several locations across the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Those were water-powered wool, linen, silk, metal ware, paper and fancy goods factories as well as metal industry: forges, blast furnaces and gun smithies. Unfortunately, this effort towards industrialization lasted only 15 years: In contrast to his liberal fellows, the count employed serfs – who often sabotaged the work – and eventually the project failed to reach its ambitions, and terminated. Two of the most distinctive industrial sites of this phase were "Horodnica" and "Kunsztow" near Hrodna

426 m long Paneriai railway tunnel built in 1859-1862 was one of the first listed properties of technological value. Photo: Jozef Czechowicz, 1873, source: Lithuanian Science Academy Wroblewsky Library.



84 (in current Belarus) on the Lososna River (1785).¹³⁾ Although they are remarkable examples of early and deliberate industrialization, it is difficult to present and articulate these sites as the origin points of the industrialization of Lithuania, as the material relics are significantly altered and at present located in a foreign state.

In 1795 territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided among Russian, Prussian and Austrian Empires. As part of the Russian Empire, Lithuania was of no interest to imperial trade and industry, finding itself on the periphery of major industrialization processes occurring elsewhere in the polity. The traditional narrative informs us that the Industrial Revolution reached Lithuania quite late – only breaking through after the abolishment of serfdom in 1861 and the construction of the Warsaw-St. Petersburg railway in 1862. Large-scale urban industry did not get a foothold until the 1890s. In 1899, there were 1426 enterprises with 13,200 workers in Lithuanian cities and towns. The complicated history of city and industry development has meant that the national identity question as to the ‘ownership’ of cultural heritage remains as yet unresolved. The first to establish capitalist factories in 1870s were foreign merchants and stock companies (mostly German, who were interested in establishing factories on the western borderland of Russian empire to avoid duties). Until the very beginning of the 20th century, one cannot find any Lithuanian industrialist in the urban environment, therefore the industrial remains of this period are yet to be recognized as an integral part of the national history of Lithuania today.

In complete contrast, the short yet productive inter-war period of the independent Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940) fits perfectly well into the collective process of conceptualising a national history. After regaining independence in 1918, Lithuania faced the question of in which way to direct development of industry. Lithuania looked upon Denmark as having successfully implemented the model of an agro-industrial national organisation. A land reform was carried out, and the shift from cereal grain crops to stock-raising and dairy farming was encouraged. The State actively involved itself in both economy and industry, and by 1938 there were 21 state businesses and publicly-traded companies financed through State capital. The growth of Lithua-

nian industry is indicated by an increase from 1013 industrial enterprises employing 18,518 workers in 1927, to 1441 enterprises employing 35,063 workers by 1938. It is evident that Lithuanian industry had substantially grown on the local level, but taking a broader perspective, it remained yet still on a relatively small scale, especially when compared to neighbouring Latvia and Estonia. In 1939, Lithuanian industry employed only 8.1% of working people, while agriculture employed a staggering 73.8%. Development of the agricultural economy in 1918–1940 directly influenced the character of industrial architecture. New types of industrial buildings were developed besides the traditional ones. Modern elevators, bacon and sugar factories, dairy, textile factories, power plants and buildings for military industry as well as new modern storages illustrate the scope of industrial building-types of the inter-war period. However, these structures underwent major development and expansion during the subsequent period of Soviet occupation, only retaining its material authenticity in a minority of cases – a specific requirement for heritage listing.

The Soviet occupation (1940-1941, 1944-1990) had the biggest impact on the industrialization of Lithuania. In 1959-1965 the structure of industry changed substantially: The production of metal and machines increased threefold, becoming the main branch of industry in the republic. Production increased 6.2 times between 1955 and 1970; the number of workers increased 3.2 time in the period 1950-1965, and reached a tally of 312,000 by 1965. Urbanisation grew from 28.3% in 1950, to 52% in 1970. Today, the industrial remains of the Soviet period are commonly regarded as alien and uncongenial, not only because of the quite unfavourable legacy of the Soviet occupation, but also due to the vast swathes of land on which the Soviets erected their standardised, monotone architecture. Soviet industrialization is perceived today as colonial, having destroyed the natural rural landscape and its traditions. Notorious elements such as pollution, Russian immigrant labour, inappropriate dimensioning and inferior product quality usually outweigh the positive aspects of urbanisation; economic growth and modernisation.

Thomas A. Markus has shown that “arguments about what to preserve in the name of ‘the nation’s heritage’ and what to

neglect, destroy or cover up are always also arguments about what version of the past will be carried forward as part of the ongoing, necessary process of imagining nationhood”.¹⁴⁾ One could say that economic and industrial development is underestimated in the general historical narrative of Lithuania because of the complicated political history of the entire period. In considering this diverse picture of industrial development of the last 200 years, the complex difficulty of distinguishing Lithuania’s own national industrial heritage becomes self-evident.

BEGINNINGS OF ACKNOWLEDGING INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN LITHUANIA IN THE 1930S

Although the term ‘industrial heritage’ entered active use only in the 21st century, the subject itself was known long before under the term ‘technical and technological heritage’. Interest in the subject matter arose in the 1930s, initially as an *overall* interest in vernacular heritage, and originated in the heritage ideology of the newly independent (1918) state of Lithuania. The concept of ‘technological monuments’ was at this time introduced under a definition of ‘historically and technically important objects’. In 1938, an ethnologist Juozas Lingis (1910–1998) proposed to take care of vernacular technological heritage, and to classify this monumental heritage into three general groups:

- 1) Engineering structures: ferries, bridges, locks and dams;
- 2) Buildings and equipment: windmills and watermills, forges, sawmills, spinning mills, weaving mills, factories and furnaces, brick, lime, peat mines and fur workshops;
- 3) Single artefacts: various machines, devices and tools.¹⁵⁾

Lingis composed the article in Stockholm, presenting Sweden’s caretaking of its technological heritage as a good example to follow. In 1929 Juozas Lingis entered the Lithuanian University in Kaunas, and in 1932 he took a deep interest in Scandinavian language courses under Knut Olof Falk, who came from Sweden and eventually came to be a well-regarded ethnologist and linguist. In 1937, Lingis received a Lithuanian state scholarship and began his ethnology and archaeology studies at Stockholm University. In his free time, he helped Sigurd Eriksson in his work at the *Nordiska Museet*. Encouraged by Eriksson, he started writing about Lithuanian culture and literature in the local press, and also spread knowledge about technological monument preservation in Sweden for the Lithuanian audiences.

However, no actual listings or concerted steps towards preservation were taken in the First Republic of Lithuania. There were no appropriate specialists nor specific conservation strategies pertaining to technological heritage in Lithuania. Four attempts were made to pass a law on the protection of cultural monu-

86 ments; in 1926, 1933, 1938 and 1939, but they were not successful.¹⁶⁾ The idea of the *'Tėviškės muziejus* [Homeland's Museum]', an open-air museum of ethnography based on the model of Skansen, was widely discussed but never realised. With the modernisation of the world, agrarian heritage and its preservation

may have hindered the introduction of new technologies. In this context, any call for the preservation of old technical objects could have been perceived as a step back towards an outmoded, agrarian way of life.



The first public power plant in Vilnius (1903), listed and converted to the Museum of Energy and Technology in 2003: Marija Drėmaitė, 2004.

THE CONCEPT AND PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN THE SOVIET OCCUPIED LITHUANIA, 1945–1990

Concerns regarding technological heritage were raised again in Lithuania under Soviet occupation. Similar to the ethnologist Lingis in the late 1930s, the 1960's ethnologist Stasys Daunys likewise wrote about the preservation of vernacular technical monuments and the establishment of a relevant museum.¹⁷⁾ At the same time, mathematician and astronomer Paulius Slavėnas (1901–1991) raised similar concerns about the preservation of technological heritage.¹⁸⁾ As an influential member of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR and a chairman of the Commission for the History of Natural and Technical Sciences of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR, Slavėnas called on cultural workers to start inventorying technical artefacts and monuments, and to draw up distinct inventories for each type of object, indicating its dimensions, location and chronology. Together with his Latvian colleague, Pauls Stradiņš, he founded the Baltic Conference on History of Science¹⁹⁾ in 1958, which was in turn instrumental in facilitating a broader awareness of technological heritage.

However, it is important to note that this concern about the 'technological monuments' was largely focused on wind- and watermills, and other vernacular buildings in specifically rural locations. Indeed, the 1970s and 1980s were fruitful in the field of molinological research, and a thoroughly researched publication on the history, development and heritage of water and windmills entered circulation in 1982.²⁰⁾ This increased academic research was likewise reflected in listings and legal protections of water- and windmills.

The official listing of industrial objects of the Lithuanian SSR was first published in 1973 as a part of the list of historical and cultural monuments of the Lithuanian SSR.²¹⁾ Following the official methodology, four groups of monuments were established: archaeological, architectural, artistic and historical monuments. In the group of historical monuments a subgroup for work, production and technical monuments was created, whereas in the group of architectural monuments a subgroup for industrial buildings was singled out. In 1973–1990 mills made up half (35 pro-

87 perties) of all 67 listed properties of industrial and technological heritage, the mills regarded as monuments of the history of production. Another large portion of technological monuments were bridges, recognised as feats of engineering (in total 11 historic bridges were listed). Among the listed properties one could also find a fire station, two funiculars (cable-cars) in Kaunas, an airfield, the first railway tunnel (built in 1860), a lighthouse, a warehouse, and three clocks (two in churches, one in a town hall). All were listed because of their engineering, or their technological value. In this regard, the perception and policy of preservation continued the pre-war tradition of protecting only vernacular technological heritage and engineering structures.

It may appear counterintuitive, but under the Soviet regime, when the 'power of the proletariat' was officially proclaimed, large scale urban industries were neither acknowledged nor protected as cultural heritage monuments. The Lithuanian SSR list of cultural monuments (in the group of architectural monuments) only presented one power plant, two distilleries and two ancient mills – a complex of an early 19th century papermill buildings in Vilnius and the historic papermill in Prienai (built in the 16th century). This ideological incoherence might be explained by the economic situation: Western capitalist countries faced industrial crises in the late 1970s through the 1980s, fuelling a discourse on the preservation of derelict factories and the industrial past overall. However, in the rush for industrialization, and in the official Soviet discourse of technological progress, ideas of preserving industrial heritage seemed not relevant at all, because all factories were still in operation. The Soviet era was also characterised by major renovation and modernization of historic industrial buildings, without efforts to record the original structures before demolition or enlargement.

Nevertheless, amateur historians in the 1970s, as well as several academic researchers, called for investigation into, and a recording of, industrial remains in the wake of the period's rapid modernization of manufacturing plants. They proposed the establishment of a type of 'eco-museum of technology' in the region of the oldest mills of Vilnius on the Vilnia River.²²⁾ The most significant contribution to this movement was the activities of Vytautas

Wooden wind mill in Kleboniškis (1884) is one of the few protected operating historic windmills in Lithuania. Photo: Marija Drėmaitė, 2008.



88 Kazimieras Vaitkus (1930–2015), researcher and associate professor at Vilnius Institute of Civil Engineering (VISI, now Vilnius Tech). Vaitkus' research into historic factories were in the form of feasibility studies, specifically the notion of reusing old structures in modernized plants, thus preserving historical-architectural value.²³⁾ The main object of his research was the development of the structure of industrial enterprises and the formation of industrial zones in Lithuanian cities in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. In his conclusions he emphasised the historical, technical and architectural value of industrial buildings and proposed that they should be declared state-protected monuments.

In 1980, under the leadership of Vaitkus, a scientific research system of technical cultural heritage was created at the VISI, based on the systems synthesis method, which was based on the systems of search and recording of technical heritage: "The first system consists of the verbal, literary, documentary, and in-kind searches, and the second system consists of the graphic and photographic recording and inventory survey. The first system of searches enables the location of objects, their historical development, their condition, and their residual value to be revealed. The second system seeks to record the current state of the technical heritage and to identify opportunities for restoration and adaptation to new functions", Vaitkus wrote in 1985.²⁴⁾

At the Association of Regional Studies, he founded the Commission for the Protection of Technical Monuments in the 1970s, and in this endeavour co-published a number of articles on the history of technology, science, and industrial buildings. On the initiative of the Commission, the first amateur list of Lithuanian technical heritage (comprising 230 properties) was put together in 1984,²⁵⁾ followed by methodological recommendations to investigate and record industrial and technological monuments.²⁶⁾

In summary, it can be stated that although 67 properties of technological and engineering heritage were listed in 1973–1990, the majority of them were vernacular mills, bridges, and several other built structures. History of science, technology and industrialization were well-established on the research agenda, but there was only limited interest in the material remains of large urban industry as most factories were still in operation.

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN THE CONTEMPORARY REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA, 1990–2020

The listing of industrial heritage has changed significantly from the Soviet era to the present day. After Lithuania regained its independence in 1990, a more active process of listing industrial heritage objects began. In 1991, the Centre of Cultural Heritage was established by the Ministry of Culture and charged with the responsibility of listing cultural properties. The Centre even sought to develop a specially designated program for the assessment of industrial architecture, but it was never completed.²⁷⁾ Despite that obstacle, the Cultural Heritage Centre nonetheless undertook recording and listing of objects regarded as industrial and technical heritage that had survived up until that point. A plethora of new types of objects became regarded as industrial heritage and were listed in this period – by 1995 a total of 57 new buildings and 45 new complexes had entered the lists.

In 1995, the new National List of Cultural Properties of the Republic of Lithuania was introduced, following the ratification of a new Law on the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage in December 1994, and with it the National Register of Cultural Properties (KVR) came into being. Together with growing research interest in industrial heritage e.g. a third volume of the Lithuanian Architectural History, dedicated to the 19th century, was published in 2000 and included a chapter on industrial architecture, these initiatives paved the way for an abundance of industrial heritage sites and objects eligible for protection, such as a new group of technical and technological monuments (among architectural, historical, archaeological, etc.).

Between 1995 and 2005, there was a significant increase in the listing of industrial and technological heritage, comprising 73 new building complexes and 37 individual buildings. It is worth noting that most of the new properties inscribed on the National List since 1991 were based on the list prepared by Vytautas K. Vaitkus in 1984 – however, Vaitkus' systematic research and recording methodology was not followed. This resulted in a substantial increase of industrial heritage on the list (even if not fully coherent and systematic), and lasted until 2005, when legislative changes and important events took place in the Lithuanian heritage protection system.²⁸⁾

Until April 20, 2005, a total of 1073 buildings and 543 building complexes were listed on the national Register. Among them, there were 248 buildings and 79 building complexes with technical and technological value. The new listing encompassed 13 buildings and 24 building complexes related to industry (factories, power plants and other enterprises). In addition to the water and wind mills that still prevailed on the list (43 of them were inscribed anew in this period), newly listed properties included water tower, viaducts, railway stations, railway bridges and signalling equipment, and an entire narrow-gauge railway line in Northern Lithuania (*Siaurukas*). It should be noted that, in this period, railway heritage began to be acknowledged and listed in a complex and systematic manner. Additionally, for the first time, objects related to science and academic research have been inscribed: the Ornithological Station of Ventės Ragas and the University Observatory built in Vilnius in the 1930s. The same can be said for shipbuilding; ports and related structures were all listed as new sites. The growing interest in research of the history and material culture of the First Lithuanian Republic (1918–1940) resulted in listing many new properties, specifically ones that relate to the industrialisation undertaken by interwar-Lithuania; then-modern dairies, sugar factories and other enterprises of

local food industry. The causes for this increased interest in industrial heritage within Lithuania can be found in the new types of research and international cooperation taking place at the time.

However, although the increase in research and listing of industrial heritage was obvious, the terminology did not profoundly change, and the term 'technological heritage' remained the most broadly used. According to the specialist of the Cultural Heritage Centre, Ona Stasiukaitienė, "technological heritage encompasses not only old machines and equipment, but also industrial, engineering and factory production legacy, technology, products, transport system and industrialised landscape".²⁹⁾

Legislative changes in 2005 introduced wide sweeping changes in the attribution of heritage value to properties and objects. The properties were no longer classified and grouped on account of their function (e.g. artistic, architectural, urban, archaeological, historical or technological monuments), but were instead now assessed as immovable entities that can possess a multiple values, selected from a general list of possible attributes: Archaeological, underwater, historical, architectural, urban, landscape, sacral, ethnological, memorial, artistic, and engineering. Therefore, a large factory could now be said to demonstrate architectural, landscape and engineering attributes all at once. The 'engineering' attribute

Table 2. Number of listed Industrial Heritage in 1995-2020

Year	Number of listed properties of technical and industrial value
1995–2004	175
2005	25
2006–2020	85
Total	285

90 was specifically formulated so as to encompass technical, technological, and industrial values, better reflecting the complexity in defining the exact parameters of some industrial objects.

The period from 2005 to 2020 saw 81 new listed properties of industrial, technological, and engineering value. Railway heritage continued to receive most of the attention during this period – as many as 42 new such properties were inscribed on the National Register. At the same time, the mills ceased to dominate the technological heritage listings – only 12 of them appear at this point. It can be concluded that the last decade demonstrated a stabilisation of recording and listing of industrial heritage in Lithuania, which is now based on a more thorough and systematic process of historical research and argumentation.

CHANGING APPROACH TO INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

In recent years, interpretations of industrial heritage in Europe has been strongly tied to social history, acting as motors through which industrial and social histories themselves are constructed. Revisionist interpretations of the socially neutral inevitability of the industrialization process have illuminated previously marginalised groups of people and negative social aspects, thus resulting in interpreting the industrial past as a working man's history. However, the issue of class was missing in Lithuanian industrial heritage discourse as well as in the broader social context of industrialization and working life. Neither trade unions nor worker movements have claimed any 'social ownership' of the industrial past. This lack of social context, historical interpretation, and a broader scope in listing industrial heritage, prompted problematic questions on earlier heritage priorities and the choices made, as industrial heritage preservation was focused on the material remains and buildings alone.

As of May 2019, the National List of Cultural Properties contained 25,422 immovable objects of cultural heritage, of which some are industrial in character. However, there is no separate list or catalogue that can reveal specific industrial heritage objects among this large number of heritage properties. Following the reforms in 2005, there was no effort made to produce separate

lists detailing protected entities ordered by type. All listed objects were prescribed with different groups of values (from the aforementioned list of 11 attributes, e.g. architectural, urban, archaeological, industrial, etc.). Thus, since the National Register does not have the function or the ability to separate specific types of heritage typology, a separate study would have had to be carried out in order to distinguish industrial heritage.

Arguments about what to preserve in the name of "the nation's heritage" and what to neglect, destroy or cover up are always also arguments about what version of the past will be carried forward. Unfortunately economical and industrial development in Lithuania is rarely mentioned in the grand historical narratives. Although contemporary art history research has widely expanded the boundaries of what is considered "beautiful" and industrial architecture and its specific aesthetics has shifted to be considered on the same grounds as any other field of architecture, the broader public nonetheless seeks a familiar, decorative moment in industrial architecture, and the richness of ornamentation often justifies its conservation. As it stands today and appears to be going forward, what is now important is not strictly the remains of the original heritage, but rather the way in which the heritage has been adapted and its present-day functions.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be said that in the state of Lithuania during the interwar period (1918–1940), the Soviet-occupation period (1940–1941, 1944–1990), and during the period of independent state since 1990, many definitions of industrial heritage were formulated and its protections changed repeatedly, influenced by the various political and cultural changes taking place in Lithuania. It can be concluded that a new approach to the definition of industrial, technical, and engineering heritage was introduced in the mid-2000s by contemporary research, international cooperation and practice.

It can be also concluded that a missing grand narrative of industrial history, social understanding of industrial development, and the negative connotations of Soviet-era industrialization, rendered industrial heritage research in Lithuania a marginal field, with

unsystematic listing and reuse practices. The passive relation to industrial structures most often reflects not a deliberate act of denial, but rather a general opinion of industry being of no importance. The movement of industrial heritage recognition in Lithuania experienced an upheaval in the period 2000–2010, directly related to the development and promulgation of new

91 concepts, research, and international cooperation. However, there is still a central question regarding the industrial heritage in Lithuania which must be asked – is it spurred on by a genuine wish to preserve the country's industrial past, or is it an act of copying the fashionable and adaptive models for re-use found in Western Europe?



A listed Telšiai distillery represents richly decorated historical industrial architecture of the 19th century. Photo: Marija Drėmaitė, 2002.



A listed central 'Pienocentras' dairy in Kaunas represents modernist industrial architecture of the 1930s independent state of Lithuania. Photo: Marija Drėmaitė, 2006.

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Notes

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