INANIMATE CASUALTIES: AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE DESTRUCTION AND LOOTING DURING THE SYRIAN CIVIL WAR AND ITS REOCCURRING TIES IN CONFLICT

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With the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, the world saw yet another conflict with high death rates, refugees, and destruction. However, that was not all that was destroyed in Syria. Destruction and looting of cultural heritage, both intentional and unintentional is a devastating reality of this conflict and many like it. The destruction and looting is funding and prolonging the fighting, encouraging destruction of cultures and people that are not the “correct faith”, and destroying thousands and thousands of years of important history. This area of the world is used to this kind of destruction, we saw similar occurrences beginning in 2003 in Iraq. What is concerning is the lack of action taken after these subsequent conflicts. Monument after monument is being looted and destroyed in the name of ideology and the world stays silent. The Middle East is the cradle of civilization and the destruction of heritage here is important not just for this region, but also for the entire world. This paper will examine looting and destruction in key sites in Syria and Iraq. Through this comparison it will be easier to understand the reasoning behind this destruction and looting. Resulting in a better understanding and ability to address the issue of resolving the destruction and looting of cultural heritage.
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Chapter 1 Introduction to Conflict

When thinking about countries in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia the first images that come to our mind are iconic structures that have stood the test of time: consider Egypt and images of the Great Pyramids flash through your mind, Turkey and the Blue Mosque, Greece and the Parthenon, U.K. and Stone Hedge and the list goes on. We associate these ancient monuments with their countries because they represent the people who came before us. Each monument, sculpture, and relief is a part of a country’s history. They are symbols of the nations, which they proudly stand in. For this reason the destruction of heritage is more than just senseless violence, it is a clear and decisive message. For people in the U.S., it may be harder to understand the link to heritage; after all we talk about history in hundreds of years, not thousands, like the rest of the world. However, no one will ever forget the image of the twin towers crashing down. The goal was destruction, but the target was not picked at random, or even for the most damage. The Twin Towers stood as monument representing the fundamental ideals of America. While not construed as cultural heritage, 9/11 is an example of destroying an iconic structure to send a message. This is something that is occurring in Iraq and Syria today. The damage is masked as a part of war, and while some of the damage is accidental there are far too many instances of looting and destruction that are done for profit and for an intentional demolition of culture. Too many times when we think of war we only see the victims as the people. The destruction and looting of heritage are brushed off as secondary to the suffering of people. The Middle East thrived off of tourism, facilitated by thousands of years of history. The looting of antiquities is funding, and thereby prolonging the conflict and the destruction, which
means that rebuilding will hamper the economy post-conflict. This will have a substantial effect on the people of Syria. This is one of the many reasons why the destruction and looting that is occurring in Syria and Iraq is a matter requiring the dire need for a solution.

This paper will begin with a brief analysis of the history leading up to the conflict, in both Syria and Iraq. Through this history we can see the rise of key players, notably the Islamic State, and motivations for looting and destruction. This paper will explore the issue of cultural heritage destruction of the UNESCO World Heritage sites of Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, Bosra, and Crac des Chevaliers and Saladin’s Castle in Syria and compare them to destruction seen in al-Hatra, Samarra, Ur, Babylon and Nimrud all in Iraq. The comparison between the two wars will allow us to examine several types of destruction of heritage and see the different motivations that occur during conflicts. This insight should allow us to develop better tools to safeguard heritage. This paper will also go into the specific instances of looting seen all over Syria and Iraq, with emphasis on why these objects are being looted, where they are going, and who is buying them. The focus will be on the looting driven by the Islamic State in both countries. In addition, this paper will examine the specific sites of Aleppo, Raqqa, Bosra, Crac de Chevaliers, Palmyra and Apamea in Syria and the lootings of the Baghdad National Museum, Mosul Museum, and several archaeological sites in Iraq. By analyzing the progression of cultural heritage destruction and looting throughout the conflicts in the Middle East we can analyze the effectiveness of several organizations and programs that are currently trying to prevent and combat the theft and destruction of cultural property. Finally we will explore solutions to the destruction and looting including the need for thorough catalogue and documentation, the use of satellite imagery and GIS to record the day-to-day damage and looting, and the need for military cooperation and
community support. In addition, we will look at the work of groups actively pursuing the protection of heritage sites in Syria and Iraq.

**Conflict in Syria and the Groups Involved**

The Fertile Crescent has long been called the cradle of civilization because the first traces of a settled society started here. Nestled in the heart of this historic land lays Syria. While the country was not politically defined as “Syria” till modern history, it has been a key player in world affairs since the beginning of mankind. Syria is home to the longest continually inhabited cities in the world: Damascus and Aleppo. Both of these cities were occupied by a number of ancient civilizations including the Sumerians, Akkadians, Hittites, Byzantines, and Ottomans, to name a few. The landscape of Syria shifted with the growth of Islam. In 635 A.D., the Muslim Arab conflict liberated Christianity’s hold on the region (Weiss 1985: 59-61). This marked the start of Islamic influence in the area, which can still be seen in a number of the sites explored in this paper. The Umayyad Empire gave way to the Abbasids, which lead to the holy wars of the Crusades. The Mamluks then conquered the land. Their monuments and architecture can still be seen in Syria today (Tabbaa 1993:187). Syria fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1516 CE. With the outbreak of World War I the allies planned for the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in a treaty called the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Within this agreement France, Britain, and the Russians, to a small extent, carved up the Ottoman territory. This agreement was exposed with the Russian Revolution and the majority of the agreement was enacted after the war (Melki 1997:92).

The period right after WWI was a tumultuous time in Syrian history. Syria gained a brief period of independence from 1919-1920. However the interest of Britain and France, with
regards to the Sykes-Picot Agreement, ended Syria’s independence. In 1922, France took control over Syria and Lebanon. France controlled every aspect of Syrian life including suppression of publications and political activity (Melki 1997: 92-93). This time period was one of political confusion. Syria was split into three separate regions and there were no concrete steps set forth for the future and eventual independence of Syria. Nationalist sentiment rose steadily during French occupation resulting in a revolt in 1925. It started in the Druze Mountains and spread throughout Syria before it was eventually put down in 1926. It was not till the 1946 United Nations resolution that French troops finally began leaving, two years after Russia and the U.S. recognized Syria as an independent nation (Melki 99-102). The first years of Syria’s independence was plagued by military coups and political instability. Syria participated in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the first of several future conflicts. They, along with their Arab allies, were eventually defeated by Israel. A few years later, tensions began to rise between Israel and Syria. As a result the Six-Day War came to fruition in 1967. Israel quickly destroyed Syria’s army. This series of wars caused another wave of nationalism and military might to spread throughout the Arab nations, including Syria (Primer on Palestine, Israel, and Arab-Israeli Conflict). The Baathist party, which in Syria is made up of the minority group Alawite, a sect of Shiite Islam, rose to power in the guise of this nationalism and brought stability to Syria. The Ba’ath Party’s ideology centers on a socialist agenda. They also supported the spread of pan-Arab nationalism (Devlin 1991: 1396). They continue their rule to present day, currently lead by the President Bashar al-Assad (Wiersema 2013). Since 1963, Syria has been ruled in a state of emergency law, which negates almost all constitutional rights of Syrians. The conflict started in March 2011 in the city of Daraa (Figure 1). Teenagers were arrested and tortured after vandalizing a school wall with revolutionary signs causing democratic protests to start in the
city. They quickly spread to the rest of Syria. As more and more protestors took to the streets and rallied against the Ba’ath Party, the Syrian government tried to suppress the demonstrations with kidnappings and torture. By July 2011, the violence escalated and protestors started arming themselves leading way to the civil war (Rodgers, Gritten, Offer and Asare 2015).

The conflict continues between the Syrian Government and the opposition parties and, as of 2014, the Islamic State. The Syrian Government’s military branch is known as the Syrian Army and is supported by the National Defense Force, which is a group of militias who formed after the beginning of the conflict. They are paid for by the Syrian government and, unlike the soldiers of the Syrian army, they are allowed, and even encouraged, to supplement their pay by looting (The Carter Center 2013; Solomon 2013). When the army raids cities and villages every NDF soldier, who fights alongside the army, receives a percentage of the loot. Along with the NDF, is the Shabiha a pro-government militia group. Shabiha is made up of the minority group Alawite. They are known for their criminal activities, even prior to the conflict, and are made up of powerful families in Syria. Often used to enforce laws of everyday citizens, they have been accused of a lot of the destruction and violence in Syria, being described as nothing more than a terrorist group (Oweis 2011; Solomon 2013). Also allying with the Syrian government is Hezbollah, a Shia political party, funded by Iran, and terrorist organization based in Lebanon. The Syrian government has tried to deny Hezbollah’s involvement in the conflict, but they have given inconsistent statements since the start of the war. It is likely that without Iran’s support Assad would have been overthrown early on in the conflict (Hirst 2012). Also allying with Syria is Iran in the form of financial and military support (Solomon 2013).

Prior to 2014, the Syrian National Coalition, a unification of several opposition parties, led the opposition. Immediately after its establishment, the Syrian National Coalition was
recognized as a legitimate government by the Gulf Cooperation Council, made up of member states: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Kuwait. Turkey also acknowledged the creation of the opposition government and they received support from several key western countries as well, including the U.S. and U.K. (Muir 2012). Prior to the rise of IS, the Free Syrian Army was the primary rebel group in Syria. Started in 2011, they prospered during the beginning of the war, but as many of the members did not have military backgrounds, the Free Syrian Army struggled to defeat the government troops as the conflict grew. Many members of the Free Syrian Army have joined the Islamic State, IS, also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, ISIS, since their steady rise in 2014 (Enders 2013). Prior to IS’s dominance in the north and northwest regions of Syria, there were several other Islamic rebel groups fighting alongside the opposition. According to many in Syria these Islamic rebel groups, who came from the Middle East and Europe, were taking advantage of the fighting in order to claim their piece of power in the country. Many Syrians believe that these groups are stealing their revolution and accused them of religious intolerance and mistreatment of minorities (Chulov 2013). In the early part of the Syrian war, the Al-Nusra Front led these Islamic groups (Roggio 2012).

Since 2014 the primary opposition and primary Islamic rebel group in Syria is the Islamic State. Most of the other Islamic rebel groups and the Free Syrian Army have joined their ranks because of their growing influence. A high ranking officer of the Islamic State, Abu Yusaf, stated that there are no members of the Free Syrian Army in the areas under IS’s control, as they have all joined the Islamic State. IS is responsible for the most violent aspects of the conflict including intolerance and persecution of minorities and intentional destruction of heritage (Mekhennet 2014). Their control continues to grow in Syria, in 2014 it was estimated that the
group controlled a third of the country, imposing sharia law over their controlled areas (Barnard 2015).

Conflict in the Middle East is not exclusive to Syria; Iraq has had a long history of conflict as well. The second Iraq war started with a swift and decisive attack by the U.S., the U.K., and their allies on March 20th, 2003 (Wong 2008). Baghdad fell 20 days later, ending the reign of Saddam Hussein (Barnard 2014a). Today, in both, Iraq and Syria we see the growing trend of the destruction of cultural objects being used to send a message of dominance and victory to the world, specifically by IS (Gonzalez 2015). Saddam was a member of the Ba’ath party and rose to power in a wave of nationalism. While the Ba’ath party originated in Syria in the 1940’s, Iraq’s Ba’ath party started a decade later. The political party grew from a small group of Shias to a largely Sunni dominated political party. They took over Iraq in the 1963 coup. The Ba’ath party started as a socialist group and was eventually turned into a dictatorship by Hussein. The Ba’ath party, post Iraq war, held all major positions within the government. Saddam put down several resistance movements by the Shi’a majority. He officially took over the country in 1979 (Devlin 1991: 1401-1405).

After the initial invasion in 2003, the violence began again in the form of rebel and insurgency groups, which continues to present day. Fueled by the change of the status quo, Sunnis belonging to the Baath party, who had been kicked out of government positions of power, began rebelling against the newly installed Shiite government. The insurgency fighting picked up during the beginning of 2004 (Freeman 2004). The most violent altercation of the war was the second battle of Fallujah, which lasted 46 days from November to December 2004. This fighting completely destroyed the city. From 2004 to 2006, suicide bombers, guerilla tactics, and armed offensives were all organized by the rebel groups and caused a lot of destruction in Iraq. The
2005 elections allowed for a transitional government to come to power in addition to a newly ratified constitution. In 2006, the new permanent government took power. Violence curbed and the U.S. forces began training the Iraqi army to take over their jobs. The U.S. began withdrawing troops in June of 2009 and the UN lifted its previously installed sanctions on Iraq. As of December 2011 all U.S. troops were taken out of Iraq (Barnard 2014a). Violence still continued in the country, even after the withdrawal of troops. There was an estimated 200,000 person body county from the war though the numbers drastically vary (Barnard 2015). While the U.S. declared a formal end to the war, fighting has yet to cease in Iraq. The Islamic State, known as IS, is slowly taking over parts of the country, which they held in the early days of the war. The people living in the IS controlled regions in Iraq are forced to live under sharia law and declare the Islamic creed in accordance to Sunni Islam (Jalabi 2014). Christians in the region say that if they wish to continue practicing their religion they must pay a heavy tax or face death. Many groups aren’t that lucky with a choice. Amnesty International reported ethnic cleansing of groups in Iraq including the Yezidi. An ancient minority group, they are being targeted for their religious beliefs and differences. Many of them are forced to flee in fear of death. Thousands have been killed and tens of thousands have been forced to flee as refugees (Jalabi 2014).

With the invasion of Iraq, the Islamic State, under the name Tawhid and Jihad, united in a front to oppose the U.S. military invasion, as well as regain power of a government they had slowly lost control of. They briefly joined forces with al-Qaeda, in Iraq, to fight the U.S. and the transition government. In 2006 the modern day IS was born called, at that time, ISI, the Islamic State of Iraq and was led by Abu Omar al-Baghdadi. They wanted to transform Sunni strongholds in Iraq into a separate Islamic State. They were known as one of the most violent groups in Iraq, and at points they had Sunni groups opposing them because of their tactics. In
2010, a reorganization of the group’s hierarchy with Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as their new leader successfully expanded the group’s influence and power. The group started once again taking cities in Iraq, increasing the violence in the country to levels not seen since 2008 (Glen 2014). IS’s violent tactics and an assassination of senior cleric Ahrar ash-Sham caused al-Qaeda and al-Nusra to cut ties with the group. Their control in Iraq grew in 2014 they took the city of Fallujah and Mosul and recently when they took Baiji and Tikrit areas (Barnard 2015). In June 2014 IS declared that every Muslim worldwide needed to pledge their allegiance to them because they represented Muslims everywhere. This declaration officially changed their name to just IS, the Islamic State (Khedery 2014). IS is an important group in the destruction of culture because they have been specifically targeting cultures that are not Islamic and destroying any vestiges of them. This is done through the guise of iconoclasm. Since Islam dictates that there will be no renderings of false idols, they destroy all statues of gods from any culture, as well as their cities and temples (Gonzalez 2015). The history of Iraq and Syria is important to understanding the motivations behind the destruction of cultural heritage, as well as the economic conditions created by an instability, that makes looting a profitable business. Throughout the political struggles in Iraq and Syria, we see cultural heritage used in a message of power. The need for detailed documentation and attention to the damage and theft in Syria is necessary for the preservation of a way of life. This paper will attempt to not only document the destruction and looting in Syria and compare it to similar situations in Iraq, but it will also go into the challenging question of how to stop the destruction and looting of culture.
Chapter 2 Destruction of Cultural Heritage

This chapter will focus the destruction of heritage of the sites of Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, Bosra, and Crac de Chevaliers in Syria and the sites of al Hatra, Samarra, Ur, Babylon and Nimrud in Iraq. By looking at the destruction of various sites, we can see the important use of the media in portraying the destruction of culture in either a positive or negative light. We can also see the need for prevention of cultural heritage destruction.

Syria holds many of the oldest cities and villages in the world, this includes the six inscribe UNESCO World Heritage Sites of Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, Bosra, Crac des Chevaliers and Saladin’s Castle, and the Ancient Villages of Northern Syria (Cunliffe 2012: 4-5; Figure 2). These sites are inscribed as UNESCO world heritage sites because they meet the high criteria of outstanding cultural significance set forth by the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. All of these sites have been damaged because of the conflict and all are on the UNESCO list of endangered heritage. The destruction and looting of Syria is devastating not only to the Syrian people but to the entire world. The vast number of empires that occupied Syria resulted in a diverse and unique collection of objects including Mesopotamian cylinder seals, Roman Statues, Christian relics, Jewish inscribed bowls, and Islamic Mosques, some dating back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Baker and Anjar 2012).
**Damascus**

Of the six sites in Syria, one of the safer cities is Damascus. The city is the capital of modern day Syria and a safe haven for refugees. The city, along with Aleppo, is extremely important, as they are the only two inhabited cities of those on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Johnson 2014). Both Damascus and Aleppo are living cities and their economy relies on tourism, which is being damaged by the fighting. Known as the oldest continually inhabited city in the world, the archaeological evidence at Tell Ramad dates the city of Damascus to 8,000 BC (Ancient City of Damascus 2015). The city is a crossroads of cultures that came into prominence with the Aramaeans. The city has a Roman plan. It is an urban design and there are still remnants of Roman temples and buildings (Ancient City of Damascus 2015). It was turned into a capital city under the Umayyad dynasty. The influence of Islam from this period can still be felt in the city today. The main entrance is through the Hamidiyeh souk part of the Ayyubid Citadel, a prime example of military architecture. The Citadel has sustained minor damage to the façade and interior (Unitar 2014: 63-65). Another important site in Damascus is the Great Mosque, built over a Byzantine church (Figure 3). This mosque shows the transition of Umayyad architecture from Christian Byzantine into a more Islamic style. Built in a rectangular east-west axis, the plan creates a large open courtyard, not seen before in Islamic architecture. The three sidewalls are single-aisled porticos and the fourth wall leads to the prayer hall. The mosaics that adorn the exterior resemble those on the Dome of the Rock, which precedes the mosque at Damascus by 15 years (Labatt 2014; Figure 4). The Great Mosque of Damascus, the
first of its design, provided inspiration for mosques all over the Middle East and serves as an important archetype of Islamic mosque architecture.

One of the groups leading the fight to protect Syrian heritage is UNITAR, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, a branch of the UN dedicated to development and research. One of their many projects was a detailed report of damage to cultural heritage sites all over Syria. They utilized satellite imagery to study the damage to specific buildings and sites. This impartial data is important since it is impossible to actually see what is happening on the ground (UNOSAT Report on Damage 2014). As explored later in the paper, both the Syrian government and the opposition used the destruction of heritage as a tool for propaganda, therefore making the information reported by either group biased (Martinez and Alkhshali 2013). Published in December 2014, UNITAR’s report is the most up to date and comprehensive compilation of the damage to sites in Syria. Of the 156 buildings in Damascus that UNESCO recognizes as key heritage buildings, 25 are listed as damaged: four with severe damage, eleven with moderate damage and fourteen with possible damage that is unable to be discerned based off of satellite imagery. Most of the damage is contained in the Old City (Unitar 2014: 63-65). The sites listed with severe damage are the City Gate of Bab Tuma, Maristan Al-Qaimaniye and Mosque Khankiye. The Bab Tuma city gate is a symbol of early Christianity, named after Thomas an apostle of Christ. It was reconstructed in 1227 AD and was the entrance to a section of the old city of Damascus. It is unclear who sent the rocket, but the square where the gate stands is a busy section of town and there were many civilians around during the attack (Bartlett 2014; Figure 5). This was likely not a deliberate destruction of the Christian gate and more so intended for general destruction and causalities. Maristan Al-Qaimaniye dates to the middle of 1200 BC and served as a hospital building constructed by
Prince Seifeddin Al-Qaimari of the Ayyubid dynasty (Eddin 2015). While Damascus retains most of its important sites, many inhabitants fear it will not stay this way as the conflict drags on in Syria (Bartlett 2014).

**Aleppo**

The site that has arguably been hit the hardest is the UNESCO World Heritage site of Aleppo. Located along the Syrian-Turkish border, this city battles only Damascus for the title of the longest inhabited city in the world (Baker and Anjar 2012). Archaeological records first appear from Ebla in cuneiform texts and date the city back to the 3rd millennium BC. Aleppo flourished as a link of trade between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean. In ancient times, the city was known for being the home of the storm god Addu, renamed depending on the culture. Aleppo was the capital of the Yamhad kingdom. After their fall, Alexander the Great and the following Seleucid dynasty ruled the land and revived the city of Aleppo under the name Beroia (Gonnella 2008). In 395 AD, Aleppo came under the control of the Roman Empire followed by the Muslim conquest in 636 AD. It was during this time that the Great Mosque of Aleppo was built. The Mamluks’ rule brought a lot of prosperity to the city and the subsequent Ottoman Empire added to the city’s great largess (Tabbaa 1993:187). Its position as a crossroad made it coveted by many empires exposing it to many cultures and also many conflicts.

The Syrian Civil War spilled into the city of Aleppo in July 2012. At the start of the battle, the government’s armies controlled almost all of Aleppo, but slowly the Free Syrian Army has been making advances. IS has gained control of the site and members of the Free Syrian Army have joined ranks with IS (Chulov 2014). Most of the residents have fled, as the
entire city has become a battleground. The city was bombed by government air force jets, who dropped barrel bombs onto the city. From December 2013 to March 2014 over a thousand barrel bombs were dropped on the city of Aleppo alone, resulting in massive destruction. Both armies fight in close quarter battles resulting in gunfire destroying buildings and monuments (Chulov 2014). The movement of tanks and bulldozers are also destroying parts of the ancient city. Terrorism in the forms of car and suicide bombers have also been reported in Aleppo (Cunliffe 2012: 34-37).

Two of the most iconic sites in the ancient city of Aleppo are the Citadel of Aleppo and the Great Mosque of Aleppo, both have been on the front lines of the Syrian Civil War and have sustained severe damage. The Citadel of Aleppo is known as one of the best and oldest examples of Islamic military architecture in the world (Figure 6). The citadel sits upon an acropolis, which once encompassed the entire city. Today’s view of the Citadel dates from the Ayyubid reconstruction of the fortifications in the 12th and 13th centuries CE (Tabbaa 1993: 181-183). One of the first recorded renovations of the site was during the Arab conquest in 636, which included repairing and maintaining the citadel. The Ayyubid dynasty marked a high point for the Citadel and for the city of Aleppo. Sultan al Malek az-Zaher Ghazi refortified Aleppo because it sat along the route of the Crusaders on their way to Jerusalem. The Sultan wanted to keep the city in Islamic hands. He moved the Citadel to the center of the city and built a new fortification around the entire city, doubling protection (Tabbaa 1993: 181-183). The city was once again ransacked and rebuilt by the Mamluks. Under Governor Jakam, the city walls were extended and the advance towers were made larger. The citadel was used as a military fortification all the way through the French mandate period, with French soldiers using it as a military stronghold (Gonnella 2008).
In the battle of Aleppo, the Citadel is being reduced to rubble (Figure 7). The Citadel is once again being used as a military fortification. During the beginning of the battle, the government had control of the fortification, but it has since been taken over by the rebel forces. The trouble with army occupation is that the citadel gets used for target practice, as well as the movement of tanks and the removal of materials for other construction projects (Cunliffe 2012: 34-37). The recycled use of old military fortifications as modern day strongholds is not unique to Aleppo and can also be seen at Crac de Chevaliers in southern Syria (Kila 2013: 319-342). This trend occurred in other conflicts, most notably the sites of Ur and Al Hatra in Iraq (Cunliffe 2012; Kila 2013: 319-342). Nelofer Pazira, a reporter for CBC News, went to Aleppo in September of 2011, only two months after the start of the conflict, and already noted substantial damage to the citadel. The gate of the citadel had been smashed in and destroyed, the Syrian government claims it was the rebel forces while militants claim it was the government forces (Pazira 2012). A video released by the New York Times in August of 2012, originally posted to YouTube by a Syrian state-sponsored group, shows further damage to the citadel. It also shows the armies daily proximity to the citadel, with a tank not 10ft from the entranceway (Murpy 2013). The Guardian released more photographic evidence in January of 2014, showing new damage to several of the walls of the Citadel (Chulov 2014). The Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology, which started as a Facebook group for Syrains concerned about the damage to heritage and has since grown to their own website and YouTube page, published several reports on their website and videos to their YouTube page showing destruction to the Citadel. A video published in November of 2014 shows the destruction to the outside of the Citadel, with stones falling off and some sections completely missing. There is also heavy debris surrounding the citadel (La Citadelle d’Alep 2014).
A stone’s throw away from the Citadel sits the Great Mosque of Aleppo (Figure 8). The Great Mosque is most notable for its similarity to the Great Mosque of Damascus, specifically the hypostyle halls and large courtyard centers (Syria Clashes Destroy Ancient 2013). The Great Mosque of Aleppo was originally built in 717 CE and renovated several times after attacks from invaders or earthquakes that plagued the region. Looting is also not new to the Mosque. The Abbasids sacked the city during Umayyad rule and extracted carvings, mosaics, and artworks and brought them back to their own Mosque in Al-Anbar, Iraq. Also suggested is that the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus had the Mosque burned down during Byzantine occupation in 962 CE. The Hamdanids took control of Aleppo from the Byzantines and rebuilt the Mosque. The Seljuks renovated it once more in 1090 CE. Also built in 1090 was the 45-foot minaret constructed by the famous architect Hasan Ibn Mufarraj (The Great Mosque of Aleppo 2014). The Mamluks built most of the current view of the Mosque, under the Sultan Nur al-Din in 1158 AD (Syria Clashes Destroy Ancient 2013).

In April of 2013 the state news agency reported that the minaret from 1090 AD had been completely destroyed. Sana, the government news agency reported that it was the rebels who blew up the minaret, releasing the statement: "regime forces have committed today a new crime against human and cultural heritage by targeting the minaret of the mosque and completely destroying it” (Martinez and Alkhshali 2013). Rebels dispute this and claim it was destroyed by Syrian Army tank fire. They too put forth a statement that used similar language: “the Assad regime committed a new crime against history and civilization, as they destroy(ed) the minaret of the Great Mosque of Aleppo. The minaret was hit by tank shells and was shattered to the ground” (Martinez and Alkhshali 2013). The Syrian Government accused the Facebook group, Le Patrimoine Archéologique, of falsifying the situation of some heritage sites
to undermine the regime (Baker and Anjar 2012; Le Patrimoine Archéologique). Artifacts have been looted from inside the Mosque and some ruined by the destruction. Recently there have been reports, followed by a video, released in November 2014, showing the burning of the interior of the Mosque. The video was taken from the courtyard of the mosque, indicating that the video came from those who set fire to the Mosque (Aleppo: The Great Umayyad Mosque).

The rhetoric of destruction is a strong media tool. Both the government and the opposition are using it as a propaganda tool to paint the other side as destroyers of Syrian culture and nationalism. The Foreign Minister of Syria even went as far as to call the rebels “terrorists” for the damage. He said that the international community should be supporting the government because of the rebels disregard for heritage (Syria Clashes Destroys Ancient Aleppo Minaret 2013). However we have seen President Assad’s forces bomb opposition forces regardless of their proximity to important cultural heritage. The destruction of heritage in Syria is particularly insulting to the Ba’athist government whose core principal is pan-Arab nationalism (Devlin 1991: 1396). It is clear that both sides are responsible for their share of the damage. Blaming the other side for the destruction is in direct contrast to IS’s tactics in Syria and Iraq. They fully claim responsibility for the destruction and often post YouTube videos (Gonzalez 2015). As IS takes control of this part of Syria violence is still continuing causing damage to the entire city (Johnson 2014).
Palmyra

The ancient city of Palmyra is often times known as an oasis in the middle of the desert. The city, now just a large compilation of ruins, is a well-preserved example of an urbanized city of the past (Figure 9). References to the city date it to the 2nd millennium BC in the archives of Mari. Palmyra is also referenced in the Bible in II Chronicles 8.4 (Palmyra 2015). The site is unique as it molds together Greco-Roman art with influences from the Middle East and has been left that way without additional renovations (Seyrig 1950: 1-4). The city emerged as a trading post between the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The grand colonnade is over 1000m in length and marks the main road of the city. It links the camp of Diocletian to the Temple of Bel, most likely equivalent to the God Baal. It was officially made a Roman province under Emperor Tiberius. Emperor Caracalla in the 2nd century exempted the city from paying taxes, which ushered in the gold age of Palmyra. Queen Zenobia was one of the most famous rulers of the city, expanding the empire during her reign. After her capture by the Romans, Palmyra was destroyed. Emperor Justinian rebuilt part of the city before the site was finally abandoned in 1089 BC after an earthquake (Seyrig 1950: 1-4). Excavations of the site began in 1924 revealing the ruins of the ancient city seen today.

The Citadel of Palmyra is being used as a military stronghold; meaning heavy machinery is being driven all over the archaeological site. A road was built in late 2012 and runs through the site, specifically through the north and northwest parts of the necropolis dating from the third century BCE (Figure 10; Unitar 2014: 113-123). The ground all over the necropolis has been disturbed and has been contaminated. There were attempts to protect the site by the DGAM, the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums. They buried in
entrances to tombs in the necropolis, but it did little to stop the looters. On the satellite imagery the Tomb of Bolha and the Tomb of Bariki seem to be reopened between 2012 and 2013 (Figure 10; Unitar 2014: 113-123). The Camp of Diocletian, known for its looting holes, also has had stones taken away from the structure (Izadi 2014). The Temple of Bel, an important religious building from the 1st century BCE, has also had visible damage at one end of the colonnade (Figure 11). Two of its columns and the architrave have collapsed. There are holes in the walls caused by shelling, and also reports of burning to several spots on the temple from shrapnel. The biggest problem at Palmyra is looting, most of which is happening underground making it hard to track by satellite (Unitar 2014: 113-123).

**Bosra**

Located at the southernmost point in Syria, the city of Bosra was an important pilgrimage stop on the way to Mecca. It was also named at the capital city of the Roman province of Arabia. We see the city mentioned in the Egyptian el-Amarna tablets. The square minarets within the city are the oldest standing in the Islamic world, as well as the Al-Omari Mosque, which is believed to be one of the oldest surviving mosques in the world. The city contains a well-preserved 2nd century Roman theaters as well as Christian and Muslim holy sites (Figure 12). The site was fortified between 1481- 1251 BCE (Cunliffe 2012:31-32). Bosra is an important archaeological site for understanding the histories of Christianity and Islam.

The Omari Mosque was an early stronghold for the rebel forces and was used as a hospital until it was converted to a military post. To many in Syria, the mosque is a symbol of the Revolution, as it was here that a sheik spoke in favor of an uprising, one of the very first
revolutionary speeches to be heard in Syria (Deknatel 2014). The Mosque has been recorded as being damaged by shelling, with the most damage to the minaret (Figure 13). Of the 30 buildings reviewed by UNESCO one has been completely damaged, four moderately damaged, including the Omari Mosque and three have possible damage. The nymphaeum, a 2nd century AD house, has been completely destroyed and there has been damage to several Roman houses at the site (Unitar 2014: 125-127). Other sources, which garner their information from those on the ground, add that several other buildings have severe damage: Mabrak El-Naqa, the Nymph Temple, the Omari Mosque, the Saint-Serge Cathedral, Al-Fatemi Mosque, Madrasat Abu Al-Fidaa (Cunliffe 2012: 32). The famous amphitheater of Bosra, part of the Citadel, has signs of construction all over the complex, indicating a military use of the structure (Unitar 2014: 45-53). Heritage for Peace is another Syrian-based group dedicated to the protection of heritage, they release regular reports on the condition of heritage. A report described the continued damage to the colonnade of the Roman amphitheater by bombing and shelling during the last weeks of March 2015 (2015 Damage to Syria’s Heritage). They also reference a video posted by the Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology, which briefly pans (0:02 – 0:11) over the affected areas of the theater (Bosra: Report).

It is important to note that many of the independent groups who work to protect Syrian heritage and culture such as Heritage for Peace, the Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology, and Le Patrimoine Archéologique, utilize each other’s research and reports. They often post videos and photos published by each other. This is because of the difficulty in getting photos and videos from some of these sites and the primary goal for all of these sites is the spread of awareness of the destruction (2015 Damage to Syria’s Heritage; Bosra: Report; Le Patrimoine Archéologique). These independent groups work in direct contrast to various
agencies who have clear ties to either the government or the rebel groups and release exaggerated reports blaming the other side of damage (Martinez and Alkhshali 2013).

Crac de Chevaliers

Crac de Chevaliers is an important crusader castle and exemplifies military fortification styles in the Middle East and stands next to Qal’at Salah El Din Castle. The Hospitaller Order of Saint John built the castle from 1142 BC – 1271 BC (Crac des Chevaliers and Qal’at Salah El-Din 2015). Crac de Chevaliers is said to be one of the best examples of Crusader architecture in the Near East (Figure 14). The Ayyubids conquered the castle and additional fortifications were added at this time.

The castle has received heavy damage since the start of the assault on the nearby town of Homs. Air strikes were reported on Crac de Chevaliers by the government up until 2013. The site changed hands in early 2014, which resulted in close combat fighting near the castle and severe damage to the site. There are holes in the roof of the castle and a section of the Hall of Knights is collapsed. Debris litters the inside of the castle and there are also visible scorch marks from fire. There is damage to the structure of the castle from the collapse of a staircase in the lower courtyard (Unitar 2014: 55-57). The Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology published a video of an attack on Crac de Chevaliers in December of 2013. You can see smoke coming out the castle’s roof, as well as severe damage to the interior, including large missing pieces of the roof and walls (Bombardement du Krak des Chevaliers).
President Assad’s reelection campaign in the 2014 Syrian Presidential Election uses the site of Crac de Chevaliers in a unique way. While unanimously believed to be a fixed and corrupt election, ballots were cast on June 3rd while violence continued in every corner of the country. This was the first election with multiple candidates since the 60’s. In 2014, Assad won by an 88.7% majority vote. The relevance to the issue of culture heritage is in Assad’s campaign videos. He and his party released four videos with the unifying theme of “together”. The message was simple: Assad’s focus would be rebuilding Syria together. The first video shows two children sticking a little Syrian flag in the ground and saluting to it, which causes everyone around them to do the same (2014 Syria – Assad’s First Sawa Campaign: Video). The children’s action is videoed and sent via phone all over Syria. The music swells and you see Syrians from all over converging on one spot, Crac de Chevaliers. This is the same site that has suffered air strikes, shelling, and destruction for the past two years by Assad’s forces. The Crac de Chevalier in the video is unrecognizable as the one of reality, clean and seemingly unharmed (Figure 15). There are a lot of panoramas of the site from the outside, which look digitized (Figure 16). The video shows all the Syrian people coming together and raising a massive Syrian Flag at the castle (Mackey 2014; 2014 Syria – Assad’s First Sawa Campaign: Video).

The use of the prominent Syrian landmark as a symbol of Assad’s dedication to the country is in direct contrast to the ample amount of videos released a few months prior. The videos show the bombings and shelling of the same historic site, by government troops (Bombardement du Krak des Chevaliers). Assad’s use of this monument is also in direct contrast to IS’s recent destruction of the sites in Northern Syria and Iraq. While IS is sending a clear message of victory through the military superiority over other cultures, Assad turns the message around and shows his ability to unify people based on Syria’s common heritage. While
it is a more positive message of the protection of cultural heritage it is hypocritical of a
government who had just been bombing this site, and others like it all over Syria. It is unclear
whether Crac de Chevalier was actually cleaned and restored for the video or if the film crew
worked their magic on the badly damaged site.

**Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq**

In January 2003 prior to the invasion, heritage specialists met at the Pentagon to discuss
the upcoming invasion and the potential for destruction of Iraq’s museums and archaeological
sites. They specifically warned about the importance of the National Museum in Baghdad. They
also reminded and begged the military to protect the cultural heritage of Iraq citing the 1943
Hague Convention, which safeguards cultural heritage (Rothfield 2009: 81-83). Inside Iraq,
museum directors and specialist worked to secure the museums and sites before the start of the
invasion. The same type of looting and destruction of heritage had been seen previously as
order dissolved during Desert Storm, 1990-1991 (The Impact of War 2015). This section will
focus on the UNESCO sites of Al Hatra and Samarra and the important sites of the 2003
conflict of Ur and Babylon. It will further examine the current day conflict with the Islamic
State and the destruction of cultural heritage sites (Figure 17).

Academics were worried and their fears were confirmed when operation Iraqi freedom
began. Military leaders declared the destruction of culture the cost of war. As Secretary of
Defense Donald Rumsfeld stated “Stuff happens … freedom is untidy” in response to a
question about the disorder, rioting, and looting, directly after the looting of the National
Museum discussed in Chapter 3 (The Impact of War 2015; DOD 2003). The 2003 conflict saw
a release of aggression and violence directed against the oppressive old regime: “the people saw
the Americans firing on the gates of Saddam’s palaces and then opening the doors to the people
and saying: ‘Come and take this stuff, it’s yours now.’ So they started, and it became a sort of
rage as they attacked every government building” (Hitchcock 2003:32).

UNESCO Sites in Iraq

Iraq has four inscribed UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Ashur, Erbil Citadel, Hatra, and
the Samarra Archaeological City. Ashur and Samarra are on the heritage in danger list prepared
by UNESCO. The Samarra Archaeological City was an important Islamic city in the center of
modern day Iraq. The city sits on the Tigris River and was first excavated in 1911. The majority
of the site remains unexcavated today. The city grew in importance during the Abbasid Dynasty
and was made the new capital. The Al-Malwiya Mosque, with the unusual spiral minaret and
Abu Dulaf Mosque, are located at this site (UNESCO - Samarra Archaeological City). The U.S.
used the spiral Minaret al-Malwiya at Samarra as a sniper’s nest from 2004-2005 until the Iraq
antiquities officials ordered them to vacate. Later rebels bombed that same minaret so the U.S.
could no longer access it (The Impact of War 2015).

The site of Al Hatra, also commonly called al-Hadr, sits in the northern region of Iraq.
Records date the site to the 3rd century BC as it rose from small settlements to a fortressed
trading center. It became a critical under the Arsacid dynasty as a stop along the silk trading
route that ran through the country. The Romans attacked the city multiple times, but due to its
impressive fortifications the city resisted for a while. There is evidence of Roman influence in
the architecture and is a great present day example of the fusing of Eastern and Hellenistic
designs. The city was attacked and partially destroyed when the Sassanid dynasty took over the era. Some of the remains still stand and the site was remarkable well preserved, until the beginning of the war. The site was damaged during the fighting and by armies going through the site. It was also subjugated to looting. Recently the site has received more media attention because IS took bulldozers to the site to destroy a culture that was not theirs. The group also looted gold and silver coins, which were stored at the site. Though the extent of the harm is unknown the Iraqi government confirmed that the site was badly damaged (Rothfield 2009: 124-130; Spinner 2004).

**Ur, Babylon and the Rise of IS**

Ur was an important city-state of Sumer in Mesopotamia. The site dates back to the Ubaid period in 3800 BC. Ur grew to importance during the Early Bronze Age evidenced by cuneiform texts including the Sumerian King Text, which listed rules of the city. Ur was believed to be the largest city in the world around 2000 BC, with a population greater than 50,000 (Rothfield 2009: 127). The Great Ziggurat at Ur is a famous and well-preserved example of religious practices in the Near East. The site of Babylon located in eastern Iraq was another important city of Mesopotamia. It is referenced heavily in the Bible. Excavations began at the site in 1899 CE. The city grew to its peak under Hammurabi (Babylon). The Coalition built trenches and roads right next to, or through, the sites of Babylon and Ur (The Impact of War 2015). There is evidence of bomb craters and shelling on one the side of the Ziggurat at Ur. Military bases were built on top of the sites of Babylon and Ur. Camp Alpha sat on top of Babylon. Buildings had collapsed and archaeological stratigraphy was compromised because of
the building of an entire military camp complete with a helipad. The U.S. transferred Camp Alpha to the Polish troops. The Polish troops did later apologize for the damage they caused to the site (The Impact of War 2015; Figure 18).

While the conflict in Iraq waned in 2011, right as Syria’s war was gearing up, destruction of cultural heritage is still a prominent issue in the country with the steady takeover of IS. In early March 2015, IS bulldozed over and destroyed the ancient Assyrian city of Nimrud. They are believed to have taken away valuables from the site (Associated French Press 2015). Nimrud is an ancient city that sits on the bank of the Tigris River and was made a capital city under Ashurnasirpal II. Archaeologists began excavating in the late 1800’s and found many important objects, many of which were on display in the Iraqi National Museum until it’s looting. The site has suffered damage from U.S. air strikes and mistreatment prior to this attack. In accordance with the Hague Convention of 1943, the deliberate destruction of the site of Nimrud by IS is a war crime. The group destroyed the site because of the false idols and because it was “un-Islamic” (Nimrud Outcry 2015). Released on April 11, 2015 a video detailing the destruction at Nimrud shows IS members bulldozing the site and destroying the Assyrian statues with hammers. The group also blew up the site in three places (Onyanga-Omara 2015). There have been many equating it with the Taliban’s destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha Rock Sculptures in Afghanistan.

The Islamic State is destroying sites all over Northern Iraq. In addition to Nimrud, there was destruction of the statues at the Mosul Museum and to the cities of Hatra, Nineveh, and Khorsabad, which were important cities in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The Neo-Assyrians ruled over empires influencing lands all over the Middle East and western Asia. They were a
sophisticated civilization with a highly developed religion, dynasties, and impressive architectural advancements. Nimrud in particular was a well-preserved example of a Neo-Assyrian palace (Gonzalez 2015). IS is destroying these objects under the guise the false worship of idols, commonly referred to as idolatry, which is forbidden in Islam. IS is targeting Abbasid and Ottoman mosques and shrines over the region due to this idolatry.

Yale Professor Eckart Frahm, a specialist in Assyrian and Babylonian history, believes that the destruction of these sites, by IS, are meant to hurt the West. The Islamic State sees Nimrud, Hatra and Khorsbad as sites important to a Western construct of Middle East History. They are not ignorant of the distress this is causing many people in the international community. Issuing statements and petitions to stop the destruction by the West might have the opposite effect on IS. Frahm believes that things like the fatwa condemning the destruction of heritage issued by the Grand Sheikh of the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo is the only way to get the Islamic State to listen (Gonzalez 2015).
Chapter 3 Looting of Cultural Property

Looting of artifacts dates back to ancient times. The Romans were the first known military who practiced the act of looting from the towns and villages they conquered. Traditional tribal militias in Pakistan and Afghanistan were not paid in salaries but earned their pay by looting from the enemies they conquered (Kila 2013: 319-342). While looting is illegal under international and national laws, looting is a large and lucrative black market industry. It, like most goods, is market driven and the demand for antiquities is high. Not all looting is done for profit, some other motivations include taking back objects that the looters believe belong to their country. Another type of looting transpires for symbolic meaning behind the destruction of the looted objects. For example when President Gadhafi’s house was attacked by rebels in Tripoli, Libya many objects were looted and destroyed out of hatred for the man and the regime, as well as to make a political statement against Gadhafi’s power (Kila 2013: 319-342). Governments, like the Nazi’s, have been known to destroy objects of cultural importance to prevent other people or groups from acquiring them. This chapter will explore the cities of Aleppo and Raqqa and the growing influence of IS in the looting of cultural heritage over these two sites; as well as looting of the sites of Palmyra, Bosra, Crac des Chevaliers, Apamea and Museums around Syria. We will then shift our focus to looting in Iraq: the Baghdad National Museum, the Mosul Museum and several archaeological sites, mostly in the south of Iraq. And finally this chapter will look at IS’s rise in Iraq and the continuation of the conflict that many had thought or hoped, was over.
Syria Prior to Conflict

Syria’s history of looting is not unique to the current conflict. Prior to the war, the government spent a great deal of time and money on the preservation and conservation of archaeological sites and museums. The First Lady, Asma al-Assad, led several projects to preserve the Heritage of Syria and in 2004 she received an honorary doctorate in archaeology from Rome University La Sapienza for her efforts to safeguard Syrian cultural heritage (Cunliffe 2012: 5-7). Rooted in a desire to preserve Syrian heritage, the Syrian secret police monitors looting. The harsh penalty of a 10-15 year prison sentence kept most of the looting at bay. While the threat of heavy sentencing existed, it cannot be said that looting didn’t occur in Syria prior to the conflict. The reality of the situation is that the entire country is a gold mine for antiquities. Anywhere you dig you are likely to find something of value, therefore, less famous and lightly guarded sites can be hit easily (Cunliffe 2012: 5-7). In the early days of the conflict the Directorate General of Museums and Antiquities in Syria, Hiba al-Sakhel, worked to move all valuable pieces of art from all over Syria to the Central Bank in Damascus (Zablat 2012).

Sites Looted in Northern Syria

The abundance of archaeological finds in Syria is both a blessing and, as seen in this conflict, a curse. It is almost impossible to dig in Syria without finding something of value and significance. While this is great for archaeologists who carefully document and catalogue their
finds, as well as place them in the greater context of human history, it makes the job of looting all too easy. The sites looted in northern Syria include valuable objects in the city of Aleppo, Tell Sabi Abyad, and the museum and storage depot at Raqqa (Cunliffe 2012: 15). The reason why northern Syria is important in regards to looting is IS’s growing control of the region starting in 2014. They have turned looting into a streamlined business, which while profitable, is ruining the context and integrity of the sites (Cox 2015).

The trend of looting in Aleppo saw a steady increase, before the conflict, from 2003-2009. Satellite images show visible holes in the abandoned archaeological sites around Aleppo and by 2009 many more holes appear on the satellite imagery (Cunliffe 2012: 12; Figure 20). It has been reported by the Syrian government that the National Museum of Aleppo was one of the museums whose valuable objects have been secured in the Central Bank of Syria (Cunliffe 2012: 14-15). However, it is hard to verify which objects were taken to be stored and objects that were not in traditional museums are still vulnerable. A box relic containing a strand of the Prophet Mohammad’s hair was looted from the Great Mosque at Aleppo, rebels claim to have salvaged the ancient handwritten Koranic manuscripts hidden beneath the relic and transferred them to a safe location (Syria clashes destroy ancient Aleppo Minaret 2013). People within Syria are sending information about the looting to the outside world, but it is hard to verify accounts because Syria is limiting the number of foreign journalist entering the country (Baker and Anjar 2012).

Also in northern Syria, the city and corresponding archaeological site at Raqqa have fallen victim to looting. The site of Tell Sabi Abyad and the storage depots in Raqqa were raided in 2014 (Figure 21). Tell Sabi Abyad is a site dating from the Late Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age (Gannon 2012; Safeguarding Syrian Cultural Heritage; Figure 22). Though it was not clear
what was taken, the archaeologists based out of the Netherlands, whom prior to the conflict were excavating the site, are currently unable to assess the damage to the warehouse. Before the fighting started many valuable objects from the dig site were stored in the museum in Raqqa. However, men dressed as security guards also robbed the museum of Raqqa. Figurines of the goddess Ishtar and ceramics from the 3rd millennium BC were among the objects taken from the museum (Cunliffe 2012: 15).

While both of these sites have been targets of looting since the start of the conflict, the quick growth of IS in the region is causing the looting to increase at an exponential rate. Looting and selling of antiquities is one of the third most profitable businesses for IS, just behind oil and kidnappings. In February 2015 the UN Security council banned all trade in antiquities coming out of Syria (Keating 2015). Which makes it even more dangerous to move small objects, though this has done very little to stop IS in their looting. A smuggler, who works taking small objects from dealers in Aleppo and crossing them over the Lebanon border, says that IS is controlling the trade, especially the artifacts from the museums in Aleppo. It is a risky job, however, as anyone caught trying to smuggle antiquities into Lebanon gets in major trouble not only for smuggling, but also because they are accused of being a part of IS. Another smuggler on the Turkish border sells loot that comes from Raqqa. The Islamic State controls every aspect of the looting and trade of illegal artifacts in their areas of control. In order to excavate, for the purpose of looting, one has to get permission from an IS inspector. They then monitor what is found and destroy any human figurines in the name of false idol worship and take a 20% tax on the rest of the loot (Cox 2015).

The most profitable trade is in stone works, statues, and gold. The final destination is predominantly Europe and the U.S. It’s a common practice; the looters go through art dealers
who send pictures of the objects to their clients, a virtual shopping guide for the Syrian black market (Cox 2015). It is easy to find antiquities dealers in Lebanon who can get you genuine mosaics, which are almost always stolen, and other antiquities, from Lebanon, Syria or even Iraq. And in this modern 21st century world, the dealers even offer to ship it to the U.K., for a hefty fee. Buyers can choose to smuggle the antiquities out on their own, but it is risky. The noticeable increase in the travel of Syrian antiquities to Lebanon since the conflict, mostly from IS controlled Northern Syria, has made security along the border more strict (Cox 2015; Keating 2015).

Dr. Assaad Seif, head of excavations at the Directorate General of Antiquities in Beirut, Lebanon has a storeroom in the Beirut National Museum full of Syrian artifacts. Kept at the museum and in different warehouses around Lebanon, the stolen antiquities lay waiting for the end of the conflict and their eventual return to Syria. Seif says most of the objects are from archaeological sites, as opposed to museums. Looters find that these objects because they have not been recorded, are easier to sell and smuggle (Cox 2015). The growing involvement of IS in the looting trade is detrimental as they are streamlining an illegal act, making it easier to participate in. Iraqi intelligence claimed that IS made as much as 36 million dollars in looted antiquities from the al-Nabek area of Syria alone (Fessenden 2015). While profit is one of their goals, the destruction of cultures that are not Islamic is also a large motivation and justification for their work. While the Islamic State destroys sites that are threatening to them, they also sell loot from those sites further funding their jihad (Keating 2015). The growth in the looting of Northern Syria, facilitated by IS, is a growing concern for the international community as it means a prolonged conflict and a well-funded radical Islamic rebel group.
Looting in Central and Southern Syria

Sites not under the control of the Islamic State, Palmyra, Bosra, Crac des Chevaliers, and Apamea, are still greatly affected by looters. As with the destruction of cultural heritage, Damascus has been spared the worst of the looting. While there has been some talk of looting at the National Museum in Damascus, there has been no confirmation and the only object identified, as being taken was a statue that was identical to the one looted from the Hama Museum (Cunliffe 2012: 12-15). The lack of looting or attempted looting can be credited to the fact that the National Museum of Damascus is one of the best protected and up to date museums in Syria.

The site of Palmyra has been subjugated to looting as well as destruction from military occupation. The looting includes areas of the Camp of Diocletian, the Valley of the Tombs (which are subterranean), parts of the triumphal arches and colonnades, parts of the defensive wall, and parts of the Temple of Bel (Cunliffe 2012: 12-14). The Necropolis was looted in 2014 and taken were two funeral busts and a headstone of a child. There was also heavy machinery used to loot the Valley of the Tombs in the Camp of Diocletian. Two funerary temples P317 and P319 have been dismantled for their stones. There is a lot of evidence on the satellite imagery for additional pits being made on the site, called looting holes. They appear around the Camp of
Diocletian. One of the pits was dug in 2013 and is three meters in diameter (Unitar 2014: 113-123).

At the site of Bosra, there is evidence of looting pits in the Roman Central Bath Complex, which is the largest complex of latrines found in the region. It dates to the second century BCE; there is no way of knowing what was taken from just the satellite imagery (Unitar 2014: 45-53). A professional crew looted the site of Crac des Chevaliers and forced the staff, to leave at gunpoint. It is highly unlikely that a team would risk this blatant act of looting unless the objects they were taking was already sold (Cunliffe 2012: 12-14). Looting at Apamea, in western Syria, began in 2011 with looting holes that were as deep as two meters. Mosaics, capitals, and colonnades were looted. A team from Belgium was excavating the site, prior to the conflict. In four short years, looters have damaged a greater total area of the site than had been excavated by the team since they began in the 1930’s (Protect Syrian Archaeology).

Many have speculated that these lootings were sanctioned or at least seen by governmental troops as they had military control of some of the sites, like Palmyra and Crac de Chevaliers (Cunliffe 2012: 12-14). Many have accused the government of giving looters all over Syria carte blanche. While it is easy to blame a dissolved and struggling government for their lack of security of the nation’s heritage and culture, the evidence suggests that both sides are participating in the looting encouraged by the easy access, the lucrative pre-established trade, and the dissolved economy (Cunliffe 2012: 12-14).

Looting also occurred at museums around Syria. Looting at the Homs museum occurred in July 2011, a golden Aramaic statue dating from the 700’s BC was taken and due to its value was placed on Interpol’s “most wanted” list (Figure 23; Protect Syrian Archaeology). In addition to the statue, other objects such as ancient weaponry were taken. There was no damage to the
doors or entryway to the museum and was therefore believed to be an inside job (Cunliffe 2012: 35-37).

Furthermore Apamea’s museum, just off of the archaeological site, has been plundered (Cunliffe 2012:40-42). The Hama Museum was looted and among the objects taken were a series of mosaics referred to as the Apamea Mosaics (Jacinto 2012). While the museums objects are well recorded, it is impossible to know what the looters are digging out of the excavation sites, as human eyes haven’t seen them for hundreds of years. In addition to the difficulty of tracking these objects, the looters are contaminating the archaeological sites and also destroying less desirable objects. This will greatly disrupt archaeology in Syria for generations to come.

Looting in Iraq: Museums, Archaeological Sites, and the Rise of IS

Looting in Iraq was at an all-time high right before and right after the 2003 invasion and was concentrated in the southern region of Iraq. Cultural heritage was well protected up until the sanctions during the first Gulf War, which left the sector underfunded, resulting in lessening of guards and protection around these sites. This section will examine the lootings at the Baghdad National Museum and the Mosul Museum, then look at the lootings at archaeological sites in Iraq during the war and will finally address the growing rise of the Islamic State and its reprised role in looting of Northern Iraq.

Looters were driven by a failing economy due to fighting, sanctions, and destruction of irrigation canals, looting is still a crime and detrimental to the economy post-conflict (Cunliffe 2012: 24). The looting of the National Museum of Baghdad was highly publicized (Figure 24). Located in Baghdad, the National Museum holds the largest collection of ancient Mesopotamian
artifacts in the world (The Oriental Institute). With the start of the conflict, many scholars worried about the safety of the cultural heritage of Iraq and of the National Museum. At the instances of many International groups and museum coordinators, prior to the looting many archived materials and artifacts of value were moved to vaults in the Central Bank in Baghdad. Left behind were the objects that were too heavy or difficult to remove. The museum staff was forced to leave on April 8th due to the heavy fighting in the city. The looting started on April 10th, 2003. While many took advantage of the situation, there were also hired thieves who came in and stole specific pieces, which presumably already had buyers. This period of looting lasted four days until the museum staff and the U.S. forces secured the museum (Figure 25). Colonel Matthew Bogdanos led the U.S. investigation of the looting at the museum, which suggested three organized groups were responsible for the looting those who sought specific pieces, those who took advantage of the situation, and those who stole important objects that had been hidden and only could be accessed by museum staff and workers (Bogdanos 2005: 477-485; Hitchcock 2003: 28-29; The Oriental Institute). The museum staff estimated about forty pieces to be stolen from the public galleries. Some of the objects looted include the Sacred Vase of Warka, the Mask of Warka, and the Bassetki Statue, a bronze Uruk statue. The Uruk statue dating to the Akkadian period weighed over 600 pounds suggesting professional groups with prior planning. The private stores of the museum, which housed archaeological finds, and underground storage rooms were also hit. Around three thousand pieces from various excavations sites were taken, the majority of which have since been recovered. The underground storage held cylinder seals and jewelry. No doors were broken in order to get to the stores suggesting an inside job. Museum staff estimated that 10,000 pieces were taken. The reaction to the highly publicized looting was instantaneous. UNESCO called an emergency meeting in Paris to discuss the theft, the U.S. sent
agents of the Federal Bureaus of Investigation into Iraq days later to track the stolen antiquities and the Baghdad Museum Project was started (Poole 2008; Gannon 2012). The U.K. formed a task force with specialists from museums with a large Iraqi section including representatives from the British Museum, the Louvre, the Berlin Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A week after the looting, following a UNESCO meeting in Paris, a fact-finding mission was sent to Iraq to survey the damage at the National Museum. The UN also put a ban on all Iraqi antiquities and catalogued an extensive list of all the stolen objects. This decisive action was the main reason that so many of these objects were recovered. The UN also lifted the economic sanctions, which had made looting seem so lucrative to many Iraqis. (Hitchcock 2003: 29-31).

Colonel Bogdanos set up an amnesty program for returned loot and the media continued to follow the story, putting pressure on international agencies (Bogdanos 2005: 477-485). After 12 years, the doors of the Baghdad Museum reopened in March 2015. It was done in a direct response to the increase in destruction of IS in the northern part of the country. About four thousand of the fifteen thousand stolen objects have been returned including the sacred Vase of Warka, a cuneiform slab from Nimrud, and an Akkadian ruler’s head from Nineveh (UNESCO welcome re-opening 2015).

In 2003, during the beginning of the war, the Mosul Museum, the second largest in Iraq, was also looted. The Mosul museum, and city, in general, had been promised the support of U.S. troops upon liberation (Rothfield 2009: 67-77). None were found during the early days of fighting or when the museum was looted. The looters knew what they were looking for and left with Parthian sculptures and a sculpture of an old Iraq king, the loot was valued in the millions (Harding 2003; Rothfield 2009: 67-77). The Mosul Museum was looted again in March 2015, days after the Baghdad National Museum opened. While more than half of the collection had
been moved to the National Museum in June 2014, that still did not stop IS from destroying and
looting what was left (al-Salhy 2015). While it is unknown what was looted in the Mosul
Museum, a video released by IS shows their members destroying sculptures and statues of the
Assyrian and Hatrene Empires (Islamic State Claims Video). Experts believe that IS looted
whatever they could carry and destroyed the rest (al-Salhy 2015).

Looting of Archaeological Sites in Iraq

Geoff Emberling and Katharyn Hanson, experts on the looting in Iraq, believe that
looting from these archaeological sites is a greater crime than highly publicized three-day looting
of the National Museum in Baghdad. The museum objects have been studied and documented;
whereas the objects from these sites have never been seen. There is no record of them or the
context, which they were found in rendering them useless (Emberling and Hanson 2008: 40-50).
There have been reports starting in the 1990’s of growing looting at archaeological sites in the
south of Iraq. Major sites hit include Isin, Umma, Umm al-Aqarib, Zabalam, Tell Schmid, Bad
Tibira, Abbas al-Kurdi and Mashkan-shapir. Elizabeth Stone, a researcher of the looting in Iraq,
estimates that 26% of all sites in Iraq were looted during the conflict. Most of what was taken
included cylinder seals, cuneiform tablets and early coins (Stone 2008: 125-138).

Looting at archaeological sites, while not as highly publicized as the looting of museums,
made up the largest portion of the heritage lost in Iraq. Most sought after were cylinder seals and
tablets with cuneiform. Looting is destructive as it takes away from the archaeological context
making the object useless (The Oriental Institute). There are about 25,000 registered
archaeological sites in Iraq, with an estimated half a million sites, still to be discovered. Iraq’s
archaeological sites in the south were hit the hardest. Many speculated that the people looting were once working on the excavation sites including employees of the State Board of Antiquities, who were trained to recognize valuable antiquities (Rothfield 2009: 125). Much like Syria, many thought the government went as far as to support looters as long as they were getting some of the profits. A second-generation smuggler suggested that the looting is being committed by both sides of the war and is a result of the collapsing economy and the desperate need for money (Baker and Anjar 2012). Emma Cunliffe, a post-graduate research at Durham University, describes a similar situation in Iraq. Economic sanctions imposed by the international community crippled Iraq’s economy and locals turned to looting as a way to earn money (Cunliffe 2013: 343-47). The conflict and turmoil are causing archaeological sites to be left abandoned and makes catching looters in the act is nearly impossible. What’s worse is looters destroy pottery and other “worthless” objects in their attempt to uncover gold, jewelry and tablets. With rampant corruption throughout the Iraqi government, it is also notable that the local government officials are intentionally ignoring a lot of the looting of sites (Myers 2010).

The international focus in Iraq was primarily on museums. And while the U.S. reorganized the government, the security guards at various sites were not allowed guns. This meant what little protection was at each site were no match for the trained and armed looters. The U.S. took control of the protection of the most important and famous sites such as Babylon, Hatra and Ur. However with 25,000 sites in Iraq, a majority was left abandoned. At Hatra professional tools such as stonecutters were used to steal reliefs and parts of the friezes from the site. Weeks prior to the arrival of the U.S., the site of Nimrud was looted and stolen were friezes and statues. Umma was subjugated to some of the worst looting with looting holes all over the site. Gangs used bulldozers and heavy machinery to remove carvings and reliefs (Lawrence
There are estimates, by Elizabeth Stone based on satellite imagery, between 2003-2005 a half a million items were looted from archaeological sites (Stone 2009). While several international groups including the American Coordinating Committee for Iraq Cultural Heritage, the Archaeological Institute of America in combination with the International Foundation for Art Research and the Oriental Institute, made taskforce and compiled online databases of looted objects very little was done to try and protect the archaeological sites in Iraq (Rothfield 2009:125-127). After the war, two teams from national geographic and other agencies were sent out to assess the damage at the sites in northern and southern Iraq. They found security forces that hadn’t been given coordinates to the sites they were supposed to guard. Both teams observed looting when the traveled by helicopter, most looters fleeing when the team landed, but not all (Rothfield 2009: 130-135). Soon after national geographic issued their report archaeologists came into Iraq to help assist and work to restore the site (Lawrence 2009: 54-65).

**Continued Looting Post-Conflict Iraq**

The growing popularity and spread of the Islamic State throughout Iraq and Syria is putting cultural heritage of Iraq, once again, at great risk. While we already looked at the effects of IS in Syria during a time of conflict, IS in Iraq is bringing the looting of cultural heritage back to the forefront of the country’s problems. This is disrupting what little peace and stability the country had managed to attain post-conflict. Looters, as discussed above, are excavating the already plundered sites. The sites are currently left unprotected as the Iraqi government struggles for control of IS’s region of Iraq. The establishment of the Antiquities Police Force by the US, started in 2003, and was supposed to be an army of 5,000 by 2010, but at that point that
barely had over a hundred members (Myers 2010). There is no one to protect these sites. Prior to 2003, the teams that conducted the excavation were responsible for the security of their sites. Since the conflict, the teams have abandoned all excavation sites. The job falls to the Iraqi government to protect these archaeological sites. Evidence can be seen of new looting at the site of Allak ad Dhahir, located in southeastern Iraq. Also noted is the use of heavy machinery at the site. These looters seem to have knowledge of the sites, meaning they were most likely involved with the previous legitimate excavations, which is similar to what we saw during the conflict. While IS is not the only group to blame for the rise in looting, they are utilizing their established contacts in the black market and increasing the regularity of looting in current day Iraq (Cox 2015; Gonzalez 2015). Reports of looted objects from Iraq and Syria being sold on eBay have surfaced including two coins from Apamea selling for around a $100. The destruction of Mosul, Nimrud, and Nineveh in Iraq was also in combination with looting of the sites. Because of the massive amounts of loot coming out of Syria and Iraq, prices for these objects have actually dropped. U.S. customs show that antiquities coming into the country from Syria and Iraq nearly double from 2011 – 2013 (Keating 2015; Figure 27). This in combination with the UN resolution banning any antiquities coming out of Syria is scaring buyers and smugglers away (Keating 2015).

While the looting in Iraq was tragic, no new legislation or action seems to have been taken because of it. We are seeing history repeating itself with the destruction of cultural heritage: “If we had spent more time implementing the lessons from Iraq...we would already perhaps have far more left to research and enjoy in the future” (Cunliffe 2012: 40). The looting in Iraq opened up a door to a black market, which was utilized in Syria when fighting broke out and has since resumed in a portions of Iraq. The museums in Syria, specifically Damascus and
Aleppo, were better prepared for the war than the Baghdad National Museum and the Mosul Museum were. A majority of their inventory had been moved and the museums had been prepared for looting. Looting of archaeological sites in Iraq and Syria has grown since 2014, and it is clear that a solution needs to be put forth. With the rise of IS in the region, a lucrative business has started that needs to be addressed. While we are better prepared than we were in 2003 to deal with looting in times of conflict, new challenges and obstacles keep coming and we need adaptive, creative and responsive solutions.
Chapter 4 What Can Be Done?

After looking at all the damage to years of history the need for intervention seems obvious. However this field lacks funding and awareness to make it possible, many groups and countries focus their work on those affected by violence. The U.S. has sent over three billion dollars to Syria in the form of aid (food, water, and medicine) since the start of the conflict (U.S. Aid). Aid, while necessary, is a temporary band-aid over the much bigger problem of a dissolved economy. The looting of antiquities funds and prolongs the conflict, which means more damage, higher death tolls, and a longer road to recovery. Furthermore, prior to the war, the Syrian economy depended heavily on tourism, visits to these ancient sites and museums made up 12% of the nation’s economy (Baker and Anjar 2012). Countries that rely on tourism as a crux to their economy and have rampant cultural heritage destruction, like Iraq and Syria, have a difficult path to recovery post conflict. As discussed in Chapter 1, the destruction and looting of heritage affects more than just the home country. These cultures connect us back to the first civilizations. This history spans the birth of religion, writing, and government, which are a core of our society today. While the previous chapters catalogued the damage and looting that has been occurring in Syria and Iraq this chapter will focus on the primary motivations behind the destruction and looting of Cultural Heritage, as well as possible solutions.
Motivation for Destruction of Heritage

Throughout the examination of several sites in Syria and Iraq, the destruction and looting of cultural heritage falls into three categories. There is collateral damage, unintentional harm to monuments and sites caused by the war. We saw examples of this at almost every site in Iraq and Syria. The second category is intentional damage to heritage sites which is motivated by religious ideology, as used by IS, and political motivations, which we saw utilized by both the Assad regime and rebel troops in Syria. Finally there is the act of looting which is predominantly economically motivated, the black market in Iraq and Syria has been growing steadily since 2003 while the rest of their economy plummets, but also it can have religious reasoning, as the Islamic States loots to destroy any false idols.

Most of the destruction in Aleppo is collateral damage. The shelling and gunfire on the citadel and mosque are causalities of war (Cunliffe 2012). It is clear that fighting at this caliber can cause much more severe damage. The minaret on the Mosque of Aleppo was completely destroyed and photos coming out of Syria shows that the damage is anything but minor (Figure 27).

While neither the government nor the rebels were motivated to destroy the minaret, each side blamed the other for the destruction (Protect Syrian Archaeology). Saying that the other has a disregard for the heritage that defines Syria (Martinez and Alkshali 2013). This leads to the second category of destruction for political motivation. This was further exemplified by President Assad’s reelection campaign that showcased a rebuilt Crac de Chavliers in a promotional video. While his troops are the ones that damaged the site, he turns the message around and says that he is the rebuilder of Syria and blames the rebels for the destruction. While it is positive that both sides see the destruction as a negative act, which is in turn, gives more
attention to the issue, each side is still responsible for the destruction. The finger pointing and blame does not go to solve the problem, but rather take advantage of a bad situation.

In addition, governmental troops and rebel forces alike have been using cultural heritage sites as military bases. There is a hope that if a group uses something as iconic as Crac de Chevaliers as their base, the other side would be hesitant to bomb it. It is the same logic that causes militaries to use hospitals and schools as their military bases. This trend is prohibited under the 1954 Convention, as the damage to the site is likely to occur. We saw this same scene in Iraq and sites all over the world.

The most damaging aspects of destruction seen in Iraq and Syria comes from the second category, the intentional destruction of sites motivated by religious ideology. As discussed in chapter 3, the Islamic State’s motivation for the destruction of sites is the belief that there should be no other religion but Islam and the portrayal of false idols is against their religion. Their motivation behind the destruction is religious (Gonzalez 2015). The destruction of the Mosul museum as well as the sites of Nimrud, Nineveh, Harta and Khorsabad were intentionally damaged to destroy evidence of past cultures.

Both types of cultural heritage destruction, collateral and intentional, can be lessened or all together avoided, and should be according the international statutes. Under the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention, also known as the 1954 Hague Convention, there are several requirements which dictate protocol for cultural heritage in states during times of conflict. Article 4: respect for cultural property, states that countries should refrain from using cultural heritage sites, or the surrounding property, for a purpose that would cause the site damage. Also in Article 5: occupation: it says if a country is occupying another, and that country
is unable to protect their cultural property, than the occupying country should work to secure and protect cultural heritage. The 1954 Hague Convention was ratified by Iraq, Syria, and the United States (UNESCO Legal Instruments 2015). The deliberate destruction is also prohibited under Article 53 of the 1977 addition to the 1954 Hague Convention. Article 53 states defacing any monument, work of art, of place of worship is a war crime (UNESCO Legal Instruments 2015).

This means that the U.S. should have protected cultural property in Iraq during their occupation and the Syrian government should be avoiding cultural property at all costs. Neither of these requirements were upheld. The U.S., as discussed in chapter 2, built an Alpha Camp over the site of Babylon and they also used cultural property as military snipers nests and military strong holds (The Impact of War 2015). They did not secure the museums in Baghdad or Mosul.

Deliberate destruction of cultural heritage is considered a war crime and in addition to the destruction of cultures, the Islamic State is responsible for the killing of minority groups in Iraq and Syria. This intolerance for other religions goes past just the loss of culture but to the issue ethnic cleansing. This is not the first time that destruction of heritage goes hand in hand with genocide. We saw similar situations in Afghanistan with the Taliban, who targeted and systematically massacred the minority groups of the Hazaras, Tajiks and the Uzbeks alongside their intentional destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha Rock Sculptures (Nimrud Outcry 2015). Germany slaughtered the Jewish minority while simultaneously destroying any art that Hitler saw unfit. The Bosnian Serbs carried out an ethnic cleanings campaign while destroying sites like Dubrovnik in Croatia (Cunliffe 2012: 13). The importance of the destruction of cultural heritage cannot be diminished, and with more attention being drawn to the subject it is becoming a more prevalent issue.
While there are many things that were done incorrectly in regards to the protection of cultural heritage, during both the Iraq and Syrian War, there were examples of positive responses to destruction, which we can copy, and use in further conflict. Most notably were the steps implemented after the looting of the Baghdad Museum. The response was extraordinary and a good president for future circumstances of cultural heritage looting and destruction. A week after the looting at the Baghdad museum several international organizations, a network of museums that housed Iraqi antiquities, and several government agencies had drawn up plans and began working on the recovery of the stolen artifacts (Poole 2008; Gannon 2012). This speed in tracking down the looted antiquities was crucial in their recovery. Also put together were a comprehensive list of stolen artifacts. A critical step was the U.N. Security Council’s decision to lift the economic sanctions, which had made looting seem so lucrative to many Iraqis. This combined with the ban on the trade of all Iraqi antiquities, effectively slowed the trade of the National Museum Loot (Bogdanos 2005: 477-485; Hitchcock 2003: 29-31). This decisive action was integral in the recovery of Iraqi artifacts. This reaction only happened with something as wide spread as the looting of the Baghdad National Museum, looting of archaeological sites, for the most part, went by without a strong public disapproval. The media and the public’s interest in the theft were integral in spurring countries to continue the investigation.
Why Looting? Who is Looting? Where is the Loot Going?

The third and final category is looting of cultural heritage, which is predominantly motivated by money. While looting of cultural heritage has been a practice since the early days of civilization, there have been signs of a growing market that directly ties into the conflict zones in the Middle East. With the Iraq war a lucrative business was opened that simply follows the conflict (Baker and Anjar 2012). Smugglers who have been around for decades say that war is good for business. They act as middlemen selling looted antiquities to buyers outside of Syria, mostly in neighboring countries, the loot then travels to Europe and the U.S. The new trend in Syria is to trade these antiquities, not for money, but for weapons. The economy in Syria is at a standstill and making money is difficult and war is costly. Members of Free Syrian Army are funding their war efforts by looting objects from all over Syria and selling them for weapons. Louay al-Moqdad a spokes person for the Free Syrian Army commented: “Sure, there are people who loot, but they work alone. If that is how they buy weapons to fight, we can’t control them. It’s [a] revolution, we are not organized, and no one is supporting us” (Baker and Anjar 2012). It is not just the rebels that are looting; other culprits include government officials, locals, and internal and external professional groups. Many of the rebels have blamed the government for letting looters roam free during the conflict. There were several communications that made it clear that the government knew about the looting, yet sat back and let it happen (Protect Syrian Archaeology).

Most alarming are professional groups, contract thieves for hire, who are taking advantage of the conflict to acquire valuable antiquities. A leaked government letter describes the intent of armed gangs, with specialists and a high degree of know-how, to enter Syria to loot valuable objects. Teams like this have hit both Iraq and Libya during times of conflict (Cunliffe
2012: 10-11). Known as “contract lootings” they are a kind of delivery boys for ancient valuable antiquities that would otherwise find themselves in museums around the world. In the spring of 2011, in Apamea a team went in with a bulldozer and specialized wielding equipment and removed mosaics out of the ground. Joanne Farchakh Bajjaly, who worked on documenting the looting in Iraq, said that it is unlikely anyone would take that kind of risk unless the item had already been sold to an outside buyer (Baker and Anjar 2012). These buyers are well-funded people who are taking advantage of the conflict situation. While Iraqi loot primarily went to Europe and North America, the loot from Syria is also going to China and the Persian Gulf, places like Qatar or Dubai. Less important pieces are winding up in tourist shops in Turkey and Lebanon (Parkinson, Albayrak, and Mavin 2015). These contract looters use professional heavy-duty equipment, which disturbs a greater section of the site than just what they are stealing (Rothfield 2009: 127-132). Other places hit including Palmyra and Crac des Chevaliers. At Crac des Chevaliers a professional team came in with guns and threw out the staff in broad daylight and began excavating, looking for objects that had yet to be unearthed. Syria is so rich in archaeological history that almost anywhere you dig you will find something (Cunliffe 2012: 10-11).

These antiquities are finding their way to buyers in North American, Europe, China and the Gulf States. The Art Dealers are the ones who are making the most profit. While antiquities have been returned from these countries, it is not to the scale that the Syria’s Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums had hoped for (Parkinson, Albayrak, and Mavin 2015). Furthermore there have been few arrests, which concerns many that the looting will keep going on. For those who do not have a connection with an art dealer it is still possible to buy antiquities from Syria and Iraq via the Internet. Sites like eBay and private auction houses have cylinder seals and
figurines with questionable or no provenances, a likely indicator of stolen antiquities (Keating, 2015; Kila 2013: 330-334; Protect Syrian Archaeology).

Looting is occurring both in museums and archaeological sites. Looting of museums, like the National Museum in Iraq, are highly publicized, but make up a small portion of the objects stolen. The antiquities looted at museums have a greater chance of being tracked down and returned because most museums keep detailed records of what is on display. In order to claim something as stolen you need to have proof that that particular item was in your museum. The problem becomes clear when we turn to archaeological sites. Looters here are digging up objects that haven’t been seen for thousands of years. And while satellite imagery monitors looting, it does not capture what is taken. This makes it extremely difficult for the DGAM, Interpol, FBI and other agencies to track down these antiquities (Kila 2013: 330-334).

On February 12th 2015, the U.N. Security Council banned all trade of Syrian antiquities, legitimate or otherwise (Unanimously Adopted Resolution 2199). This was done in an attempt to stop the looting. The ban makes it harder for smugglers to get stolen artifacts out of Syria and Iraq. It makes it harder to sell stolen antiquities under the guise of authentic artifacts with a faked provenance. This restriction also dissuades buyers, considering the high risk of being caught (Rothfield 2009: 101). The ban requires all member states to comply and to put forth a reasonable effort into catching the looters and recovering the stolen antiquities. Many archaeologist and art crimes experts have been calling for a resolution like this since violence broke out in 2011. Iraq’s ban went into effect immediately after the looting of the Museum of Baghdad (Rothfield 2009: 100-103). While this U.N. resolution comes at a time of increased looting fueled by terror groups like IS, Al Nursa Front and others, it should have been implemented early on (Westcott 2014). It is much harder to sell stolen Syrian antiquities, when
absolutely none can be currently traded. While a positive step in the right direction the resolution will hopefully curtail the increase in the trade of stolen antiquities. However because most of the nature of the black market is based on illegality, you cannot fully stop the market with this resolution. A majority of those who participate in black market of stolen antiquities are likely to continue this illegal activity.

**Safeguarding and Protection of Cultural Heritage**

With all the discussion of destruction, damage, and defacement the questions become how can we prevent it? There has been a lot more discussion of this exact problem because of Syria and Iraq. An important step for the eventual recovery of artifacts and conservation of sites is thorough documentation and catalogue of the damage. While this does not prevent destruction, it is a viable tool to be utilized in the current conflict of Syria and Iraq where there has already been so much damage. It is often difficult to get information out of Syria and even more difficult to validate it. It is essential that there is a catalogue of the damage caused if we hope to conserve these buildings after the conflict. It is also useful to the recovery of stolen antiquities to have them detailed and catalogued.

One tool for documentation during a conflict is satellite imagery. This allows experts to track the destruction of monuments and buildings in countries where it is not safe to document from the ground. The use of satellite imagery has been used in both Iraq and Syria effectively to some extent. Unitar published a detailed guide in 2014, which used satellite imagery to detail the damage to the major cities in Syria (Unitar 2014). Also valuable are groups on the ground who are sending information about the destruction to the rest of the world. Groups like “Protect
Syrian Heritage APSA2011”, “Heritage for Peace”, and “the American Schools of Oriental
Research” provides weekly and monthly updates of damage to sites all over Syria based on a
network of local people (ASOR; Heritage for Peace; Protect Syrian Heritage). These sites often
reference each other and work to validate information. Another useful tool that goes hand in
hand with satellite imagery is GIS documentation of archaeological sites and important
buildings, which can start prior to the conflict. GIS documentation is used effectively on
archaeological digs and the detail is so impressive that you can see when an individual stone is
removed. By documenting sites in GIS prior to the conflict we can use satellite imagery to
update the damage occurring to the structures daily. By seeing the progression of damage we can
tell which monuments are in most critical danger and try and focus on preserving those
individual buildings. In addition to safeguarding if there were GIS documentation of sites, even
if they are destroyed, there is a record of the site before the destruction. GIS is a promising tool
that is a product of our 21st century advancements. It is used throughout the archaeological
community for documentation and would be a useful tool that could be used to document
archaeological sites, buildings, and entire cities in places of conflict. GIS has already been
implemented in the region, including the Homs region of Syria. A team used a combination of
satellite imagery and GIS to track settlement patterns of sites through surface material (Philip
2005). GIS was also implemented in Iraq to monitor terrorist activity through 2004 to 2009, in
addition to its archaeological use in the country (Medina, Siebeneck, and Hepner 2011: 862- 865;
Catalogue Commentaries Project 2015).

After the conflict there needs to be stricter prosecution for intentional destruction of
cultural heritage. There has only been one case of someone being charged for culture property
destruction. The Serbian general Pavle Strugar was convicted by the international criminal
tribunal, among other counts of human rights violations and war crimes, for the destruction and willful damage to historic works of art in the Heritage site of Dubrovnik in Croatia (Cunliffe 2012: 13). It is considered a war crime according to the 1954 Hague Convention to intentionally damage heritage of other cultures. It is difficult to hold individuals responsible for group acts and it is even harder to catch and prosecute these criminals. These laws are extremely outdated. The convention defines war between two states, not rebel fighters or terrorist groups. They did not sign the convention and could not sign them since they are not states. The convention did not anticipate the creating of rebel armies when the statutes were made in 1954 and updated in 1977. The convention needs to be updated to reflect current parties in conflict and accessible resolutions (Kila 2013: 335-337).

While already briefly discussed, documentation and cataloguing is an essential tool to monitor and recover looted antiquities. The need for thorough documentation at museums prior to the conflict is critical. This allows a catalogue of stolen antiquities to be made much easier in the case of looting during the conflict (Kila 2013: 320). The technology of GIS can be extrapolated and be used further for smaller objects. The need for digital preservation of cultural heritage is becoming alarmingly apparent. The Cuneiform Commentary Project, fueled by Yale University, takes Babylonian and Assyrian tablets, from various museums all over the world, digitizes them and places their images as well as translations on one website. Allowing access not only to scholars, but the general public. These tablets are written in cuneiform and date from as earlier as 711 BCE. There are tablets from sites like Nineveh, which IS is currently being accused of destroying. The digital preservation allows us the ability to still access and learn from these ancient documents. The site also provides a breakdown of cuneiform words to learn on each tablet and the physical location of these tablets (Catalogue Commentaries Project 2015).
Utilizing tools like this at archaeological sites and museums would allow a second copy of the objects for academics to study. Furthermore a digital catalogue would make the recovery and return of stolen objects much easier. It is hard to claim that one specific cylinder seal belonged to the Mosul Museum if the only description provided is five inches, brown, with a carving of the water god. In a box of 500 recovered cylinder seals it becomes hard to prove, but with a digital catalogue these objects are captured exactly as they are with remarkable detail. This would benefit organizations like Interpol that work to recover stolen antiquities, by having a digital catalogue of all stolen objects in one place.

In Syria, when conflict broke out, many museum objects were moved to vaults and undisclosed locations. There were lot of immobile object however that stayed and this plan was only in effect for the major museums. Moving objects prior to the start of the conflict is a good safeguarding tool that can protect the most valuable pieces in museums and in archaeological sites. This also needs to be combined with better security measures throughout museums. Smaller museums and archaeological site storerooms are not as well protected and are targeted by looters. It took until February 2015 for the U.N. to pass a ban on the trade of all antiquities coming out of Syria (Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2199). This was four years after the start of the conflict and the implementation of similar resolutions in future conflicts would benefit the country greatly. Making all antiquities out of a country illegal to trade would make it harder for dealers to sell looted goods. This would also put more pressure on sites like eBay and private auctions to stop trade of Syrian antiquities all together (Keating 2015). In addition to the ban, stricter searches by border countries would be helpful in cutting down looting. Lebanon has rooms of stolen antiquities that tried to cross their borders, which will be returned to Syria after
the end of the conflict (Cox 2015). Stricter measures on borders and heavier punishments and fines for being caught would make it more risky to move antiquities into different countries.

Another important step that needs to be taken in modern archaeology, and not just where conflict happens, is the use of community outreach and involvement (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008: 467-485). In sites in Syria and Iraq it was evident that people with knowledge of the sites, security guards and community members, were the ones participating in the looting (Cunliffe 2012: 12-14). Excavation teams come to dig at sites and cities people already live in. Restoring pride and a sense of belonging between heritage and the local people is key for sustainability, even when the region is not in conflict. This can be done by including the community in the archaeological projects, educating them about the heritage of the sites, and making them feel responsible for their heritage. Community involvement allows all stakeholders to be a part of the protection of heritage (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). In addition to community outreach, important figures in the Muslim community condemning cultural heritage destruction could help turn the act into a taboo. Briefly discussed in chapter two, Eckart Frahm suggested fatwas condemning the destruction by religious leaders could be the most effective way to get IS to listen (Gonzalez 2015).

The path to recovering looted objects will be a difficult one for Syria. Aside from the fact that most looters, smugglers, and black market buyers are unlikely to report objects that might be stolen from Syria, there is another factor impeding the recovery of Syria’s antiquities once they leave the country. In most international statutes, in order to try and recover antiquities, it is the responsibility of the country to be able to prove what has been taken. In Syria there are two distinct problems, which makes it difficult for them to provide this evidence. Within established museums many objects do not have documentation or the documentation is too vague to properly
claim that a specific item was taken from a particular museum. Further complicating this is that looters are going straight to the source to find antiquities. They are digging up objects that have yet to be found, at archaeological site that have been abandoned during the start of the war (Cunliffe 2012: 10-11). This means that archaeologist have no idea what object was looted, all that can be found is a hole in the ground. While it is possible to trace archaeological finds to regions, tracing them to specific sites is extremely difficult. Even if objects from Syria were to surface it would be hard for the Syrian government to prove their origin, making the odds of recover bleak.

**Current Projects**

There are several groups in Syria and in the international world that are dedicated to the protection of Syrian Heritage. The Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology was founded in 2011 and relies on a group within Syria to report damages to buildings and looting of sites. They publish reports daily and try and check information coming out of Syria and organized it by location so it is easy to use. They also have tools on the site that allow someone to report a theft or destruction (Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology 2013).

There are also a few well-documented Facebook pages that publish images and videos of destruction. “Le Patrimoine Archéologique Syrien en Danger” is French based group that mostly uploads pictures and similar is “Protect Syrian Archaeology”. Both sites utilize photos from people in Syria. Posts are written in French, Arabic, and English and are sometimes hard to follow. The Facebook pages are useful for daily updates (Protect Syrian Archaeology; Le Patrimoine Archéologique).
Heritage for Peace is another independent group based out of Spain that compiles reports of destruction and looting. The provide mailing list for people who wish to keep updated on the damage. They are made up of about 40 individuals from around the world. They too rely on heritage experts inside Syria to provide them reports about what is going on (Heritage for Peace).

The American Schools of Oriental Research is a non-profit organization whose mission is to document damage, promote global awareness, and plan emergency and post-war responses (ASOR http://www.asor.org/). They have no political or religious connections and have several publications including the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research and Near Eastern Archaeology. They are based out of Boston University and represent a consortium of university, museums and libraries (ASOR). The Syrian Heritage Initiative is their focus on the cultural heritage destruction and looting currently ongoing in Syria. The initiative provides weekly reports detailing the damage and looting to sites. They have also compiled a Heritage Timeline to better show the extent of the damage. The U.S. government gave a half a million-dollar grant to the American Schools of Oriental Research to create a catalogue to help law enforcement, which details antiquities, collections, and cultural heritage sites called the American Schools of Oriental Research’s Syrian Heritage Initiative – Planning for Safeguarding Heritage Sites (ASOR; Curry 2014).

UNESCO also dedicates resources to safeguarding Syrian cultural heritage. They have placed all of Syria’s world heritage sites on the endangered list. They also hold workshops with government officials to track and prevent looting of Syrian antiquities. They track damage and looting through satellite imagery of Syria and Iraq. They have an awareness campaign over social media and several other initiatives to protect Syrian heritage (Safeguarding Syrian Cultural Heritage).
Along with UNESCO, Interpol released a “Red List of Syrian Cultural Objects at Risk” (Figure 28). This is to be utilized by police agencies all over the world. Instead of providing a inventory of looted objects the red list provides guides of what types of objects to look for and how to identify if they are looted or not. This is a useful guide to agencies since so many of the objects are similar and identifying individual pieces can be difficult. This tool was compiled with the help of the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (Emergency Red List of Syrian Cultural Objects at Risk 2013).

Another organization helping to preserve what is left of Syria’s Cultural Heritage is the University of Pennsylvania’s Cultural Heritage Center (Penn CHC). There was a workshop held in Turkey teaching Syrian conservators how to protect what is left of their culture. They were trained in the use and application of Tyvek, a high density polyethylene material often used in construction projects, and museum strength glue. They returned to Syria with this knowledge (Penn CHC). Along similar lines a group of trained archaeologists and historians, being called the monuments men, a reference to a group who worked with the allies to protect cultural heritage during World War II, is getting attention. They are a small group, unsupported by any military force. They work to protect and safeguard heritage where they can. The also meet with the emirs of Islamic rebel groups all over Syria to try and discourage cultural heritage destruction and looting. Their work is extremely dangerous as most of the fighters are not sympathetic to their cause (Fessenden 2015; Parkinson, Albayrak, and Mavin 2015). All of these organizations are vital and doing their best to protect Syrian heritage. However this field is underfunded and cooperation within these groups would benefit the entire community.
Conclusion and Final Remarks

The foundation of the modern day countries of Syria and Iraq was heavily influenced by the interest of the West, in combination with a multitude of religious groups and scarce economic resources, which resulted in a power vacuum of instability in the region. These conflicts have many victims. One of those victims, not often considered, is cultural heritage. As clearly exemplified in this paper, destruction and looting is a rampant problem that is prolonging conflicts and making economic stability post-conflict next to impossible. By looking at the destruction of the sites of Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, Bosra and Crac des Chevaliers, al Hatra, Samarra, Ur, Babylon and Nimrud we saw the emergence of two main types of destruction of heritage: collateral and intentional. Our biggest tool to stopping this destruction is making the local people identify with their heritage. The local people need to have a sense of belonging to their culture. If you feel connected to heritage than the destruction of it will not seem like another casualty of war, but a personal attack. With the growing problem of the Islamic State their destruction can only be stopped if people they respect, not western academics, condemn their actions. There are several steps we can take during conflicts, in addition to community involvement; the condemnation of destruction of heritage by religious elites throughout the Islamic community could be the most effective way to stop the damage. Since there is already damage occurring, and some bound to happen collaterally, documentation through satellite imagery and GIS can monitor damage and can help us come up with plans to implement once the violence stops. There are several organizations that are currently documenting the damage in Syria and hopefully this will be implemented quickly once the conflict subsides.

This paper also extensively looked at looting of Aleppo, Raqqa, Bosra, Crac de Chevaliers, Palmyra and Apamea and the growing black market that the Islamic State is taking
Looting is an economically motivated crime. During conflict economies dissolve, and many turn to looting as a means to get by. Once again if local populations identify with the heritage in their towns then they will be less likely to steal it. Furthermore swift action, as seen after the looting of the Baghdad National Museum, needs to be taken to combat looting. Bans on all antiquities coming out of countries, lifting economic sanctions so everyday people aren’t driven to looting just to get by, and international task forces and vigilance are key to stopping the illegal trade. Cooperation between scholars, government agencies, military, and local people is the key to curbing looting in conflict areas. The money from looting is prolonging the conflict and it benefits all parties to stop looting which will hopefully slow the conflict as well. The destruction and looting of cultural heritage is a problem, which will take creative and reactive thinking. People need to realize the extent of the repercussion caused by destruction and looting in order for it to come to the forefront of discussion in our society today.
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Figure 2: Map of Sites in Syria (Darke 2014) http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28191181

Figure 3: Umayyad Mosque or Great Mosque of Damascus (Study Blue) https://www.studyblue.com/notes/note/n/slide-quiz-5/deck/1624666
Figure 4 Mosaics on the Great Mosque of Damascus (65 Beautiful Mosques) http://digitalmofo.com/65-beautiful-mosques-around-the-world/

Figure 5 Car Bomb in Front of Bab Tuma Gate (Browne 2012) http://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2012/oct/25/syria-bombing-damascus-blast
Figure 6 Citadel of Aleppo (UNESCO) http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/20

Figure 7 Destruction of Citadel of Aleppo (Pazira 2012) http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/syrian-civil-war-inside-the-battle-for-aleppo-1.1173648
Figure 8 Before and After Aleppo Mosque (Chulov 2014) http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/26/syria-heritage-in-ruins-before-and-after-pictures#start-of-comments
Figure 9 Palmyra (Syria Palmyra) http://hdwallpapersmart.com/syria-hd-wallpapers-and-pictures/syria-palmyra/

Figure 10 Road Built Through Palmyra and Other Damage (Protect Syrian Archaeology) https://www.facebook.com/apsa2011?fref=ts
Figure 11 Destruction at Temple of Bel (Protect Syrian Archeology)
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Figure 13 Omari Mosque Before and After Destruction (Heritage Time Capsule)
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Figure 14 Crac de Chevalier (UNESCO) http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1229
Figure 15 Crac de Chevalier in Assad’s Presidential Campaign (Syria-Assad’s first Sawa Campaign 2014)
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Figure 16 Crac de Chevalier in Assad’s Video (Syria-Assad's first Sawa Campaign 2014)
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Figure 17 Map of Ur, Babylon, Samarra and Hatra (Iraq Map) http://www.atlastours.net/iraq/sites.html

Figure 18 Camp Alpha (Bakri 2009) http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/28/AR2009072802835.html
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Figure 21 Raqqa Storeroom (Gannon 2014) http://www.livescience.com/44043-archaeological-storehouses-looted-in-syria.html

Figure 22 Tel Sabi Abyad Prior to Looting (Tel Sabi Abyad Project - Syria) https://www.facebook.com/TellSabiAbyadProject/photos/a.280384805372818.64776.140575036020463/590258417718787/?type=1&theater
Figure 23 Stolen Aramaic Statue (Cunliffe 2012: 13)

Figure 24 A Curator after the Looting at the National Museum (History Commons)
Figure 25 Defacement During Looting at National Museum (Damon 2011)

Figure 26 Members of IS Destroying a Statue at the Mosul Museum (Knight 2015)
Figure 27 Coin Believed to be From Syria on Ebay (Keating 2015) http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/priceless-ancient-relics-looted-by-isis-iraq-syria-sold-ebay-1491935

Figure 28 Minaret at Aleppo Reduced to Ruble (Syria clashes destroy ancient Aleppo Minaret) http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22283746
Figure 29 Red List Excerpt (Emergency Red List of Syrian Cultural Objects at Risk)

ACADEMIC VITA

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Education

Pennsylvania State University August 2011 – May 2015
Bachelor of Arts in International Politics College of Liberal Arts
Bachelor of Arts in Art History with Honors College of Arts and Architecture
Bachelor of Arts in Classic and Ancient Mediterranean Studies with Honors College of Liberal Arts
Minors in French, Jewish Studies, and International Studies College of Liberal Arts
Cumberland Valley High School August 2007 – June 2011

Employment and Experiences

Archaeological Dig – Tel Akko, Israel June 2013 – July 2015
Dr. Ann E. Killebrew, aek11@psu.edu

- Tel Akko Field School Total Archeology – Participated in an archeology field school at Tel Akko Dig Site in northern Israel. I learned proper archeological excavation techniques and how to properly identify pottery, bones, and organic material. I also learned conservation methods and practices at the International Conservation Center.

- Cultural Heritage Project – I returned to Akko in the summer of 2014 as an advanced student to conduct research on a cultural heritage project. My professor, a grad student, and myself spearheaded a cultural heritage study of the UNESCO World Heritage site of Akko, Israel, attempting to understand the influence and affect the UNESCO designation has on the city. I conducted interviews with local business owners and tourists, did research on the UNESCO designation, and conducted my own critique of tourism in the city. I am returning this summer to Akko as a staff member to continue conducting research.

White House Black Market - Stylist May 2011 – August 2013
Hershey, PA (717) 534-9613

- Stylist – Worked as a stylist at White House Black Market for three summers. I learned how to work with others and cater to difference customers needs. I developed styling skills, listening skills, and leadership skills while always promoting the White House Black Market brand.
**Honors and Awards**

- **Dean’s List** (Fall 2011, Spring and Fall 2012, Spring and Fall 2013, Spring and Fall 2014) – Awarded for maintaining a GPA above 3.5 every semester at Penn State.

- **Schreyer Honors Scholar** – I was admitted into Penn State as an honors student, which required maintaining a 3.4 GPA, challenging myself with the rigorous required honors curriculum, and writing a culminating honors thesis.

- **Paterno Fellow** – An honor bestowed upon students within the liberal arts college for maintaining a high GPA and fulfilling the programs requirements.

- **Living the Ritual Award** (Spring 2014) – Awarded by the Penn State PanHellenic and Intrafraternity Council, to a select group of people for dedication to philanthropy, sisterhood, academics, and community service as valued by the Greek community.

**Activities**

- **Zeta Tau Alpha Sorority, Gamma Epsilon Chapter:**
  - **Vice President (2012-2013: 20 hours per week)** – Served as Vice President of the executive committee for my 130-girl chapter. I was in charge of a programming council of 13 girls who worked on planning every event in Zeta Tau Alpha for a calendar year. This included formal events, sisterhood activities, chapter education, chapter wellness programs and career services workshops. I was responsible for organizing many philanthropy events including a month long campaign in October called “Turn PSU Pink”. A key part of this position was keeping track of all the events and reporting them to the PanHellenic Council at Penn State as well as the Zeta Tau Alpha National Council. We were awarded the crown chapter award, during my time on the executive committee, which is awarded for going above and beyond required programming.
  - **Greek Sing Chair (September – December 2012: 15 hours per week)** – I organized and ran our Greek Sing performance of the Wedding Singer. This leadership role required me to utilize my 12 years of piano lessons and 8 years of violin experience as well as my knowledge of music theory. We condensed a full Broadway musical into a 5-minute performance, which required us to choreograph the dances, write the script, and cut the music.

- **Penn State IFC/PanHellenic Dance Marathon:**
  - **Organization THON Chair (2014-2015: 50 to 75 hours per week)** – I am currently the THON chair for my sorority and fraternity pair. THON is a yearlong fundraising event that culminates in a 46 hour no sit, no sleep dancer marathon. I, along with 5 other chairs, am responsible for raising money for the fight against pediatric cancer. I have gained leadership skills, time management skills and a deep routed desire for giving back to the community. Our organization has been the number one overall THON money raiser for 15 years and the number one Greek THON money raiser for the last 19 years. In my time at Penn State my organization and I have raised over 1 million dollars for kids with cancer. Over all at my time at Penn State, we as a university, have raised over $36 million dollars. On February 20 – 22nd I will stand for 46 hours in my final THON.

- **Political Science Honors Society, Pi Sigma Alpha (2013-2015 1 to 2 hours per week)** – Inducted member of the Political Science Honors Society at Penn State.

- **Penn State Homecoming**
  - **Royalty Captain (2013: 5 hours per week)** – I was in charge of organizing, planning, and executing the Homecoming Reception Dinner for the overalls, homecoming courts, and important donors and people who attend Penn State Homecoming.