Introduction

Societies are complex structures built via human interactions and operate through a shared social heritage and a particular cultural legacy. Each human group can boast of a distinct heritage and a culture peculiar to itself; a reality which has, from many centuries ago, enticed others to visit, experience and write about (authors and travellers such as, Thompson 1940; Slade 1837; Senior 1882). Heritage tourism was thus born, the origins of which go back to antiquity. Though others may have travelled before him to see where history occurred, it is generally accepted that the honour of first ‘heritage tourist’ should be bestowed on the Greek Herodotus. He travelled around the eastern Mediterranean in the fifth century B.C. to experience landscapes, sites, cities and buildings and comment on the food, the architecture and the history (Museum of the city.com n.d.). One needs only to look, as an example, at the richness of architecture which developed from the earliest organised civilisations and those that followed, to grasp the spread and worth of the heritage which humanity possesses, and this has been recognised and accentuated throughout history (see for e.g., Malizia 1785).

The modern world acknowledges this vast and precious wealth which belongs to all humanity. ICOMOS during its 12th General Assembly, which took place in Mexico in October 1999, adopted a Charter that describes the wide spectrum of cultural heritage with which contemporary societies have to deal. Thus: “Heritage is a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It records and expresses the long processes of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life” (ICOMOS 2002, 4).

It stands to reason, therefore, that many nations endeavour to conserve and enhance their heritage for posterity. A by-product of its upkeep and preservation is a predictable urge to visit and explore this cultural wealth by those coming from other cultural environments. This thus becomes an industry and heritage tourism becomes an important pillar of that country’s economy. Of course, with the advantage of deriving funds to enhance further this heritage there are also various pressures which may lead to endangering its stability and value, indeed its very existence.

Archaeological heritage and tourism – a tricky mix?

When speaking of archaeological heritage sites, one may point out away that these may be listed under either one of two distinct yet related categories. As Willems (2012) has observed, there are World Heritage archaeological sites and global archaeological heritage sites. Each category has its own specific attributes. Each also faces particular pressures. The author outlines such challenges and hastens to underline that these may sometimes be similar though at other times emerge as diametrically opposed. World Heritage archaeological sites typically face the risk of over-exploitation due to their economic potential and which may lead to their degradation consequent to the exaggerated number of visitors they have to sustain. Other global archaeological sites, to the contrary, may face a different reality, totally contrasting to that experienced by the former – as only a few people would know of their existence these places are relegated to insignificance and utter degradation with little done for their conservation and preservation (Willems 2012).

While the second circumstance is utterly damning for heritage sites, conversely the former group are also very much at risk, this time not because of their anonymity but rather due to their extensive popularity

Abstract: In recent years a debate has been unfolding on the relationship between heritage sites and tourism. While it is generally accepted that archaeological and other cultural sites need to be preserved and protected, it is also stressed that these should be sustainably managed, and this requires substantial funding. While the discussion continues, cultural and touristic activities cannot be sidelined as both are realities of strategic importance. Countries with much to offer and several sites to conserve, have embarked on studies and management projects focussing on striking a balance between preserving heritage sites for future generations while concurrently offering them for the cultural enjoyment and education of the present-day visitor, obtaining much needed funds in the process. Malta, an island wealthy in archaeological and other heritage sites, has done no less. The challenge is huge and the management and conservation aspects are thus on the daily agenda.
and their considerable appeal. Having sites which are renowned and widely advertised will create a strong and compelling ‘must see’ feeling among an ever-growing number of tourists principally belonging to two specific categories. There are, first and foremost the ‘hard-core tourists’, who join organised tours or groups with the principal aim of obtaining an educational experience from cultural and environmental projects. There are then the no less energetic ‘dedicated tourists’ whose main objective is to visit protected or cultural areas and to appreciate local natural and cultural history (Pedersen 2002).

Interest in such heritage sites, therefore, transforms these locations into a sort of endangered environment as visitor pressure can easily escalate to precarious levels. UNESCO (n.d. a) lists aspects which are potentially harmful to World Heritage sites, namely: armed conflict and war, earthquakes and other natural disasters, pollution, poaching, uncontrolled urbanization and unchecked tourist development. While all conditions in this list need attention, this paper is concerned with the aspect of tourism.

Carrying capacity issues thus become imperative and would need to be addressed. It is known that numerous historical settlements and towns experience congestion of facilities, traffic, urban land-use, waste management complications and other consequences derived from crowding (University of the Aegean 2002). The sheer numbers of visitors can, in themselves, become a problem. Large parties can, for example, create a heavy amount of use over a short period of time. Also, the extensive presence of people in concentrated numbers may threaten delicate cultural sites, experienced, for example, in the creation of bottlenecks in the areas where interpretation displays are set up, and in overwhelming exhibitions to the detriment of smaller groups or individuals who may thus be denied full access to those collections (Pederson 2002). It therefore becomes quite obvious that sustainability – though this word may sound as a cliché in today’s world due to its use, arguably to the verge of abuse – is in actual fact an objective which urgently needs to be addressed. With sustainability one understands a move towards “increasing the benefits and decreasing the costs of tourism development” (Nordic World Heritage Foundation 1999, 9). This is especially important with regard to delicate heritage areas such as highly frequented archaeological sites, as it has become evident that, while the presence of crowds of visitors every day may be of financial benefit to the area, yet this hardly compensates for the problems which remain in their wake. Such and other threats to the archaeological heritage of humankind are among the concerns of what has become known as the Valletta Convention of January 1992. In this document countries being parties to this Convention were invited to find a balance between the needs of their archaeological heritage and the proposals for future national development promoting a better future. Moreover, this document urged the same parties to conduct educational campaigns so as to increase the awareness of archaeological heritage among their citizens so as to promote the understanding of the past and of the threats to which this may be subjected (Council of Europe 2002).

While pressure on archaeological and other heritage sites and structures does exist in all countries, and especially so where such places are considered to be of particular importance or repute, this strain becomes more acute in the smaller territories and islands. One factor is related to tourism, as small islands generally suffer of peripherality, isolation, fragility, scarcity of resources and other deficits. In consequence, the constraints caused by weak competitiveness in relation to bigger and richer territories, drive such islands to resort to tourism which they view as a main source of financial support (Styliidis et al 2007). The more these islands strive to get tourists the more the pressure on their territories mounts. And as the saying goes: there is always a price to pay for success. Local cultural heritage can become one of the victims. Malta is one of these islands where such tourist pressures have triggered cultural heritage operators to look closely into the emerging situation and search for remedies so as to keep the situation under control.

The case of Malta

Malta is the collective name of a group of small islands situated in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. Malta, at 27 km long and 14.5 km wide, and an area of 246 km², is the largest island of the archipelago; while the sister island of Gozo, at 67 km² is second in both size and population numbers. Of the other islands, only Comino, 27 km², accommodates a few residents and a hotel which is open for tourists, while the rest of the islets do not offer much space for habitation. The population in 2011 stood at 416,055 inhabitants (National Statistics Office 2012) but continues to rise also through the settlement in the islands of persons who are either returned migrants or who decide to buy a home and enjoy the advantages of a relatively constant mild climate all year round and a tranquil social environment.

The islands are geographically positioned half way between Sicily and North Africa. Various species of fauna and flora, as also human beings, have been living in this archipelago for thousands of years. Indeed the origins of the human presence on the islands can be traced to more than 7000 years back, with Ghar Dalam (Figure 7.1) being one of the most representative archaeological sites in this regard (Mifsud & Mifsud

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Figure 7.1: The cave of Ghar Dalam, where human beings first settled in the island of Malta (Anton Bugeja, MaltaVista.net).
Heritage sites and tourism: two sides of the same coin?

The islands can boast of a large number of archaeological sites (Figure 7.2), some of which attract thousands of visitors annually. Regarding the archaeological heritage of Malta, one should point out that this includes a number of World Heritage Sites. Those falling within the archaeological sector are megalithic structures, the oldest of which date back to around 4500 B.C. In this group there are the Ġgantija temples on the island of Gozo which consist of two temples notable for their massive structures. Then there are the temples of Ħaġar Qim and Mnajdra (Stroud 2010), and Tarxien (Pace 2006), which, considering the limited technological resources available to their builders, are classified as unique architectural masterpieces. The last two are Ta’ Ħaġrat and Skorba (Trump 1966) complexes, considered to be important examples of how the traditional process of temple-building was passed down in Malta (UNESCO n.d. c). These archaeological sites have been renamed collectively “The Megalithic Temples of Malta” in 1992, a development from the original “Temple of Ġgantija” which was the first site inscribed in 1980 (UNESCO n.d. b). A further archaeological site, inscribed separately in 1980, is Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum, situated in Paola (Pace, 2004), a unique monument and the only exemplar of a subterranean structure from the Bronze Age period (UNESCO n.d. d). Apart from this world-recognised cultural heritage, the Maltese archipelago holds numerous other archaeological sites, which dot the two larger islands (Trump & Cilia 2002).

The many cultural heritage attractions – and more so the islands themselves – constitute a pull factor for a large number of visitors annually. The latest full-year figures show that in 2012 an all-time record of more than 1.45 million inbound visitors landed in Malta. Nearly all were departing tourists which meant an increase of 2 per cent over the previous year, and most of these tourists were holiday makers (Malta Independent, 2013). Taking into consideration the smallness of the islands, this large number of tourists undoubtedly creates pressures on the local infrastructure; also that of the cultural heritage sites and museums. Aware of these numbers, in its Tourism Policy for 2012–2016, Malta has set as its objective to have what has been termed a ‘better-quality tourist’. Qualifying this term the Policy explains that by better quality it

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is understanding, “a tourist that helps us achieve our sustainable development goals.” The tourists that Malta is seeking to attract therefore, would include “A mix of tourists that will make use of the spectrum of the niche offerings and products that our country offers and tourists that will respect Malta’s uniquely constructed (from temples to hotels) natural (from marine to terrestrial) and intangible (from local customs to quality labels) heritage” (Ministry for Tourism, Culture and the Environment 2012, pp. 18, 20).

This policy speaks of sustainable development goals, which means that a management strategy will be put in place concerning the tourists that visit the islands. In this way it is hoped tourism creates the least possible harm to the small and highly delicate human, built and natural environments. Due to the restricted spaces and the concentration of cultural heritage sites, the numbers of visitors need to be managed intelligently and proactively so that the negative impact would be a controlled one and the benefits which tourism can and does offer, is used to the best advantage of the local economy which is highly service-based. There lies the subtle balance. As the Maltese Cultural Heritage Act, 2002, states, “The right to access to, and benefit from, the cultural heritage does not belong merely to the present generation. Every generation shall have the duty to protect this heritage and to make it accessible for future generations and for all mankind” (Government of Malta 2002, Ch. 455, article 4 (5)).

Archaeological sites in Malta abound and visitor numbers run into the tens of thousands. In the year 2011, for example, the students and teachers that visited free of charge, when added to the paying visitors, exceeded the one million mark. In 2012 the situation was quite similar with numbers on the rise. These figures reflect the great strides in cultural tourism numbers which Malta has seen in these past five years, with the cultural sites also being visited by the Maltese themselves, many of whom nurture an interest in this segment of their heritage.

From research data compiled by the Malta Tourism Authority (MTA) it emerges that ‘History and Culture’ is the second largest segment for tourism in Malta. In 2011 this was quantified at around 184,520 tourists or 13.1 per cent of the total inbound visitors with regards to their purpose of visit. For 2011, the MTA figures show that 40.6 per cent of tourists, in a multiple response exercise, considered ‘History and Culture’ as a prime motivator for choosing Malta (Figure 7.3) and this was 4.6 per cent higher than the percentage for 2010 (Malta Tourism Authority 2011).

Maltese cultural heritage operators have thus a tough mandate to find an acceptable balance between the heavy visitor numbers literally invading sites with restricted areas and the safeguarding of the sites themselves. Places such as the megalithic temples, Roman and Paleo-christian catacomb complexes, and other archaeology related structures, such as museums and exhibition areas, are places which attract tourists, many of whom come specifically to seek what they consider as a worthy experience.

The Maltese islands can boast of around 30 megalithic temples which vary in size, state of conservation and date of origin (Renwick 2006). This reality makes the island the possessor of the highest concentration of prehistoric structures relative to its minute size. With no other wonders of nature, it can mainly attract higher-quality tourism through its cultural heritage assets and this makes it imperative for Malta to conserve them to the best of its ability; as Linda Eneix of the OTS Foundation has aptly observed, Malta’s past is its future (Vella n.d.).

What follows is an examination and discussion on what Malta has been doing to maintain a sensible combination between the tourist attraction and the heritage conservation.

A major initial move in this direction was the reassessment of the existing legislation, upgrading and updating it so as to address more realistically the contemporary requirements and the current issues.
For this purpose, therefore, the State of Malta enacted the Cultural Heritage Act 2002 which came into force in January 2003. It must be said that one motivation for new and more stringent laws, was consequent to an act of cultural vandalism on the megalithic site of Mnajdra in 2001. The legislation set up two new bodies – Heritage Malta and The Superintendence of Cultural Heritage – which replaced the aged Museums Department (Renwick 2006).

Laws alone, however, are not enough to conserve and protect archaeological or other heritage sites from damage and destruction. Cases in point are the two sites of Ta’ Ħaġrat (Figure 7.4 a, b) and Skorba which form part of one of Malta’s UNESCO World Heritage Sites. After their discovery and excavation, the sites remained closed to the public due to their fragility up till the middle of 2005 and access was only by appointment. This, however, was not deemed to be an ideal situation considering the international importance of these two sites and thus from May of that year both were opened for one and a half hours per week on a regular basis. The result was that visitors increased six-fold by 2006 and it became evident that something needed to be done to manage and minimize the impact of the human intrusion on these delicate sites and preserve the remains, while offering the best possible accessibility to those who went to see them (Zammit et al 2008).

To determine what needed to be done Heritage Malta archaeologists carried out a LAC (Limits of Acceptable Change) exercise in an effort to preserve the sites for future generations without excluding access to those of the present.

With the LAC completed four categories of measures were listed: short term, medium term, long term and on-going. Regarding the visitor ambit, in the short term it was decided that such visitors would be kept in safe areas of the site, avoiding dangerous parts such as uneven terrain, and in so doing both the structure itself and the persons on site would be protected. Moreover, keeping visitors away from the megalithic blocks would prevent direct physical impact caused by persons brushing or scratching the stones. The LAC indicated medium term measures such as the provision of better interpretation on site, which would enhance the visitor experience. As one long term measure connected to visitors, it was thought advisable to ‘harden’ the resource by installing walkways on both sites where it was deemed appropriate so as to help protect the prehistoric surfaces and possibly extend the areas accessible to the visitor in the process. As an on-going measure, the final report thought wise to advise the fostering of more awareness among the members of the community, so as to increase the appreciation of this cultural heritage. This could be done through activities such as open days, public lectures and seminars, where discussions would take place. In a nutshell, the visitor would be offered adequate interpretation tools while having to follow prearranged routes which would eliminate treading on the prehistoric torba – this is the product of the beating of crushed rock and rock dust, after adding water, into a compact and solid surface (Trump & Cilia 2002, 77). The number of visitors was set at no more than 15 at any one time, not more than 45 per day and not more than 90 in one week for each of the sites (Zammit et al 2008). From the feedback on such measures, it has been noted that direct contact with the now fragile torba surfaces has thus been drastically slowed down and the vegetation began to grow once again in certain areas where before this had been trampled and destroyed. Visitors are being informed through interpretation panels making them aware of the conservation ambit – as the measures being seen are explained accordingly – and they are also being helped to understand the heritage experience on site through the essential information provided. Thus in these two archaeological sites a balance has been struck between visitor needs and heritage site conservation requirements (Zammit et al 2008).

Further to these actions Heritage Malta, which is the state agency responsible for Malta’s cultural heritage,
drew up a Management Plan for all the temples falling under ‘The Megalithic Temples of Malta’ UNESCO World Heritage Site. Though the draft plan looks into a variety of aspects, for the purpose of this paper it is more pertinent to concentrate on visitor matters and the sites. Regarding sustainable tourism, the said plan proposes that HM carries out a LAC assessment and then in partnership with the Malta Tourism Authority would use the results to create a better touristic promotion strategy for these sites. Furthermore, the two mentioned state agencies in conjunction with travel agents and tourist guides would then work in synergy to achieve a more sustainable visitor flow to these six archaeological sites (Heritage Malta 2008). Naturally this leads to the next requirement which is the management of these visitors. The draft plan sets a number of actions in this regard. One is the construction of visitor centres – three in all – on the Ħaġar Qim and Mnajdra site, the Tarxien site and the Ġgantija site. It was proposed that these centres would include a selection of exhibits from amongst the finds unearthed on and around the sites themselves thus helping the visitors to understand the link between the site being visited and the artefacts being presented. For the Ġgantija centre, it was proposed that this would include a comprehensive display of Gozo’s prehistory. To make the visitor experience truly comprehensive, it was suggested that the design, content and activities at these centres should aim at a range of audiences, and especially for children and persons with special needs. And to facilitate access to these sites HM, with the cooperation of the Malta Transport Authority (ADT), would upgrade effective road signage and public transport (Heritage Malta 2008).

The Ħaġar Qim and Mnajdra (Figures 5.a, b) heritage park upgrade is the first such park to be tackled in Malta. It has been thus earmarked to act as the pilot project for six other megalithic sites, and would hence offer an opportunity for the transfer of skills to locally based experts enabling them to work more efficiently on future projects. The heritage park stresses on interpretation facilities aiming at upgrading the educational value of the heritage site which leads to a higher appreciation of the said site. The information panels distributed around the park, aim to educate students and school children but also the general public. This, it is hoped, will foster a higher awareness of the national heritage and a concomitant improvement in the tourism sector (Bianco 2004).

In the same project, financed from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) at €3.5 million, both temples were covered by a large overarching tent. The primary purpose for this shelter (Figure 7.6) is the better conservation of these important archaeological...
sites from the elements which were causing them to deteriorate at an accelerated pace. However, consequential to this intervention, it was realised that the visitor's experience was also enhanced, as now the visitor is protected from sun and rain, besides enjoying a better quality diffused light and improved acoustics within the sheltered ambience (Heritage Malta 2011).

Work related to Ggantija Temples, the only World Heritage site up to now that is found in Gozo, was also recently taken up. This upgrading is aimed to conserve better these precious megalithic temples while at the same time creating a better visitor experience. Walkways were constructed during the year 2011 in both the North Temple and the South Temple, while access to the ramp in the former temple walkway was also improved to make it accessible to wheelchair users. The Ggantija Temples project, a public-private partnership, was financed by Vodafone Malta Foundation. This synergy helped the state agency to continue its conservation measures for this temple complex but also to upgrade the visitor management of the site and installed a remote security system. At the same time creating a better visitor experience. All work related to visitor accessibility was done under constant expert monitoring so that no damage would be suffered by the archaeological remains (Heritage Malta 2011).

A further Maltese World Heritage site is the Ġgantija Temples project, a public-private partnership, which has enabled these hypogea to open for visitors. Work related to Ġgantija Temples, the only World Heritage site up to now that is found in Gozo, was also recently taken up. This upgrading is aimed to conserve better these precious megalithic temples while at the same time creating a better visitor experience. Walkways were constructed during the year 2011 in both the North Temple and the South Temple, while access to the ramp in the former temple walkway was also improved to make it accessible to wheelchair users. The Ggantija Temples project, a public-private partnership, was financed by Vodafone Malta Foundation. This synergy helped the state agency to continue its conservation measures for this temple complex but also to upgrade the visitor management of the site and installed a remote security system. At the same time creating a better visitor experience. All work related to visitor accessibility was done under constant expert monitoring so that no damage would be suffered by the archaeological remains (Heritage Malta 2011).

Another temple site in the World Heritage group is Tarxien. Here too, Maltese archaeologists and cultural heritage operators have intensified interventions to strengthen the preservation of this monument without depriving the visitors from its enjoyment and appreciation. A number of studies began in 2010 and were finalised a year later. One major project connected with the safeguarding of this temple site is the construction of a protective shelter similar to the ones at Ħaġar Qim and Mnajdra. The LAC assessment studies were also carried out. Special mention goes to a focus group which discussed different forms of access to Tarxien with the cooperation of the National Commission Persons with Disability (KNPD), Inspire (an NGO that provides therapeutic, education and leisure services to persons with disabilities), the Equal Partners Association, the National Parents Society of Persons with Disability, Amputees 4 Amputees and volunteers and specialists from various fields. Besides the installation of environmental monitoring equipment, a new walkway in the area within the temple structure was completed in metal and wood, which replaced a temporary passageway and which increased accessibility to all forms of mobility visitors. Prior to the construction of the walkways, archaeologically monitored excavations under the footprint of the walkway were taken in hand. All work related to visitor accessibility was done under constant expert monitoring so that no damage would be suffered by the archaeological remains (Heritage Malta 2011).

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A further Maltese World Heritage site is the Ġgantija Temples (Figure 7.7) which is a truly unique underground site but also a very fragile monument. Its microclimate needs to be constantly monitored and kept as stable as possible. Many years have been employed to develop a progressive conservation and management project. Its aim is to give this valuable site a life support system which manages the visitor presence, enable a controlled light regime, and support a system of buffer zones that can protect and stabilise the Hypogeum's fragile internal environment (San Andrea School n.d.; Fexserv 2012). The project is ongoing and has continued to evolve so as to reach a level of protection which is considered appropriate for this exceptional archaeological site (Heritage Malta 2011). It should be underlined that the number of visitors had to be drastically reduced as it was realised that the human presence threatens the stability of the microclimate which needs to be constantly stable.

Malta's cultural heritage is much wider and extensive than the sites mentioned above but this paper focused specifically on the Malta World Heritage sites for reasons of space, and not because other archaeological sites are not considered important or relevant. Cases in point would be Ta’ Bistra and St Augustine’s Roman and Paleo-christian catacomb sites which are being conserved through the Archaeotur Project under the EU Italy-Malta Operational Programme 2007–2013 and which has enabled these hypogea to open for visitors.
There are then the Ghajn Tuffieha Roman Baths which are being restored and made accessible to visitors through EAFRD funds, and St Paul’s Paleo-Christian catacombs on which conservation and interpretation works are also being carried out through ERDF funds. And these are only a selected few from among the many cultural heritage sites from different historical eras which Malta embraces within its rich and compact cultural landscape.

A final reflection

Maltese conservators, cultural heritage operators and all those others who are intimately involved in this sector, as evidenced by what has been discussed above, are striving to reach a rational balance between the needs, safety and respect of the heritage site itself and the rights of the global citizenry to experience, enjoy and admire such sites. Thus, on-site visitor management, the control of contact between the visitors and the artefacts, the reasonable fee charged, the provision of a high-quality experience, effective interpretation services, marketing and promotion of the sites, and educating towards becoming mindful visitors (Timothy and Boyd 2003) are some of the objectives which run through the operations of Maltese cultural heritage workers and professionals. And that should be the underlying motivation and the overarching vision which leads to the preservation of cultural heritage for the present so that it may be enjoyed in the future. Malta is more and more realising through experience that its past also constitutes its future, as its cultural heritage, which once embodied a way of life of its people, is being turned into a rich cultural showcase that can be presented to all those tourists that come to seek it. Yet none of this distracts from looking after the same source that in turn attracts more tourists. As we Maltese say, “iddardarx l-għajn li trid tixrob minnha” (do not pollute the source from which you need to drink), and that is exactly how the Maltese aim to make cultural heritage a profitable economic resource. And with more financial resources at hand, even more funds can be employed to conserve and restore the sites, and prepare them for a better visitor experience.

It emerges evermore clearly that cultural heritage and tourism are two sides of the same coin.

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