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CULTURAL HERITAGE INITIATIVES

The State of Illicit Trade and Looting of Libyan Antiquities

2011 - 2020

A Report Prepared by the American Society of Overseas Research (ASOR)
In Collaboration with ASOR's Libyan Colleagues and Partners

With Support from the U. S. Embassy to Libya, External Office (LEO)

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Acknowledgements

While Libya has long been a region of interest to ASOR members, our involvement with the pressing issues of protecting Libyan Cultural Heritage began in 2017-18 as part of a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Department of State to document and record the damage and destruction of Libyan cultural heritage. Through these efforts, we became aware of the immense challenges posed by looting and urban encroachment, particularly in the Cyrenaica. We also received frequent reports from the Department of Antiquities and local law enforcement of archaeological materials seized by authorities, apprehended at the borders or simply returned by concerned citizens.

Following the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the internationally recognized government in Tripoli and the United States resulting in import restrictions on Libyan antiquities, ASOR embarked on a series of activities to support broader public efforts to protect Libyan cultural heritage. With the support of the U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation and the Cultural Antiquities Task Force, ASOR has partnered with the Libyan Department of Antiquities (DoA) and Libyan Boy Scouts and Girl Guides to conduct outreach through its Suitcase Museum program as well as directly engage volunteers in cultural protection, helping DoA meet site cleaning and stabilization needs around the country.

Thanks to the support of the U.S. Embassy to Libya External Office (LEO), ASOR embarked on this report to identify current trends in the illicit trade of Libyan antiquities and provide practical recommendations for how local authorities, civil society and international partners can more effectively counter and prevent these crimes.

Dr. Khaled el Haddar, professor of archaeology at the University of Benghazi and Director of the Office of Stolen and Abandoned Antiquities in eastern Libya, drafted an initial version of this report with the assistance of Dr. Heba Abd al Salam, providing vital information about the history of illicit trafficking in Libya, instances of theft of Libyan antiquities from Libyan museums and bank vaults following the 2011 Revolution, and extensive appendices to this report detailing objects which have been stolen over the past decade. Following the stimulating conversation about this topic during ASOR's Virtual Annual Meeting in 2020, this initial draft was subsequently modified and greatly expanded through the contributions of many experts including members of DoA, law enforcement, and the academic community.

Dr. Ahmad Hussein, Director of DoA in Eastern Libya and Dr. Mohammed Shakshouki, Director of DoA in Western Libya both reviewed and strengthened the recommendations of this report.

Idris Qadansh, Director of the Office of Stolen Antiquities in western Libya provided information and perspective to compliment the information supplied by Dr. Khaled el Haddar in the east. Ramadan Shebani and Intisar al Arebi in Tripoli provided vital insight into previous cases and ongoing outreach efforts with Libyan citizens. Fadl abd al Aziz, Ismael Dakhil, Anees Buajayeb, Hani Alabdely and Abdullah Mabrouk of the DoA Offices in Shahat, Benghazi and al Baydah all provided descriptions of incidents of looting, urban encroachment, and voluntary return of antiquities which have occurred over the past decade in the Cyrenaica.

While many members of law enforcement who contributed to this report wish to remain anonymous due to the sensitivity of ongoing investigations, we thank them for helping make this report more accurate and useful. Amoud M. Amoud, Officer of the Tourist Police and Antiquities Protection in Ghat and First Lieutenant Abdulaziz Eid Abd el Wanis, Director of the Tourist Police and Antiquities Protection Office of Apollonia both provided information about previous and current cases of violation of Libya's Antiquities Law. Naima R. Al Kilani, a former judge and first-class lawyer of the Libyan High Court in Tripoli, reported on the current state of public prosecution for violations of Law No. 03 of 1994 protecting Libyan antiquities, interviewing public authorities in Tripoli.

Dr. Mftah Haddad of the University of Tarhuna contributed a series of maps documenting recent urban encroachment in the eastern necropolis of the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene. Morgan Belzic, a researcher at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and member of the French Archaeological Mission to Libya, furnished a comprehensive summary of instances of the seizure and sale of distinctive Cyrenaican funerary sculptures on the international art market over the past 20 years. Katie Paul, co-director of the ATHAR project, contributed significant insight into the role of the online marketplace in facilitating the illicit trade.

ASOR relied heavily on the contributions, insights and steady assistance of its representatives in Libya: Talal Bariun, and Dr. Ahmad Emrage. Through their deep involvement in the creation of the English version of this report, Mr. Bariun and Dr. Emrage have been able to provide an Arabic translation to make this work more accessible and useful to colleagues in Libya as well as provide a resource for ASOR members throughout the MENA region. ASOR staff including Marta Ostovich, Will Berkery, Anne-Katrine Glittenberg, and Jared Koller helped refine this work at its final stages. This report was coordinated, compiled and edited by Will Reynolds, Co-Director of ASOR Cultural Heritage Initiatives, and Dr. Andrew G. Vaughn, Executive Director of ASOR.

Introduction—Scope, Methodology, and Outline of Chapters

Encouraged by the U.S. Embassy to Libya External Office (LEO), ASOR embarked on this report in order to provide a record of materials documented as stolen since the outbreak of the Revolution in 2011. The goals are (1) to identify patterns in the illicit excavation and antiquities trade that continue despite the efforts of local authorities, and (2) to identify ways in which additional efforts and resources (by both Libyan authorities and by international partners) might prevent and counter this trade.

An earlier version of this report (completed in July 2020) was written by Dr. Khaled El Haddar, together with the assistance of Dr. Heba Abd El Salam. It was decided during the summer of 2020, that this earlier report should be revised and expanded to include the research and assessments of a wider group of Libyan specialists and researchers from Europe and the United States. ASOR received funding for both the earlier report and for the expanded and broader report from the U.S. Embassy to Libya External Office (LEO).

With this broadened and expanded mission in mind, the current report was written with the recognition that there has been increasing pressure on Libyan archaeological sites and collections following the 2011 Revolution, and that this pressure has placed great stress on the Department of Antiquities and on the Libyan people. That pressure has been compounded by increased attention from an international community of scholars and law enforcement on the role of antiquities trafficking in a broader landscape of transnational crime and terrorist financing. The current report thus aims to be a resource primarily useful to the Department of Antiquities and Libyan law enforcement, but also for international partners who wish to work with Libyans to protect and preserve their heritage and cultural property.

The geographical extent of this trade clearly extends well beyond Libya. Following smuggling routes, it reaches intermediaries in neighboring countries such as Tunisia and Egypt, and eventually connects with international art auction houses and networks of private collectors throughout the Middle East, the Gulf, Europe, and the United States. Nevertheless, this report focuses largely on the initial branches of this network, examining events and actors within Libya which facilitate or inhibit this trade. The report seeks to provide practical improvements to better protect Libyan cultural heritage before it leaves the country.

In the Libyan context, both archaeologists and law enforcement officers have official responsibilities to protect antiquities for the common good. Throughout this report, ASOR has compiled accounts and materials furnished by both archaeologists and members of law enforcement spanning the entirety of the country. ASOR, as an international scholarly association with membership through North Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and North America, has long cultivated membership and a network of practice that includes significantly more archaeologists than members of law enforcement. In recent years, this gulf in practitioners has been effectively bridged by ASOR's ongoing programming to protect Libyan cultural heritage. This has led to continuing dialogue and joint

activity with members of Libyan law enforcement, including the Tourism Police and the General Prosecutors Office. These relationships have enabled ASOR to incorporate vital and specific information, as well as the general outlook of law enforcement, into this report. In many cases, given the sensitivity of ongoing investigations, officers requested anonymity and were only able to provide generalized accounts.

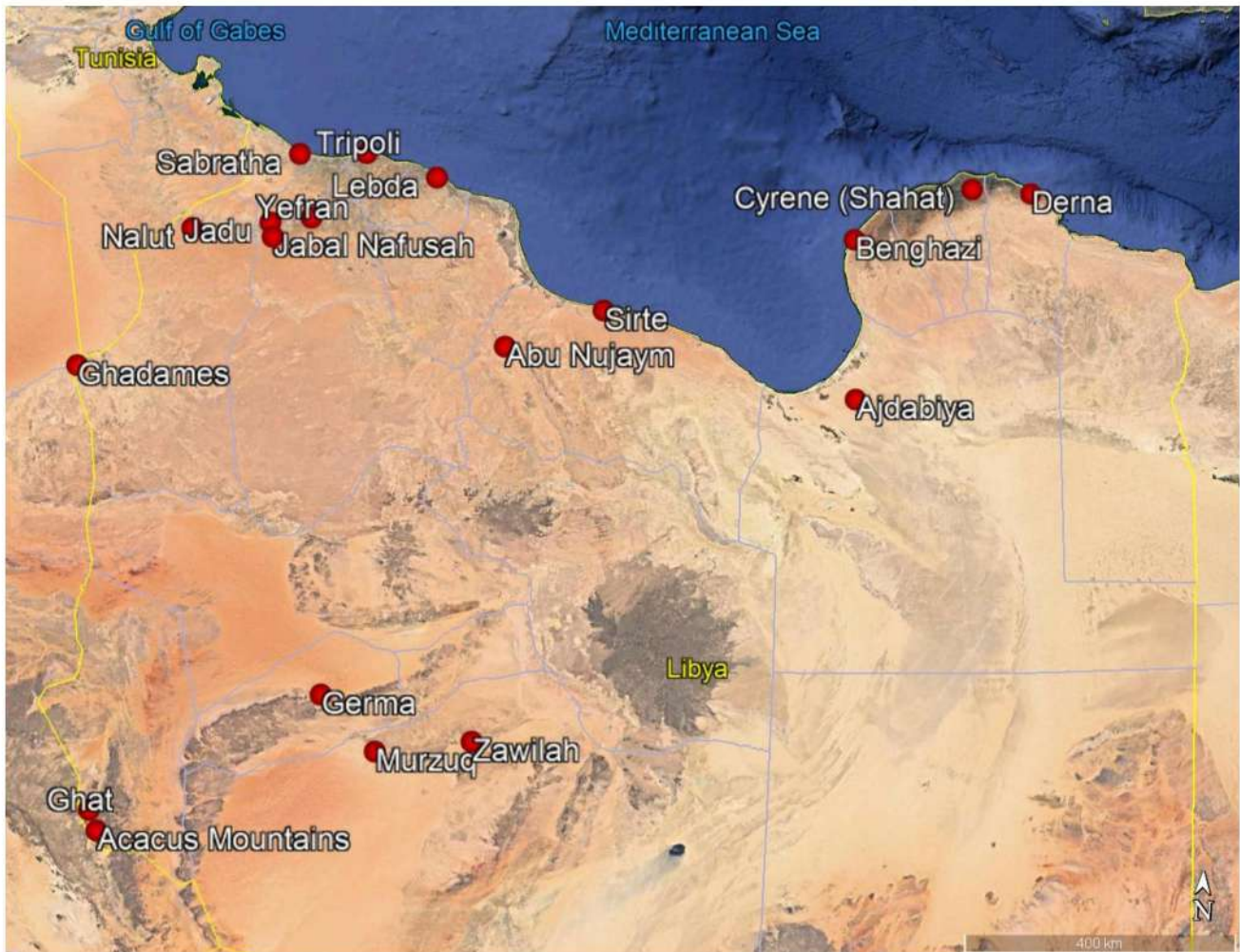
The following is a narrative summary of chapters and outline of this report:

1. Chapter I provides a very brief (4 pages) overview of the history of Libyan cultural heritage. This rich heritage spans from prehistory through the 20th century C.E. Libyan patrimony transcends religious and ethnic boundaries.
2. Chapter II provides the legal background for antiquities laws in Libya prior to the Revolution of 2011. The chapter focuses on laws that may be enforced even before a new constitution is ratified.
3. Chapter III examines economic and social factors that contribute to theft and looting from 2011–2020. While changing the economic factors is likely beyond support activities associated with bilateral agreement between Libya and the U.S., there are effective activities that can counteract misinformation and social factors.
4. Chapter IV examines how the emergence of online markets (especially through social media networks) have facilitated and supported illicit trade, drawing on the recent work of the ATHAR project (see Appendix L). This is another area where counteractive measures are possible and directly related to the MOU Action Plan for the bilateral agreement between Libya and the U.S.
5. Chapter V examines confirmed and suspected thefts that have occurred from 2011–2020. The chapter documents known thefts from four sites. It then examines and provides probable examples of looting that are likely connected to urban encroachment. Finally, it summarizes the exhaustive research of Morgan Belzic (see Appendix K), who has documented all known and plausible instances of sales of Cyrenaican funerary sculptures—a distinctive subset of the antiquities typically looted from Libya.
6. Chapter VI rehearses responses to date of Libyan Governmental Authorities and Civil Society. This chapter makes recommendations for further joint activities that could be carried out to further the MOU Action Plan for the bilateral agreement between Libya and the U.S.
7. Chapter VII presents summary observations and recommendations. This chapter with recommendations serves as our “executive summary” because it draws upon all of the previous chapters to suggest trends and recommendations that might further the MOU Action Plan associated with the bilateral agreement between Libya and the U.S.

Chapters V, and VI, and VII rely on material provided by the Libyan Department of Antiquities (DoA) and local law enforcement. Representatives of both the eastern and western DoA as well as the Tourist Police and General Prosecutors office reviewed and improved the sections describing patterns in the illicit antiquities trade found in Chapter V and the practical recommendations outlined in Chapters VI and VII. Unfortunately, during the siege of

The authoritative version of this report has been developed in English. An Arabic translation of the expanded English report has been prepared to serve as a resource for our partners in Libya to facilitate their ongoing local and regional efforts.

Tripoli in 2019, the archives of the Inspector General of the Judiciary at their office in the Salah ad Din neighborhood were looted and destroyed. Many archival records relevant to previous cases prosecuted under Libyan antiquities law were lost. This destruction of records and data are a setback not only to this current research, but to any effort to better understand the historic application of Libyan law in order to shape future reforms.



Map of Libya highlighting sites mentioned in this document

Chapter I—Historical Context: Overview of Libyan History and Material Culture

Libya is home to an abundance of archaeological and historical sites spanning millennia, civilizations, and a vast expanse of territory. This chapter presents a brief summary, highlighting key historical periods and archaeological sites that produced the antiquities now subject to the pressure of illicit trade.

For over 140,000 years, people have lived in what is now Libya, ranging widely over land that once resembled savannah, and which subsequently become an arid desert over the past 10,000 years. While much remains to be discovered about the lives and habits of the early human hunters/gathers, the profusion of rock art, ancient hearths and stone tools give testimony to their wide distribution. Some of the most important sites associated with this period include Hawa Fteah Cave in the Cyrenaica region, and the rock art sites of the Tadrart Acacus.

Early historical records of Libyan tribes rely primarily on the accounts of their neighbors in the Nile River valley, where scribes of Pharaonic Egypt recorded details of conflicts and trading relationships with tribes to the west in what is now called Libya. Most notable among these were the Meshwesh, a Berber tribe which eventually grew powerful enough to occupy the throne of Egypt during the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties (943-750 B.C.E.). While little material evidence from this time has been discovered in Libya, Pharaonic-era materials are most commonly found in the vicinity of the Jaghbub oasis.

In the middle of the 7th century B.C.E., Greek colonists established settlements in northeastern Libya, including Cyrene (Shahat), Apollonia (Susa), Ptolemais (Tolmeita), Cyrenaica (Marj), Taucheira (Tocra), and Hesperides and Berenice in Benghazi. These sites continue to yield significant archaeological finds, and their associated necropolises (particularly the one in Cyrene) are the most likely source for many of the illicit Libyan antiquities. Looted objects include funerary busts and collections of distinctive Greek pottery, which have been recovered outside of the country. Further details concerning these materials can be found in Chapters IV and V.

During the early 6th century B.C.E., the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians established three settlements in northwestern Libya: Aia or Oea (Tripoli), Leptis (Al Khoms), and Sabratha. By the 1st century B.C.E., the Greek and Phoenician settlements came under Roman control, and they were part of the Byzantine Empire by the 4th century C.E. Most of the standing monuments at sites such as Leptis Magna date to the Roman period. Architectural elements (including carved reliefs, frescoes, mosaics, and decorative statues) have been recovered in large numbers. They are common in the 25 museums and numerous storerooms throughout the country.

Following the Arab Muslim conquest of North Africa in the 7th century C.E., mosques and madrassas were established along the Libyan coast displaying the distinctive patterns of Islamic civilization, while incorporating and reusing architectural elements from previous periods. Typical examples may be found in Burqa, Ajdabiya, Sirte, Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna, and the cities of Jabal Nafusa, Nalut,

Yafran, and Jadu. The role of the trans-Saharan trade became increasingly important during this time, and oasis towns such as Ghadames, Ghat, Murzuq, and Zawilah thrived by providing logistical support and financing for trade routes extending into the Niger River valley. Many of these oasis towns are important repositories of manuscripts documenting aspects of history, science, religion and trade during the Islamic and later periods.

During the Ottoman period (1551–1911), many mosques and madrassas adopted a more exuberant style, with furnishings and architecture that included decorative inscriptions and made space for embellished tombs of prominent figures. Such sites, especially those in the Old City of Tripoli, have been targeted and damaged by extremist groups who disagree with this means of expressing the Muslim faith. Yet, intentional destruction has not been limited to exuberant styles. The more modest shrines associated with Libyan Sufi orders have also been among the most heavily damaged sites since the outbreak of the Libyan Revolution of 2011.

The Italian occupation (1911-1941) resulted in the fundamental rearrangement of the urban plan in cities such as Tripoli and Benghazi, and a number of public monuments from this period still stand. Massive campaigns of excavation and restoration in sites such as Sabratha, Leptis Magna, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene exposed much of the material now visible on site or held in Libyan museum collections. During the Italian occupation, there are also instances where Roman remains were restored or reconstructed at the expense of Islamic and Ottoman Period architectural expansions.

Jewish people have occupied many parts of Libya since at least the 3rd century B.C.E. Faced with anti-Semitic laws imposed by the Fascist Italian regime, and then targeted by acts of violence against their community following World War II, almost all Jews fled the country. By 2003, the Jewish community had dwindled to a single member, who left to live out the rest of her life with extended family in Rome. Nevertheless, synagogues and other remnants of Jewish life are common in Libya, particularly in the Jebel Nafusa. Rare Hebrew manuscripts and Torah scrolls that were abandoned as the community left under duress have recently been recovered in the possession of smugglers of Libyan antiquities. Details concerning these materials can be found below in Chapter IV.

As described earlier in this section, the Amazigh Berber ethnicity in Libya dates back to before even the Roman Period, as they trace their origin to the tribes which occupied the land prior to the arrival of Greek colonists. However, the Amazigh language and identity were actively suppressed during the Gaddafi regime (1969–2011). During this period, the predominantly Amazigh communities of the Jebel Nafusa had less access to state resources, yet they were uncommonly successful at creating local cultural centers which continue to serve as repositories of ethnographic material.

Despite the richness and variety of Libyan cultural heritage, this report focuses largely on Greco-Roman antiquities, since these materials been the most common target of theft and looting and has been most frequently recovered by local and international

authorities. The equally disturbing destruction of many of Libya's Islamic monuments and Sufi shrines has been reported previously by ASOR and also merits continued attention.

Preservation and documentation of all of Libya's varied cultural heritage is critical to combating governmental disinformation and extremism. Whereas authoritarian rulers and regimes tend to highlight one or a few examples of patrimony that support the ruling group, the varied heritage present in Libya demonstrates that cultural identity transcends one ethnic or religious group. The celebration of all of Libya's history will undoubtedly be connected to creating an atmosphere and ethos that celebrates international connections and relations.

Chapter II—Legal Background and Application of Libyan Antiquities Law Prior to 2011

Given the richness of Libyan cultural heritage and the concentration of ancient sites along the coast, it has long been a target of smuggling and looting operations. Such trafficking obviously took place prior to 2011—indeed, it likely stretches back almost 500 years to Ottoman rule. The various colonial powers controlling Libya dealt with looting and exportation of patrimony in different ways, ranging from tacit acceptance to active encouragement. In general, the colonial rulers had legal frameworks that considered antiquities to be licit objects of trade rather than national patrimony worthy of protection.

While it is not possible to provide a comprehensive account of these incidents in this report, the present section provides ample evidence to support one central observation—colonial rule and previous periods of instability and transition also resulted in the theft and looting of Libyan antiquities. In order to understand the Libyan view of illicit trafficking, one cannot start with the Geneva Convention of 1949 or its additional 1977 protocols concerning cultural property. Instead, the trafficking of Libyan antiquities following the 2011 Revolution is commonly understood to be part of a pattern of behavior in which international institutions and individuals have found a way to take Libyan antiquities out of the country regardless of any laws protecting them. Seeking restitution of objects illegally taken long ago may not be the top priority at the moment, but it remains on the agenda of the Libyan Department of Antiquities.

2.1 Ottoman Period (1551 – 1911)

During much of the Ottoman rule of Libya (1551–1911), the trade of antiquities was essentially unregulated. In the mid to late nineteenth century, it was common for visiting diplomats to amass a private collection of antiquities to enjoy upon their return home. During this period of empire building, it was also common for agents of a foreign power to engage in archaeological work. Sir Robert Smith, who previously led a group of Royal Engineers from England to assist in excavations in Turkey, was dispatched to conduct a similar exploratory mission in the Cyrenaica with the assistance of E.A. Porcher in 1860–61. They returned from this expedition with a large quantity of sculptures that was deposited in the British Museum, including the famous Apollo of Cyrene (British Museum, 2020). George Dennis, the British consul in Benghazi from 1865–1868, acted in a similar vein, and exported (or extracted) many valuable artifacts. In fact, it was not until 1869 that the Ottoman power issued its first decree regulating antiquities. This decree provided for the free trade of antiquities within Ottoman territory and a blanket prohibition on the export of such materials. It also allowed for a certain amount of private ownership of antiquities found on private property (Ozel, 2010).

Currently, there are 55 museums outside of Libya (see list Appendix J) that display archeological artifacts that were removed from such sites as Cyrene prior to the Italian occupation in 1911–1912. This Ottoman Period was the time that contributed most to a corpus of “licit” Libyan antiquities held outside of the country. Even though

these artifacts and collections are considered “legal” by international (Western) standards, it is important to recognize that the longstanding practice of Libyan authorities has been to generally advocate for the repatriation of all Libyan antiquities. This advocacy for return includes those antiquities lost to instances of theft which predate Libya’s ratification of the Geneva Convention in 1956. *At a minimum, the writers of this report recommend that western countries recognize and be sensitive to this situation.* Such sensitivity should include an avoidance of using descriptions and photographic images of these items in the Red List and other literature designed to fight illegal trafficking.

2.2 Italian Rule (1911 – 1943)

During the Italian rule of Libya, a new antiquities administration was established with a mission to excavate and protect archaeological sites. Under this new body, the process of trading archaeological artifacts was halted or greatly reduced. After the defeat of Italy during World War II, a series of objects was stolen from Libyan museums (Susa, Al-Marj, and Tolmeita) during and after the war. Dr. Khaled El Haddar of the University of Benghazi reports that some of these artifacts have resurfaced in Europe and the United States. For example, a Pharaonic statue was stolen in 1941 from the Tolmeita Museum. A Pharaonic statue bearing a strong resemblance to the missing statue is currently on display at the Cleveland Museum of Art (Turner et al, 1991).



Left: Pharaonic statue stolen from the Ptolemais Museum in 1941 (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar); Right: Statue of a Man (1991.26) on display at Cleveland Museum of Art (Photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

2.3 World War II to the Revolution of 2011 (1941 – 2011)

Following Libyan independence, state responsibility for antiquities became clearer. While the Libyan Constitution of 1951 did not include any explicit protections for Libyan cultural heritage, a series of Libyan laws, both prior to and during the Gaddafi-era, have recognized and upheld this right. Law Number 11 on Antiquities, Archaeological Sites, and Museums (1953), and Law Number 02 of 1983 both include provisions for the state, serving as the owner of record for cultural heritage resources older than 100 years, in order to protect Libyan cultural heritage. The state has the responsibility to prevent the illicit trafficking of Libyan antiquities and to impose sanctions on those who violate the terms of these laws. These laws were expanded by Law No. 40 of 1968, enlarging provisions concerning the role of foreign archaeological expeditions. For a narrow period of 15 years (1968–1983), the Law of 1968 entitled foreign archaeological missions the right to remove duplicate pieces (i.e., pieces for which a close analogue was already discovered and submitted to the national collections) from Libya. Under the provision of this law, many Libyan artifacts uncovered by foreign research missions entered the collections of museums worldwide, including the Manchester Museum, the British Museum, the Oxford University Museum, and the University of Chicago Museum. The Law of 1968 only applies to artifacts removed during this 15-year time frame, and the foreign missions concerned kept detailed records of the material that was removed.



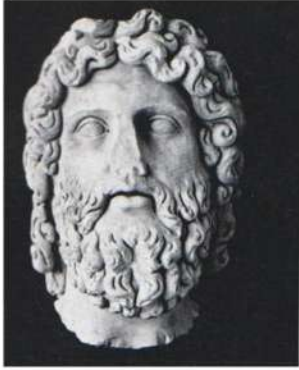
During this period, the prosecution of any violations of the antiquities law was the responsibility of the regular police force, which filed cases before the Partial Criminal Courts that was organized on a regional basis throughout the country. Given that the violation of antiquities law was considered as a misdemeanor, penalties were less severe than those imposed in cases of a felony. Nevertheless, the law was broadly enforced, and an infraction such as grazing cows on an archaeological site would result in both the confiscation of the animals in question, and the imprisonment of the owner—representing considerable social and economic sanctions for that time.

During the first fourteen (14) years of the Gaddafi-era (1969–1983), antiquities law remained unchanged—that is, the Law of 1968 remained in effect. Then, Law No. 20 of 1983 essentially closed the system of “partage” which enabled foreign archaeological missions to take some of their finds back to their home institutions. As a signatory of the 1970 UNESCO Convention, Libya successfully nominated a series of sites to the UNESCO World Heritage List during this period, with Cyrene, Leptis Magna, and Sabratha being added to the list in 1982. The Rock Art of the Tadrart Acacus was included in 1985, and the Old Town of Ghadames joined the list in 1986. These listings increased awareness of Libyan heritage on a global stage.



In the early 1990s, there was a rash of thefts at prominent museums throughout the country, including the museum of the baths of Cyrene, the site museum of Ptolemais, the site museum of Tocharia, and the classical sculpture museum of Sabratha (El Haddar, 2020). While a comprehensive account of these thefts is beyond the scope of focus of the current report, these incidents are notable for three reasons:

1. These thefts occurred over a wide geography, but all within a two-year period, and all sharing similar characteristics.
2. These thefts tended to target portable works of figurative sculpture, and frequently entailed removing the head of a larger work, making it easy to transport.
3. Some of these materials were later recovered in Europe and the United States. Even though they were returned, their sale abroad suggests that a smuggling network capable of connecting to international auction houses had been well established by the 1990s.



Head of the deified Asclepius reported stolen from the Ptolemais Museum on Oct. 10, 1990, height 40cm. (Photo: Khaled el Haddar)



The head of this sculpture of a satyr in the Museum of the Baths in Cyrene was stolen on Feb. 28, 1990. (Photo: Khaled el Haddar)

2.4 Law No. 03 of 1994

The Libyan legislature passed the largest reorganization of antiquities law in living memory with Law No. 03 of 1994. This law provided broad protection for antiquities, museums, historic cities and historic buildings throughout the country. This law remains enforced today. According to its terms, the Libyan Department of Antiquities (DoA) was reorganized from its colonial-era antecedents and became the governmental body responsible for managing and protecting the vast range of Libyan heritage—including all antiquities, archaeological sites, historic buildings, historic cities, manuscripts, and natural historical specimens. Provisions of this law included sentencing guidelines for violations, including a maximum prison sentence of 6 months, and a maximum fine of 20,000 Libyan dinars. Given that a typical judge earned approximately 4,000 Libyan dinars per year when the law came into effect, this was a stiff financial penalty. The financial penalty was considered to be a stronger deterrent than the relatively short time (1/2 year) in jail.

When the Gaddafi regime approved the resumption of tourism in Libya in 1994 under the auspices of the General Authority for Tourism, the country began to reconnect with the world. Tour groups become frequent by 1996, and the Tourist Police and Antiquities Protection Agency was established in 1998 to provide a dedicated mechanism for both the enforcement of antiquities laws as well as the protection of these visitors. Uniting these two very different responsibilities under the same law enforcement body reinforced the Gaddafi-era view that antiquities and historic sites were primarily of interest to foreigners rather than a common public good as specified by Libyan law.

The Tourist Police would typically refer cases to the specialized Public Prosecutors Office for Economic Crimes, and the cases were heard before the Economic Crimes Court (established under Law No. 02 of 1979). Prosecutions of such crimes were not subject to a statute of limitations. According to Talal Bariun, who served as chief judge of this court in 2007–2008, most of the violations of antiquity law heard by the court focused on damage to historic properties within cities like Tripoli. In general, cases decided against the defendant resulted in a modest financial penalty of approximately 500 LD. The penalties were usually well below the maximum allowed by law, provided that the party in violation paid all expenses associated with recuperation of the damaged property.

In the decades prior to the Revolution, the theft or damage of state property was generally penalized less severely than similar offenses involving private property. For example, a driver who lost control of his vehicle and careened towards two lamp posts, one installed by the municipality and the other built on private property, would face different penalties depending on which post was damaged. Damaging the private lamp post would almost certainly result in a higher fine, and likely a longer jail sentence.

Any theft of state property that threatened the liquidity or security of the state was also severely punished. Embezzling small amounts of government money resulted in a minimum of five years in prison. Judge Bariun was involved in a case in which a Special Police Officer was sentenced to five years of jail time for stealing a single bullet, based on the premise that such a theft jeopardized public security. Efforts to discourage potentially detrimental public behavior like drinking alcohol also included harsh sentences of at least one year in prison. In this context, instances of theft or damage of Libyan antiquities seem to have been punished in a way consistent with crimes involving other “non-vital” state assets, whereas drinking alcohol was considered a threat to security and an affront to a nominally Islamic code of law, and thus to be a more serious crime than looting an archaeological site.

Two cases from this period illustrate this point and are worth describing in greater detail:

1. A robbery from the National Museum at the Sarayah al Hamra (in Tripoli) in 2008.
2. The vandalism of rock art sites in the Acacus Mountains in 2009.

These cases represent the last large cultural heritage crimes that were successfully prosecuted under Libyan law. Since 2009 (including since the Revolution), there have been no further cases that have been successfully tried before a court resulting in sanctions imposed on the guilty party. Both of these cases shed light on how the law was applied prior to the Revolution and provide insight as to how existing deterrents might be enforced again as the rule of law regains strength.

Theft of Cupid from the Sarayah al Hamra, 2008

In the first case, a Moroccan citizen residing in Tripoli repeatedly visited the National Museum at the Sarayah al Hamra to plan a theft. On the day of the incident, he hid inside of the museum as it closed. Late at night, he broke the display case containing a statue of Cupid, opened one of the windows in the museum hall, and jumped down into the adjacent corridor. The loud sound of his landing alerted one of the museum guards, who informed the Tourist Police office in the Sarayah. The Tourist Police apprehended the thief in possession of the Cupid. During his interrogation, he confessed that he had intended to descend from the high walls of the Sarayah by ropes and deliver the statue to Libyan accomplices who were waiting for him in the nearby Clock Square.



Statue of Cupid stolen from the Sarayah al Hamra in 2008 (Photo: Ramadan Sheibani)

The Tourism Police referred the case to the Public Prosecutor, which in turn referred the case to the Criminal Court in Tripoli. Rather than filing the case under the provisions of the antiquities Law No. 3 of 1994, the Public Prosecutor filed the case under the provisions of the Libyan Penal Code of 1954 and the economic crimes Law No. 2 of 1979. From a legal standpoint, the statue was considered as being indistinguishable from public funds being stolen from the Central Bank. By structuring the case in this way, the Public Prosecutor ensured that the defendant would face a more severe sentence if the prosecution succeeded. The Criminal Court heard the case and imposed a sentence of five years in prison. Convicted for the crime, the perpetrator served most of his sentence and was released as part of the general amnesty granted to prisoners by Gaddafi during the 2011 Revolution.

Vandalism of Rock Art Sites in the Acacus Mountains, 2009

The second case focuses on damage of archaeological sites rather than theft of antiquities. In 2009, Fathi abu Agela worked as a baggage handler at the Sebha airport. Occasionally, he supplemented his income by serving as a driver for an Italian tour operator working out of a desert camp in Wadi Awiss, a popular entrance to the UNESCO World Heritage site of the Acacus Mountains in southwestern Libya. The drivers typically worked long hours for attractive pay that included tips as well as room and board. Abu Agela had a disagreement with the tour operator and was fired.



Ti-n-Taborak, one of the rock art sites vandalized in 2009 (Photo: Ramadan Sheibani)

According to Amoud M. Amoud, currently an Officer's Assistant with the Tourism Police in Ghat, who served as the assistant investigator of the incident, Abu Agela left the camp. As the tourists returned to the camp at dusk, Abu Agela travelled to a series of rock art sites and defaced each one with spray paint in an act of retribution against the tourism company which was guiding visitors to these prime attractions. The damaged sites included Ti-n-Taborak, Awiss, Ti-n-Seleutin, Tihedine, Ti-n-Ascigh, Ti-n-Lalan, and T-n-Anneuin, rock art panels spread over 40km. Fingerprints of Abu Agela, marked in paint consistent with the paint sprayed on the rock art sites, were identified on the door and steering wheel of the car he used to travel from camp. According to the estimates of the Italian archaeological mission which visited the sites several months after the incident, the damage is irreparable (Di Lernia, 2010).

Following a five-day investigation of the incident and the damage sustained at these sites, the Tourist Police referred the case to the Public Prosecutors office in Ghat. The case was heard by a judge in Ghat, who sentenced Abu Agela to a 4000 dinar fine as well as 4 months and 10 days in prison. He served his sentence at a prison in Obari and was eventually released. The conviction for such a crime precluded Abu Agela from returning to his public sector job as a baggage handler, where he likely earned 200-300 LD a month. While both the fine and the prison sentence were less than the maximum allowable under law, the penalty was substantial and had a lasting effect following Abu Agela's release.

2.5 2011 – 2020 (Present): A Current Framework for Protection

As described previously, a strong legal framework and a record of jurisprudence provides for the protection of Libyan antiquities and archaeological sites. Unfortunately, the steady erosion of rule-of-law following the 2011 Revolution, and political fragmentation since 2014, has meant that in practice, these laws have been difficult to enforce. The Tourist Police was temporarily disbanded from 2011–2013, and the Economic Crimes Court was dissolved entirely. The jurisdiction for prosecuting violations of antiquities law has since defaulted to misdemeanor criminal courts. Like other national law enforcement bodies, the Tourist Police were temporarily disbanded immediately following the Revolution and officially reactivated in 2013.

Over the past seven years of operations (2013–2020), the Tourism Police have officially opened fourteen (14) cases of violation of antiquities law with the Public Prosecutors Office in Tripoli. However, none of these cases have made it to trial. This number almost certainly represents a small fraction of total violations, and even this small fraction is currently not being prosecuted.

The interim constitutional declaration issued on August 3, 2011, did not specifically address any aspect of Libyan cultural heritage, leaving Law No. 03 of 1994 as the *de facto* framework for the protection of these assets. During the process of creating a draft constitution, a community of Libyan lawmakers and archaeologists advised the Constitutional Assembly to enshrine updated language on the role of the state. The draft Constitution of 2016 includes provisional language that:

1. Reaffirms the role of the state as a protector of Libyan heritage.
2. Empowers the state to act as necessary to recover seized antiquities with no statute of limitation on prosecuting crimes involving antiquities.
3. Ensures that private owners of historic resources will be subject to a special law which upholds their rights to the property and allocated financial rewards for expropriating their property in the public interest.

While this draft constitution has not been officially ratified or implemented, it gives some indication of the direction in which the law is developing. There is an increasingly broad mandate to prosecute antiquities crimes, and with more substantive protections for Libyan private property owners. These property owners had previously feared that the presence of archaeological sites would result in the state confiscating their land. Meanwhile, representatives of the DoA have provided the Libyan parliament with recommendations about ways to strengthen existing antiquities law, although political paralysis has prevented any of these recommendations from being formally adopted.

Several relevant international accords provide a measure of additional protection for Libyan cultural heritage, including the 1970 UNESCO Convention and the UN Convention against Transnational Crime. While Libya has yet to sign the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, it is able to seek the repatriation of objects illicitly taken from the country under the UNESCO 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and

Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property to which it is a signatory party. Additionally, the 2018 U.S.–Libya Cultural Property Agreement offers protections, imposing American import restrictions on Libyan cultural property and encouraging information exchange and technical cooperation between the two nations to combat illicit trafficking. Finally, members of the DoA and Libyan law enforcement have established formal and informal channels of communication with their international colleagues at INTERPOL, the Italian Carabinieri, the FBI Art Crimes Team, and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Given the ongoing civil conflict in Libya, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee placed the five Libyan world heritage sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger during its meeting in Istanbul, Turkey, on July 14, 2016.

2.6 An oversight and management role for the Department of Antiquities

Since the Libyan political crisis of 2014, the Department of Antiquities has been functionally divided between Tripolitania (with a headquarters at the Sarayah al Hamra in downtown Tripoli) and Cyrenaica (with a headquarters in al Bayda). Despite this division, the organization continues to employ hundreds of civil servants stationed in inspectorates around the country. Their wages are distributed from the Central Bank to the headquarters in Tripoli, and then to the branch offices. Like many civil servants, the wages of DoA employees have frequently been delayed following 2011, and the DoA has rarely enjoyed an operating budget beyond payroll. In addition to protecting sites and collections around the country, DoA staff are charged with completing archaeological inspections and issuing permits prior to any new construction and infrastructure project. The DoA thus ensure that archaeological resources are either protected or properly documented and studied prior to construction. Following the Revolution in 2011, unprecedented and unregulated urban expansions have occurred at such a rapid pace, that such expansions have overwhelmed the resources of the DoA. Nevertheless, aware of and dismayed by the deteriorating of Libya's cultural heritage, the DoA and local law enforcement authorities have mounted numerous efforts to protect these resources. These efforts are outlined in Chapter VI of this report.

2.7 Antiquities Trafficking in the Context of Other Illicit Trade

During the prolonged period of instability following the 2011 Revolution, Libyans have persevered through many challenges. As factions continue negotiations for a lasting peace, the problem of illegal antiquities trafficking is likely to be perceived as a minor issue that can be readily disregarded. This position overlooks a real opportunity—local authorities have made significant recent progress in combatting illicit trafficking of antiquities, and encouraging such activity offers a rare glimmer of hope and a highly visible public signal of the progress towards regaining the rule of law.

Undoubtedly, the magnitude of human trafficking and illegal fuel smuggling, estimated at between \$93,000,000–\$244,000,000 and

between \$750,000,000–\$1,000,000,000 per year respectively (Nellmann et. al., 2018), far surpasses the revenues associated with illegal sales of antiquities. These lucrative illegal activities appear to be tightly controlled by militia groups, complicating efforts by local authorities to crack down on the trade and apprehend those responsible (Eaton, 2018). The illicit antiquities trade is global in scope and the Libyan piece of it certainly involves powerful parties, perhaps including some of these same militias. Yet, compared to smuggling fuel and migrants, the market for antiquities appears to be more diffuse, involving many small-time sellers and middlemen, and it remains open to non-militia and non-aligned actors. While Libyan antiquities were recovered in the recaptured house of an Islamic State commander during the Battle of Benghazi (Lewis, 2016), any role that antiquities trafficking may have played as a mechanism for terrorist financing seems to have declined as the Islamic State was uprooted in Benghazi and Derna. Instead, the limited first-hand accounts provided by those apprehended with Libyan antiquities suggest that small scale, opportunistic actors are commonly involved (M Tunisia TV, 2017).

As described in greater detail in Chapter VI of this report, the DoA, the Tourist Police, and the Public Prosecutor have begun to play a more active role in the countering and prevention of the illegal antiquities trade. This appears to be a realm in which Libyan authorities stand to gain public trust and goodwill while gradually reasserting the rule of law. As rule of law gains strength, Libyan authorities are more likely to be able to counteract more lucrative forms of illegal trade involving humans and fuel.

Chapter III— Economic and Social Factors That Contribute to Theft and Looting

This report provides as comprehensive an account as possible of all known cases of theft of Libyan antiquities during a period of marked instability—the decade spanning the beginning of the Revolution on February 17, 2011, through the date of this report (December 2020). In the case of each recorded theft, brief accounts of individual incidents are supplemented by a more extensive set of appendices, including descriptions and documentary photographs of individual objects whenever possible.

The second, likely much larger, category of incidents involves looting of Libyan antiquities during the same period. Given the lack of rule-of-law and the general weakness of local reporting on subjects related to cultural heritage crimes, the incidents of looting included here should be considered only a partial account of the losses sustained. In many cases, the evidence of looting is indirect, a combination of disruption in areas rich in archaeological resources and the recovery of material on the regional and international marketplace that likely originates from Libya.

Prior to a description of individual incidents, it is worth exploring the general social context of these crimes. The depositions of Libyan antiquities thieves, looters and smugglers have rarely been made public, so first-hand accounts detailing the motives and methods of these crimes are scarce. At the same time, there is a common set of circumstances which has enabled these crimes to occur with increasing frequency in the aftermath of the Revolution, and this background is explained in the following pages.

3.1 Collapse of Libyan Economy Makes Theft, Looting, & Trafficking Tempting

Since 2011, the Libyan economy has suffered a major and prolonged contraction as instability has prevented the steady operation of oil fields and ports. Civil servants, who account for approximately 84% of the workforce, have faced delayed wages. Moreover, their access to savings has been constrained by strict withdrawal limits. While the official rate of exchange for the Libyan dinar has remained fairly stable, the parallel market rate (black-market rate) of exchange has generally declined as instability persists in the country.

Economists recognize that such a large variance between the parallel market rate (“street” rate) of exchange and the official rate points to artificial stabilization of the exchange rate by control of capital markets and the prohibition of people accessing capital and savings. The exchange rate has been further artificially impacted by government exchange fees and taxes. Moreover, these artificial pressures have frequently resulted in extraordinary high inflation, further compounding the financial crises.

Against this backdrop of financial pressure, many have sought to monetize public goods for personal benefit during a time when most existing laws cannot be enforced. While some have successfully stolen antiquities from museums and bank vaults, it has become much more common for antiquities to be looted directly from archaeological sites, many of them uncovered through the process

of clearing land for development. The large-scale clearing and subdivision of formerly public lands in order to build new housing and vacation properties has been concentrated in areas previously protected by the state, including along the coast and on the flat plateaus of the Jabal al Akhdar. These regions have been attractive places to build for millennia, and they are therefore densely filled with archaeological sites.

3.2 Social Context Contributing to Theft and Looting

Looting Antiquities Perceived as a Victimless Crime or Semi-Legitimate Form of Protest

Both the Department of Antiquities and the Tourist Police have faced a crisis of legitimacy following the Revolution, as there have been few functional mechanisms to enforce antiquities law as well as a common suspicion that cultural heritage sites and collections around the country are just one more resource that the Gaddafi regime hoarded for its own purposes. Now that the regime is gone, using these antiquities for personal profit seems to be one more way to spurn the legacy of Gaddafi, rather than being perceived as stealing a common resource from other Libyans.

Another dimension of this problem relates to the tight control the Gaddafi regime previously exerted over all urban development. Without loans issued by the state or specific permissions obtained by private parties, building and expansion were impossible. Throughout the Jebal al Akhdar, there was significant pent-up demand given that permission to build had become very difficult to obtain in the decade prior to the Revolution. Many families found themselves living in crowded houses with multiple generations, even if they had the savings and the desire to build. In the years following the Revolution, some have chosen to ignore all laws and permitting procedures. They simply proceeded with projects to clear land and to build according to their needs.

This trend has been accelerated by an element of speculation, since the scenic areas of the Jebal al Akhdar are an attractive destination for domestic vacationers or those seeking temporary respite from the aftermath of the Battle of Benghazi (2014–17). Because even basic rental houses can attract 200 dinars per night, there has been a further incentive to clear land and build. Any archaeological materials standing in the way of this clearing are seen as a nuisance to be removed, or as a potentially lucrative bonus that can be monetized to offset the costs of development.

3.3 Heritage Deployed to Reinforce Dominant Political Narratives at the Expense of the Powerless

Following the establishment of a formal Department of Antiquities in 1913 under the Italian colonial power, the state has played a controlling role in cultural heritage, allowing it to shape and reinforce dominant narratives about what it means to be Libyan and who can fully lay claim to this title. All too often, religious and ethnic

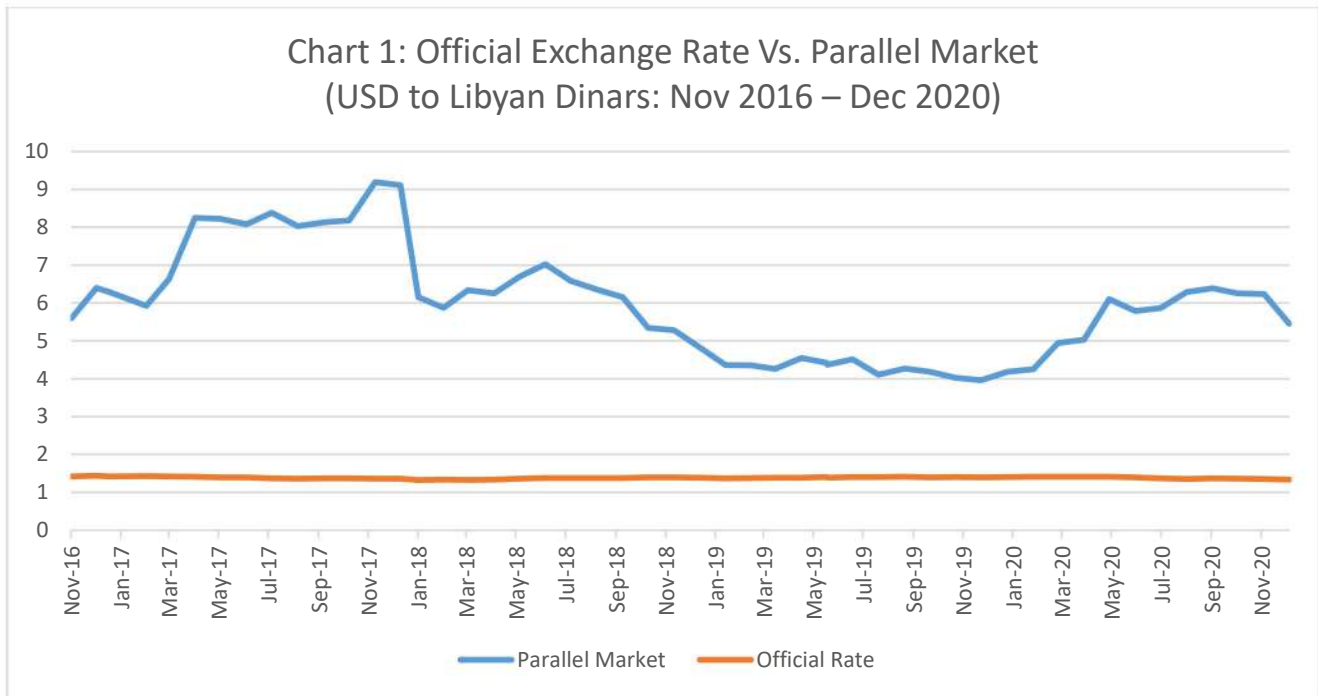


Chart 1: created with data from the Facebook Page “Dollar Euro & Pound Libya Black Market Exchange Rate” (<https://www.facebook.com/Dollar-Euro-Pound-Libya-Black-Market-Exchange-Rate-626595290844926/>). Monthly values were taken from listed entries that were the closest as possible to the 15th of each month. Official rates obtained from <https://www.investing.com/currencies/usd-lyd-historical-data>.

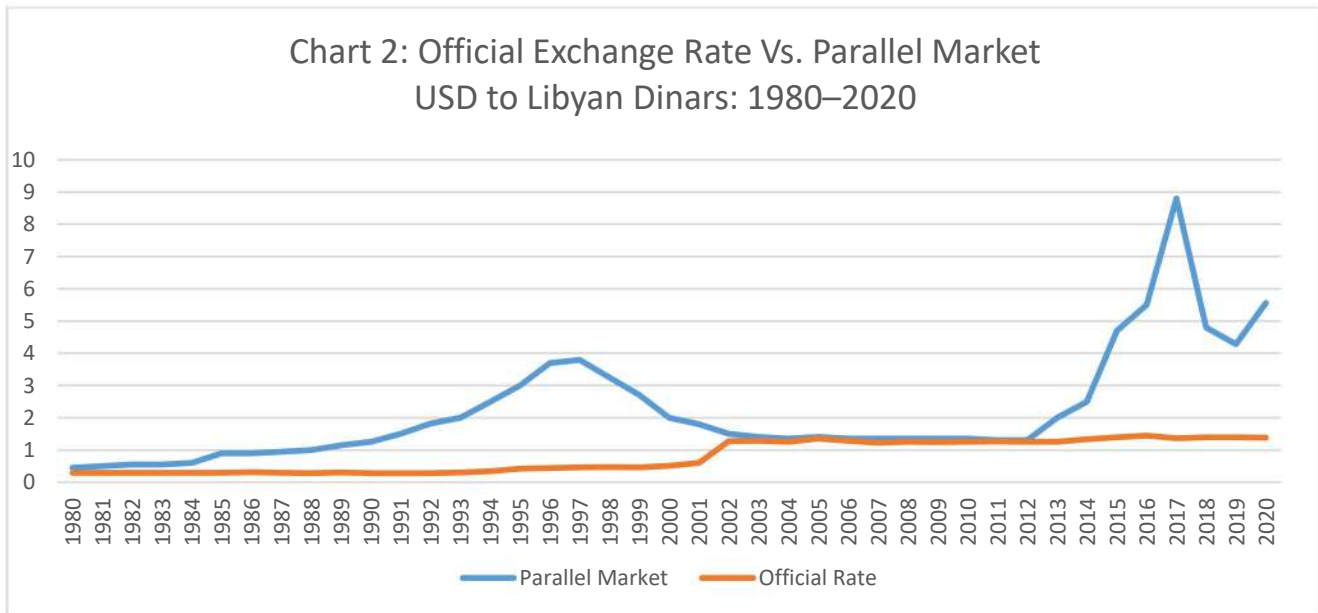


Chart 2: Data for 1980–2018 is courtesy of Dr. Gaballah Hejazi from Faculty of Economics, University of Omar al-Mukhtar at Elbaida. Data for 2019–2020 taken from Facebook page quoted in Chart 1.

groups with less political influence have seen their heritage neglected or intentionally destroyed in this process. Such was the case for the entire native population under Italian colonial rule, as well as the Jewish minority in the post-war period, the Amazigh minority in the Gaddafi-era, and the Sufi minority following the Revolution of 2011. This pattern of abuse has reinforced the view that cultural heritage resources are goods owned by the state and used for its own purposes rather than as public goods protected for the common benefit.

As part of the project to legitimize its claim to this “fourth shore,” Italy invested heavily in the excavation, conservation, study, and protection of ancient Hellenistic and Roman sites. This work represents a fundamental and lasting contribution to our understanding of Libyan history, though it often came at the expense of Arab or Ottoman layers that had accrued on portions of these sites (Furjani, 2020). Libyans, for their part, avoided damaging any archaeological site for fear of being punished by the colonial power. At the end of World War II, the tight relationship between colonial power and these monuments began to backfire. Following Libyan independence, it became increasingly common to associate such cultural heritage with the negative aspects of colonial rule and ignore or neglect these sites.

After the establishment of an independent Libya in 1951, anti-Semitism in Libya continued to grow in strength and members of the Libyan Jewish community found their future in the country increasingly imperiled by a series of laws denying them the right to acquire new property, vote, hold public office, serve in the armed forces, hold a certificate of Libyan nationality, and receive a Libyan passport (Roumani, 2008). Following the Six Day War of 1967 between Israel, Jordan, Syria and Egypt, Jewish owned property was destroyed in both Tripoli and Benghazi, and members of the Jewish community were killed by mob violence despite efforts by the police to protect them. The Libyan government encouraged the remaining Jewish community to emigrate. While many thought they were leaving temporarily and would be able to return or at least settle their affairs later, they soon discovered that they faced regulatory barriers to reentry. In addition to being forced from their homes, the Association of Libyan Jews in Rome estimated that their community was forced to abandon \$350,000,000 - \$400,000,000 of stranded assets in Libya (Roumani, 2008).

During the Gaddafi-era, The Zuwara Speech of April 15, 1973, had a particularly corrosive effect on the relationship between the public and Libya’s diverse cultural heritage. In this speech, Gaddafi declared a Cultural Revolution, intentionally evoking the same phrase previously deployed in China by Mao Zedong. Among the five steps outlined by Gaddafi, three are particularly relevant here: 1) disable all applicable laws, 2) eliminate partisans and enemies of the Revolution, and 3) eliminate all bureaucracy through an administrative revolution (Gaddafi, 1973). These three points, while never fully implemented, created an environment in which laws were enforced capriciously by members of somnolent bureaucratic systems who could never be sure of their own authority. Following this speech, the Amazigh community in Libya was singled out as partisans, and those perceived to resist state power faced life imprisonment or

execution for protesting. Their language and alphabet were forbidden and erased.



Destruction of the Sidi Bu Ghara Shrine in Tripoli, 2017 (Photo: Youssef al Khatali)

Most recently, Islamic sites that do not conform to a Salafist vision of Islam have been targeted in the aftermath of the 2011 Revolution. Salafist militias gained influence throughout the country and intentionally destroyed Sufi shrines and mosques for their perceived deviance from Sunni orthodoxy. Shrines or commemorative spaces associated with the companions of the Prophet Mohammed were destroyed in Zweilah and Dernah. Well known Qaramanli mosques and religious schools in the Old City of Tripoli were desecrated, and Sufi shrines were destroyed around the country. Members of the community who opposed these acts often remained quiet for fear that they themselves would become targets of this violence. Despite these dangers, the staff of the DoA Tripoli had some success in negotiating with these armed groups and removing decorative elements of mosques and tombstones before they were destroyed (Raynolds, 2017).

3.4 Past Educational Curricula Contribute to Lack of Appreciation for Diverse Heritage

On March 2, 1977, Gaddafi established the “authority of the people,” outlining four additional points to guide the country, two of which are relevant here. The first changed the name of Libya to the Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, prompting a review of all Libyan history textbooks and curricula to make them consistent with this new vision of national identity. The third point of Gaddafi’s speech declared, “Direct popular power is the basis of the political system...Power is in the hands of the people, and there is no authority over others. The people exercise their power through popular congresses, popular committees, trade unions, unions, professional associations, and the General People’s Congress” (Gaddafi, 1977). This further eroded the power of the Antiquities Authority, and it closed avenues for cooperation between different

branches of government including the DoA and the Ministry of Education.

While most Libyans live within a short distance of a historic building or archaeological site, their exposure to these places and their knowledge of them has always depended heavily on the public educational system. During the Gaddafi-era, the curriculum gradually recast Libyan history as monolithically Arab, and excluded any mention of the British Mandate period or the Libyan monarchy that Gaddafi helped depose in 1969. Occasionally, public displays such as the burning of foreign language textbooks in Tripoli's Green Square in 1986, reinforced the message that the regime was the sole arbiter of knowledge.

This topic of educational reform extends beyond the scope of this report, but it is worth providing a few specific examples from history textbooks published between 1998 and 2016, demonstrating the long-lasting effects of Gaddafi's revisionist version of Libyan history. Even textbooks published after the Revolution continue to publish the same fallacies, describing the Hellenistic and Roman history of Libya in a contemporary, politically charged framework of anti-imperialism. In 1998, the Popular Committee for Education and Higher Research published a history textbook for fifth graders intended as a general introduction to the subject. Its index reads like an invented history of the Arabs, glossing over distinct historical periods and empires, and blurring the boundaries of language and ethnicity to project a falsified vision of an Arab identity that was all-encompassing. Ancient Egyptians, North African Berbers, Phoenicians, Akkadians, and Sumerians were all reduced to ancient Arabs. In Libya in particular, the text describes the defeat of the Libyan Arabs at the hand of the Greek colonists (Popular Committee, 1998), establishing a recurrent pattern of Libyan Arab opposition to colonial threats, a message reinforced by the book. There is no mention of the historical Arab conquest of North Africa in the seventh century, or discussion of distinct historical tribes in Libya such as the Meshwesh or Garamantes, which had been extensively studied and documented by scholars of the region, including members of Libyan universities and the DoA. Instead, history was compressed into a tidy vision in which timeless Arab peoples of North Africa, the Nile Valley, the Levant, and the Arabian Peninsula were in a state of constant and inevitable conflict with outside groups including the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians and the Vandals.

As a point of comparison, it is worth considering a similar history textbook published after the 2011 Revolution. This text for seventh graders published by the Ministry of Education in 2014 was intended as an introduction to Libyan history and the ancient world. In this textbook, one finds a more factually accurate account of Libyan history, including the mention of prominent local civilizations like the Garamantians. Arab identity is no longer given a fabricated role in the history of Libya or the region (Ministry of Education, 2014). Nevertheless, the autochthonous tribes, described in the text as "local Libyans" are portrayed in conflict with both the Greek and Roman powers rather than, as the archaeological and historical evidence suggests, fundamental contributors to the growth of ethnically diverse ancient cities that flourished along Libya's coast.



While there are promising signs of educational reform following the Revolution, the central message broadcasted by the Libyan public educational system remains the same—many of the archaeological sites and collections throughout the country are the vestiges of foreign occupation and are not fully “Libyan.” This message, internalized by generations of Libyan youth, makes it easier to justify flouting the law to damage or sell such material for personal profit.

In this context, the education and stewardship programs sponsored by ASOR and the U.S. State Department through the Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation, and the State Department's Cultural Antiquities Task Force, play a critical role in correcting governmental disinformation originating in the Gadhafi regime. By working with our Libyan partners and civil society groups, these educational awareness programs counter generations of misinformation that more recently have been pressed into service of extremist groups and non-Libyan state actors.

Chapter IV— Emerging Online Markets Facilitate and Support Illicit Trade

4.1 Online Marketplace Helps Sellers Find Willing Buyers

Given the prohibition on the sale and trafficking of antiquities, there is no legal, public marketplace for this material in Libya. Whoever acquired these goods (whether by chance or through illegal excavation) and wanted to sell them, had to deal with clandestine merchants or smugglers. This type of sale was restricted before 2011, and it was not widespread prior to the Revolution. Even as smuggling of various kinds increased after the Revolution, it was initially more difficult for sellers to find buyers.

As internet connectivity increased, Libyans rapidly adopted social media, and a popular online market for the sale of Libyan antiquities emerged. While suspicious material is frequently posted on regional e-commerce sites such as OpenSooq (ly.opensooq.com), Facebook is the most prominent platform for the online sale of antiquities. Some Libyans offer antiquities for sale on their personal pages. Prominent group pages like the Open Benghazi Market page (سوق بنغازي المفتوح) or the Sell Anything Used for Free Benghazi page (بيع كل شي مستعمل ببلاش بنغازي) have significant memberships (131,000 and 515,000 members respectively). Thousands of new posts are added every day. Facebook is the dominant social media platform in Libya, accounting for over 66% of the country's social media usage in 2020 (StatCounter, 2020). The number of unique Libyan Facebook users in March 2020 was roughly 5.4 million, over 79% of the country's population (NapoleonCat, 2020).

Unfortunately, there is currently no law or legal deterrent to prohibit this type of online activity. In fact, while Libyan authorities recognize this as a problem, they do not have the capacity to monitor potentially illicit activity on these platforms, let alone conduct investigations and build cases for prosecution. Draft legislation to prevent cybercrime has been presented to the House of Representatives. This legislation contains a clause regarding the criminalization of the sale of antiquities through the Internet, but this legislation has yet to be ratified.

The growing online marketplace for illicit antiquities is common not only in Libya, but also in other locations suffering from or adjacent to armed conflict. A recent case study by the Antiquities Trafficking and Heritage Anthropology Research (ATHAR) Project, which documents trafficking of antiquities across four Facebook Groups, found that 80% (1,302) of posts offering artifacts for sale were listed in countries either in conflict or bordering conflict zones (Al Azm and Paul, 2019). In cases where armed groups are involved with this traffic, the content provides evidence of war crimes under the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. While Facebook's Community Standards on Regulated Goods policy bans the trade of historical artifacts on the platform (Facebook, 2020), content that violates these standards is generally erased. In the case of war crimes, these data are valuable evidence. In 2017, the International Criminal Court used video uploaded directly to Facebook as evidence in a war crimes case against Mahmoud al-Werfalli, former head of the Special Forces unit of the Libyan National Army (Irving, 2017). The Facebook

evidence was considered a “game changer” in the case (Cluskey, 2017).

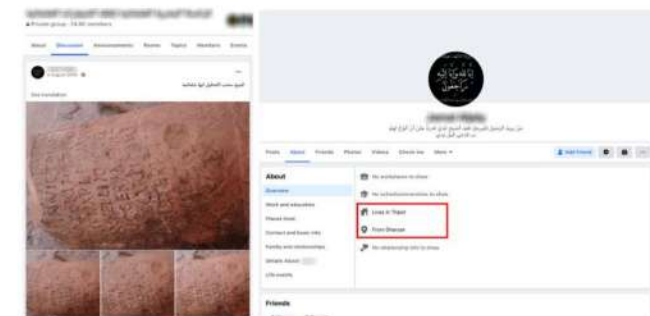
4.2 Nature of the Material Posted

Coins are by far the most common form of antiquity posted on these social media sites. Given that there is no licit marketplace for coins older than 100 years in Libya, much of this material could be considered a violation of local antiquities law. This profusion of small artifacts which are both easy to transport and monetize is consistent with trends observed elsewhere in Syria and Iraq (Brodie, 2016; Al Azm and Paul, 2019).



Example of coins posted for sale on OpenSooq, item number 135270122

While most of this material requires direct negotiation with the seller in order to agree on a price, some sellers will post the price that they hope to receive. The item below, which appears to be a large bronze Roman coin offered by a seller who claims to be located in Bani Walid, has been assigned a price of 400 Libyan Dinars (approximately \$66 at current black-market rates of exchange). Should this sale be realized, it would constitute about half a month's worth of wages for a typical public employee, giving some sense for the incentives of making small sales.



Inscribed column fragment posted for sale (Photo: ATHAR Project)

In addition to small finds, larger sculptures and fragments of inscriptions are occasionally posted. On August 4, 2018 a user posted a portion of an inscribed column for sale in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group. The user's public profile information indicated that he lived in Tripoli, Libya.



Coin posted on OpenSooq, item number 134137504

More valuable finds may be posted by the same user across multiple Facebook Groups. In one example, a user listed as located in Derna, Libya, posted a Roman marble statue for sale across three Facebook trafficking groups over the course of two weeks. The Derna-based user authored his first post on October 24, 2020, in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group with roughly 13,000 members. His post included no text, only a photo of a statue. This is often a signal to other users that the pictured item is for sale. Facebook data shows that the user had joined the group just one day before he posted the Greco-Roman statue. On October 25, 2020, the same user in Derna posted the same statue along with several other pieces in another Facebook antiquities trafficking group. The user's post explicitly stated that the artifacts are "for sale" and available in Libya. Facebook data shows that the user joined the 5,200-member Facebook Group the same day that he posted the materials for sale. On November 3, 2020, the same user in Derna posted the same statue on a third Facebook antiquities trafficking group, this one with roughly 18,000 members. His post explicitly states that the statue is "for sale." By posting the valuable item across multiple Facebook trafficking groups, the user was able to offer this illegal statue to tens of thousands of potential buyers and intermediaries.

In one exceptional case, members of the DoA successfully identified items offered for sale on Facebook as stolen rather than looted. In March 2018, a seller posted items that had been stolen from the storage of the DoA of Benghazi. During the Battle of Benghazi (2014–



The same statue offered by the same individual across multiple Groups (Photo: ATHAR Project)

2017), these items were sheltered in a warehouse in the Souq al Hout neighborhood, an area that saw heavy bombardment. When the DoA regained access in 2017, they quickly transferred these goods under urgent and difficult circumstances; however, some material went missing. The items that were put up for sale included a small terracotta figurine in the distinctive Tangara style, dating to the early 2nd century B.C.E. It is distinguishable by traces of recent restoration around the neckline. The collection also included a small terracotta statue depicting a young woman, playing a guitar and dancing, as well as the head of a marble statue of a man with a long, thick beard and almond-shaped eyes. While the online posting was recognized by the DoA, there was no practical channel to seize the material prior to or after sale. Likewise, there was not a mechanism to intervene and prevent the sale.



Stolen material from the Benghazi storeroom posted for sale on Facebook (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

4.3 Nature of Individuals Posting Illicit Antiquities Online

While the identity of an individual on Facebook is difficult to verify, and usernames can be spoofed or falsified, there are aggregate trends that enable some identification of those who post illicit antiquities, and how they do so. The details of individual users, particularly of those on sites like OpenSooq where users are only required to create brief profiles consisting of a login name, are often

obscure. Despite these uncertainties, it appears that women and men of all ages regularly post on OpenSooq and general Facebook forums offering to buy and sell used goods. Yet, those who post about illicit antiquities appear to be a distinct subset sharing two key characteristics:

- 1) They all appear to be males; and
- 2) They appear to be between their teens and mid-40's.

Most of these posts are generated by individuals with no discernible ties to a wider network or armed groups, supporting the notion that much of the looting and illicit trade within Libya is conducted by individuals or small groups working opportunistically to monetize large volumes of modest finds like coins, ceramic vessels, and small funerary busts. However, in some cases, it is clear that individuals associated with armed forces or militia groups have been involved with looting or illicit trafficking. On October 23, 2019, one such post was made by a Facebook user who claimed to work at the 32nd Reinforced Brigade, an elite military unit of Gaddafi loyalists formerly under the command of Gaddafi's son Khamis. This person's profile picture featured a man posing with weapons. The post, requesting the analysis of a Roman oil lamp, was made to a Facebook Group with over 196,000 members that is administered in Tunis.

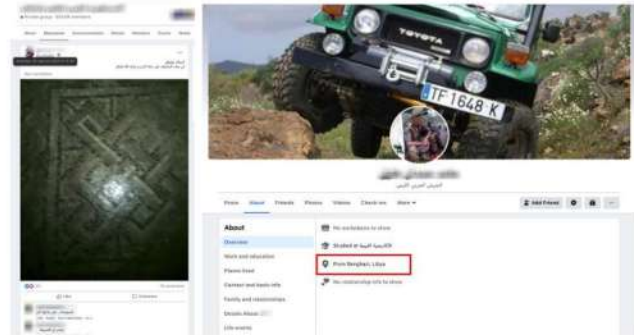


Post requesting analysis of Roman oil lamp made by individual claiming to work for the 32nd Reinforced Brigade (Photo: ATHAR Project)

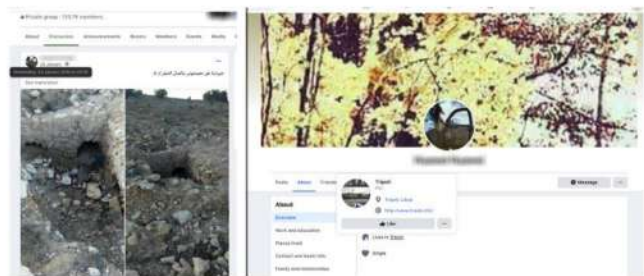
On January 25, 2020, another user posted a photo of an in situ mosaic in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group with over 453,000 members. The post sought inquiries about whether the discovery was a sign of treasure. The first replies from a user tell the post author that the mosaic itself is a treasure, and that he should be careful not to break it. The public profile information of the post author lists his location as Benghazi, Libya. His profile photo shows him in military uniform, and his profile “likes” indicate support for Haftar's forces. These data might suggest that the post author is a member of the Libyan National Army.

Libyan users' Facebook activity in antiquities trafficking groups is varied. Many users post explicit offers that make clear the item is “for sale.” In other cases, artifacts will be posted with a request to analyze material or with no text at all. These types of posts serve as signals to users that an item is available for sale without enabling any Facebook algorithms that might track words related to sale (Al Azm and Paul, 2019).

Posts with looters showing freshly unearthed mosaics or active illicit excavations are also common occurrences. Users seem to post this content for two reasons: 1) they often seek assistance from other Facebook Group members on how best to continue their efforts; and 2) the excavation photos demonstrate to other users that they will soon have genuine artifacts for sale.

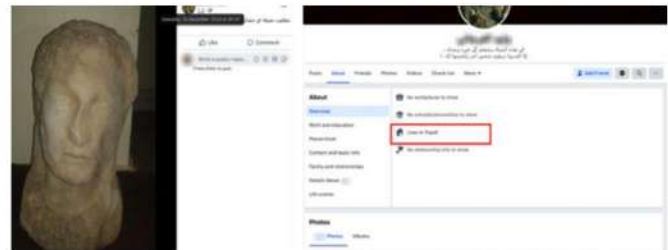


Post requesting information about a mosaic discovered during illicit digging (left) and post author's profile and location in Benghazi, Libya (right) (Photos: ATHAR Project)



Post of a site which has been partially uncovered through illicit excavation (left) and post author's profile mentioning that he lives in Tripoli, Libya (Photos: ATHAR Project)

Regardless of Facebook's updated policy against posting antiquities for sale, these posts continue. Such posts dwarf the current capacity of local authorities and international partners to monitor and record these instances, let alone intervene. As recently as December 19, 2020, a user in a Facebook Group posted what appears to be a large bust of a male figure carved in marble. This particular offer was posted as a reply to another author's post in the group. The user who posted the statue head lists his public profile location as Tripoli, Libya.



A recent post offering a marble head for sale (Photo: ATHAR Project)

Chapter V— Documented Thefts from Libyan Collections, 2011–2020

There have been several documented instances of theft from museums and bank vaults following the 2011 Revolution. These cases have been referred to the Public Prosecutors Office in Tripoli and remain open investigations. To date, none of these investigations have resulted in the arrest of a suspect or a successful prosecution in court. Due to the sensitive nature of these inquiries, the full details of these cases are not publicly available, though general descriptions are provided here. When available, the basic documentation associated with the missing artifacts, including a description and photograph, are included in the appendices of this report. Too often, there is scant documentation associated with the missing artifacts, making it very difficult to positively identify them should they resurface again in the future.

Most of these crimes occurred in the tumultuous months following the beginning of the Revolution in February 2011, and few of them were extensively documented. All of the material described remains missing. Nevertheless, according to Libyan law, there is no statute of limitations for such crime. Prosecution remains possible, though leads have become cold, and Libyan law enforcement continues to grapple with many other pressing problems. It is important to note that since 2016, there have been no additional reports of theft from collections, despite the prolonged instability and violence associated with the Battle of Benghazi and the Siege of Tripoli.

5.1 Four Incidents

National Commercial Bank of Benghazi

The most extensive theft in the post-revolutionary period involved antiquities stored at the National Commercial Bank, located on Omar Al-Mokhtar Street in downtown Benghazi. An extensive selection of materials, largely small finds of uncommon value, were deposited by the Libyan Department of Antiquities in 1961 and in 2007 in the bank. In May 2011, Libyan authorities discovered that the materials were missing. Given that other valuable materials remained in the vaults, it appears to have been a case of targeted theft.

The collections had been stored in two padlocked World War II military chests and a safe. On May 25, 2011, these three storage vessels were removed from the vault without proper authorization and transferred to another nearby bank building. One of the chests arrived, whereas the other chest and the safe went missing during the transfer along with all of their contents (Bailey, 2011).

This material had not been well documented, so there is only an estimate of the missing antiquities: a total of some 9,800 objects from diverse sites, including the Temple of Artemis in Cyrene and the Hellenistic Palace of the Columns in Ptolemais. Much of the material had been excavated prior to WWII, and included 364 gold coins, 2,433 silver coins, and 4,484 bronze coins as well as ancient jewelry like gold earrings and works of sculpture, including embossings and heads of small figurines (Ensoli, 2013). Most of the coins dated from the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods. There



Fatimid dinars stolen as part of the Benghazi Treasure (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

also were some Islamic coins. Initial reports that the treasure was smuggled out of Libya through Egypt (Allsop, 2011) remain unconfirmed. There has been no substantive progress on this investigation since it was opened. Where available, the descriptions and photographs of this material are included in Appendix A below.

Museum of Susa

The small museum located near the site of Apollonia in the eastern town of Susa also suffered a break-in and theft in May 2011 during the early phase of the Revolution. Five distinctive red-on-black Attic jars were stolen from the museum. These pieces date to the Hellenistic period, and were discovered as grave goods associated with the tombs of the ancient city which were excavated in the 1990's. Fortunately, these pieces were well documented prior to the theft. Photographs and more extensive descriptions of this material can be found in Appendix B of this report.



Attic Red-on-black vessels stolen from the Susa Museum in May 2011 (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

Misrata Museum

In October 2011, the Misurata Museum was robbed. The objects stolen from Display Rooms 1+2 included several collections of coins as well as a Roman period piece of Terra Sigillata pottery. Longer descriptions and photographs are not available for this material,

though a brief summary is included in the table below. This lack of documentation makes it much less likely that this material can be recovered in the future should it ever surface on the local or international art market.

Bani Walid Museum

The Bani Walid Museum has suffered multiple thefts, making it the most frequently targeted location anywhere in the country. During the 2011 war between pro-Gaddafi and revolutionary forces, units of the Gaddafi military used the Bani Walid Museum as a base. Portions of the museum displays and walls were destroyed, and portions of the collection were damaged (Musso 2017: 127). In addition, 315 objects were stolen from the museum before the liberation in October 2011. Many of these objects were ceramic, including a large collection of Roman period oil lamps.

In a separate incident on July 20, 2013, the head of a Minerva sculpture was cut off and removed from the museum grounds. Finally, in 2016, three funerary urns and an amphora were stolen along with an additional corpus of material including pottery, lamps, glass vessels, and coins. In this incident, a total of 149 additional objects were stolen. Basic descriptions and photographs of objects are included in Appendix C.

5.3 Ample Evidence of Looting Due to Urban Encroachment at Archaeological Sites

In addition to the cases of documented theft, there is ample evidence that antiquities are being looted directly from archaeological sites. Since the Revolution, urban encroachment in archaeologically sensitive areas has expanded rapidly, archaeological material of unknown provenance is regularly confiscated by Libyan authorities, and diagnostic Libyan antiquities have been identified on the international art market. This section focuses primarily on the urban encroachment and looting in the eastern Jebel al Akhdar, which appears to be the origin of much of the looted material confiscated over the past decade. Further details about the response of local authorities are included in the next chapter (Chapter VI).

Over the past five years, DoA staff have participated in a series of international training initiatives such as EAMENA (Rayne et. al, 2017) and Training in Action programs (Leone et. al. 2020) to improve



Stone urns stolen from the Bani Walid Museum in 2016 (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

local capacity to document archaeological sites at risk through a combination of remote sensing and field survey. They have also participated in a series of law enforcement workshops convened by UNESCO and the American Archaeological Mission at Oberlin College. While the DoA has yet to conduct an in-depth study of the methods of looters, as has occurred elsewhere in the MENA region (Kersel, 2006, 2007), broadly speaking, there appears to be a combination of threats from those who are systematically looting tombs (DoA, 2020), and from those who discover tombs accidentally in the context of clearing land and building.

Thanks to the recent joint training and documentation projects, there is also a growing understanding of the specific geographies in which sites face the greatest pressure from looting. Nowhere is this more pronounced than in the Jebel al Akhdar region of Cyrenaica, where unregulated construction and urban encroachment on archaeological sites has led to the discovery and subsequent erasure of ancient tombs. Landowners using heavy machinery to clear lots for subdivision occasionally discover such tombs by accident and empty their contents. Local authorities who have attempted to stop these illegal developments have occasionally encountered threats from armed assailants, who have prevented them from conducting further investigations. The landowners seem to condone or to be directly involved with the looting activity. Again, given that many of the new buildings are used as rental properties which regularly fetch 200 Libyan Dinars/night from visitors, there is a strong financial incentive to continue building even if tombs containing artefacts are not discovered in the process.

N	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DESCRIPTION
1	2011	Misurata Museum	16 Numidian and Carthaginian bronze coins looted from display room number (1).
2	2011	Misurata Museum	41 silver coins with different sizes. Looted from display room number (2).
3	2011	Misurata Museum	19 Oxidized silver coins looted from the display room number (2).
4	2011	Misurata Museum	A plate of Terra Sigilata pottery looted from the display room number (2).



Looted tombs near the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene (Photos: Dr. Khaled al Haddar)



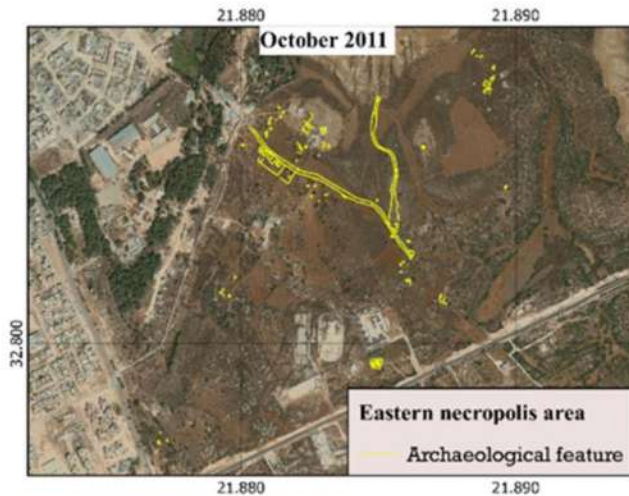
Looted tombs near the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene in 2019 (Photos: Mohammed Saeed al Saleh)

The looting of individual tombs has been exacerbated by rapid urban encroachment and speculative development. While urban development has been common and unregulated across Libya in the years following the 2011 Revolution, two broad regions have seen builders destroy archaeological sites in particularly large numbers: (1) coastal Tripolitania, particularly in areas adjacent to Silin and Tajoura, and (2) the Jebal al Akhdar region of Cyrenaica, particularly in areas adjacent to Cyrene. The coastal Roman villas and bath houses that have been disturbed or destroyed in Tripolitania seem to be a less common source of illicit antiquities. This report focuses on the disturbance of the necropolises associated with Cyrene, and the clearing of the early Greek settlement of Artemis/Masa. Both are likely sources for the illicit antiquities that have been seized by Libyan authorities in recent years.

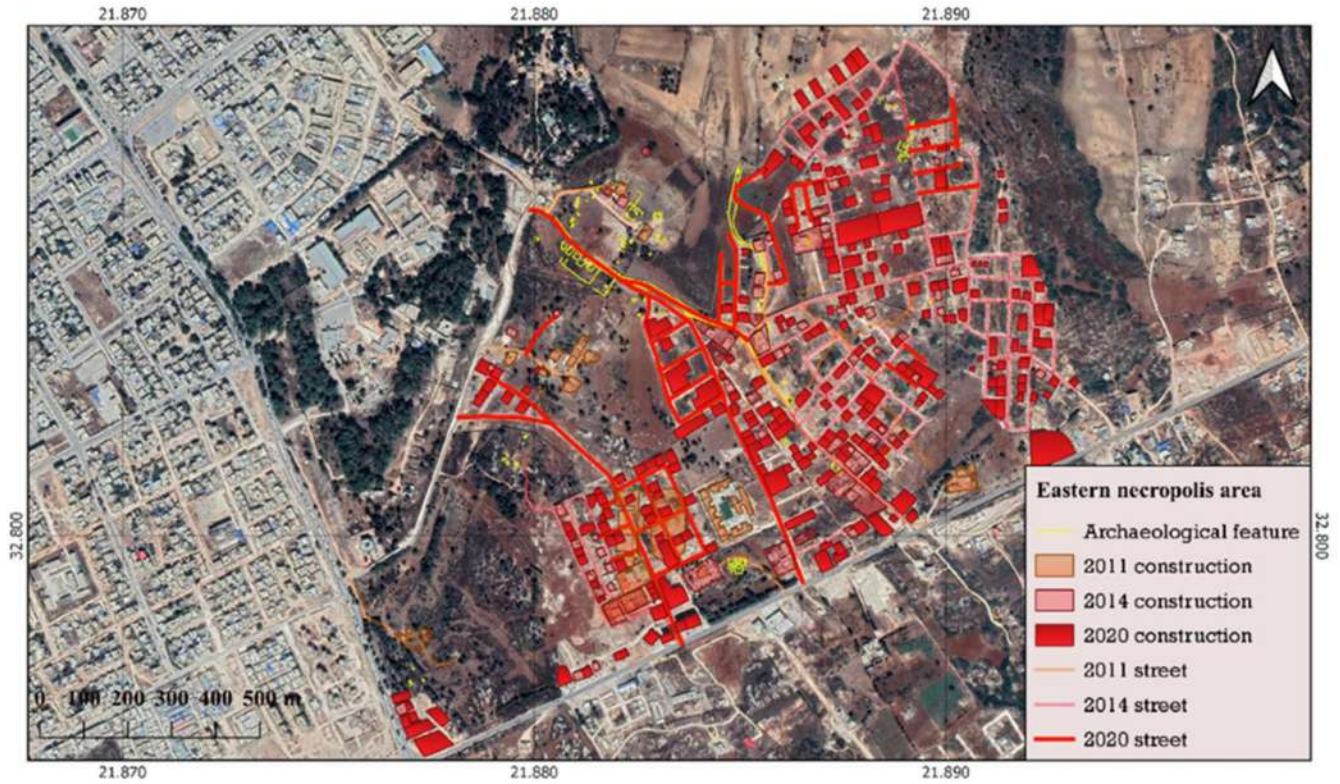
Focusing on the Eastern Necropolis of Cyrene, it is clear that tombs and other archaeological features (below in yellow) have now been partially erased over the past decade.



Map highlighting areas of urban encroachment adjacent to the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene and the contemporary town of Shahat. (Map: Dr. Mftah Haddad)



Chronological maps of urban encroachment in the eastern necropolis of Cyrene, 2011-2020 (Maps: Dr. Mftah Haddad)



Composite map showing the overlay of recent construction (reds) which have partially erased previously recorded tombs and archaeological features (yellow) in the eastern necropolis of Cyrene (Maps: Dr. Mftah Hadad).

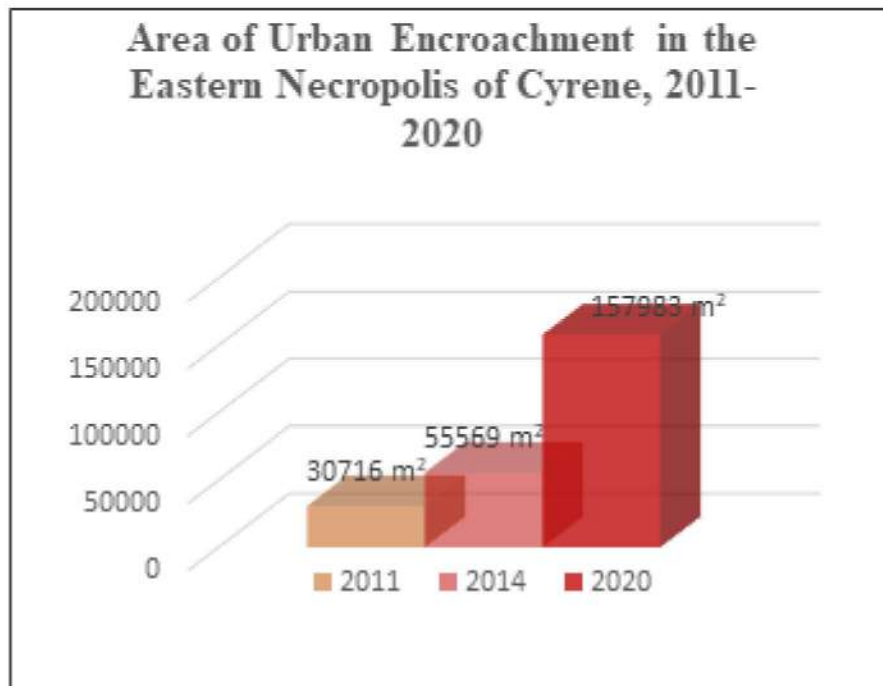
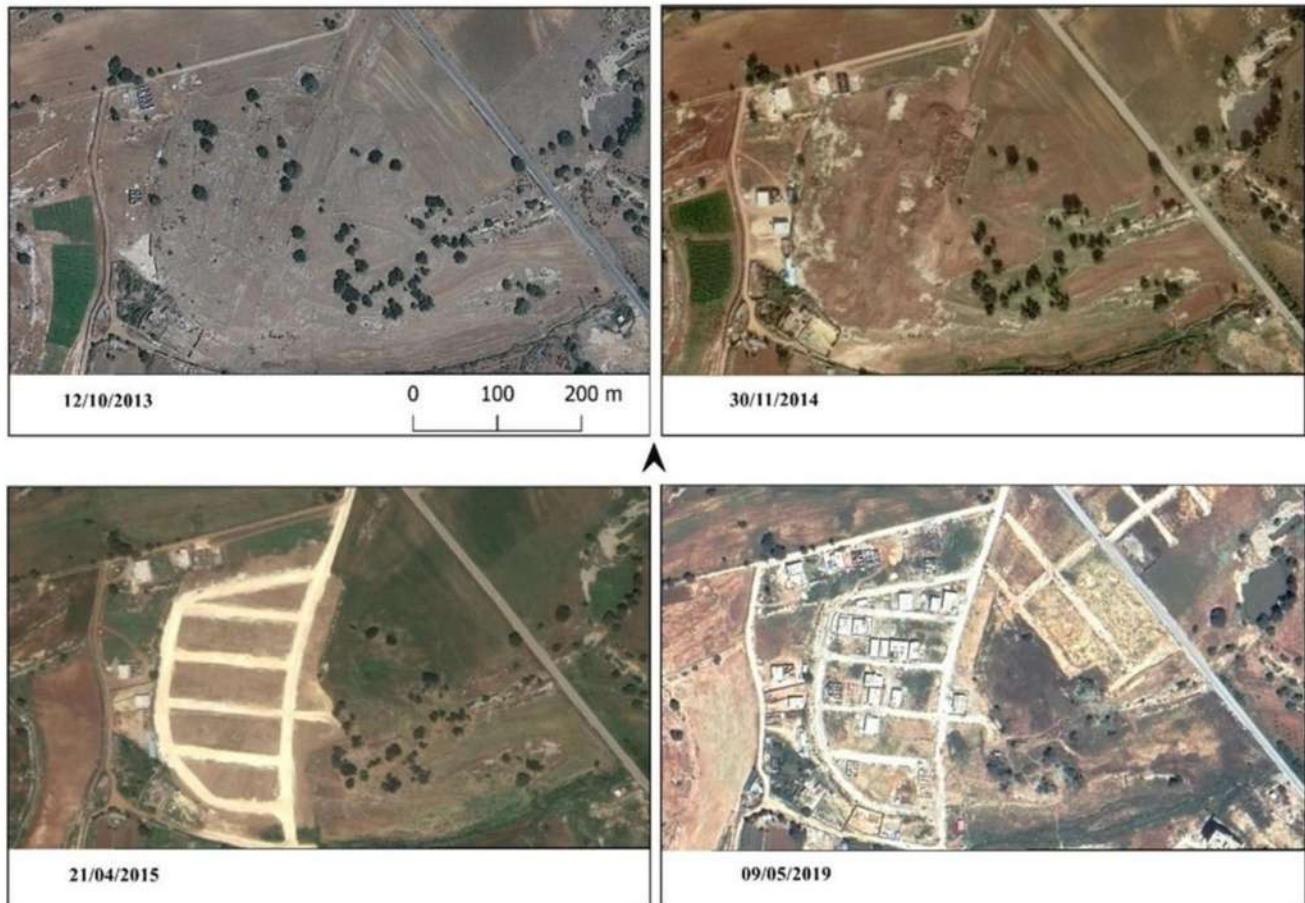


Chart demonstrating the distinct increase in urban encroachment during the period between 2014-2020 (Chart: Dr. Mftah Hadad)



The ancient Greek settlement of Masa/Artemis was entirely cleared for new homes (Maps: Dr. Mftah Hadad)

Much of this development has occurred since 2014, when the Libyan economic and political crises undermined the rule of law. See above for financial factors, including exchange rate and very high inflation. Individuals around Shahat opted to proceed with building without seeking the requisite permits from the municipality and the DoA, betting that there would be no mechanism for punishing violators. Given that this necropolis was outside of the fenced area of protection of the archaeological site of Cyrene, it was perceived to be fair game for development.

The case of the nearby ancient Greek settlement of Masa/Artemis is starker. Following the Libyan political crisis of 2014, the site was destroyed entirely. Every archaeological feature was cleared to make way for a subdivision of new homes in one of the most egregious violations of Libyan antiquities law since the Revolution. As will be explained in greater detail in the next chapter (Chapter VI), both the DoA and local law enforcement filed complaints as soon as the destruction was apparent, but this response was insufficient to stop the ongoing destruction of the archaeological site and construction of new homes.

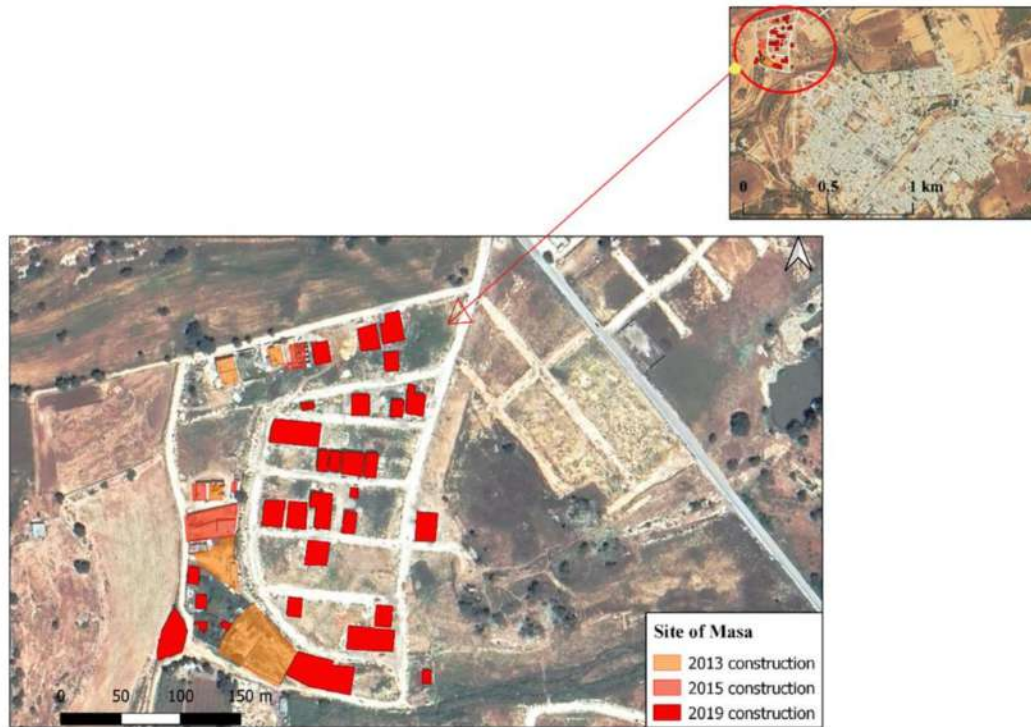
In the case of Masa, it appears that the developers intentionally placed their subdivision on top of archaeological sites, despite the fact that clearing this land came with increased costs and the risk of

future prosecution. They seemed to hope for unanticipated discoveries during their unauthorized excavation to help offset the costs of the project during a time of increasing economic pressure.

The DoA and local law enforcement currently lack the resources to adequately and independently monitor, record, and ultimately respond to and prevent these violations. At the same time, the DoA teams trained in remote sensing and cultural heritage crime documentation in recent years are well positioned to continue to collaborate with international partners and proceed with the documentation of these crimes, which will be increasingly possible to prosecute as the rule of law grows in strength.

5.3 International Seizure of Libyan Antiquities

Much of this report focuses on dimensions of illicit antiquities trafficking within Libya itself, under the assumption that such crimes are most effectively prosecuted closest to the source. However, the past decade has produced considerable evidence for the ways in which recently looted Libyan antiquities have travelled widely through the world and been introduced into the global art market through multiple channels. This section begins with an account of incidents in neighboring Egypt and Tunisia, a frequent



The development at Masa/Artemis continued despite complaints filed by DoA and local law enforcement (Maps: Dr. Mftah Haddad)

arrival point for illicit Libyan antiquities, and locations where we have direct testimony from individuals involved with the illicit trade. We continue with a description of the global scope of the trafficking in illicit trade of Libyan antiquities, with a special focus on the trade of two categories of Cyrenaican funerary sculptures: (1) sculptures of funerary divinities, and (2) funerary portraits. In contrast to almost all of the illicit antiquities seized in Libya in recent years, these sculptures are remarkable in that they were uniquely produced in the ancient Cyrenaica. Through the combination of their distinctive style, their fabric, and traces of the iron-oxide rich soil of the Jebel al Akhdar region, one can conclude beyond a reasonable doubt that these sculptures originated in Libya regardless of where in the world they might be seized or offered for sale. The global market for these funerary sculptures has been extensively documented by Morgan Belzic, a researcher at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris (Belzic, 2017), and this report (see below, p. 68ff) includes his latest research updating our understanding of this facet of the illicit trade (see also Appendix K).

Seizures in Neighboring Egypt and Tunisia

Archaeological material looted in Libya can be difficult to trace. Many objects were produced by members of ancient civilizations which once extended well beyond the current borders of Libya. For example, a Roman oil lamp produced by a workshop in Leptis Magna, in what is now Libya, might be very similar in appearance and fabric to a similar oil lamp produced in Roman Carthage, in what is now Tunisia. Yet, despite the occasional challenges of assigning definite

provenance, there is ample evidence of illicit Libyan antiquities crossing borders to satisfy an international market.

Given the vast extent of its land and sea borders, there are many potential routes by which illicit antiquities might leave the country. Since 2011, it is clear that Egypt and Tunisia have played an outsized role, often serving as initial destinations for this material. As Libyans have faced increasing travel restrictions in recent years due to deteriorating security, the borders with Egypt and Tunisia have remained largely open and it has been relatively easy to connect by land, air, and sea. The Egyptian border has been described in various accounts as the primary border from which illegally excavated Libyan antiquities are transported (Kane, 2015; Menozzi, 2017). Given that much of the illicit excavation appears to occur in Cyrenaica, adjacent to the Egyptian border, this is hardly surprising.

At the same time, Egyptian and Tunisian authorities have been generally more successful than their Libyan counterparts in seizing suspicious materials, prosecuting antiquities crimes, and publicizing prominent cases. While antiquities trafficking is clearly a problem in all three countries, and all three countries have faced a period of instability over the past decade, Libyan authorities have lagged in their ability to prosecute and publicize antiquities crimes.

In Egypt, it has been reported that armed gangs play a role in this illicit trafficking and are capable of moving and disguising large volumes of materials, making it a more difficult target for law enforcement (Alkhadry, 2013). Authorities frequently intercept illicit antiquities, and when they do, they publish this information widely to provide an additional deterrent. The recent high-profile prosecution of Raouf Ghali, the brother of former Egyptian Finance



Typical Cyrenaican Funerary Divinities on display in the museums of Shahat and Susa (Photos: Morgan Belzic)



Manner in which these sculptures were originally displayed in relation to the tombs of the Cyrenaica (Photos: Morgan Belzic)



Examples of funerary portraits of Cyrenaica: different types and their manner of exposition in the niches of rock cut tombs (Photos : Morgan Belzic)

Minister, Youssef Ghali, also serves as a landmark case with regional implications. For his role in trafficking antiquities from Alexandria, Egypt to Italy, an Egyptian court sentenced him to 30 years in jail in addition to a fine of approximately \$380,000 (AFP, 2020).

In Tunisia, individuals involved in high profile cases of antiquities crimes have been prosecuted as well, including M. Mohamed Beji Ben Mami, the former mayor of Tunis and former director of the national heritage authority (the INP), as well as the son-in-law of the former President Ben Ali, Sakhr el Materi—although the sanctions against him have been less severe (5 years of prison). The

archaeologists of the INP (the National Heritage Institute) estimate that 5–10 new illegal excavations are started every day in Tunisia, and that they lack the resources necessary to prevent the illicit trafficking of their own antiquities let alone prevent the smuggling of antiquities from Libya (Badreddine, 2013).

What follows is a description of several of the most prominent cases for which there is the strongest evidence that some or all of the illicit antiquities originated in Libya. Libyan individuals were the ones who obtained these materials through illegal excavations, and they facilitated their transport into neighboring Egypt or Tunisia. In other cases, Tunisians travelled to Libya, obtained illicit antiquities from Libyan dealers, and returned to Tunisia with the intention of selling them. Perhaps unsurprisingly due to their relative geography, material looted in Libya's eastern Cyrenaica has been seized in Egypt and material like Hebrew manuscripts originating in Libya's western Nafusa Mountains has been seized in neighboring Tunisia.

Port of Damietta, Egypt

In November of 2015, a transport container of toilet paper scheduled bound for Bangkok, Thailand from Damietta, Egypt was found to contain four wooden boxes concealing more than a thousand archaeological objects. Among these objects were seven Cyrenaican funerary sculptures. The nature of the crime appears similar to a previous incident in 2011 in Port Said and suggests the involvement of a smuggling ring based in Dubai. Many of the recovered objects have since been displayed at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo from October – December 2020. The investigation of the crime continues, but one suspect has already been sentenced to 10 years in prison for his involvement in the case. The suspect remains at large (Belzic, 2020).

Al-Salloum Border Crossing, Egypt

According to the Egyptian newspaper, Al Watan, on May 13, 2017, a 30-year-old Libyan citizen from Benghazi, Elmasmaery, entered Egypt through the land crossing at the Al-Salloum border (Barakat, 2017). On May 25, 2017, Elmasmaery was arrested for smuggling Libyan antiquities to Egypt for sale following an ambush by an officer from the Egyptian Tourism and Antiquities Investigation Unit. The defendant was prosecuted by Egypt's Prosecutor-General (Barakat, 2017).

The collection consisted mostly of ceramic pieces consistent with Hellenistic grave goods: 10 lamps of different shapes and sizes, 10

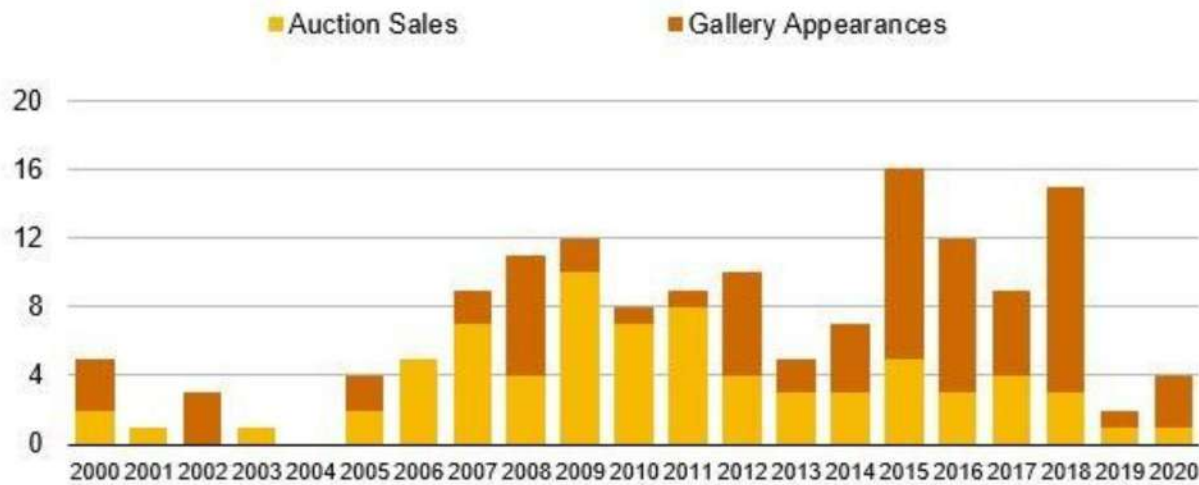
amphorae with different shapes and sizes, 10 pots (3 of which have lids), a small fragrance bottle made of alabaster, a set of pottery, and a small piece of limestone that is part of a mural. The pieces are consistent with the funerary goods found in the Greek tombs in one of the ancient cities in east Libya, dating to between the 5th and the late 3rd century B.C.E.



Cyrenaican funerary sculptures seized in Damietta, Egypt (Photos: Morgan Belzic)



Libyan antiquities seized at the Al Salloum border (Photo; Dr. Khaled el Hadar)



Global Sales and gallery appearances of Cyrenaican Funerary Sculptures, 2000–2020 (Chart: Morgan Belzic)

Zaghouan, Tunisia

In November of 2017, a group of individuals were arrested by Tunisian police while in possession of a miscellaneous group of antiquities, some of which appear to be forgeries. According to one of the suspects arrested, he had travelled to Libya to buy Hebrew manuscripts. He purchased one manuscript for 5,000 Libyan Dinars (approximately 1,000 USD) from a seller in Zintan, Libya. While making the transaction and travelling back to Tunisia, he noted that it was relatively easy to find and purchase antiquities because there did not seem to be any authority in control in Libya (M Tunisia, 2017). This is consistent with other accounts from scholars and law enforcement in Tunis. According to Habib Kazdaghli at Tunisia's Manouba University, large quantities of Jewish artifacts are smuggled from Libya into Tunisia, and from there onto Europe (Mouelhi-Makni, 2020).



Suspect arrested in Zaghouan explains how easy it was to purchase Hebrew manuscripts in Libya

Tatouine, Tunisia

In January 2020, a patrol of the Tunisian National Guard arrested a suspect near the Libyan border in possession of a leather-bound Hebrew manuscript inlaid with precious stones. The binding of the manuscript was also decorated with a Star of David and a Menorah. According to Tunisian authorities, the arrest of this suspect also led to a network of six individuals counterfeiting Tunisian currency (Kapitalis, 2020).

5.4 Global Market for Cyrenaican Funerary Sculptures

Through Morgan Belzic's systematic documentation and cataloguing of more than 200 Cyrenaican funerary sculptures that have appeared on the international art market over the past twenty years, several important trends become apparent. First, and most relevant to our current study, the majority of these distinctive sculptures have appeared on the international art market following the 2011 Revolution. There was a noticeable increase in the number of these sculptures offered for sale in 2015–2018, entirely consistent with the increase in urban encroachment and looting observed in the Cyrenaica during the same period. Out of all of the sculptures which have been offered for sale since 2011, none of them had been previously documented, suggesting that all of them were discovered through looting or excavations associated with urban development. Following recent high-profile incidents of seizure and repatriation, there are cautious signs that this traffic has been more subdued in 2019–20.

This trade is global in scope. While much of this material may pass through neighboring countries like Egypt, it often surfaces for the first time on the international market in countries much further from the source in Libya. Over the past twenty years, the four most common places where Cyrenaican funerary sculptures have surfaced are the United States, France, Israel and the UK, but they

Countries Where Cyrenaican Funerary Sculptures Have First Appeared for Sale, 2000-2020

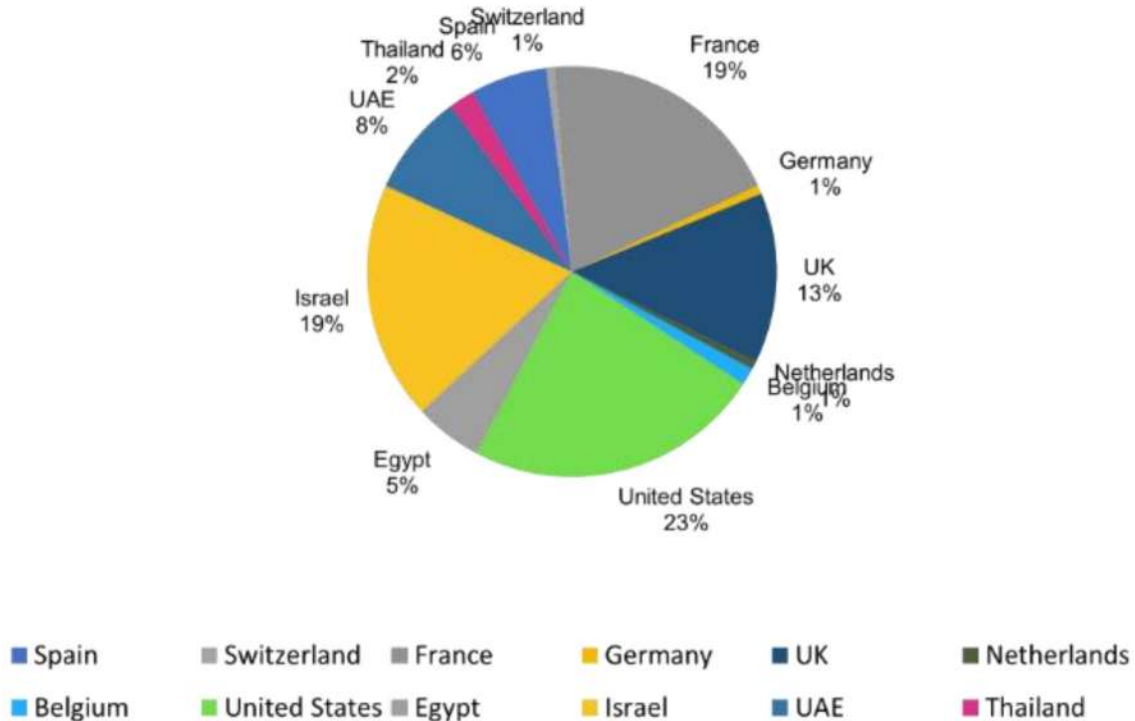


Image: Morgan Belzic

have also appeared as far away as Thailand. The details of the chain of transmission connecting rural Libya to the global capitals of the art market are generally obscure, but, in broad outlines, this trade seems to follow patterns consistent with those observed elsewhere. Libyan intermediaries manage to connect with criminal organizations or legitimate import/export businesses to transfer the material out of the country. Experts, conservators, and dealers manage to provide a vague but seemingly plausible provenance for the material before it is offered for sale through physical or online auction houses to collectors and museums.

An extensive table of the Cyrenaican sculptures that have been sold over the past twenty years on the international art market is included in the appendices of this report (Belzic, 2020). Belzic's report together with lists is found in Appendix K below. When sales prices are known, it is possible to glimpse the scale of the market for this material. Small, unrefined funerary portraits might fetch \$2,000–\$5,000 whereas large and exceptional renditions of the funerary goddesses might bring a price ranging anywhere from \$100,000 to over \$1,000,000. The total value of all sculptures documented in Belzic's inventory might exceed \$35,000,000, and certainly these sculptures which have been recorded are only a fraction of the total

volume of similar sculptures which are likely circulating in the illicit marketplace (Belzic, 2020). Nevertheless, it is worth examining several recent cases in which these sculptures were seized by international authorities prior to their sale. Such actions are an encouraging sign and act as a real deterrent in the marketplace.

Barcelona, Spain

A collection of 10 Libyan funerary statues were on sale at the J. Bagot Arqueologica Gallery and the Galeria F. Cervera in Barcelona. The Patrimonio Historico branch of the Spanish Comisaria General de Policia Judicial raided the gallery and prevented the sales on the grounds that such illicit trafficking may contribute to the financing of terrorist groups including Daesh (Lamarca and Parga, 2018). Bagot was linked to Hussam Zurqieh in Dubai, who Bagot seems to have dispatched on one or a series of trips to North Africa to prospect for illicit antiquities to sell. As these objects made their way to his gallery in Spain, Bagot requested false paperwork to trick customs authorities. A trial in this case is scheduled for 2021 (Belzic, 2020).

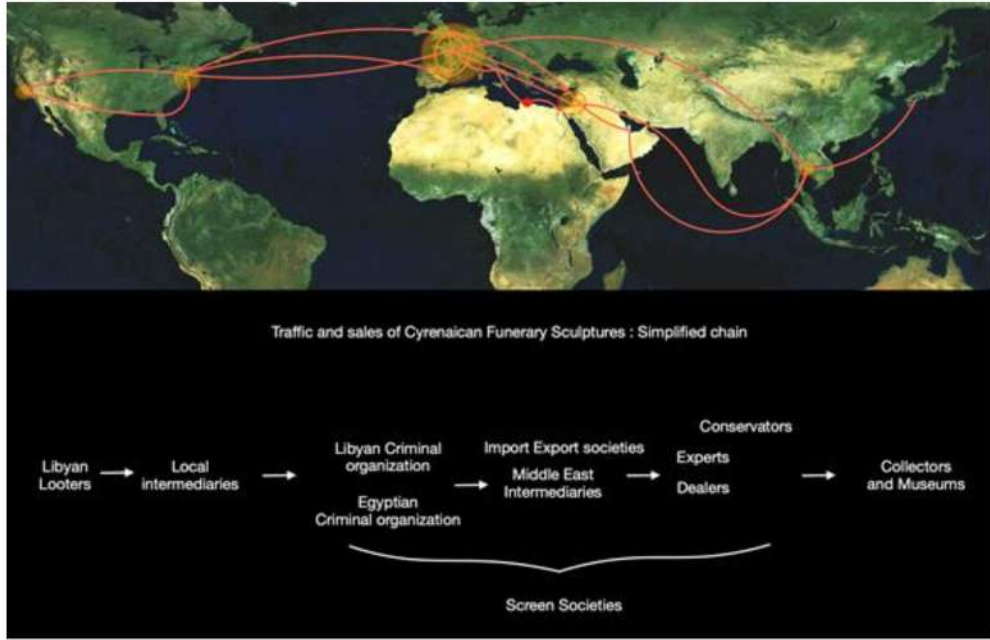


Image: Morgan Belzic



Cyrenaican funerary sculptures on display at the Bagot gallery in Barcelona (Photos: Morgan Belzic)

Chapter VI— Response of Libyan Governmental Authorities and Civil Society

Despite chronic shortages in operating budgets and persisting instability, Libyan authorities have made progress in countering and preventing the illicit trafficking of antiquities following the 2011 Revolution. These successes fall into three broad categories:

1. Efforts of Libyan law enforcement agencies to seize antiquities before they leave Libya and to hold those responsible for these thefts accountable.
2. Efforts of the DoA to provide additional protection for sites and collections.
3. Contributions by civil society institutions and ordinary citizens who have assisted local authorities and voluntarily returned recently discovered artifacts.

6.1 Recent Cases of Law Enforcement

As discussed in Chapter I (Historical Context and Legal Framework), prior to the Revolution, Libyan antiquities law was successfully applied to sanction and imprison those responsible for destroying archaeological sites or stealing antiquities. Unfortunately, law enforcement has been irregular since 2011, and yet there have been a number of pertinent cases where local authorities successfully implemented antiquities law to some degree through a mixture of civilian and military authorities. In many instances, these cases have been settled or resolved prior to reaching the courts for two primary reasons:

1. The courts themselves have been operating on an irregular basis, and the primary vehicle for dealing with antiquities violations during the Gaddafi-era, the Economic Crimes Court, has been dissolved.
2. Local authorities regularly contend with strong social pressure to reach settlements outside of official channels.

Nevertheless, in spite of these two types of challenges, antiquities laws seem to be enforced in increasing measure, suggesting that the momentum of the cases described here can be sustained and increased. What follows is a chronological account of the most relevant cases in which antiquities laws have been enforced to some degree.

August 2011

During the early stage of the 2011 Revolution, the acting security forces in Al-Bayda arrested a group of individuals who had looted a collection of artifacts from tombs surrounding the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene. The recovered collection included 48 perfume bottles, a large amount of Greek and Byzantine coins, five glass jugs, 17 Roman lamps, and two Attic amphorae with black glaze dated to the 4th century B.C.E. The courts were inactive during this period and no official sanctions were imposed on those responsible, although the DoA recovered the artifacts in question.



Acting security forces and members of DoA Shahat review the recovered finds in 2011 (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

March 24, 2013

A gang was arrested for stealing the heads of two statues of the god Serapis near the UNESCO World Heritage site of Sabratha. No official sanctions were imposed on those responsible, although the DoA recovered the artifacts in question.



Heads of Serapis recovered in Sabratha (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

April 27, 2014

Abdullah al-Mabrouk al Barasi, Director of the DoA office in al-Bayda, received a report that the archaeological site of Masa was being cleared as part of a development project. He approached the landowners responsible for this illegal clearing directly and asked them to desist. He also filed a complaint with the police in Masa. After six months, it was evident that the construction project continued, and al Barasi filed an additional complaint with the regional Directorate of Security. The Directorate of Security referred the case to the District Prosecutors Office in Masa. The Public Prosecutor investigated, registered the incident as a misdemeanor according to Law No. 3 of 1994, and referred the case

to Masa District Court. Because the Masa Court was inactive, nothing further happened. In 2018, the Regional Director of Antiquities in Shahat filed a third complaint about the same case. The third complaint was filed with the Judicial Inspection Authority, which has the power to review judicial procedure and refer cases to alternate courts if the presiding court is unable to try a case.

May 2016

The Internal Security Agency arrested two people who had sold three gold coins from the Roman era to a gold dealer in the gold market in Al-Abyar city, south of Benghazi. The two people were arrested after this gold merchant notified authorities. The two people were referred to the judiciary, and they were sentenced to imprisonment. The Department of Antiquities recovered the gold coins from the Public Prosecution office in Al-Abyar.

March 27, 2019

The Derna Operations Room of the Libyan National Army arrested two individuals in the city of Derna for the possession of antiquities. The collection included two Roman funerary statues as well as a collection of ancient coins. The armed forces summoned representatives of the Criminal Investigation Department and the DoA, who were able to confirm the authenticity of the seized material. The material was returned to the care of the Shahat office of the DoA. The case was referred to the judiciary.



The two funerary busts recovered in Derna (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

November 11, 2019

In Tocra, a regular police officer in Tocra seized 11 pieces of Greek pottery, dating to the 4th century B.C.E. From the condition of the seized items, it seems likely that as they were found inside one of the individual graves in the vicinity of Tocra. This material was returned to the local DoA.

November 22, 2019

Elements of the Libyan National Army in Benghazi arrested a criminal group, which consisted of three Libyans, in possession of a collection of antique items. The three individuals were caught and forced to turn over the items to the DoA. The looted material included a collection of antique coins, various pottery vessels (including a complete amphora), and three small Roman funerary statues. No

official sanctions were imposed on those responsible, although the DoA recovered the artifacts in question.



Material returned to the DoA Tocra office (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)

February 2, 2020

The Criminal Investigation Department in Benghazi arrested a group of men digging inside of a house in the Al-Sabri neighborhood, seizing 12 pieces of Hellenistic funerary goods associated with the cemetery of the Greek settlement in the area. A team from the DoA visited the site and took possession of the recovered artifacts. The site was then closed to the public. The perpetrators were imprisoned, and the case is still before the courts (as of December 29, 2020).



Funerary goods recovered in Benghazi and the shaft leading to the tomb (Photo: DoA Libya)

February 13, 2020

The Benghazi Agency for Combating Negative Acts arrested a group in possession of a collection of antiquities including funerary busts, small vessels, and coins consistent with material found in Roman graves. These artifacts were returned to the care of the DoA. The

Military Prosecution tried the case and sentenced the individuals to prison.



Artifacts recovered in Benghazi (Photo: Dr. Ahmad Emrage)



Material recovered in Shahat (Photo: DoA Libya)

November 11, 2020

The Criminal Investigation Department in Shahat arrested an individual in possession of a group of artifacts. The case was referred to the public prosecutor, and the perpetrator was imprisoned. The

artifacts were returned to the care of the DoA, Shahat office. The case is still awaiting consideration by the court.

Summary—These incidents shed light on several important trends:

1. Most of the material seized in Libya in recent years seems to originate from Hellenistic or Roman graves, which have been looted during this period of instability.
2. The artifacts consist primarily of small funerary busts, ceramic vessels (mostly undecorated), and coins.
3. None of these materials have been confirmed to be part of museum collections recorded as stolen (see appendices of this report).
4. Over the past several years, these incidents have been increasing, indicating both the ongoing pressure of urban encroachment and looting on sites as well as the increasingly effective collaboration between Libyan law enforcement and the DoA to enforce the antiquities law.

6.2 Protective Measures of the Department of Antiquities

The DoA has made several key decisions to protect antiquities during this period of instability following the Revolution. It has increased protection for museums and collections nationwide, created dedicated units to focus on monitoring and combatting illicit trafficking, made substantive progress on the documentation and inventory of collections, strengthened cooperation with local law enforcement, and established regular channels of communication with international partners also concerned by the illicit trafficking of Libyan antiquities.

Museums were closed to the public during the initial phase of the Revolution, followed by a partial reopening in 2012. Following the escalation of violence in 2014, all museums were closed once more and have remained shuttered since that time. At the National Museum in the Sarayah al Hamra, exhibition displays were partially dismantled, and individual objects were moved underground or to other secure storage locations. Some objects that were too large to move have been protected in place with masonry walls built around them.

Another notable success involves the protection of the storerooms of the DoA Benghazi office. Located in Souq al Hout, these collections were inaccessible for three years during the heavy fighting of the Battle of Benghazi. When a team from the DoA was finally able to regain access to this storage location on June 26, 2017, they discovered that the collections were intact. In coordination with the Libyan National Army, the team was able to relocate the entirety of the collection, including associated documents, books, and equipment to an alternate storage location.



Members of DoA work to relocate collections to alternate safe storage (Photos: Dr. Khaled al Haddar)

In 2010, the DoA established a dedicated office to recover stolen and smuggled antiquities. While this work paused temporarily for a period in the aftermath of the Revolution, this office had been reconstituted by 2016 under the General Administration of Protection. Its functions and duties have grown, especially given the recent spike in looted Libyan artifacts. Domestically, this office coordinates investigations concerning theft and looting with Libyan law enforcement and the Public Prosecutor, maintaining a database of stolen antiquities with the hope that these objects can be recovered in the future. It also assists in educating local authorities on the nature of illicit antiquities trafficking. Participating local authorities include the Tourist Police and customs and border police, who took part in a series of workshops organized by Oberlin College and funded by the U.S. Department of State. Highlights of these efforts are periodically chronicled through the office's "Blog of Stolen and Displaced Archeological Artifacts in the Libyan Department of Antiquities."¹

Internationally, this office maintains communication with Interpol (through its office in Libya), UNESCO, and foreign archaeological missions to ensure that objects which have been documented as stolen are registered in the Interpol database. This office also coordinates with other international authorities and partners to facilitate the return of suspicious material with a likely Libyan provenance when it surfaces abroad. While its capacity to monitor the online marketplace is limited, the office has coordinated with international partners to successfully stop the sale of artifacts of a likely Libyan provenance at an auction house in Israel.

Finally, even while museums around the country have been closed, the DoA has actively engaged in education efforts about Libyan cultural heritage, with a particular focus on children. Perhaps one of the most important programs to raise awareness was the opening of an interactive exhibit for "Little Archaeologists" at the National Museum of the Sarayah al Hamra in Tripoli. It is a museum dedicated to children and allows them to explore the history of their country and their past through a mix of fun, interactive, and educational tools as a means of enhancing awareness surrounding Libyan cultural heritage. In conjunction with school fieldtrips, thousands of children have visited this museum over the years. The DoA has also partnered

with ASOR in its ongoing Suitcase Museum program. This educational outreach initiative is currently active in 16 cities across Libya thanks to the support of the U.S. Libya External Office, the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP), and the Cultural Antiquities Task Force (CATF). This direct engagement with citizens has sustained and expanded the community of support around Libyan museums and cultural heritage, and the education and steward activities have led to many voluntary returns of antiquities.



Members of DoA work to relocate collections to alternate safe storage (Photos: Dr. Khaled al Haddar)

6.3 Voluntary Returns



Al Thani attends the opening of the exhibition in Shahat (Photo: DoA Libya)

One of the most promising trends in recent years has been the artifact returns made by members of the public. In the Cyrenaica region, these returns were so numerous the DoA was able to create an exhibition exclusively featuring returned artifacts in July 2018 (Al Anwan, 2018). Contributions were made by the regional offices of Benghazi, Tobra, Shahat and Tobruk. The DoA rewarded these returns with certificates of appreciation and modest financial compensation when funds were available. This exhibition drew tremendous public interest, and the opening ceremony was

¹ <https://libyanantiquitiesstolen.blogspot.com>

attended by Abdullah al-Thani, the Prime Minister of the House of Representatives.



Ali al Mabrouk was commended for returning fossilized wood to DoA (Photo: Intisar al Arebi)

What follows is a chronological description of some of the most notable instances of voluntary return from around the country and then a discussion of the emerging trends:

January 2, 2014

A citizen (Sayed Bou Halfaya) returned 111 artifacts to the Benghazi office. The collection included many ceramic vessels as well as some funerary sculptures. According to Bou Halfaya, he had purchased this material from other Libyans offering antiquities for sale in order to protect them and to prevent them from being smuggled out of the country.

July 19, 2017

After delivering a lecture to raise awareness about protecting Libyan cultural heritage at a forum for youth development, one of the children in attendance, Ali Saeed al Mabrouk, recognized that two large pieces of fossilized wood had been uncovered during maintenance work at his school. Since he had learned that natural historical specimens older than 100 years are protected by antiquities law, he delivered these finds to the Tripoli office of the DoA. This is a strong example of how direct outreach to citizens can inspire even young people to take direct action to protect heritage.

August 20, 2017

A citizen hoping to sell a group of antiquities approached Ms. Intisar al Arebi at the DoA Tripoli office, seeking her professional advice. Al Arebi managed to convince this individual to return the finds, including a pair of Roman-era oil lamps and fragments of a large amphora. These finds were accepted by the DoA Tripoli, and the individual was granted amnesty from prosecution.

This incident, reported on Al Arebi's personal Facebook page, inspired another individual to return a larger collection of oil lamps and small ceramic vessels, indicating that spreading the word about such civil acts can provide enough positive publicity to inspire others to follow suit even if the DoA is unable to offer financial incentives.

October 28, 2020

Qasi Saleh al Qasi, a resident of Tolmeitha, returned the torso of a funerary sculpture to the DoA office located on the ancient site of Ptolemais. The piece was recorded as returned and accessioned into the collections of the Ptolemais museum. This torso is a fragment of similar funerary statues which have been seized on the international art market in recent years.

November 3, 2020

Abd al Setar Saleh Yousef returned a fragment of a marble inscription in ancient Greek which he had discovered near the western church at the site of Ptolemais in eastern Libya. In addition to returning the piece, he volunteered to help with the preliminary cleaning and conservation of the piece before it was accessioned into the storeroom of the Ptolemais museum.

Summary—several observations may be made from these incidents:

1. All of the material which has been returned by citizens appears to have been discovered accidentally during construction projects or looting operations.
2. To date, none of this material has included artifacts which have been reported as stolen from Libyan museums or the National Commercial Bank (see appendices of this report).
3. The artifacts are a mixture of small finds and larger sculptural fragments, and they are similar to material seized by Libyan authorities described previously in this report.



Material returned by Bou Halfaya (Photo: Dr. Khaled el Haddar)



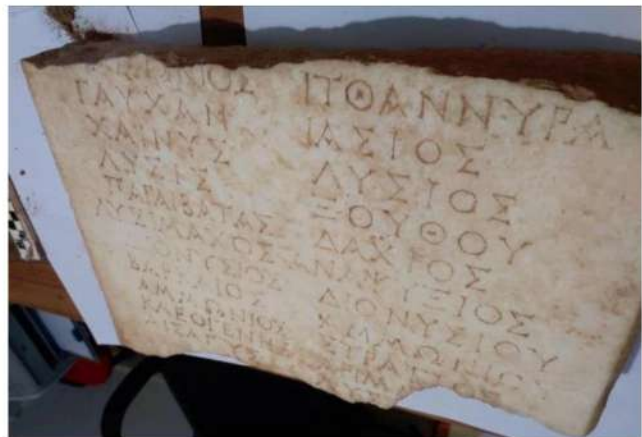
Material returned to DoA Tripoli following initial Facebook post (Photo: Intisar al Arebi)



Material returned to DoA Tripoli following initial Facebook post (Photo: Intisar al Arebi)



Funerary sculpture returned to Tolmeitha (Photo: DoA Benghazi)



Return of inscription fragment to Tolmeitha (Photo: DoA Benghazi)



Return of inscription fragment to Tolmeitha (Photo: DoA Benghazi)

Awareness initiatives and direct outreach to citizens posting about antiquities can convince some people to return this material to the DoA for study and safekeeping. It also reinforces the value of shared heritage that belongs to all Libyans. Even if the DoA is generally unable to offer the financial rewards stipulated by Libyan law, there are means to motivate others to undertake such actions. Public praise for these citizens through social media encourages others to return objects in their possession and is one way for the DoA to celebrate these good deeds at a relatively low cost. These efforts should continue and be expanded, ideally encouraging citizens to report discoveries when they are made so that DoA staff can conduct an archaeological assessment of the objects in situ.

6.4 The Role of Civil Society

Civil society institutions have played an increasingly important role in protecting Libyan cultural heritage. Well-established organizations such as the Libyan Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and the Libyan Red Crescent have partnered with ASOR and the DoA to sustain outreach initiatives and contribute to site cleaning and stabilization. Several new civil society groups with a mandate for heritage

protection have also been created since the 2011 Revolution, and these groups have played an active role in expanding community engagement in heritage protection. While the environment of individual and corporate philanthropy remains relatively weak in Libya, individuals are able to donate time and services to advance the mission of these fledgling organizations.

There is no comprehensive national list or umbrella organization for these groups, but among the most active are the Libyan Association for Antiquities and Heritage based in Benghazi, the Society of Friends of Antiquities also in Benghazi, the Balagrae Environment, Antiquities, and Tourism Association in Al Bayda, the Association for the Protection of Libyan Antiquities in Tripoli, the Committee for the Protection of the Old City of Derna, the Society of Friends of the Environment and Heritage in Nalut, the Ghadames Association for Heritage and Manuscripts, the Dissir Organization in Yefren, and the Association of the Memory of the City in Houn.

ASOR has previously partnered with both the Ghadames Association for Heritage and Manuscripts and the Dissir Organization in Yefren to advance heritage documentation and outreach activities. These partnerships are also attracting financial support from non-governmental granting agencies outside Libya. ASOR partnered with the Ghadames Association to receive funding from the Whiting Foundation to photographically digitize ancient manuscripts, and ASOR facilitated a further collaboration between the Hill Manuscript and Museum Library (HMML) and the Ghadames Association to ensure that the digital records were made available and searchable using the highest metadata and digital preservation standards. Similarly, ASOR secured funding from the ALIPH Foundation to work with the Dissir Organization and other civil authority groups in Libya to develop online video resources to share the message that ancient heritage is valuable and should be protected and preserved. These videos will be shared on ASORtv (ASOR's YouTube channel).

There is also notable progress on the part of a semi-governmental organization, the World Heritage Union of Five Libyan Municipalities (WHU5LM), which was founded in 2017, and consists of local government representatives from the five municipalities closest to the five UNESCO World Heritage sites: Sabratha, Ghadames, Ghat, al Khoms, and Shahat. When UNESCO placed all five Libyan sites on the World Heritage List in Danger, this organization has provided a platform for local authorities and civil society to increase coordination for the protection of these sites and work to improve conditions to the point that UNESCO will remove them from the List in Danger. It has hosted workshops in Shahat, Tripoli, Sabratha, Ghadames, and Leptis Magna in order to advance this goal.

While none of these organizations focus exclusively on preventing and countering the illicit trafficking of antiquities, all of these existing organizations and networks are well-positioned to contribute to efforts which require greater awareness and volunteer engagement in protecting antiquities.

Chapter VII— Conclusions, Executive Summary, and Recommendations

Libyans currently face daily hardships due to persistent instability, and the absence of a unified government that serves the interests of all of the people. In this context, it is reasonable to ask why local authorities with limited resources should focus on the illicit trafficking of antiquities when there are more pressing issues. It is also reasonable to ask if anything concrete can be done before a unified government and a new constitution are in place. Throughout this report, however, definite patterns emerge which suggest that the illicit trade is a pathology that can be understood, disrupted, and prevented. Some of patterns identified in the previous chapters are discouraging, suggesting that unchecked urban encroachment and looting, particularly in Eastern Libya, have contributed to an increase in the illicit trade over the past five years. Yet, other patterns are more favorable, indicating that measures taken by the DoA to protect museum collections have been effective, or that local law enforcement is making progress in reasserting the rule of law to protect archaeological sites and prevent illicit trafficking with the help of concerned citizens.

The present chapter (VII.A) distills the most relevant trends described at greater length in previous chapters, and then presents a series of practical recommendations (VII.B) that have been developed in close collaboration with and the support of Dr. Ahmad Hussein, Director of the Libyan Department of Antiquities in the East and Dr. Mohammed Shakshouki, Director of the Libyan Department of Antiquities in the West (Chapter VII.B). These observations and recommendations also have been developed and supported by representatives of local law enforcement, and they include concrete steps to further counter and prevent the illicit trade.

VII.A Patterns in Illicit Trade

1. Documented Museum Thefts Have Slowed in Recent Years

- a. Most of the documented instances of theft at museums and bank vaults occurred within the first year of the 2011 Revolution.
- b. Since that time, documented thefts of museum and storeroom collections have been relatively rare, with the most recent of such thefts recorded at the Museum of Bani Walid in 2016.
- c. The decision of the DoA to keep museums closed to the public has likely mitigated some of this risk, as has the installation and upgrading of security systems at these sites.
- d. While official investigations have been opened in all of these cases, the trail on these thefts has gone cold. Nevertheless, given that there is no statute of limitations on prosecuting antiquities crimes in Libya, these investigations continue.
- e. To date, none of the Libyan antiquities seized by local or international authorities match the description of the missing objects. The limited documentation that exists for these stolen objects is provided in the appendices of this report with the

hope that these objects will eventually resurface, be positively identified, and returned to Libya.

2. Looting and Urban Encroachment Remain Major Problems

- a. The Libyan antiquities that have surfaced on local and international markets in recent years appear to have originated entirely from looting, as well as accidental discoveries made in the context of urban development in archaeologically rich areas. They do not appear to be from thefts from museums and storerooms.
- b. While accounts from looters themselves are scarce, three lines of evidence inform our understanding of looting patterns: 1) the documentation of the disturbance and erasure of known archaeological sites, 2) the regular seizure of archaeological material by Libyan authorities, and 3) the regular voluntary return of archaeological material by Libyan citizens. All of this evidence illustrates a steady pressure on archaeological sites which has generally dwarfed the ability of local law enforcement and the DoA to respond.
- c. Would-be looters are clearly aware that ancient tombs are likely to be found in certain areas, and they are aware that tombs likely contain items of value.
- d. Urban encroachment is particularly clear in the Jebel al Akhdar region of eastern Libya, where unregulated growth and speculative development have damaged archaeological sites like the necropolises of the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene and the ancient settlement of Masa.

3. Illicit Trafficking Has Steadily Increased Since the 2011 Revolution

- a. There has been a discernible increase in the destruction of archaeological sites through urban encroachment and instances of looting nationwide, a trend which accelerated following the Libyan political crisis of 2014.
- b. To date, we have not found a discernible uptick in looting or illicit trafficking related to the COVID-19 pandemic as has been reported in neighboring Egypt. Additional study of satellite imagery may assist in investigating this trend.

4. Eastern Libya is Currently a Hot Spot for the Illicit Antiquities Trade

- a. During the initial phase of the Revolution, thefts were recorded across the country at museums in Bani Walid, Misrata, Benghazi, and Susa.
- b. Most of the recent seizures, cases of voluntary returns, and reports of looting have originated in the Cyrenaica.

5. *Most of the Stolen and Looted Antiquities are Small and Non-Diagnostic—Making them Easier to Monetize for Modest Sums*

- a. Much of the material stolen from museums, as well as the Benghazi treasure, lacked adequate documentation. What documentation remains is included in the appendices of this report. Without such documentation, the hope for the eventual identification and return of this material is significantly reduced.
- b. The stolen materials were predominantly small items that were relatively easy to transport and relatively easy to confuse with other similar items—including items from other countries. These are contrasted with large, distinctive pieces of sculpture that could be more easily identified.
- c. Burial looting predominates—On the basis of the material seized by authorities, material posted on online marketplaces, and material returned voluntarily, the majority of looted items are consistent with burials dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These items include ceramic vessels, oil lamps, small funerary busts, metal implements, metal ornaments, and coins.
- d. Most of the material is non-diagnostic (i.e., it is difficult to say with a high degree of probability that it comes from Libya rather than another country in the MENA regions). Therefore, it is particularly important to intervene before such material leaves Libya. Should it leave the country, it becomes easy for sellers to plausibly claim that these artifacts originated elsewhere and were discovered prior to 1970.
- e. Dozens of high-value Cyrenaican funerary sculptures have clearly been looted in Libya, transported internationally, and offered for sale on the international art market.
- f. While Cyrenaican funerary sculptures are not the most commonly looted items, they are unique to Libya, making their eventual return more likely.

6. *Most Looters and Sellers Appear to be Opportunistic Young Men*

- a. Due to the lack of successfully prosecuted cases, this background of individual looters or sellers is difficult to confirm. However, the online profiles and aggregate evidence from law enforcement and apprehensions point to this conclusion.
- b. The online profiles combined with the aggregate evidence from those apprehended in Libya and Tunisia, point to males between 15–45.
- c. The majority of individuals seem to work alone or in small groups. They appear to be acting opportunistically and independently, seeking to monetize their finds in a casual, relatively open manner.
- d. In two recorded cases, individuals associated with looting have apparent connections to armed groups. Evidence for such ties

should be closely monitored since militia groups have managed to successfully corner and control other aspects of Libya's illicit economy, including oil and human smuggling.

- e. Some Libyan sellers, especially those with higher value goods, are managing to connect to more sophisticated networks of dealers capable of moving an individual piece across several international borders. This is evident with the recent attempted sales of distinctive Cyrenaican funerary busts in Europe, the United States, and Israel.
- f. At present, family and tribal affiliations appear to shape the market of illicit antiquities more than any armed group or non-state actor. It is through the channels of family and tribe that pressure is exerted on local authorities to pause or stop the legal process and to reach an informal settlement in instances where antiquities laws have been violated.

7. *Rule of Law Remains Weak, but Enforcement of Antiquities Laws Is Gaining Ground*

- a. Prior to the 2011 Revolution, Libyan antiquities law had been successfully applied to punish those who destroyed archaeological sites, damaged historic structures, or stole antiquities through both fines and prison sentences.
- b. Following the Revolution, the rule of law has been weak across Libya. Members of the DoA and law enforcement have faced strong challenges to gradually reassert and again enforce antiquities laws. During this chaotic period, violations have gone unrecorded, uninvestigated, and unpunished.
- c. While solid estimates for the scale and value of the illicit antiquities market in Libya are scarce, the magnitude of the trade appears to be significantly less than that of human trafficking and oil trafficking.
- d. Experience from other countries (especially Syria, Iraq, and Yemen) leads us to conclude that organized crime and militia groups would utilize the sale of antiquities if political instability combined with public apathy for heritage persists.
- e. While the Public Prosecutor in Tripoli has only recorded fourteen (14) official investigations of antiquities law violation since 2011, other cases have been partially prosecuted and resulted in the seizure and return of the illicit antiquities in question.
- f. Family and tribal alliances have pressured members of law enforcement to pursue informal settlements rather than formal legal hearings before the courts.
- g. Investigations are ongoing and have garnered support from the collaboration of multiple Libyan authorities, representatives of civil society, and international partners.
- h. Authorities in Eastern Libya have had some recent successes in seizing illicit antiquities.

8. *Members of the Public Are Willing to Assist in Antiquities Protection*

- a. Despite a legacy of disinvestment and disinformation under the Gaddafi period, there are many Libyan advocates willing to work to protect cultural heritage.
- b. Since the 2011 Revolution, long-standing civil society organizations, including the Libyan Boy Scouts and Girl Guides as well as the Red Crescent, have contributed to cultural awareness programs in partnership with ASOR.
- c. New organizations have also been created around the country with a specific mandate for cultural heritage protection, and many of these organizations have an established track record of partnering with the DoA and ASOR.
- d. Individual citizens around the country have been voluntarily returning antiquities to local authorities and this trend can be strengthened through further outreach.

VII.B Recommendations to Counter and Prevent Illicit Trafficking of Libyan Antiquities

The proposals suggested in previous chapters and outlined in some detail here fall into three broad categories:

1. *Encouragement of the application of existing laws of protection.*
2. *Improvement and expansion of coordination activities between Libyan archaeologists and law enforcement.*
3. *Continuation and expansion of education and stewardship activities and programs that connect Libyan citizens to their heritage and actively encourage their role as protectors.*

As a means of conclusion for this report, the section below presents recommendations that are divided into Short Term (12–18 months) and Medium Term (12–48 months) activities and initiatives. We should stress again that these recommendations have been developed in close collaboration with and the support of Dr. Ahmad Hussein, Director of the Libyan Department of Antiquities in the East and Dr. Mohammed Shakshouki, Director of the Libyan Department of Antiquities in the West. We have also consulted closely with law enforcement officials, many of whom requested not to be named in deference to the sensitivity of ongoing investigations.

1. *Encouragement of the Application of Existing Laws of Protection*

A. Short Term (2021–2022)

- i. Identify the most promising cases of violations of Libyan antiquities law. Prioritize these most promising cases for prosecution. See examples from Chapter I for prior successful prosecutions. Focus on a couple successes in the short term.
- ii. Publicize instances of successful prosecution for violation of Libyan antiquities laws through short articles, videos, and regular engagement with Libyan media outlets.
- iii. Create training workshops for judges and other governmental employees to make them aware of the successful prosecutions since 2011.
- iv. Support the DoA in its effort to monitor and document instances of urban encroachment and looting through additional access to relevant satellite imagery.
- v. Facilitate and support the efforts of the DoA to share their documentation with law enforcement and judicial bodies.

B. Medium Term (2021–2024)

- i. Continue to build and populate a national inventory of Libyan antiquities in museums and storerooms across the country with adequate descriptions, metadata, and photographic documentation. Include polymer “fingerprinting” on non-organic materials.
- ii. Convene representatives of the DoA, law enforcement, and academic institutions to review existing Libyan antiquities laws

as well as existing proposals for legal reform. Prepare a unified proposal for legal reform ready for deliberation and ratification when a regular legislative process resumes.

2. *Improvement and expansion of coordinated activities between Libyan archaeologists and law enforcement*

A. Short Term (2021–2022)

- i. Revise and update the lists of most-looted items that the ASOR team has developed. Distribute widely these lists (written in language easily accessible to local law enforcement).
- ii. Create a one-page (front and back) handout of the most commonly looted and trafficked list. This one-page handout should be designed to accompany the most-looted list described in 2.A.I.
- iii. Continue joint training opportunities involving Libyan law enforcement and the DoA archaeologists, focused on the documentation of cultural heritage crimes.
- iv. Organize joint training opportunities between the General Prosecutors Office, law enforcement, and the DoA. Focus on the preparation of case materials necessary for a successful prosecution given the current legal and legislative landscape.
- v. Organize joint training opportunities between judges and members of the DoA, examining previous cases in which Libyan antiquities law was fully applied to protect cultural resources as well as recent cases in which the law was partially applied.
- vi. Organize joint training opportunities between the DoA and the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs to examine recent cases of repatriated antiquities and explore ways in which this process can be improved.
- vii. Support the DoA, law enforcement, and volunteers in their efforts to monitor, record, and build databases of instances of recorded theft as well as instances of suspicious material (possibly looted or stolen artifacts) presented for sale online.

B. Medium Term (2021–2024)

- i. Create formal liaison roles within the DoA and the Tourist Police, where members of each institution have opportunities for exchange assignments in the other agency for a rotating period of duty.
- ii. Explore opportunities for better regional communication and coordination with peers from regional antiquities authorities and law enforcement bodies with a specific emphasis on Tunisia and Egypt.
- iii. Provide assistance to both institutions to support joint patrols in priority areas, such as regions with known urban encroachment and looting.

3. Continuation and expansion of education and stewardship activities and programs that connect Libyan citizens to their heritage and actively encourage their role as protectors.

A. Short Term

- i. Expand outreach activities with the involvement of Libyan law enforcement, the DoA, and local civil society organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Red Crescent, etc.
- ii. Assist the DoA in establishing a framework for more regular collaboration with Libyan NGOs and citizen volunteers.
- iii. Encourage opportunities for volunteer participation in the maintenance and protection of cultural sites under the supervision and responsibility of the DoA.
- iv. Through short articles and videos, as well as with regular contact with Libyan media outlets, vigorously publicize instances of citizens protecting sites or returning antiquities to members of law enforcement/DoA. Even when financial rewards are not possible, provide public recognition to these individuals and encourage them through low-cost incentives.
- v. Work with civil authorities to create a collaboration body that might be called something like the “Friends of Libyan Heritage.” Such a collective body should be considered neutral and not identified with only one civil authority body.
- vi. Through small incentives, create a lasting network of citizens who have taken action to protect Libyan heritage (whether through volunteer work, protecting sites, or returning antiquities) and continue to prioritize engagement with this group through additional activities such as those previously organized by the DoA, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and ASOR.
- vii. Prioritize outreach to children through the production and distribution of materials such as short animation clips and coloring books to be shown and distributed during visits to cultural sites as well as through ASOR’s Suitcase Museum network.

B. Medium Term (2021–2024)

- i. Create primary and secondary school textbooks and history curriculum that adequately describe the richness and diversity of Libyan cultural heritage through the direct collaboration of the DoA and the Libyan Ministry of Education
- ii. Create more formal channels for volunteers to assist the DoA and local law enforcement to contribute to cultural protection work.

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Appendix A—Objects Stolen from the National Commercial Bank of Benghazi, Feb. 2011

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A GOLD CHAIN FOUND IN THE ISLAMIC CEMETERY IN AJDABIYA DURING EXCAVATION BY THE MISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF QARYUNIS IN 1981 (FIGURE 1).</p>				 <p data-bbox="1688 544 1771 571">Figure 1</p>
<p>TWO CYMBALS MADE OF GLASS, ONE FROM AJDABIYA, THE OTHER FROM SIRTE (FIGURE 2).</p>				 <p data-bbox="1688 979 1771 1007">Figure 2</p>
<p>SILVER RING FOUND NEAR THE FATIMID MOSQUE IN AJBADIYA NUMBERED 16456 (FIGURE 3).</p>				 <p data-bbox="1688 1347 1771 1374">Figure 1</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
FATIMID SILVER DIRHAM (AL-AZIZ BILLAH) FROM SIRTE (FIGURE 4).		116	Diameter 19 mm	 Figure 2
QUARTER SILVER DIRHAM, FATIMID (AL- HAKIM BI AMR ALLAH) (247) FROM SIRTE.		118	Diameter 18 mm	
626 ROMAN BRONZE COINS DATING TO THE 4TH CENTURY C.E.	February 2011	National Commercial Bank/ Benghazi		
21 ROMAN BRONZE COINS FROM AL QAWARISHAH.				
PART OF A FATIMID SILVER DIRHAM FOUND IN SIRTE.				
OTTOMAN BRONZE COIN PERFORATED FROM WADI HARAWA, AND A PUNIC BRONZE COIN.				
SILVER COIN FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>FATIMID BRONZE FILS PLATED SILVER FROM SIRTE (FIGURE 5).</p>		121	Diameter 18 mm	 <p>Figure 3</p>
<p>ISLAMIC BRONZE COIN (FILS) FROM THE ISLAMIC CEMETERY IN AJDABIYA CITY.</p>				
<p>THREE BRONZE COINS, TWO OF WHICH ARE FROM THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD, AND ONE IS MODERN EGYPTIAN.</p>				
<p>ENGLISH GOLD COIN DATED 1812.</p>				

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
FATIMID QUARTER DINAR MADE IN SICILY (249) FOUND IN SIRTE.		127	Diameter 15 mm	
A QUARTER OF A FATIMID DINAR MADE IN SICILY (AL-MUSTANSIR BILLAH) FROM SIRTE (FIGURE 6).		125	Diameter 14 mm	 <p data-bbox="1697 1331 1771 1358">Figure 6</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
FATIMID QUARTER DINAR MADE IN SICILY (248) FOUND IN SIRTE (FIGURE 7).		126	Diameter 16 mm	 <p data-bbox="1697 1066 1778 1091">Figure 4</p>
FATIMID QUARTER DINAR MADE IN SICILY FOUND IN SIRTE.		129	Diameter 15 mm	
GOLD DINAR MOHADI (251) FROM SIRTE		147	20 mm in diameter	



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
FATIMID QUARTER DINAR MADE IN SICILY FOUND IN SIRTE (FIGURE 8).		128	Diameter 16 mm	 <p data-bbox="1691 965 1780 997">Figure 5</p>
GOLD DINAR MOHADI (250) FROM SIRTE (FIGURE 11).		146	21 mm in diameter	

Figure 11



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
SILVER DINAR MOHADI (245) FROM SIRTE	158		Diameter 14 mm	
FATIMID QUARTER DINAR MADE IN SICILY FOUND IN SIRTE (FIGURE 9).	130		Diameter 15 mm	
SILVER DINAR MOHADI (246) FROM SIRTE	159		Diameter 14 mm	
TEN ENGLISH GOLD COINS DATED 1912.				
TWO GOLD COINS, NAMED AFTER SULTAN YAHYA KHAN AND DATED 1667.				

Figure 6

U.S. GOLD COIN DATED 1901.				
DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>FATIMID QUARTER DINAR MADE IN SICILY FOUND IN SIRTE (FIGURE 10).</p>		<p>135</p>	<p>Diameter 15 mm</p>	 <p>Figure 10</p>
<p>FOUR RUSSIAN GOLD COINS WITH THE IMAGES OF LENIN'S HEAD.</p>				
<p>BRONZE COIN FROM THE CITY OF AJDABIYA.</p>				
<p>THIRTY-ONE BRONZE COINS FROM SIDI EL-SHARIF CEMETERY IN BENGHAZI.</p>				



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A PIECE OF JEWELRY MADE OF BRONZE FROM SIDI EL-SHARIF CEMETERY IN BENGHAZI.				
EIGHT OTTOMAN BRONZE COINS.				
FOUR ITALIAN BRONZE COINS.				
TWO UNKNOWN BRONZE COINS.				
SIXTY-ONE GREEK AND ROMAN BRONZE COINS.				
SIX BRONZE COINS FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
SIXTEEN UNKNOWN BRONZE COINS.				
A PIECE OF JEWELRY MADE OF BRONZE FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
FOURTEEN JEWELRY PIECES MADE OF BRONZE.				
TWO PIECES OF BRONZE FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
BRONZE COIN AND BRONZE ROD FROM THE NORTH OF THE EL MAGRUN VILLAGE.				
TWO CORRODED BRONZE COINS.				



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
BRONZE COIN FROM FATANS.				
A BRONZE PIECE FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
BRONZE COIN FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
TWENTY-THREE BRONZE COINS.				
A BRONZE PIECE FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
FIVE PIECES OF UNDEFINED METAL COIN FROM HESPERIDES.				
BRONZE BLADE AND UNKNOWN PIECE OF JEWELRY MADE OF BRONZE.				
TWENTY-SEVEN GREEK AND ROMAN BRONZE COINS.				
THREE BRONZE COINS AND A PIECE OF JEWELRY MADE OF BRONZE FROM SIDI EL-SHARIF CEMETERY IN BENGHAZI.				
RUSSIAN BRONZE MEDAL.				
SIXTY GREEK AND ROMAN BRONZE COINS.				
A BRONZE COIN FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A HELLENISTIC COIN DEPICTING GODDESS LIBYA AND PTOLEMY.				
ONE GOLD COIN EXCAVATED FROM TOKRA AUGUST 1, 1968.				
BYZANTINE COIN FOUND IN THE TOMBS OF SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
TWO BRONZE COINS FROM THE ISLAMIC ERA FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-EIGHT GREEK AND ROMAN BRONZE COINS.				
THIRTY-FIVE BRONZE COINS FOUND IN THE TOMBS OF SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
A WATCH FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.				
FIVE UNDOCUMENTED ROMAN STATUE HEADS MADE OF MARBLE, STONE AND METAL. ONE FOR A GIRL, WOMAN, BOY, A MAN WITH BEARD, AND ONE FOR GIRL MADE OF COPPER. THIS HEAD WAS GIVEN TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES BY THE POLICE.				
A SMALL PHARAONIC STATUE AND PERHAPS ALSO A REPLICA.				


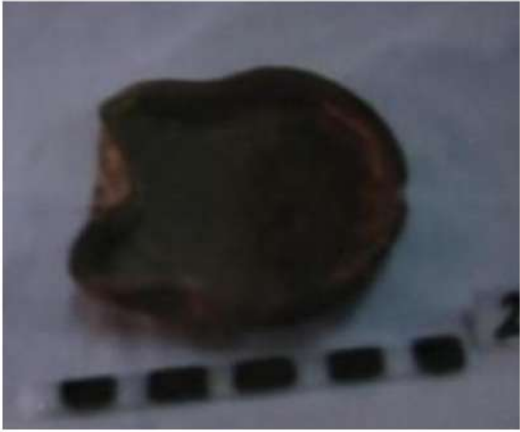
DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
SIX SMALL STATUE HEADS MADE OF CLAY.				
THREE LARGE COPPER MEDALS.				
FIFTEEN MODERN COINS (EXCEPT ONE WAS OLD AND CORRODED).				
A LARGE COLLECTION OF TRADITIONAL SILVER JEWELRY (140 PIECES), INCLUDING BELTS, ANKLETS, BRACELETS, NECKLACES, NECKLACES, HOOKS, BROOCHES (BANDS), RINGS, DAMLAJ, SHANBIR, EARRINGS (DUNADIN), SNEIBER, SHANABIR, AND KURDISH ZIRCONS.				




Appendix B— Objects Stolen from the Susa Museum in May 2011




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>RED HYDRIA WATER JAR MADE OF POTTERY WITH SOME RESTORATION ON THE BODY, TWO SIDE HANDLES, AND A VERTICAL HANDLE. THE DEPICTED SCENE ON THE JAR SHOWS MEDUSA (HALF-NAKED WINGED FEMALE WITH HAIR CONSISTING OF SNAKES) SURROUND BY SIX MALES. DATED: 360-370 B.C.E. (FIGURE 12).</p>	<p>May 2011</p>	<p>Museum of Susa</p>	<p>Height: 32 cm Diameter: 11.9 cm Body Diameter: 21.6 cm Base Diameter: 10.6 cm</p>	 <p>Figure 1</p>
<p>A JAR KNOWN AS THE "BILIC" WITH A RED-SHAPED "ATTICI" AND SOME RESTORATION ON THE BODY. THE JAR HAS TWO SCENES THAT ARE DEPICTED ON ITS BODY. THE FIRST SCENE REPRESENTS THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS, AND INCLUDES THREE PEOPLE, TWO OF WHICH ARE REPRESENTING CURTAINS, WITH ONE OF THEM PLAYING THE FLUTE AND IS SURROUNDING A DANCER WHO WAS SITTING ON A LARGE RUDDER OR DRUM. THE SECOND SCENE ON THE OTHER SIDE SEEMS TO BE PERFORMED BY TWO OPPOSING YOUNG MEN DRESSED IN HIMATION THAT COVERS ALL OF THEIR BODIES. DATED: 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. (FIGURE 13)</p>	<p>May 2011</p>	<p>Museum of Susa</p>	<p>Height: 23,9 cm, Diameter: 15,2 cm, Body Diameter: 17 cm, and Base Diameter 11,5 cm</p>	 <p>Figure 13</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A JAR KNOWN AS "BILIC" WITH RED-SHAPED ATTICI, AND SOME RESTORATION ON THE BODY AND A BROKEN ONE SLACK. THE BODY OF THE JAR HAS TWO SCENES. THE FIRST ONE SHOWS TWO LADIES, ONE BEHIND THE OTHER, WHO WRAPS HER HEAD BACK AND HOLDS A BASKET OR BOX WITH HER LEFT HAND WITH WICKER HANGING FROM THE BOTTOM WHICH LOOKS LIKE A SCARF. SHE APPEARS TO BE PRESENTING IT TO THE LADY BEHIND HER WHO IN TURN OPENS HER HANDS TO RECEIVE THE BASKET. THE SECOND SCENE ON THE OTHER SIDE DISPLAYS TWO YOUNG MEN IN MATCHING DRESS (HIMATION) COVERING THEIR ENTIRE BODY. THE MAN ON THE RIGHT HOLDS AN ABRASIVE WITH HIS HAND.</p> <p>DATED: 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. (FIGURE 3)</p>	May 2011	Sousse Museum	Jar height: 30,5 cm	 <p data-bbox="1778 671 1868 699">Figure 14</p>
<p>A JAR KNOWN AS THE "BILIC" WITH THE RED-SHAPED ATTIC, WITH SOME RESTORATION ON THE BODY. TWO SCENES ARE REPRESENTED ON THE JAR. THE FIRST SCENE IS A LEGEND THAT SHOWS APHRODITE SITTING ON A CHAIR. SHE IS SEATED OPPOSITE OF A LADY OR OTHER DEITY. THERE IS AN ALTAR OR TABLE ON TOP OF THE WINGED EROS. HERACLES IS BEHIND APHRODITE, AND BEHIND THE SEATED LADY, THERE IS A STANDING WOMAN.</p> <p>IN CONTRAST, THE SCENE ON THE OTHER SIDE DEPICTS THREE YOUNG MEN DRESSED IN HIMATION THAT COVERS THEIR ENTIRE BODY.</p> <p>DATED: 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. (FIGURE 15)</p>	May 2011	Sousse Museum	Height: 39,5 cm.	 <p data-bbox="1789 1233 1868 1260">Figure 15</p>




Appendix C.1— Objects Stolen from the Bani Walid Museum in October 2011, 2013, 2016




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 16)	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.5 cm Diameter: 8.9 cm	 <p data-bbox="1697 727 1794 754">Figure 16</p>
POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 17).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.4 cm Length: 8.5 cm Width: 7.5 cm	 <p data-bbox="1697 1238 1794 1265">Figure 17</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 18).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Length: 10,5 cm	 <p>Figure 18</p>
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 19).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3,2 cm Length: 9,8 cm Width: 6 cm	 <p>Figure 19</p>
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 20).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3,5 cm Length: 8 cm Width: 5,5 cm	 <p>Figure 20</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 21).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm Length: 8.5 cm Width: 7 cm	 <p>Figure 21</p>
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 22).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm Length: 9 cm Width: 6 cm	 <p>Figure 22</p>
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 23).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 5 cm Length: 9.8 cm Width: 7.5 cm	 <p>Figure 23</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
HELLENISTIC POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 24).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.4 cm Length: 9.8 cm Width: 8 cm Diameter: 9.8 cm	 <p>Figure 24</p>
ROMAN POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 25).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.7 cm Diameter: 8.4 cm	 <p>Figure 25</p>
ROMAN POTTERY OIL LAMP (FIGURE 26).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.0 cm Diameter: 8.5 cm	 <p>Figure 26</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
ROMAN POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH A ROUND SHAPE (FIGURE 27).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.5 cm Length: 11 cm Width: 8 cm	 <p>Figure 27</p>
ROMAN POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH A ROUND SHAPE (FIGURE 28).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.3 cm Length: 9 cm Width: 7.7 cm	 <p>Figure 28</p>
ROMAN POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH A ROUND SHAPE (FIGURE 29).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.5 cm Length: 9.4 cm Width: 7 cm	 <p>Figure 29</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
ROMAN POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH A ROUND BODY (FIGURE 30).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.4 cm Length: 11.6 cm Width: 7.5 cm	 Figure 30
ROMAN LAMP MADE BY MOLDING WITH A ROUND BODY. THE LAMP BODY SHOWS A DOLPHIN, AND THE SHOULDER IS DECORATED WITH PROMINENT GRANULES (FIGURE 31).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.6 cm Length: 11.6 cm Width: 7.7 cm	 Figure 31
ROMAN POTTERY LAMP MADE BY MOLDING WITH A ROUND BODY. THE LAMP IS DECORATED WITH A MAN HUNTING A DOG, AND THE SHOULDER IS DECORATED WITH PROMINENT GRANULES (FIGURE 32).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.7 cm Length: 11 cm Width: 8.2 cm	 Figure 32



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A ROUND ROMAN POTTERY LAMP MADE BY A MOLDING METHOD WITH A ROUND BODY. THE LAMP DECORATED WITH A CIRCUS GAME SCENE WHERE A MAN LIFTS A MAN ABOVE HIM, AND ANOTHER MAN IS STANDING BESIDE BOTH OF THEM (FIGURE 33).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm Length: 11.4 cm Width: 8 cm	 <p>Figure 33</p>
AN AFRICAN-STYLE POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH AN OVAL SHAPE AND DECORATED WITH A TREE (FIGURE 35).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.6 cm Length: 10.5 cm Diameter: 6 cm	 <p>Figure 35</p>
A PALE RED POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH A ROUND BODY (FIGURE 36).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.3 cm Length: 12.5 cm Width: 8.5 cm	 <p>Figure 36</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A TRABELSI-STYLE LAMP WITH AN OVAL BODY, A MEDIUM NOSE, AND A SOLID LUG MADE BY MOLDING, EQUIPPED WITH A SMALL-SIZED FUEL SUPPLY SLOT ATTACHED TO THE WICK OPENING WITH A CANAL. THERE ARE PROMINENT FLORAL MOTIFS ON THE SHOULDER (FIGURE 37).</p>	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.8 cm Length: 12 cm Width: 8.3 cm	 <p data-bbox="1704 616 1794 639">Figure 37</p>
<p>A PALE RED LAMP WITH A ROUND BODY, A FLAT SHOULDER WITH SPIRAL MOTIFS, A SHORT NOSE, AND A SOLID, MOLD-MADE LUG, EQUIPPED WITH A SMALL FUEL SUPPLY SLOT AROUND A PROMINENT EDGE (FIGURE 38).</p>	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.1 cm Length: 12.5 cm Width: 8.4 cm	 <p data-bbox="1704 1011 1794 1035">Figure 38</p>
<p>A TRABELSI-STYLE LAMP WITH AN OVAL BODY AND A MEDIUM-LENGTH NOSE, AND A SOLID LUG MADE BY MOLDING, EQUIPPED WITH A SMALL-SIZED FUEL SUPPLY SLOT ATTACHED TO THE WICK OPENING WITH A CANAL. THERE IS A PALM FROND DECORATION PROMINENTLY ON THE SHOULDER (FIGURE 39).</p>	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm Length: 12 cm Width: 8 cm	 <p data-bbox="1704 1362 1794 1386">Figure 39</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A PALE RED LAMP WITH A ROUND BODY AND A FLAT SHOULDER WITH FLORAL MOTIFS, A SHORT NOSE, AND A SOLID, MOLD-MADE LUG, EQUIPPED WITH A SMALL FUEL SUPPLY SLOT AROUND A PROMINENT EDGE (FIGURE 40).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm Length: 12 cm Width: 8.2 cm	 <p data-bbox="1709 647 1805 671">Figure 40</p>
OIL POTTERY LAMP WITH A TRABELSI-STYLE AND DECORATION ON THE SHOULDER (FIGURE 41).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm Length: 12 cm Width: 8.2 cm	 <p data-bbox="1709 991 1805 1015">Figure 41</p>
POTTERY OIL LAMP WITH A TRABELSI-STYLE AND OVAL BODY. THE SHOULDER OF THE LAMP DECORATED WITH PROMINENT POINTS (FIGURE 42).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.2 cm Length: 12.5 cm Width: 8.3 cm	 <p data-bbox="1709 1350 1805 1374">Figure 42</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
ROMAN POTTERY JAR (FIGURE 43).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 15 cm Nozzle Diameter: 4.5 cm	 <p data-bbox="1711 555 1803 584">Figure 43</p>
ROMAN GLASS BOTTLE (FIGURE 44).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 15.2 cm Body Width: 6.5 cm	 <p data-bbox="1711 1046 1803 1075">Figure 44</p>
SMALL ROMAN GLASS PLATE (FIGURE 45).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3.3 cm Diameter: 10.5 cm.	 <p data-bbox="1711 1353 1803 1382">Figure 45</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
SMALL ROMAN GLASS BOTTLE (FIGURE 46).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 9.5 cm Nozzle Diameter: 3 cm.	 <p data-bbox="1700 676 1798 703">Figure 46</p>
A SMALL BOWL OF BRIGHT ROMAN RED POTTERY SLIGHTLY HOLLOWED OUT (FIGURE 47).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.9 cm Diameter: 15 cm.	 <p data-bbox="1700 983 1798 1010">Figure 47</p>
A SMALL BOWL OF BRIGHT ROMAN RED POTTERY SLIGHTLY HOLLOWED OUT (FIGURE 48).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.4 cm Diameter: 14 cm.	 <p data-bbox="1700 1359 1798 1386">Figure 48</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A SMALL BOWL OF BRIGHT ROMAN RED POTTERY SLIGHTLY HOLLOWED OUT (FIGURE 49).</p>	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 2.9 cm Diameter: 13.9 cm.	 <p>Figure 49</p>
<p>HELLENISTIC UNGUENTARIUM PERFUME POTTERY BOTTLE (FIGURE 50).</p>	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 17cm	 <p>Figure 50</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
HELLENISTIC UNGUENTARIUM PERFUME POTTERY BOTTLE (FIGURE 51).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 15.2 cm	

Figure 51

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
HELLENISTIC UNGUENTARIUM PERFUME POTTERY BOTTLE (FIGURE 52).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 20 cm	 <p data-bbox="1711 999 1800 1023">Figure 52</p>
ROMAN BOTTLE MADE OF TRANSPARENT GLASS AND HAS A TUBE SHAPE (FIGURE 53). (BROKEN)	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 9 cm.	 <p data-bbox="1711 1358 1800 1382">Figure 53</p>




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
COARSE POTTERY WITH A PLATE SHAPE THAT HAS HOLES AND A BASE WITH A CYLINDRICAL ROOT (FIGURE 54).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 7.5 cm Diameter: 12.3 cm	
COARSE POTTERY WITH A PLATE SHAPE THAT HAS HOLES AND A BASE WITH A CYLINDRICAL ROOT (FIGURE 55).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 6.8 cm Diameter: 10.5 cm	
PUNIC AMPHORA MADE OF COARSE POTTERY WITH A CYLINDRICAL SHAPE, FLATTENED BASE, TWO SMALL HANDLES, AND A NARROW NOZZLE (FIGURE 56).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 86 cm	

Figure 54

Figure 55

Figure 56




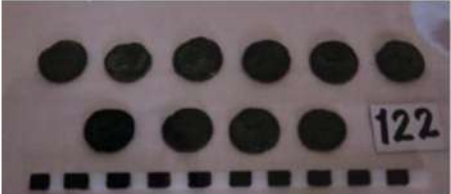


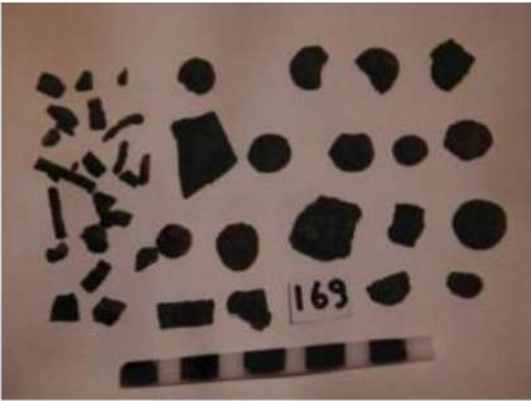
DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A ROMAN AMPHORA MADE OF COARSE POTTERY WITH A LONG NECK, TWO VERTICAL HANDLES, A PEAR SHAPE, AND A GILDED BASE (FIGURE 57).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 123 cm	
ROMAN AMPHORA MADE OF POTTERY WITH A LONG NECK AND TWO VERTICAL HANDLES (FIGURE 58).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 124 cm	

Figure 57

Figure 58

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
POTTERY JAR FOR OIL STORAGE, MADE OF THICK POTTERY (FIGURE 59).	2011	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 120 cm	 <p>Figure 59</p>
TEN BRONZE NUMID COINS, WITH KING MASINSA'S HEAD ON ONE SIDE. THE BACKSIDE PICTURES A HORSE RUNNING TO THE RIGHT (FIGURE 60).	2011	Bani Walid Museum		 <p>Figure 60</p>
TEN ROMAN BRONZE COINS DATING BETWEEN THE 3RD AND 4TH CENTURIES C.E. (FIGURE 61).	2011	Bani Walid Museum		 <p>Figure 61</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
TEN ROMAN BRONZE COINS DATING BACK TO THE 4TH CENTURY C.E. (FIGURE 62).	2011	Bani Walid Museum		 <p>Figure 62</p>
SEVEN BRONZE COINS WITHOUT PICTURES.	2011	Bani Walid Museum		
FORTY-TWO BRONZE COINS WITHOUT PICTURES.	2011	Bani Walid Museum		
DIFFERENT SIZES OF BROKEN BRONZE NEXT TO SCANNED COINS WHICH ARE DIFFICULT TO READ (FIGURE 63).	2011	Bani Walid Museum		 <p>Figure 63</p>

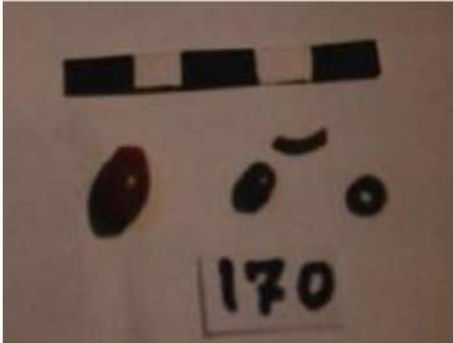



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
THREE COLORED BEADS, ONE OF WHICH IS RED, POSSIBLY FROM A GARNET (FIGURE 64).	2011	Bani Walid Museum		
THE HEAD OF MINERVA WAS PART OF A PROMINENTLY CARVED STONE PAINTING (FIGURE 65).	2013	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 3 cm	

Figure 64

Figure 65

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>AMPHORA WITH MEDIUM-SIZED COARSE POTTERY, AN OVAL-SHAPED BODY, A FLAT BASE WITH A THICK EDGE, A WIDE NOZZLE, AND TWO SMALL HANDLES.</p> <p>DATED: 2ND CENTURY C.E. (FIGURE 66).</p>	2016	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 42 cm	 <p data-bbox="1697 882 1794 911">Figure 66</p>
<p>SOFT LIMESTONE POT USED FOR PRESERVING THE ASHES OF THE DEAD (URN). IT IS MEDIUM-SIZED, WITH A LID, AND HAS TWO SOLID HANDLES, A HIGH BASE.</p> <p>DATED: 2ND AND 3RD CENTURIES C.E. (FIGURE 67).</p>	2016	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 55.5 cm	 <p data-bbox="1697 1361 1794 1390">Figure 67</p>








DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>SOFT LIMESTONE POT USED FOR PRESERVING THE ASHES OF THE DEAD (URN). IT IS MEDIUM-SIZED WITH A LID, HAS TWO VERTICAL HANDLES WITH PROMINENT FLORAL DECORATION, AND A HIGH BASE WITHOUT DECORATION. THE BODY OF THE POT HAS PROMINENT DECORATIONS, PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH IS A STRIP WITH VARIOUS FLORAL DECORATIONS. IT CONTAINS LATIN WRITING INDICATING THE NAME OF THE OWNER OF THE TOMB. DATED: 2ND AND 3RD C.E. (FIGURE 68).</p>	2016	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 55 cm	
<p>SOFT LIMESTONE POT USED FOR PRESERVING THE ASHES OF THE DEAD (URN). IT IS MEDIUM-SIZED, WITH A LID, HAS TWO VERTICAL HANDLES, AND A HIGH BASE WITH ROOT AND WITHOUT DECORATION, WHILE THE BODY HAS A PEAR-SHAPE AND IS WHOLLY DECORATED WITH A PROMINENT DECORATION. LATIN WRITING (MARCUS) REFERS TO THE NAME OF ITS OWNER (FIGURE 69).</p> <p>DATED: 2ND AND 3RD CENTURIES C.E.</p>	2016	Bani Walid Museum	Height: 45 cm	



Figure 68




Figure 69



Appendix C.2—Benghazi Storeroom

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
HEAD OF BRONZE ARROW THE EXCAVATED FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH, BENGHAZI (FIGURE 70).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1697 544 1796 571">Figure 70</p>
PART OF A BRONZE HANDLE HAS A SHAPE OF HAND (ROMAN PERIOD) (FIGURE 71).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1697 852 1796 879">Figure 71</p>
A GROUP OF FIVE TEASPOONS MADE OF BONE (FIGURE 72).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1697 1335 1796 1362">Figure 72</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A SET OF BONE PINS THAT ARE USED TO CLASP CLOTHES (FIGURE 73).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1697 628 1794 655">Figure 73</p>
SILVER THALER FROM THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE (KING FRANCIS I 1820) THAT WAS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS OF SIDI KHARIBISH (FIGURE 74).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1697 1224 1794 1251">Figure 74</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A COLLECTION OF BONE INSTRUMENTS IN DIFFERENT FORMS (FIGURE 75).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1711 1050 1800 1082">Figure 75</p>
CORRODED BRONZE COIN EXCAVATED FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH.	2017			
A BRONZE ROD THAT MAY BE A SURGICAL INSTRUMENT (FIGURE 76).				 <p data-bbox="1711 1361 1800 1393">Figure 76</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A BRONZE OR COPPER SCAPE WHICH CONSISTS OF A DISH, A VEGETABLE LEAF HANDLE AND A HOSE (BEZOS) USED FOR POURING OR CASTING, FOUND IN THE UNIVERSITY OF QARYONS IN 1981 (FIGURE 77).</p>	2017			 <p>Figure 77</p>
<p>AN ISLAMIC BRONZE COIN FOUND IN FRONT OF THE SIDI HASSAN CEMETERY IN AJDABIYA (FIGURE 78).</p>	2017			 <p>Figure 78</p>
<p>A HOLLOW CYLINDRICAL RING MADE OF BRONZE, DECORATED WITH A HUMAN HEAD AND EXCAVATED FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH (FIGURE 79).</p>	2017			 <p>Figure 79</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>THIRTEEN HELLENISTIC, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE COINS AND THREE STATUE HEADS MADE OF CLAY FROM TOLMEITA (FIGURE 80).</p>	2017			 <p>Figure 80</p>
<p>AN ISLAMIC BRONZE COIN FOUND IN FRONT OF THE SIDI HASSAN CEMETERY IN AJDABIYA (FIGURE 78).</p>	2017			 <p>Figure 78</p>






DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A HOLLOW CYLINDRICAL RING MADE OF BRONZE, DECORATED WITH A HUMAN HEAD AND EXCAVATED FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH (FIGURE 79).	2017			
THIRTEEN HELLENISTIC, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE COINS AND THREE STATUE HEADS MADE OF CLAY FROM TOLMEITA (FIGURE 80).	2017			

Figure 79

Figure 80

DESCRIPTION	Date of Theft	Looted From	Dimensions	Photo
TWO SILVER COINS, ONE SMALL (ZEUS AND SULFIUM) AND THE OTHER LARGE (PTOLEMY AND PUNISHMENT) FROM THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD (FIGURE 81).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1711 874 1800 900">Figure 81</p>

Appendix D—Objects Stolen from Benghazi Storeroom, 2014-2017

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>TWENTY SIX DIFFERENT UNKNOWN COINS. TWO (2) OF THEM ARE GOLD (CONSTANTINE), AND THERE ARE TWELVE OTTOMAN SILVER COINS AS WELL AS COPPER COINS, SOME OF WHICH ARE ATTRIBUTED TO SULTAN ABDUL HAMID I (1187-1203 AH) WHILE OTHERS TO SULTAN MAHMOUD II BIN ABDUL HAMID (1223-1255 A.H, MOST OF WHICH STRUCK IN TRIPOLI WEST). IN ADDITION, THERE ARE SILVER DIRHAMS THAT MAY BE ATTRIBUTED TO ABU MUHAMMAD ABD AL-MOMEN BIN ALI (524-558 AH). AND THERE WERE ELEVEN BRONZE ROMAN COINS. BESIDES, GREEK BRONZE OR COPPER MEDAL REPLICA (WEIGHING 16 GRAMS). ONE OF THE MEDALS HAS AN IMAGE OF DIONYSUS, WHILE THE OTHER SIDE SHOWS MEDUSA GORGO RUNNING (FIGURE 82).</p>	2017			 <p data-bbox="1704 651 1794 671">Figure 82</p>
<p>ONE HUNDRED FIFTY SIX PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN BRONZE COINS WHICH NEED CLEANING (FIGURE 83).</p>	2017			 <p data-bbox="1704 1353 1794 1374">Figure 83</p>





DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A CORRODED BRONZE COIN EXCAVATED FROM SIDI KHRIBEISH (SK. L61.2) NO.1832. IT MAY HAVE BEEN ON DISPLAY AT THE BENGHAZI MUSEUM (FIGURE 84).	2017			
A COLLECTION OF GLASSES WHICH MAY BE FROM THE TOMBS OF BENGHAZI, PARTICULARLY TOMBS SIDI HUSSEIN AND SALMANI (1973) (FIGURE 85).	2017			

Figure 84

Figure 85

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
THREE BRONZE BRACELETS WHICH WERE PROBABLY EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA. ONE OF THEM IS DECORATED WITH THE HEAD OF ISIS AND THE OTHER WITH COBRA (FIGURE 86).	2017			 <p data-bbox="1697 799 1800 823">Figure 86</p>
COLLECTIONS OF METAL AND BONE WERE EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA (FIGURE 87).	2011			 <p data-bbox="1697 1335 1800 1359">Figure 87</p>



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A BRONZE BRACELET HAS A FORM OF ISIS EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA (FIGURE 88).	2017			
				

Figure 88


DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A GOLD RING THAT HAS THE SHAPE OF ISIS EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA (FIGURE 89).	2011			

Figure 89


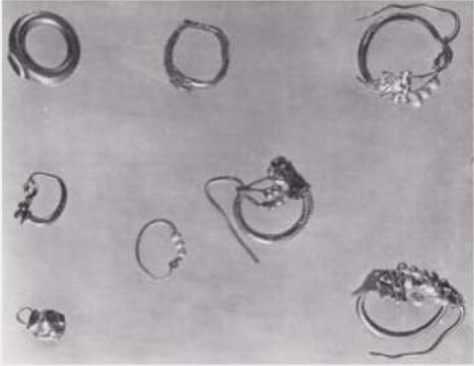
DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A SILVER BRACELET HAS A SHAPE ISIS EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA (FIGURE 90).	2011			
GOLD JEWELRY EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA (FIGURE 91).				

Figure 90

Figure 91




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
TWO POTTERY LAMPS DATING BACK TO THE 1ST CENTURY C.E. AND FOUND AT THE PALACE OF COLUMNS IN TOLMEITA (FIGURE 93).				

Figure 93

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A SMALL BRONZE STATUE OF DIONYSIUS FOUND AT THE PALACE OF COLUMNS, TOLMEITA (FIGURE 92).</p>				 <p data-bbox="1700 839 1794 863">Figure 92</p>
<p>SEMI-OBSURED BRONZE COIN EXCAVATED FROM THE PALACE OF COLUMNS IN TOLMEITA (FIGURE 94).</p>	<p>2017</p>			 <p data-bbox="1700 1361 1794 1385">Figure 94</p>



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>EMPEROR NERVA, - ORIUS TO EMPEROR TRAJAN, - ORIUS TO EMPRESS PLUTINA, WIFE OF TRAJAN (FIGURE 95).</p>	2011			
<p>A GOLD COIN DATING 323-313 B.C.E. AND FROM TOLMEITA. THE COIN WAS FOR SALE AT AN AUCTION IN GENEVA, BUT THE PROCESS WAS STOPPED. ONE OF THE COIN SIDE HAS THE IMAGE OF GODDESS ZEUS AND THE OTHER SIDE HAS THE GREEK GODDESS OF VICTORY NIKE DRIVING A CART (FIGURE 96).</p>			<p>Diameter 1.9 cm; Weight: 8.65 g</p>	

Figure 95

Figure 96

Appendix E—Antiquities, Likely Libyan, Recovered in Egypt

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
TEN CORINTHIAN AND ATTIC LAMPS WITH BLACK GLAZE, WHICH DATE BACK TO BETWEEN THE LATE 5TH CENTURY B.C.E. AND THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. THE LOCAL LAMPS ARE MADE OF COARSE UNPAINTED POTTERY AND HAVE A DISTINCTIVE SMALL HANDLE ON THE SIDE.	2017	Cemetery from eastern Libya	Not available	
TWO PYXIDES WITH LIDS ADORNED WITH CARVINGS OF PLANTS AND GEOMETRICAL SHAPES. THEY HAVE THE SAME STYLE OF THE PYXIDES MADE IN CORINTH DURING 4TH CENTURY B.C.E.	2017	Cemetery from eastern Libya	Not available	
A LOCALLY MADE BALL-SHAPED PYXIS WHICH HAS A LID WITHOUT DECORATION.	2017	Cemetery from eastern Libya	Not available	
A COLLECTION OF ATTIC POTTERY WITH RED IMAGES, INCLUDING ONE INTACT HYDRIA AND TWO BROKEN ONES, AND AN OINOCHOE WITH A DRAWING OF A MAN STANDING. THERE IS ALSO AN OIL BOTTLE (LEKYTHOS) DECORATED WITH A LARGE ROSETTE AND DATES BACK TO THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.E.	2017	Cemetery from eastern Libya	Not available	




DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A COLLECTION OF BLACK-GLAZED ATTIC POTTERY WITH POTS KNOWN AS (BOLSAL) WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES. SOME ARE DECORATED ON THE INSIDE WITH DRAWINGS. THERE ARE ALSO THREE OLPES: ONE SMALL WITH ITS HANDLE NEAR THE MOUTH, ONE MEDIUM SIZED, AND ANOTHER DECORATED WITH POLYGONS. MOST OF THEM DATE BACK TO THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.E.	2017	Cemetery from eastern Libya	Not available	
A COLLECTION OF LOCALLY MADE POTTERY PIECES SUCH AS AN AMPHORA WITH A WIDE MOUTH, A SMALL (OLPE), AND SMALL PLATES.	2017	Cemetery from eastern Libya	Not available	
THE TRUNK OF A GREEK MARBLE FUNERAL STATUE FROM CYRENE (FIGURE 97).	2011-2015	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	Not available	

Figure 97

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A ROMAN FUNERARY BUST OF A WOMAN MADE OF MARBLE. THIS KIND OF PERSONAL FUNERARY STATUE USED TO BE PLACED IN THE NICHEs OF TOMB FACADES IN CYRENAICA (FIGURE 98).	2011-2015	Cyrenaica Cemetery / Eastern Libya	Not available	 <p data-bbox="1697 783 1798 815">Figure 98</p>
A ROMAN FUNERARY BUST OF A WOMAN MADE OF MARBLE. THIS KIND OF PERSONAL FUNERARY STATUES USED TO BE PLACED IN THE NICHEs OF TOMB FACADES IN CYRENAICA (FIGURE 99).	2011-2015	Cyrenaica Cemetery / Eastern Libya	Not available	 <p data-bbox="1697 1358 1798 1390">Figure 99</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
A ROMAN FUNERARY BUST OF A MAN MADE OF MARBLE. THIS KIND OF PERSONAL FUNERARY STATUES USED TO BE PLACED IN THE NICHEs OF TOMB FACADES IN CYRENAICA (FIGURE 100).	2011-2015	Cyrenaica Cemetery / Eastern Libya	Nott available	

Figure 100

Appendix F—Antiquities, likely Libyan, Seized in Switzerland








DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>HEAD STATUE SEEMS TO BE SMALLER THAN THE NORMAL SIZE FOR GODDESS APHRODITE/VENUS. THE FACIAL FEATURES CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BRAXTLEYS SCULPTING STYLE SUCH AS THE EYE HAS ALMOND-SHAPE, THE EYELIDS ARE THICK EYELIDS, FOREHEAD IS SEMI-TRIANGULAR, THE LIPS ARE TIGHT WITH NO SMILE, THE NOSE IS SMALL AND NON-POINTED, AND CHEEKBONES ARE NON-PROMINENT. THE FIGURE’S HAIR STYLE WAS METICULOUSLY CRAFTED NEAR THE FOREHEAD AREA IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER. THE HAIR WAS PARTED IN THE MIDDLE AND EXTENDED ON BOTH SIDES IN SOFT LOCKS THAT GROW THICKER BY THE EARS AND TWISTS TO THE BACK. IT SEEMS LIKE A WOMAN OR GODDESS WEARING A SMOOTH HAT (FIGURE 101).</p>	2009	From eastern Libya	Height between 20-30 cm	



Figure 101



Appendix G—Antiquities, Likely Libyan, Seized in Spain

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A GREEK HEADLESS FUNERARY SCULPTURE MADE OF MARBLE. IN JANUARY 2016, THIS SCULPTURE WAS OFFERED FOR SALE ON BARCELONA'S J. BAGOT ARQUEOLOGIA WEBSITE. THIS TYPE OF FUNERARY SCULPTURES HAS BEEN COMMONLY FOUND IN CYRENE. IT IS CLASSIFIED AS BESCHI TYPE S. IT MAY BE OF DEMETER OR PERSEPHONE. IN OCTOBER 2016, IT WAS OFFERED FOR SALE IN AN AUCTION IN PARIS. BUT THE SALE WAS BLOCKED, AND THE FRENCH POLICE ARE STILL INVESTIGATING THIS CASE (FIGURE 102).</p>	<p>Unknown</p>	<p>Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat</p>	<p>Height 53-54 cm</p>	 <p>Figure 102</p>
<p>HEADLESS GREEK FUNERARY SCULPTURE DATED BACK TO 4TH AND 5TH CENTURIES B.C.E. IT WAS OFFERED FOR SALE ON IN J. BAGOT ARQUEOLOGIA IN BARCELONA. THIS STATUE MAY PORTRAY EITHER A WOMAN WHO DRESSED IN MOURNING CLOTHES OR THE GODDESS DEMETER. CYRENAICA WAS THE ONLY PLACE THAT HAS THOSE TYPE OF FUNERARY SCULPTURES. AN IDENTICAL PIECE TO FUNERARY STATUS WAS ALSO FOUND IN CYRENE AND IS ON DISPLAY AT THE LOUVRE MUSEUM (FIGURE 103).</p>	<p>Unknown</p>	<p>Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat</p>	<p>Height 67.4 cm</p>	 <p>Figure 103</p>



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A HEADLESS GREEK FUNERARY SCULPTURE CLASSIFIED AS BESCHI TYPE I THAT WAS ON DISPLAY IN BARCELONA'S J. BAGOT ARQUEOLOGIA. IT HAS THE SAME STYLE AS THE PREVIOUS STATUES. THE ONLY DIFFERENT IS ITS HANDS ARE NOT COVERED WITH THE HIMATION. IN 2017 THE STATUE WAS SOLD IN THE SAFANI GALLERY IN LONDON (FIGURE 104).</p>	Unknown	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	It's 94 cm high.	 <p data-bbox="1697 767 1809 794">Figure 104</p>
<p>A HEADLESS MARBLE GREEK FUNERARY SCULPTURE ITS HANDS ARE NOT COVERED WITH THE HIMATION. IT IS CLASSIFIED AS BESCHI TYPE S. PERHAPS THE STATUE DEPICTED DEMETER OR PERSEPHONE.</p> <p>IT IS CLASSIFIED AS BESCHI TYPE S. IT MAY BE OF DEMETER OR PERSEPHONE (FIGURE 105).</p>	Unknown	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	It's 70 cm high.	 <p data-bbox="1697 1155 1809 1182">Figure 105</p>



DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>HEAD OF GREEK FUNERARY SCULPTURE MADE OF MARBLE. THE SCULPTURE DATES BACK TO THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. AND FROM CYRENE AS THE FEATURES OF THE STATUE, HAIR STYLE, CARVING DESIGN AND THE HEAD VEIL CONFIRMED THAT. ADDITIONALLY, THE PRESENCE OF RED REMAINS ON ITS WHITE MARBLE, PERHAPS THE SOURCE OF THE RED CLAY (TERRA ROSA), WHICH IS ONE OF THE MOST WHICH IS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF JABAL AL-AKHDAR (FIGURE 106)</p>	Unknown	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	29 cm high.	 <p data-bbox="1697 858 1809 884">Figure 106</p>
<p>GREEK FEMALE HEAD FUNERARY SCULPTURE FROM MADE OF MARBLE DATED BACK TO 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. THIS HEAD WAS PROBABLY PART OF A FUNERARY SCULPTURE. MANY FUNERARY SCULPTURES THAT HAVE THE SAME FEATURES WERE FOUND IN SUSA (APOLLONIA) (FIGURE 107).</p>	Unknown	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat		 <p data-bbox="1697 1358 1809 1383">Figure 107</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>GREEK FEMALE HEAD FUNERARY SCULPTURE MADE OF MARBLE. IT WAS A PART OF A FUNERARY SCULPTURE AND IS NO DIFFERENT FROM A CYRENE FUNERARY SCULPTURE HEAD ON DISPLAY AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. THE CARVING STYLE ALSO INDICATES A CYRENE ORIGIN IN ADDITION TO THE TRACES OF REDNESS ON ITS WHITE MARBLE, POSSIBLY FROM THE RED (TERRA ROSSA) CLAY THAT IS HIGHLY SPECIFIC TO JABAL AL-AKHDAR (FIGURE 108).</p>	Unknown	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	Height 36.7 cm	 <p>Figure 108</p>
<p>THE HEAD OF A FUNERAL STATUE OF A ROMAN-GREEK LADY, OWNED BY THE J. BAGOT GALLERY IN BARCELONA AND PUT ON SALE IN BRUSSELS IN JANUARY 2016, THROUGH THE FEATURES OF THE STATUE AND HAIRSTYLE AND THE PRESENCE OF A GREEK HEAD OF A FEMALE MARBLE FUNERARY SCULPTURE. IT IS DATED BACK TO 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. PERHAPS THIS HEAD WAS A PART OF A FUNERARY SCULPTURE AND DEPICTS THE GODDESS DEMETER OR PERSEPHONE (FIGURE 109).</p>	Unknown	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	36 cm high.	 <p>Figure 109</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A ROMAN FUNERARY BUST OF A YOUNG MAN MADE OF MARBLE. THIS STYLE OF FUNERARY STATUES WAS COMMONLY DISPLAYED IN THE NICHEs OF TOMB FACADES IN CYRENAICA. THERE IS SIMILAR A STATUE LIKE THIS ONE DEPICTING A NEMESIS BEN ORION ON DISPLAY AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM (FIGURE 110).</p>	Unknown	Unknown	Not available	 <p data-bbox="1711 903 1800 928">Figure 110</p>
<p>A ROMAN FUNERARY BUST OF A WOMAN MADE OF MARBLE. IT IS SIMILAR TO FUNERARY SCULPTURES NO. 94, 227, 244, 266, AND 267. ITS HAIR STYLE IS SIMILAR TO STATUE NO. 269 IN THE ROSENBAUM CATALOG (FIGURE 111).</p>	Unknown	Unknown	Not available	 <p data-bbox="1711 1318 1800 1343">Figure 111</p>

Appendix H—Antiquities, Likely Libyan, Seized in France

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A GREEK MARBLE FUNERAL STATUE WAS DEPICTING PERSEPHONE OR A WOMAN IN MOURNING. THE STATUE ATTRIBUTED TO THE O MODEL IN THE TYPE OF (BESCHI O) AND DATES BACK TO THE 3RD AND 4TH CENTURIES B.C.E. (FIGURE 112)</p>	<p>Before 2011</p>	<p>Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat</p>	<p>It is 103 cm high and 53 cm wide.</p>	 <p>Figure 112</p>
<p>A GREEK MARBLE FUNERAL STATUE DEPICTING PERSEPHONE OR A WOMAN IN MOURNING AND DATES BACK TO THE TO THE 3RD AND 4TH CENTURIES B.C.E. (FIGURE 113).</p>	<p>After 2011</p>	<p>Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat</p>	<p>Not available</p>	 <p>Figure 113</p>

DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A HEADLESS GREEK MARBLE FUNERAL STATUE OF PERSEPHONE OR A WOMAN IN MOURNING AND DATES BACK TO THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.E. (FIGURE 114)</p>	Post-2011	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	Not available	 <p data-bbox="1697 770 1800 799">Figure 114</p>
<p>A HEADLESS GREEK MARBLE FUNERAL STATUE OF PERSEPHONE OR A WOMAN IN MOURNING. DATES BETWEEN THE 3RD AND 2ND CENTURIES B.C.E. (FIGURE 115)</p>	After 2011	Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat	Not available	 <p data-bbox="1697 1323 1800 1351">Figure 115</p>

Appendix I— Antiquities, Likely Libyan, Seized in London


DESCRIPTION	DATE OF THEFT	LOOTED FROM	DIMENSIONS	PHOTO
<p>A GREEK MARBLE FUNERAL STATUE WAS DEPICTING PERSEPHONE OR A WOMAN IN MOURNING. THE STATUE ATTRIBUTED TO THE O MODEL IN THE TYPE OF (BESCHI O) AND DATES BACK TO THE TO THE 3RD AND 4TH CENTURIES B.C.E. (FIGURE 116).</p>	<p>Before 2011</p>	<p>Cyrene Tombs / Shahhat</p>	<p>Not available</p>	

Figure 116

Appendix J—List of International Museums and Institutions That Have Libyan Antiquities

Prepared by Dr. Khaled El Haddar

Australia

1. Sydney Museum and Melbourne Museum

Austria

2. The Gratz City Museum
3. Vienna Archaeology Museum (Kunsthistorisches)

Belgium

4. Brussels Museum

Canada

5. Ontario Museum

Denmark

6. Copenhagen Museum, Denmark = The National Museum of Denmark

Egypt

7. The Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria

France

8. The Louvre Museum
9. National Ceramics Museum of Sèvres, Paris
10. The Cabinet of Medals in the National Library in Paris
11. The Saint Raymond Museum in Toulouse
12. Carpentras Museum
13. Borely Museum, Marseille
14. Ennery Museum in Paris

Germany

15. Berlin Archaeological Museum (Antikensammlung)
16. The Belizaeus Museum, Heildeshim

Greece

17. The National Museum of Athens
18. Heraklion Museum, Crete
19. Chania Museum, Crete
20. Retimno Museum, Crete
21. Rodin Museum, Crete

Italy

22. The National Museum of Rome (the Roman National Museum in Rome)
23. The Vatican Museum (Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano Museum)
24. The Naples Museum
25. Museum of Estense Castle in Modena, northern Italy
26. Correr National Museum, Venice
27. The Archaeological Museum of Venice
28. The American School of Classical Studies in Rome

Lebanon

29. The Museum of the American University of Beirut

Malta

30. Valletta National Museum

Netherlands

31. Amsterdam Museum
32. National Archaeology Museum of Leiden

Russia

33. The Leningrad Museum
34. The Hermitage Museum

Spain

35. National Archaeological Museum of Madrid, Spain

Turkey

36. Istanbul Archaeology Museum
37. İzmir Archaeology Museum

United Kingdom

38. The British Museum
39. Oxford University Museum (Ashmolean Museum)
40. University of Manchester Museum
41. The National Museum of Scotland
42. The University of Glasgow Museum in Scotland
43. Swansea Museum in Wales
44. Society for Libyan Studies, London
45. University of Southampton
46. Exeter University Museum

The United States of America

47. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
48. Harvard University Museum
49. Yale University Museum
50. Detroit Museum of Art
51. Boston Museum of Fine Arts
52. The Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago
53. Cleveland Museum of Art
54. Glencairn Museum, Pennsylvania
55. Emory University Museum
56. American Numismatic Society in New York

Appendix K—Sales & Seizures of Funeral Sculptures of Cyrenaica

Five Years of Research: A Preliminary Assessment

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Abstract

Since 2015, the French archaeological mission has developed intense activities around the fight against the illicit trafficking of archaeological goods, under the direction of Vincent Michel. At the heart of these activities is the research of Morgan Belzic, who, as part of his doctorate on the Cyrenaican Funerary Sculptures, inventoried all the possible sales of Cyrenaican sculptures on the antiquities market and on social networks, as well as all sculptures seized by the customs or the police, in Libya and abroad. This research raises awareness of the importance of this illicit traffic, and the importance of the fight that remains to be waged around the world for the protection of Libya heritage, and largely of world heritage. Presented here is an overview of this research on the sales outside of Libya, five years after the beginning of these studies.

Note: this is a preliminary translation of a French document written by Belzic. This translation is preliminary because Google Translate was used for large portions.

Not to be distributed: This document represents part of Morgan Belzic's doctoral research, and it is not to be distributed beyond ASOR, the Libyan Department of Antiquities, and the U.S. Department of State.

Introduction

Among the many sculptures from the Greek and Roman period discovered in Cyrenaica, most are of forms and types common to the rest of the Mediterranean world (statue of gods, busts of emperors, portrait statues, animals, etc.), and many are in marble, imported from the Aegean Sea. It is therefore very difficult, if we do not have additional documentation, to identify the provenance of one of these sculptures once it leaves Libyan territory.

On the other hand, there are several categories of sculptures which, by their style or form, are entirely specific to the region and which, for this reason, can be more easily identified outside Libya, even in the absence of documentation concerning them. This is the case with two categories of sculptures discovered in necropolises, which were used to decorate tombs. These are the “funeral deities of Cyrenaica” and the “funeral portraits of Cyrenaica” (pl. 1 and 2).

The objective of this study was, initially, to identify the funerary sculptures of Cyrenaica sold or seized outside Libya in order to insert them in the new catalogs being created, and to complete and renew the existing archaeological and historical studies. Nevertheless, it is also of use to all institutions or researchers, who need rapid access to a repository concerning Greek funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica, whose appearances have been increasing on the art market in recent years. This research derives from a thesis presented at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in 2015, “The funeral divinities of Cyrenaica,” and a thesis started in 2016 which is currently being finalized, “The funeral sculptures of Cyrenaica,” under the direction of F. Queyrel. It parallels a research program of the National Institute of Art History and of the Louvre Museum, the



Directory of Antique Sales in France in the 19th Century, which consists of studying the French and European antiques market.

We have therefore put together a “Directory of Libyan sculpture sales”, accompanied by a long study which forms a complete chapter of the said thesis. This research was carried out in cooperation and with the support of our colleagues from other archaeological missions (Oliva Menozzi, Susan Kane, Oscar Mei, Luca Cherstich, Anna Leone) and with our colleagues from the Department of Antiquities. We offer here a partial synthesis of this long study, in order to disseminate this knowledge to the Libyan public, and more generally to Arabic speakers. It was the subject of a first article in 2017.¹

In many ways, this research is incomplete and calls for future development. We only very occasionally mention here the issues and the historical and artistic value of these pieces (style, interpretation and chronology) in favor of the specific characters necessary for the identification of these productions (formats, materials, techniques, and iconography). This study has already identified a considerable number of funerary sculptures—more than two hundred—recently placed for sale on the antiques market. This figure represents almost 30% of all known sculptures, and demonstrates the existence of intense trafficking organized by criminal networks installed between Libya, the Middle East, Egypt, Europe, North America, and East Asia.

Cyrenaica, located in the eastern part of present-day Libya, has an archaeological wealth linked mainly to the development, starting in the 7th century BC, of the eponymous Greek city of Cyrene. One of the most important Hellenic cities, this colony of Thera (Santorini), could compete in wealth and power with Athens, Syracuse or Corinth, and quickly exceeded the influence of its own metropolis. Due to its geographical position and its history, it developed its own cultural characteristics throughout Antiquity. The mixture of different Greek and Libyan populations, the city's contacts with its Egyptian, Phoenician, Italic, or desert peoples, have fostered the emergence of many local particularisms through this crossing of cultures. They are due as much to beliefs as to material culture, transmitted in part to other cities and establishments in the region founded by the Cyreneans or to their contact—we think in particular of the port of Cyrene, now Apollonia (Susa), in Barca (Al Marj) and its ports Tauchera (Tokra) and Ptolémaïs (Tolemaide), or Euhespéridès-Bérénikê (Benghazi). In this regard, the sculptures used as tomb markers appear particularly revealing of a funeral practice specific to Cyrene and its area of influence.

This research is, therefore, part of a desire to rebalance the study of archaeological material by taking into account objects, which, although decontextualized, are able to offer an additional piece of knowledge. It is also a matter of giving back to the Libyan people what is theirs—a piece of their history, a piece of their heritage.

It seems important not to consider this looting as inevitable, depriving all researchers and the public of a significant part of an ancient heritage belonging both to Libyans and all of humanity. The first thing is to be able to study, classify and analyze these sculptures.

To do this, it is therefore necessary to bring together all the information to confirm their origin and trace their journey. This last element is difficult in view of the scant data provided by the sellers, but the identification of these parts is relatively simple and is based on a few easily employable objective criteria.

Technical, stylistic or iconographic observations are compared with an already abundant material attested in Cyrenaica, consisting of nearly six hundred sculptures for the two categories concerned. This study is accompanied by two typological proofs: one for the deities, the other for the funeral portraits, as well as reference catalogs already published on the funeral sculptures of Cyrenaica: the Beschi catalog for the funeral deities, Rosenbaum for the funeral portraits. The new catalogs renumber the whole, preceded by the letters D. for funeral divinity (D.1, D.2, D.3...), Dt for funeral divinities - heads (Dt.1, Dt. 2, Dt3 ...), And P. for Funeral portrait (P.1, P.2, P.3...). We are only able to disclose images and information here for 136 of the works in the repertoire out of 240 entries (Appendix I).

I. The Funerary Sculptures of Cyrenaica

“An infinite number of tombs” is the expression used in 1755 by the first European traveler (Claude Lemaire) to discover the necropolis of Cyrene. The colony of Thera has one of the most extensive cemeteries in the Greek world. In all directions, along the roads or the many paths that open outside the city walls, there are a considerable number of buildings of various shapes and sizes. While there is exceptional diversity, however, there is also a certain unity in the exterior sculpted decorations. There are few historiated stelae or plain stelae with a simple inscriptions, unlike other Greek cities. On the other hand, a considerable number of sculptures in the round or in high relief, mainly in imported marble and more rarely in local limestone, testify to nearly a millennium of occupation and reoccupation of these tombs. These forms are found, in very different proportions, in other necropolises in the region, those of Apollonia, Barca or Ptolemais for the funerary deities, and throughout Cyrenaica for the portraits. Note that there are other categories of minority funerary markers in Cyrenaica: Greek or Roman historiated stelae, partially figurative Libyan stelae, smooth or epigraphic stelae, seated female statues and Greco-Roman statues-portraits. The two main traditions seem to succeed each other under conditions that remain mysterious, between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE.²

1. The Funerary Deities of Cyrenaica (Pl. 1)

The first funerary tradition, probably from the end of the 6th century, was that of female busts or half-statues, with systematically truncated bodies, labeled by François Chamoux under the generic term of “funeral divinities of Cyrenaica”.³ It is not possible to

¹ Belzic M., Les sculptures funéraires de Cyrénaïque sur le marché de l'art, «Libyan Studies», 48, pp. 105-116.

² Belzic, M., « Des divinités aux portraits funéraires », in *Porträt als Massenphänomen - Le portrait comme phénomène de masse*, dir. F. Queyrel, D. Boschung, Cologne.

³ Chamoux, F., *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris, 1953.

associate with certainty this deity, although Persephone is most often proposed and most probable. In addition to the systematic abbreviation of the lower part of the body, they have been divided since the 5th century BC into two main categories, depending on whether or not a face is present. The absence of a face, or *aprosopy*⁴, is an internal specificity of production and remains without real parallel in the rest of the Mediterranean world. There are two intermediate categories: the deities with faces with semi-veiled features, attested by four examples, and the semi-veiled *aprosopic* heads, attested by two sculptures. Varying in size, they can measure from 20 centimeters to over two meters high, although the majority of the sculptures are between 60 and 90 centimeters. Depending on the variations, the cutting height changes considerably: immediately under the shoulders, under the chest, at the pelvis and down to the knees. Most of the attested examples are actually three-quarter statues, carved from the middle of the thighs. The oldest sculptures were initially fitted with pullover shirts and simple tapered headdresses. The bodies, dressed, display the traditional assemblages of Greek sculpture: tunics (*chitôn* or *peplos*) most often associated with a cloak (*himation*) generally folded over the head to serve as a veil (*épiplêma*). Heads without veils were few in number after the 5th century. Attributes remain rare, and are often directly linked to the chthonian world and funerary iconography: pomegranates, alabasters or serpentiform bracelets.

The study of the half-statues of Cyrenaica is currently being renewed due to the consequent growth of the corpus and the studies published on the necropolis of Cyrene and its surroundings during the last twenty years. The only comprehensive study to date is that of the recently late scholar L. Beschi, composed between 1965 and 1969 and published in 1972.⁵ Based on 165 copies, 159 of which are cataloged, he classified them into 21 types (from A to V), distributed chronologically. The current catalog includes more than 350 funerary deities, including more than 270 complete or *acephalous* (D.1-274) and 70 heads attributed to the categories (Dt.1-74). This growth in the corpus resulted in a new classification which includes the sculptures in eight main diagrams (from α to ι) subdivided into about 30 variants. These sculptures were intended to adorn the exterior of dug or masonry tombs, the tops of mausoleums or sarcophagi. They were often accompanied, between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, bases inscribed with the name of the deceased for which they were individually intended and more rarely mixed with smooth stelae in the monumental decorations. This sculptural tradition is unparalleled in the rest of the world.

2. The funerary portraits of Cyrenaica (pl. 2)

The second tradition, beginning at the end of the 1st century BC, supplants that of funerary deities with funerary portraits, though it is not certain whether this transition was gradual or sudden. These funerary portraits are of Roman tradition mixed with Greek and

Libyan elements, which prevail when Cyrenaica falls to Roman power after the bequest of his kingdom by Ptolemy Appion in 96 BC. They probably continue until the 4th century CE according to the only comprehensive study conducted, included in the *Catalog of Cyrenaican Portraits* of Elisabeth Rosenbaum from 1960.⁶ There are 320 known copies. Relatively similar in size (generally between 20 and 30 cm), they were intended to adorn the niches dug on the facades of often older tombs, reoccupied and refurbished. They are sometimes accompanied by the name of the deceased inscribed under the portrait or on the wall. In high relief, the reverse side is untreated since it was never visible. The height of the cut varies little: the vast majority represent only the head and the collar, with or without a garment border, thus matching the appearance of many busts of the Roman Empire. However, the main criterion for identifying these portraits lies in the presence, on either side of the neck, of marble bands protruding from the backplate, giving these portraits a more or less pronounced trapezoidal aspect. Hairstyles and face shapes can occasionally be discriminating, especially when these pieces are broken, which is common where the thickness of the marble is the weakest, at the junction between the neck and the head. Metal rods and staples existed to hold certain pieces at the bottom of the niches; they are only rarely preserved. Some portraits have a form inscribed with the name of the deceased for which they were individually intended mixed with smooth stelae in the monumental decorations. This sculptural tradition is unparalleled in other parts of the Mediterranean world, but it finds interesting comparisons throughout the Roman Empire.

3. Places of discovery (pl. 3)

Most of the burial deities have been found in the vicinity of Cyrene, in one of the areas of the vast necropolis, one of the most extensive Greek cemeteries. Almost 80% of the known sculptures come from this area, but few of them have been correctly inventoried and documented over the centuries: we only know the precise location for a small minority of these sculptures. Another important site is that of Apollonia, port of Cyrene, where about 20 sculptures have been discovered. There is a significant concentration of these sculptures in the metropolis of the region, but this is also due to the concentration of archaeological excavations. Other sites have many, as is the case of Barka / Al Marj and Ptolemais / Tolmeta. More scattered sculptures have been discovered in the *chôra* (countryside) of Cyrene. The typology of the tombs clearly indicates that there are certainly some in Saf Saf, Mgarnès, Jebra / Umm Sellem, Tert, Lamludah, Snabat Al Awilah to the east, as well as in Beïda, Messa, and Al Hammama / Physkous and Al Agla / Kainopolis.

Funeral portraits are more diffuse. While the majority once again come from Cyrene, very important sets come from all the sites between Derna and Benghazi / Bérénikê. The presence of portrait niches is attested almost everywhere in northern Cyrenaica. This

⁴ Ferri, S., *Divinità Ignoto. Nuovi documenti di arte e di culto funerario nelle colonie greche*, Vallecchi, 1929.

⁵ Beschi, L. « Divinità funerarie Cirenaiche » in *Annuario della scuola italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XLVII-XLVIII, n.s. XXI-XXXII (1969-70)*, Athènes 1972, p. 133-341.

⁶ Rosenbaum, E., *Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculptures*, Londres, 1960.

also suggests that portraits were also more numerous in the past than burial deities.

4. Materials and Techniques

Most of the deities and funeral portraits are made of marble. There has not been a thorough analysis completed, so we do not have statistics regarding the origin of the marbles. We know that some are in Parian marble, others in Pentelic marble. We also suspect the presence of marble from Naxos, and possibly from Asia Minor. The portraits, often made of reused marble, have an even wider variety of marble. It is notable, however, that there is a complete absence of colored marbles.

The other sculptures (around 10%) are made from local materials: white or yellowish limestone for Cyrene and the surrounding region, and pink or orange sandstone from the region spanning Ptolémaïs to Bérénikê.

If the portraits are almost always monoliths, the funerary deities, especially the larger ones, are often made in several parts attached to each other with metal tenons: hands, arms, heads, attributes. We also suspect the presence of sculptures made of limestone but whose faces could be brought back in marble (a technique called "acrolith").

While portraits and deities were once at least partly painted, the painting is rarely preserved. Most of the pieces have a red or orange patina which corresponds to the color of the earth in much of Cyrenaica—the famous red earth or Cyrenean terra rossa, loaded with iron oxide. Over time, this shade tends to turn gray or brown with oxidation: a very bright red is often indicative of a recent emergence from the earth.

5. History of the rediscovery of funerary sculptures

The control of antiques sales was theoretically in place from 1874 in the Ottoman Empire, but it was not until the aftermath of Italian colonization in 1912, that effective controls were put in place to prohibit export of antiques outside Libyan territory, although the Italians themselves took some liberties with these rules from time to time.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, starting with the Antiquities Act of 1946, it was theoretically no longer possible to trade in antiques; but only the International Convention of UNESCO in 1970 makes it possible, in an effective way, to claim a good exported illegally after this date.

Some exports of funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica are therefore perfectly legal, having received the consent of local and Ottoman authorities, or else sold in the past by the Libyans themselves. Before

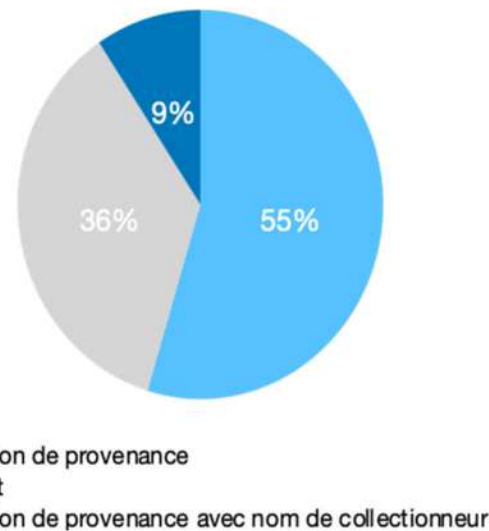


Fig. 1. Distribution of references to previous collections in catalog records.

1911 there was a small antiques market in the port and the souk of Benghazi. It is therefore necessary to distinguish works sold or exported legally in the past from those acquired recently and illegally. By extraordinary luck, the main publications of the funerary portraits draw up an almost complete assessment of the presence of funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica in the world around this key date of 1970. Rosenbaum in 1960, Beschi for the funerary deities in 1969, M. Bonanno-Aravantinos and Luigi Beschi in 1976⁷. We therefore, have a very precise historiography of these sculptures at the very moment when they are definitively protected.

To sum up, the funerary sculptures of Cyrenaica were gradually rediscovered during the 19th century. Some drawings were made by Jean-Raymond Pacho, French explorer, in 1828. Two heads of burial deities were sent to Great Britain by Warrington, and are today kept at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. A funerary deity from Cyrene was brought to Paris in 1848 by the antique dealer Vattier de Bourville. Several funerary portraits were sent to London in the 1860s, four from Cyrene by archaeologists Smith and Porcher, and three from Benghazi by Crowe and Dennis. The Italian explorer Haimann brought one back to Rome around 1883, and the French explorers Clermont and Ganneau brought two back to Paris in 1895. At the beginning of the 20th century, we know that at least two sculptures arrived in Turkey (a funerary deity in Istanbul and a portrait in Izmir), 8 portraits in Greece (1 in Athens and 7 in Crete), and 7 in Malta. Two other sculptures won the British Museum, a portrait before 1922, a head of a funeral divinity in 1836. A portrait

⁷ Rosenbaum, E., *Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculptures*, Londres, 1960; Beschi, L. « Divinità funerarie Cirenaiche » in *Annuario della scuola italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XLVII-XLVIII*, n.s. XXI-XXXII (1969-70), Athènes 1972, p. 133-341; Beschi, L., « Un supplemento cretese ai ritratti funerari romani della Cirenaica. » in *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 8, 1976, p. 385-397. Bonanno, A., « Another funerary portrait from Cyrenaica in the British museum », in *Libyan Studies*, 7, 1975-1976, p. 27-30. Bonanno, M., « Cyrenaican funerary portraits in Malta » in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 66, 1976, p. 39-44.

was given to the Rodin Museum in Paris in 1916. Finally, a portrait from Derna was seized by the Nazis in a private collection Jewish in 1942 and sent to Germany. It was returned to France in 1946, and it was identified as Libyan in 2020 at the Louvre Museum.

In total, there are now fewer than 40 funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica that have been legally acquired and are kept in foreign collections, compared with the more than 200 sculptures sold over the past 20 years. The majority of these ancient sculptures are in museums of national or even international scope with the Louvre Museum, the British Museum, the National Museum of Athens and the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. This is an excellent thing, because they are long-lasting, well-documented collections, where the objects are carefully treated, numbered, and restored. The one downside is that only the Louvre Museum currently presents all of its collections to the public. The funeral deity is in a room dedicated to Egypt and Libya in the Hellenistic period, and the portraits are in a new room dedicated to North Africa in Roman times. We do not know if Izmir's portrait is on display, but other museums clearly do not display the funerary sculptures. Finally, a study of the antiques market in Europe in the 19th century shows the presence of numerous vases and a few terracotta figurines from Cyrenaica, but no marble to our knowledge. Before 1970, apart from the sculptures already mentioned, only one portrait was identified in 1923 on the French art market in Nîmes.

The Second World War did not spare the funerary sculptures of Cyrenaica: some six portraits and funeral deities were destroyed in a bombardment in Benghazi, and others disappeared. Overall the works have been well preserved in museums, mainly at Cyrene, Tokra, Ptolemais, Al Qayqab Fort, Derna Museum and the National Museum in Tripoli. There were nevertheless a few thefts: the best known is the one that hit the hull reserves, where a series of sculptures from the extra-urban sanctuary of Demeter has disappeared, including a funeral portrait. Other thefts, which had not been reported, were identified by our research.

6. The Looting of the Necropolis of Cyrene (pl. 4-5)

While the looting of graves began in antiquity, that of sculptures is more recent. The destruction and intense plundering of the Cyrenaica necropolises has existed for decades. Amply reported on by the author of the necropolis reference books, James Copland Thorn⁸, this phenomenon is currently aggravated by the deregulation of Libya since the political crisis which began in 2011. The necropolises of Cyrenaica have been victims of three combined phenomena since the 1960s. Urban expansion (mainly in Cyrene since 1968, but also in Ptolémaïs, Barca, Bérénikê and Apollonia), the lack of effective protection put in place at the time of Gaddafi, and also the lack of political will to study and teach the ancient past to Libyans.

This prompted two types of thefts or attempted thefts of funeral material: a) occasional opportunistic looting; and b) targeted sponsored looting. This rampage is encouraged partially by the difficult economic conditions in which part of the population finds itself, but especially by the unexpected windfall offered to them by the sale of these statues through criminal networks on the art market where these works can be exchanged for several hundred thousand euros.

The disaster is such that in Cyrene already half of the necropolis is on the way to disappearing, an area equivalent to the center of Paris. Numerous looting activities have been documented by the Department of Antiquities, and works being looted have even been photographed (pl. 5).

In Cyrene as in the rest of the Greek world, funerary sculptures are indicative of both the quality of the craftsmen, the tastes of the elites, and the choices and beliefs of the local populations. They bear witness here more than elsewhere to the originality of a city that has developed atypical sculptural forms to illustrate beliefs that should be equally so. However, each decontextualization due to looting is a frightful *damnatio memoriae*, separating these sculptures from the names of the deceased for whom they were created, preventing reliable criteria of paleographic dating, moving them away from a monument whose architecture had been imagined or adapted to receive them and leaving only a skeleton of its former pageantry and meaning. More seriously, the absence of context reveals the limits of our knowledge as to explaining the original beliefs of this population, destroying everything that would allow us to shed light on individual and collective choices in the responses provided by the ancient Cyreneans in the face of death.

II. Cyrenaica Funeral Sculpture Sales from 2000 to 2020.

To understand the sales of antiquities, one should understand a little about the organization of the international art market.

First, we must distinguish three market types or groups:

- Malls, which are companies owned by one or more merchants, who usually sell items that they have bought elsewhere.
- The auction houses, which put up for sale works belonging to other people, either to private collectors, or to dealers, or to other types of companies (companies, associations etc.) under the direction of an auctioneer. Some auction houses are grouped together in a consortium, such as Drouot in Paris, which brings together several companies.
- Online sales sites which can be either direct sales or auction companies, and offer a platform so that anyone (private person

⁸ Thorn, J. C., *The Necropolis of Cyrene. Two hundred years of exploration*, Rome, 2005; Cassels, J., Tomlinson, R., Thorn, M., Thorn, J., *A Gazetteer of the Cyrene Necropolis: From the Original Notebooks of John Cassels, Richard Tomlinson and James and Dorothy Thorn*, *Studia Archaeologica*, Rome, 2009. Voir aussi Cherstich, L., *Ricognizione nella necropoli Sud di Cirene: la strada per Balagrae, Cirenaica: studi, scavi e scoperte. Atti del X Convegno di Archeologia Cirenaica*, Chieti, 24-26 Novembre 2003, eds. E. Fabbriotti, O. Menozzi, Oxford, pp. 391-408.

or company), can put goods up for sale. Some sites work for all types of goods (example: Ebay), others specialize in works of art (example: liveauctioneers.com).

It is therefore necessary to distinguish the trades: the dealer-gallery owners who make the purchase / sale (these constitute the main category), the auctioneers who organize the sales, and the experts who are in charge of writing advertising notices for sales catalogs and also bring their talents to private collectors. Experts, who are sometimes also dealers, are often the ones who turn antiques to galleries and auction houses. Finally, other professions intervene at various stages: import-export companies, transport companies, and restorers of works of art. Online or paper catalogs are quite stereotypical: title of the work, material and dimensions, geo-historical origin, style and dating, commentary (often succinct), and provenance, ie mention of an earlier collection. It is this field that is most often missing, as if by chance.

We make a point here of distinguishing the sales organized by the big international auction houses and those carried out by galleries, even if sometimes there can be confusion in the countries where the activities are the least controlled and supervised. We do not give full details about every object and every sale, but all the data is available for consultation at the French Archaeological Mission in Libya. To alleviate this litany of sales, we have not carried over the various links and sales catalogs here: it may suffice to refer to the catalogs of each gallery and look for the lot number, systematically mentioned here. Many are available online.

A. France

1. Jean-Philippe Mariaud de Serres, Paris

The history of French sales begins with an expert and dealer, J.-P. Mariaud de Serres, who died in 2007.

The first works identified were by Susan Kane, while searching for works stolen from Cyrene on the American reservation. It was in fact Mariaud de Serres who put on sale, on 10/1/2000, the P.96 stolen in 1999-2000 with a large set of sculptures from the excavations of the sanctuary of Demeter and Coré (lot 646). Other sculptures in the same catalog may have come from Libya. The P.83 thus appears in lot 896. The following year, during the sale of 21 and 22/04/2001; a third funeral portrait, P.161, is on sale (lot 717). None of these pieces have any mention of a previous collection. Mariaud de Serres is visibly directly linked with the traffickers of Libyan coins and sells goods resulting from looting and theft.

Mariaud de Serres also supplied other auction houses: the P.258, sold by Christie's France on 02/16/2011 (lot 378), Comes from the "Collection Mariaud de Serres, France, acquired before 2000", and the P.5, sold by the Royal Athena Gallery in New York in 2010, from this "ex Parisian collection, acquired from Galerie Serres, Paris, France, 2008".

Many other marble sculptures sold by Mariaud de Serres as an expert or merchant could also come from Cyrenaica.

2. Pierre Bergé et Associés, Paris.

This company, which was probably the main auction house for archeology in France from 2007 to 2019, put up for sale in Drouot many funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica between 2007 and 2013. Founded in 2002 by Pierre Bergé, a wealthy and famous French businessman who died in 2017, the company "PBA" has a head office in Paris and an establishment in Brussels. It is managed by Antoine Godeau associated with Frédérique Chambre until 2012, with Christophe Kunicki as the main expert for the archaeological section. It is from 2005, when the latter joined Bergé after having made a career with Mariaud de Serres, that archeology sales developed there, and from 2007, after the death of Serres, that we can follow Libyan sales from catalog to catalog.

On 27-28 / 10/2006, the P.40 goes on sale (lot 390). It had been published by S. Stucchi and comes from the excavations of the Agora of Cyrene⁹. We did not know it had been stolen as the theft was not reported.

On 1/12/2007, the portrait P.51 (lot 177) was put on sale with a Roman head reputed to come from an old collection, "acquired by the present owner in Switzerland in 1988": it was actually stolen in Sabratha in the 1990s, and was returned by an Italian buyer who had bought it from Christie's in New York in 2011. Finally, in the same sale, a relief stolen from Cyrene appears, coming from American excavations (73- 978), and which was voluntarily returned by the merchant thus caught up in the bag in 2008.

The following year, the P.207 was put on sale on 10/28/2008 (lot 223) then on 05/29/2008 (lot 835), this time with a funerary deity, D.124 (lot 766) who was subsequently seized in Paris in 2012. The depositor is certainly the same merchant.

In 2009, the portrait P.5, from Mariaud de Serres was put on sale on 01/17/2009 (lot 372) and which reappeared in 2010 at Royal Athena Gallery, once again: Jérôme Eisenberg may be there again the depositor. On 12/15/2009, two other sculptures appeared: P.94 (lot 467), and Dt.58 (lot 464), which was sold by Bonhams in 2011, where it is specified that it comes from a "Ex Ebrahimoff collection "in Switzerland.

On June 17, 2010, two new sculptures are put on sale: the P.234 (lot 305) which would also come from this "Old collection Ebrahimoff, between 1956 and 1969", and the Dt.59, which would come from the "Joseph Shitrit collection". This collection was probably invented by a Jerusalem merchant, Sami Taha, who sold an Egyptian bronze from this same "collection" to another French merchant, George Lotfi, which is today in the metropolitan Museum. These two funerary sculptures are accompanied by a statuette stolen from Cyrene in 1999-2000, which shows that these three works, and

⁹ Arch. Anz. 1959, col. 301, fig. 66 ; Stucchi 1967, p. 127, fig. 119.

others in the same catalog, could have come from the same sources and the same traffic.

During the sale of May 26, 2011, P.25 (lot 336), “acquired on the Belgian art market in 1974”, was sold initially by Millon in Paris in 2009 with P.52, and P.136 (lot 367), from an “old German collection established in the 1960s”, and now in a private collection in Geneva. On January 12, 2011, the P.52, already put on sale in 2009 at Millon with the P.25, then at Boisgirad and Antionini) was sold in Paris on May 27, 2011, with the same collection mention as the P. 25 “acquired on the Belgian art market in 1974”. It is sold at the same time as a stolen head from Cyrene (lot 368), with a similar provenance “old Belgian collection, acquired in 1971”.

Lastly, on November 20, 2012, a fragment of a funerary divinity, D.257 (lot 535), from an “old Adler collection, Lausanne, before 1952”, which is unverifiable.

3. Delorme and Collin du Boccage, Paris

This Parisian company, created in 2002 by two auctioneers, put up for sale four funeral portraits of Cyrenaica in the space of one year between 2010 and 2011 as well as a head of a funeral deity in 2014.

The P.177 was sold on April 29, 2010, (lot 46), with the provenance “old French collection”. It was sold by Pescheteau-Badin in Paris in 2012, and we found it at Drees in Brussels in 2019: Drees is certainly the depositor for all of these sales.

In 2011, the company put on sale three other portraits. On April 13 2011, appear P.257 (lot 163) and P.287 (lot 171). On May 25, 2011, it was the turn of P.57 (lot 37).

On June 11, 2014, the Dt.69 head is sold, from a so-called “Ex. Private collection, Jerusalem.” It was released for sale on December 2, 2015 (lot 189).

4. Other sales companies in France

Piasa is another important auction house in Paris, which on January 10, 2003 put up for sale the portrait P159 (lot 274) from the “Mariaud de Serres collection”, calling on Christophe KuBruxellesnicki who was the employee of Mariaud de Serres, and became the expert for Pierre Bergé.

On December 12, 2009, the sales company Millon, located in Paris, (also in Nice and Brussels), put on sale the P.52 (lot 454) and the P.25

Countries Where Cyrenaican Funerary Sculptures Have First Appeared for Sale, 2000-2020

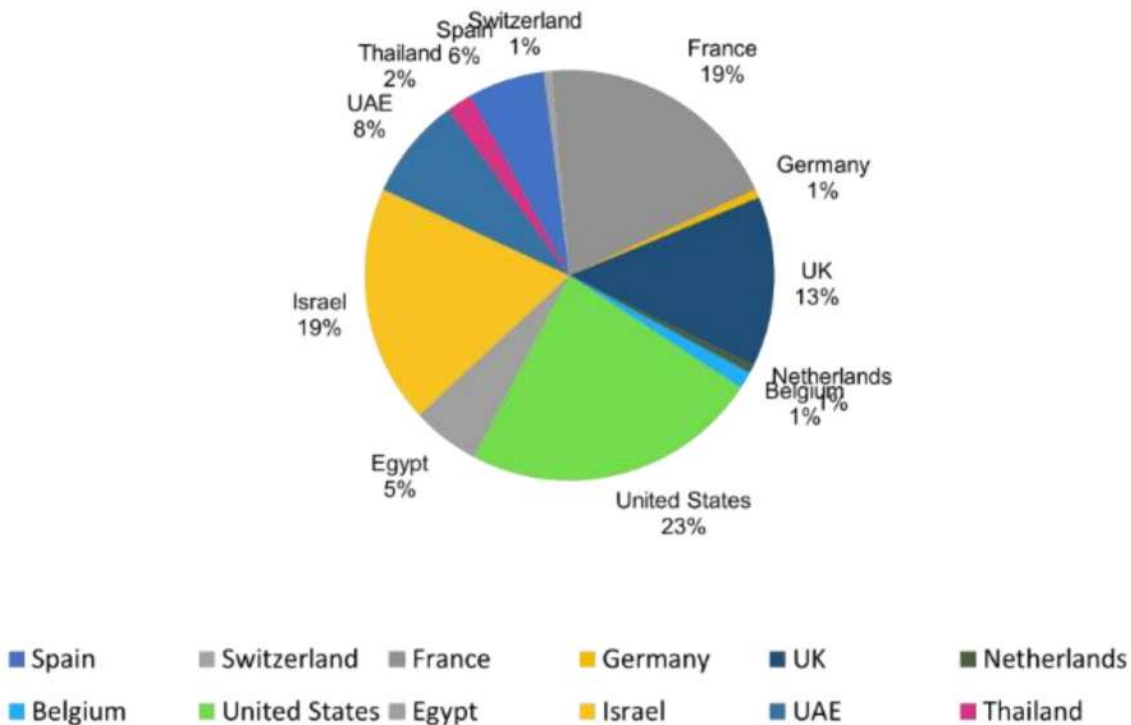


Fig. 2. Country of first known appearance of funerary sculpture from Cyrenaica in sales.

(lot 456), and on December 6, 2008, the portrait P.219 (lot 236), which we find in 2019 at Drees in Brussels. The latter would belong to a “Viesenberg collection”, which seems never to have existed.

The Boisgirard et Associés auction house, today called Boisgirard-Antonini, is a company established in Paris and Nice which put up for sale on November 16, 2009, on P.25 (lot 66) and on April 27, 2011, the P.52 (lot 6).

On June 22, 2011, the Leclère auction house, in Marseille, put on sale a head of a funerary divinity, Dt. 55 (lot 130) and a funerary portrait (P.21, lot 170), which are said to come from a French collection.

In October 2016, the Aguttès auction house in Neuilly-sur-Seine near Paris, put up for sale a funerary deity from the merchant of J. Bagot in Barcelona. The work was placed in receivership before the sale and is the subject of an investigation.

B. United Kingdom

1. Bonhams, London (pl. 8-10).

This company is one of the oldest European auction houses and has subsidiaries in six other countries. It dominates the UK archaeological market, with the bulk of antique sales taking place in London. Regularly singled out for sales of stolen or looted objects, Bonhams offered for sale at least 13 funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica (11 portraits and 2 funerary deities) between 2006 and 2014. To this can be added two sculptures that we can associate with the corpus.

Only two of the portraits are identified as originally Libyan and are believed to come from Misrata. Some pieces come from French sales (P.53 and Dt.57, previously sold by Bergé in France).

Two portraits were sold in two auctions in 2006 alone, P.36 (sale of 04/27/2006, lot 141) and P.154 (10/13/2006, lot 293). None is identified on the record as coming from Libya, and only the second has an earlier, unverifiable collection statement: “From the estate of M. J. Marshall. Purchased abroad before 1986”.

Two new funerary portraits were sold on October 26, 2007 (lots 193 and 195, P.211 and P.76), with the same provenance: “Property of a private Scottish lady, inherited from her mother who acquired them in Libya pre-1960. They were discovered near Misrata in the early 1950s whilst a pipeline was being laid in the desert”. While the origin indicated is indeed Libyan, Misrata is not in Cyrenaica but rather in Tripolitania, which makes this origin not completely impossible, but more than highly improbable. We do not know whether the collection history is here a learned assembly or a true mention, but the question also raises the legality of this sale, since at the beginning of the 1950s, the export of Libyan goods has already been prohibited since long time.

During the sale of May 1, 2008, an acephalous canonical funerary divinity (lot 225, D.175) was put up for sale, when Bergé put another on sale in Paris; they are relatively identical in period and style, but most interestingly, Bonhams indicates that their piece is the

property of a “French collector”. A fragment of a funerary portrait appears in lot 406, again from a so-called “French private collection, formed between 1930-1960”.

Two new portraits appear in 2009: P.225 (sale on 04/29/2009) and a possible false funerary divinity (28/10/2009, lot 25), for which we have reason to believe that it is on sale by the Swiss Marc Hand Jean David Cahn, based in Basel. In 2015, he sold a twin sculpture, too identical on certain points, in particular the breaks, for it not to be a falsification system.

In 2010, Bonhams put on sale the P.94 (04/28/2010, lot 146) with a sculpture stolen from Cyrene (head 78-730) that we find in 2014 at Jean-David Cahn, who is perhaps be the depositor of the two pieces. Bonhams also sells P.63 (6/10/2010, lot 370), which is said to come from a “Swiss private collection prior to the late 1980s”, and which can be found for sale by dealers established in Switzerland Ali and Hicham Aboutaam in 2017. The same sale in 2010 included a head of a funerary deity (Dt. 69, lot 119), along with a relief also from Cyrene (lot 119). 2010 alone, therefore, saw the sale of at least five Libyan sculptures by the Bonhams company alone.

The P.142 appears during the sale of 5/10/2011 (lot 472) and the head Dt.58 (lot 93), previously sold in France at Pierre Bergé, with the origin of an “Ebrahimoff Family Collection, Switzerland, acquired between 1956-1969”. There is an interesting note from the expert: “these types of sombre, veiled female heads tend to have come from Greek grave stelai and funerary monuments”; merchants obviously know what they are selling.

On April 25, 2012, another “Ebrahimoff” sculpture (lot 70, P.234) reappeared, after having also been put on sale by Bergé in 2010. The portrait P.225, already on sale in 2009, was sold on 24/10/2012 (lot 141), then again on 1/04/2013 (lot 123), this time accompanied by the statuette stolen from Cyrene 74-423, which can be found in 2014, once again, at Jean David Cahn in Basel.

Two portraits appear simultaneously in the sale of 2/10/2014: P.219 (lot 94) and P.104 (lot 2). We are convinced the first was put on sale by the Drees gallery, located in Brussels, where we found it in 2019. On 3/04/2014, a possibly Cyrenean head, appears in lot 39.

Finally, the female funerary portrait P.230 was put on sale on 04/16/2015 and 11/30/2016 (lots 138 and 91) with a collection note: “With Mr. S, Zurich, Switzerland, in the 1990s. Belgian private collection of Madam M.T., between 1972-1987”. This pretty story of a Swiss or Belgian collection, to which we are sadly accustomed, does not hold. This work was indeed photographed in Libya, with two images recovered by the Department of Antiquities, taken between 2013 and 2014 in Cyrenaica. We have proof that the object was looted. In addition, part of the object was deliberately destroyed: the side bands and part of the bust were cut, which is the work of a restorer (pl. 10).

2. Timeline Auctions

Halfway between gallery and auction house, Timeline Actions, run by Brett Hammond, sells considerable amounts of antiques from all sources and eras, primarily through online auctions. She put on sale

between 2011 and 2020 at least four funeral portraits of Cyrenaica and another sculpture for which we have undeniable proof that it comes from trafficking.

During the sale of January 12, 2011, we have identified all the sculptures of Cyrenaica put on sale a few months earlier by Delorme and Collin du Bocage in Paris: the P.257 and P. 287 (lots 151-153), as well as lots 163 from Delorme which became lots 150 and 152 at Timeline. The depositor must be the same.

On February 2, 2015, the British company relaunched the P.152, previously released by Gorny & Mosch in 2013, deemed to come from "H.Z.," who we easily identify as Hussam Zurqieh of Dubai, and whose illegal origin is documented.

On April 9, 2018, appears the P.71 "Property of a Guernsey collector; acquired in the UK in the early 1990s".

On January 9, 2020, the company is releasing P.287, this time with a pedigree that appears to be complete: "Property of a South Oxfordshire, UK collector; acquired from Parthenon Gallery in 2011; previously with C.J. Martin; ex Delorme & Collin Du Bocage, May 13, 2011, lot 171; ex French collection; formerly in a 1970s British collection; accompanied by a copy of the relevant Delorme & Collin Du Bocage catalog page and Parthenon Gallery invoice and an academic report by Dr. Raffaele D'Amato; this lot has been checked against the Interpol Database of stolen works of art and is accompanied by AIAD certificate number no.160880-10057." When you read this carefully you understand that there is nothing on this object before 2011! Finally, on 6/4/2020, Timeline entered the P.288 (lot 1336) "from the family collection of a Hampstead gentleman; formerly acquired in the 1980s."

None of the items sold by this company have an ancient pedigree; worse, one of them is directly involved in current trafficking. It is possible that all of the items come from trafficking.

3. Other United Kingdom sales companies

Other companies based in the UK are responsible for many of the sales. In 2015, Ariadne Galleries in London presented local balls, a funeral deity. In 2015-2016, Finch & Co. in London put up on their sales site, P.192, called "Graeco-Egyptian marble funerary Portrait Bust". Artemission, also in London, put on sale P.36. (lot 86) "Acquired from a private European collection, formed in the 1970's" on 19/11/2010 and P.48, "Private collection, London, formerly with David Aaron Gallery", on 6/02/2019. P. 48 was first put on sale by Bertolami Fine Art on September 15, 2017 (lot 82). The David Aaron Gallery in London is also mentioned in the history of a piece put on sale in Spain and then in Monaco, the D.93. Canterbury Auction Galleries put up P.1076 (lot 437) for sale on April 22, 2012.

C. United States

1. Christie's, New-York.

Christie's is one of the world's leading auction houses, and the leading antiques dealer. The bulk of their sales are concentrated in

New York. Christie's sold at least five deities and four funeral portraits between 2002 and 2012, to which must be added a Cyrenean relief and three statuettes stolen from Cyrene. Only four works are actually mentioned by the auction house as originating from Cyrenaica, three of which would belong to the same initial collection, Baart-Biddle.

The first sale of which we are aware, thanks to Susan Kane, is that of December 12, 2002 when three funeral sculptures were sold simultaneously: the anionic head Dt.14 (lot 135) which would come from a "European private collection" and from a "American private collection". The notice clearly states "Aniconic representations, such as this example, were unique to Cyrene". Dt.228 (lot 137) is another head of a funerary deity, this time with a face and veiled. Finally, P.228 (lot 242) is also identified as coming from Cyrene: "For a closely related relief bust from Cyrenaica, now in the British Museum, see no. 272 in Walker and Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces, Mummy Portraits of Ancient Egypt*," but it would come from a "Spiro collection, Canada, 1970s". The first two pieces come from the Royal Athena Gallery by J. Eisenberg, and appeared the following year in its auction catalog.

In 2007, four funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica appeared in two consecutive sales. On June 6, 2007, P.138 (lot 168) is put on sale, exceptional for its morphology and dimensions. It was sold on March 6, 2009, (lot 180). On December 6, 2007, three sculptures appeared at the same sale: the funeral divinity D.93, from the Aaron gallery in London, whose origin is visibly known since the notice refers directly to L. Beschi, and two heads of funerary deities, Dt.61 and Dt.66 (lots 119 and 128), which curiously come from different collections.

On December 9, 2008, four sculptures from Cyrenaica are put on sale again: P.178 (lot 123) and Dt.75 (lot 104), which are accompanied by two statuettes stolen from Cyrene (lots 92 and 121). This sale probably reflects the usual mix of stolen and looted sculptures from Cyrenaica in the auctions. In this single sale, these four Cyrenean sculptures alone brought \$168,750, divided between the auction house and the depositor.

In 2009, three new funerary sculptures were put on sale. P.138 reappeared on March 6, 2011, (lot 180), this time with a head of a funerary deity, Dt.55, still coming from this famous "ex Ebrahimoff collection". Finally, on December 11, 2009, D.72, a complete funerary deity of great interest was sold. It came from a "Sarkis" collection in Beirut, and "Ishiguru" in Tokyo, via an "Archaic Gallery" in Japan. Proceeds from the sale of these three sculptures exceeded \$500,000.

In 2012, after having sold several sculptures stolen from Cyrene in previous years, three new funerary sculptures were offered for sale: Dt.68 and P.139 (sale on December 6, 2012, lots 112 and 232), and P.3 (sale on August 6, 2012, Lot 233), all from the same private collection of Ralph W. Stephan in the 1960s and then of Catharina Baart-Biddle in Washington. R. W. Stephan was the first husband of Catharina Baart, who became Biddle by second marriage. Ralph W. Stephan, who died in 2018, was a diplomat stationed in Cyrenaica, Benghazi, in the 1960s. This is the only collection record that we have been able to verify today. As it was already prohibited to export Libyan

archaeological objects on that date, these works were exported illegally.

2. Royal Athena Galleries, New York

Between 2001 and 2016, J. Eisenberg's gallery offered at least seven funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica for sale. In 2001, he put on sale the relief stolen from Cyrene 73-978. Between 2008 and 2013, he put the funeral divinity D.243 on sale, with the so-called "Ex Gregoire Couturier collection, Delémont, Switzerland, acquired before 1960" as its provenance. In 2010, he offered the portrait P.5, which he had probably first offered for sale at Pierre Bergé in Paris in 2009. In 2009 and 2014, he also put on sale at Christie's the Dt.55 and the portrait funeral P.232, both from the so-called "Ex Ebrahimoff Family Collection, Switzerland, acquired between 1956-1969".

If we add the other two "Ebrahimoff" pieces, there are at least nine sculptures from Cyrenaica, including seven funeral sculptures, which have passed through the hands of Eisenberg in recent years. There are certainly many more as there are numerous works in the Cyrenean style in their sales catalogs.

3. Other Sales Companies in New York

Sotheby's, in New York, is an auction house of equal importance to Christie's, but it has only put up for sale one funerary sculpture from Cyrenaica to our knowledge, P.151 on 12/7/2005 (lot 52).

The Safani Gallery, owned by Alan Safani, has put on sale several funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica: the Dt.60 (published on the internet in 2007 and since 2009 presented at the Dallas Museum), the Dt.59 (spotted in 2014 but placed for sale at Bergé in 2010), and the D.121 in 2017, (previously sold by J. Bagot in Barcelona, forgetting however the Libyan origin of the part, mentioned by the seller in Barcelona).

The Palmyra Heritage Gallery, run by Moussa Khouli (involved in several cases of trafficking in archaeological property), sells mainly on the web. In 2016 and 2017, he put on sale the P.184, which had already appeared in a sale in 2015 in Los Angeles. This same portrait is on sale in Los Angeles at Goldberg in 2015, probably deposited by Moussa Khouli.

Alex G. Malloy is a former employee and partner of Eisenberg. Items from his collection, possibly from the bottom of the Royal Athena Gallery, went on sale on forumancientcoins.com in 2016, including at least one portrait, P.7.

Edgar L. Owen is a merchant based in Lake Hutpakong in New Jersey, not far from New York. It put the P.223 on sale in 2016.

Howard Nowes is a merchant, owner of the Art for Eternity Company. It put on sale, in 2020, the P.289 and P.286.

Aphrodite Gallery, run by Jamal Rifai, put on sale in April 2018 the D.170, which we nicknamed the "Sleeping Beauty." It was identified

then as a statue of Aspasia from a saying "Ex. Swiss private collection, from the 1980s, with import document and Art Loss Register certificate." At the request of the Libyan authorities following our report, the work was seized and is the subject of an investigation.

4. Los Angeles

Several companies around Los Angeles are involved in the sale of Cyrenaica funeral sculptures.

Los Angeles-based Ira & Larry Goldberg is a mix of art gallery and auction house. They put up for sale three portraits between 2005 and 2015. The P.56 appears during the sale of 04/30/2005 (lot 1835), indicating that the work had previously been in the hands of Howard S. Rose, owner from the Arte Primitivo Gallery in New York. On 1/12/2012, the P.3, from the "Baart Biddle" collection previously put up for sale by Christie's is put back on sale. Finally, on July 12, 2015, the P.184 is sold with the notation "Libyan Marble Female Head". Still very heavily tinged with terra rossa, it is undoubtedly the product of recent looting. It was sold on the Ebay and Liveauctioneers sites by the Palmyra Heritage company of Mousa Khouli, between 2016 and 2017, with no mention of the sale at Goldberg.

Malter Gallery, in Encino, put up for sale two funeral portraits on 10/4/2009, P.59 and P.166, both of which are believed to be from an "N.Y.C. collection." Michael G. Malter, who worked as an antique dealer for around 50 years and until 2015, has been repeatedly prosecuted for trafficking in antiques, and convicted at least twice in the past 20 years¹⁰.

Ancient Resource, in Montrose, is both an antique gallery run by Gabriel Vandervort, and a public sale company, located in the suburbs of Los Angeles. Some objects stamped "Ancient Resource" are therefore sometimes on deposit from other sellers. Vandervort is associated with Kelly Ramage, "formerly long-term cataloguer for Malter Galleries" and Michael Bianco, "world-renowned antiquities expert and collector"¹¹. On November 15, 2009, the company put on sale the P.159 (lot 143), which comes from the "collection" Mariaud de Serres, previously sold by Piasa in Paris. Between 2017 and 2018, it put P.8 on sale three times (sales on 22/10/2017, 11/02/2018 and 18/10/2018, lots 94, 0061, 0137).

5. Louisville, Colorado

The Artemis gallery company, Bob and Teresa Dodge's Cleanliness, is located in Louisville on the outskirts of Denver. This shopping arcade also organizes online sales. Between 2019 and 2020, it put four funeral portraits of Cyrenaica on sale. The P.166 went on sale on September 5, 2019, October 17, 2019, and March 26, 2020 (lots 22, 81, 38). The P.5 went on sale on 02/13/2020 (lot 20) then on 10/8/2020 (lot 29), after having been put on sale by Bergé in 2009, then Eisenberg in 2010, with mention of a Serres provenance. At this last sale, P.289 (lot 45c) appears, which is said to come from a "private New York, New York, USA collection; ex Secret Eye Gallery, New York City, acquired in the 1970s", and which is probably deposited here by

¹⁰ https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/case-law-doc/traffickingculturalpropertycrimetype/usa/case_malter_html/Malter.pdf; Daid Colker, "Dealer Pleads Guilty to Selling Stolen Relics", *Los Angeles Times*, 2 décembre 2000.

¹¹ <http://www.ancientresourceauctions.com/about-us.html>

Howard Nowes. Finally, on 4/06/2020, P.97 (lot 40) from a “private New York, USA collection; ex-private European collection, imported to the United States in 1999 “went on sale, sponsored by Ali and Hicham Aboutaam, owners of Ancient Phoenix Art.

D. Spain

Three Spanish merchants are involved in the sale of Libyan sculptures.

The main one is Jaume Bagot who sells in his gallery in Barcelona and online. Between 2013 and 2016 he put on sale at least four funeral deities, three heads of funeral deities and one funeral portrait.

In 2013, he put on sale the D.93, acquired from D. Aaron according to our information. The sales catalog states that it comes from a “private European collection”. The Cyrenean origin is assumed, and it is well attested as a funerary deity. It is sold with the D.121, which comes from a “Private collection in Asia since the 1980s”. The Libyan origin is still assumed, with bibliographical references to L. Beschî. Finally, Dt.64 was listed as coming from an “old German collection, acquired in 1980.”

In 2015, he put on sale the D.81, called “bust of Demeter”, but this time without saying that it comes from Libya. Instead, the seller claims that it comes from a “Private collection F.J., Europe, acquired in the 1980s”. In January 2016 the D.82 appeared on the website, still without saying anything of Libyan origin, but with another collection mentioned: “S.G., Belgium”. In the same year, and with the same collection name, the Dt.67 head was put on sale.

Finally, in 2017, portrait P.227 appears, supposedly from a “private F.T. collection, Asia, acquired in the 1960s”.

With eight funeral sculptures sold in less than four years, J. Bagot ???

The Spanish authorities opened an investigation in 2018 and seized some of the works.

At the same time, Bagot’s neighbor, whose gallery is barely twenty meters away, F. Cervera, put on sale a funeral portrait (P.30) and a funeral deity (Dt.62) in 2015 and 2016. The Dt.62 was sold in 2019–2020 by a third Spanish dealer, J. Ifergàn, based in Malaga. This collector-dealer “recycles” works from other dealers by housing works for a few years before reselling them with the mention “Ifergàn collection”.

E. Other European countries

1. Germany

Munich-based Gorny & Mosch, run by Dieter Gorny and Hans-Christoph von Mosch, initially specialized in numismatics, and since 2002 has been trading in antique objects as a secondary activity.

On December 18, 2013 (sale 218) Gorny and Mosch put up for sale a set of three funeral portraits (lots 252-254, P.55, P.54, P.152) on the same catalog page with the same dimensions, materials, techniques, and style, which would all come from the same collection “HZ, 1990s” in Munich¹². The Cyrenean origin of these pieces is systematically mentioned. The third portrait, P.152, estimated at 1,000 by Gorny & Mösch in 2013, was sold in the United Kingdom in 2015 on the timelineauction.com site between £3,000 and £5,000¹³. At the time of the first sale it is said to come from the collection “HZ, 1990s” in Munich, but in 2015 it is said to come from “a large collection in North London formed before 1980”, as were other sculptures within the same sale. The two records are incompatible and mark, once again, the unreliability of the collections offered, especially since these portraits are from Hussam Zurqieh, a notorious trafficker from Dubai.

Two other Munich companies sold funeral portraits: the P.207, already sold by Bergé in Paris, was sold by Gerhart Hirsch Nachfolger on September 23-24, 2014. The P.104, already sold by Bonhams in 2014, is resold by the Alte Roemer Gallery in 2020 with the same pedigree: “Previously in the British private collection P. Adie. Acquired in 1999 by Helios Gallery, Great Britain. Acquired in the London art trade between the 80s and 90s”.

Finally, the Van Ham auction house in Cologne is selling P.294 (lots 2187 and 2182) on 8/12/2016 and 7/12/2017 and would come from a Belgian collection corresponding to a real person deceased in 2014, Simon du Chastel from the Howarderie; however, no document is presented to explain its provenance.

2. Belgium and the Netherlands

The gallery of Nelly and Eric Drees, in Brussels, is at the origin of several sales of Cyrenean sculptures including at least two funeral portraits, P.219 and P.177. The P.219 was put on sale without success at Bonhams in 2014 and Millon in 2018, and the P.177 also without success at Delorme and Collin du Bocage in 2009 and Pescheteau-Bain in 2010. These are the only two funerary sculptures of Cyrenaica that we were able to spot in 2019, but how many pieces did they actually manage to sell?

Axel Vervoordt, dealer in Antwerp, put on sale in 2014 an aprosope head (D.16) which is said to come from a “Private collection F.B., Barcelona, ca. 1970; Private collection, Europe, before 1970.”

¹² Catalogue de vente Gorny et Mosch 218, 18 décembre 2003, lots 252-254.

¹³ <http://www.timelineauctions.com/search/> consulté le 13/04/2016 ; <http://www.the-saleroom.com/fr-fr/auction-catalogues/timeline-auctions-limited/catalogue-id-srtime10007/lot-fc798863-79d1-4742-8634-a42100f6732a> consulté le 20/04/2016.

Archea Ancient Art Gallery by Vincent Geerling in Amsterdam, put on sale on 1/10/2019 the P.60, which would come from an "Ex collection R. Holland, collected in the 1990s".

3. Switzerland

While Switzerland frequently appears as a place of provenance for old collections, most often hypothetical or invented, few sales are organized there publicly. They are often the fruit of merchants, who auction in Paris, London and New York.

Michael G. Petropoulos, director of the Rhéa Gallery in Zurich, put on sale a head of a funerary deity (Dt.63) in May 2020. The notice is clear on its origin; it is "probably a funerary bust of the type common to Cyrene and Attica representing the goddess Persephone or Demeter" with a reference to the head of Cyrene Dt.53 in the British Museum (inv. 1936,1018.1). The history of the piece is short: "Galerie Nefer, AG, Zurich, late 1990s". The work probably comes from a looting after 1970. Jean-David Cahn, who heads the Cahn AG Gallery in Basel, has put on sale many sculptures stolen from Cyrene since 2000. He is selling at least one of two sculptures that look like funerary deities, if not both, in 2015. The first went on sale at Bonhams in London in 2009.

Ancient Phoenix Art, run by the Aboutaam brothers, is traditionally based in Geneva but has branches in Brussels and New York. They are currently the subject of several investigations in the three countries. They have put up for sale at least two funeral portraits, P. 63 and P.97, in 2017 and 2020, but that is certainly just the tip of the iceberg. In connection with an investigation in Switzerland, three funeral deities were seized in Geneva in 2016. (D.37, 237 and 238)

F. Israel

1. Archeological Center LTD, Old Jaffa - Tel Aviv

The director of this company, Robert Deutsch, is one of Israel's leading antique dealers. Its gallery also serves as a sales house, the main one in Israel for antiques. The items they sell may therefore belong to other merchants. In the space of ten years, they have put up for sale at least ten portraits and two funerary deities of Cyrenaica.

Sales were digitized from 2006 and we do not have any previous catalogs. It was therefore in 2006 that we saw the first works appear: P.169 and 206, sharing the same patina and probably coming from the same site, that were put on sale on 04/17/2006 (lots 330-331). The P.169 comes straight out of excavation, as evidenced by the mark of a pickaxe.

On 6/10/2009 R. Deutsch put on sale the P.191 and P.31 (lots 388-389). The P.191 was not sold, and reappears elsewhere on the Baidun Gallery website in 2016, which may be the depositor here.

On April 1, 2010, a fifth funeral portrait went on sale, P.58, also fresh from the excavation, accompanied by a set of coins from Cyrenaica.

On 05/07/2015, four funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica were put on sale in four successive lots (lots 438-441): two funeral deities, D.27 and D.83 (lots 438-439) and two funerary portraits, P.11 and P.221 (lots 440-441). The P.221 is found in 2018 in the window of the Barakat Gallery, which may be the depositor this time.

On 04/26/2017, P.179 went on sale in lot 414.

On 04/13/2017 P.4 (lot 429), stolen from Derna in 2005, which had already been spotted in the Ancient Artifact gallery in 2016 was put on sale.

On 04/13/2020, finally, P.259 goes on sale (lot 797), once again apparently freshly dug from the ground.

Two things emerge from the study of the sales of this company. The objects have barely been restored and are still often have traces of terra rossa and damage linked to the looters' search methods. In addition, these objects go through auctions organized by the Archaeological Center, but may come from the main antiquities galleries of Jerusalem: Barakat, Baidun and Biblical Artifacts.

2. Baidun Shop, Jerusalem

A significant gallery in Jerusalem owned by the Baidun family, this company has been implicated in multiple scandals linked to the trafficking of archaeological property. Looted objects are often stamped "Baidun family Collection". This is the case with the first three funeral portraits of Cyrenaica, P.62, P.191 and P.256, spotted in 2016 and still on sale in 2020; the P.191 had already been put on sale in 2009 at R. Deutsch. A visit to the gallery in 2017 allowed us to spot three new portraits, P.6, P.27 and P.33.

3. Abraham Antiquities, Jerusalem

This small gallery in the Via Dolorosa presented three funeral portraits in the window in 2018: P.221, P.165 and P.236. The P.165 was not yet restored, and was shown broken in half. This company may be behind Archaeological Center Ltd's 5/7/2015 sale of P.221 which was accompanied by D.27, D.83 and P.11.

4. Biblical Artifacts, Jerusalem

This gallery, directed by Sami Taha, has put on sale at least two funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica spotted in 2016, D.241 and P.4, with a set of marble sculptures of the same material and patina from Cyrenaica. Thanks to the research of K. El Haddar, we were able to identify P.4 as one of the three funeral portraits stolen from the Derna museum in 2005 and reported to the Interpol base. We reported this to the Israeli Antiquities Authorities (IAA), which seized the works and discovered a third funeral portrait in 2018, P.292.

5. The Barakat nebula

It is not one companies but several which are run by members of the Barakat family. Two of them are involved in the sale of many funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica, without our knowing the exact relationship between them: the gallery of Bassam Barakat in Jerusalem and Fayez Barakat in London, Seoul, Hong-Kong, and Beverly Hills.

The Fayez Barakat Gallery piqued our interest in 2015, with the identification of three portraits: P.14, P.15 and P.26, on sale in London. The P.14 and P.15 were subsequently released for sale in Hong Kong. In 2018, a fourth portrait appears on their auction site, P.229, listed in Beverly Hills, then in Seoul where it is still in 2020 if it has not been sold.

The Bassam Barakat Gallery does not have an online sales site as extensive as the previous gallery. It was therefore in his windows that Vincent Michel was able to spot many funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica in 2018 and 2019: P.18, P.202, P.183, P.49, P.231, P.13 and P.140. Seven funeral portraits put up for sale at the same time is a record.

The Barakat Galleries are in any case responsible for the sale of at least 11 funeral portraits in the space of five years, and this is arguably a minimum.

G. United Arab Emirates

Two merchants are involved in the sale of artifacts from Dubai, some of them passing through Bangkok, Thailand.

The first is Hussam Zurqieh, who directly put up for sale two portraits between 2016 and 2020 on various platforms, the P.11 and P.176, with the false provenance, "Obtained from London, imported legally to Dubai, and is originally obtained pre 1980". He is also one of Bagoit's intermediaries in the acquisition of certain parts.

The second is Hassan Fazeli, already involved in other cases of illicit trafficking to the United States. He is the first seller of the D.193 deity seized in London in 2013, and of the Dt.54 seized in the United States in 2008.

III. Investigations and Seizures

In addition to sales, numerous seizures have been made in various countries by customs or police, either opening new investigations or resulting from an ongoing investigation. We do not have access to all the files, or we cannot yet reveal them, so this is only an overview, not mentioning all the specific cases (we have already mentioned the investigation of S. Taha and P.24 in Jerusalem).¹⁴

1. A head of a funeral divinity seized in New York in 2008 (pl. 12)

Arriving by courier in the United States, the Dt. 54 had been sent by Hassan Fazeli from Dubai, to a merchant in New York. The package

was described as "One marble head, over 100 hundred years old, country of origin: Turkey, price \$ 15,000." ICE and HSI agents seized the room and opened an investigation leading to the conclusion that the room was indeed Libyan. The work was returned in 2019 to the Libyan Ambassador in Washington.

2. A seizure in Paris in 2012

Four funeral deities were seized in 2012 in Paris, D.74, D.124, D.190 and D.234. One of these sculptures was put on sale without success on May 29, 2008 by Bergé. The sculptures were appraised by Vincent Michel, at the request of Jean-Luc Martinez, then chief curator of the Department of Greek Etruscan and Roman Antiquities at the Louvre Museum, who had recognized the origin of the pieces. The merchant responsible for the "merchandise" pleaded the right way and decided to voluntarily discard the sculptures. The case is still ongoing.

3. Funeral deity seized in London in 2013 (cover)

Seized in 2013, D.185 was the subject of a high-profile trial¹⁵ and the case was judged.¹⁶ Purchased by a Jordanian dealer, Riad Al Qassas, from Hassan Fazeli in Dubai in 2005 or 2008, the work arrived in 2011 in Great Britain, in the hands of an established U.K. dealer, Farhan Yaghi, owner of Aequitas Classical Arts Limited. It was then sent to a restoration workshop at Colin Bowles, before going to a warehouse in 2013. From the warehouse it could have gone abroad. A customs officer was then astonished at the inconsistency of the papers which presented a "marble stone for interior decoration" having "more than a century" or "17th century Greek", originating in Turkey, with a value of 110,000 £, from "Mr. Fazeli's personal collection since 1977". The judgment was concerned with the fact that none of the actors in the sale could be able to prove that they were the owners of the work. By default, the Libyan state was recognized as the sole righteous holder. Note that the defendant, Riad Al Qassas, did not come to London for the trial, and that H. Fazeli was not subpoenaed. The Unesco convention was not even invoked: a trial for fraud and not for trafficking in cultural property was held in 2015.

The sculpture is currently awaiting its return at the British Museum.

4. The Egyptian seizures: Damietta and Port Said¹⁷ (pl. 11)

We are currently investigating a series of seizures by Egyptian authorities in Alexandria in 2011, Port Said in 2011 and Damietta in 2015. We still have little information on the first.

The 2011 Port Said seizure was made on a transport ship bound for

¹⁴ En plus des ventes de sculptures funéraires de Cyrénaïque, nous étudions par ailleurs plusieurs autres phénomènes en Libye et hors de Libye, en particulier les vols ; saluons au passage le travail actuel de Camille Blancher, qui étudie les vols de 1999-2000 à Cyrène.

¹⁵ « The £2m smuggled treasure passed off as a garden statue: Judge goes on day trip to the British Museum to see it for himself » <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3018716/The-2m-smuggled-treasure-passed-garden-statue-Judge-goes-day-trip-British-Museum-himself.html>, consulté le 7/04/2015; I. Carterwood, « Government seizes 1,800-year-old looted statue of goddess Persephone worth £1.5 million and vows to return it to Libya » [dailymail.co.uk](http://www.dailymail.co.uk), consulté le 1/09/2015 ; <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/11503807/Court-sits-at-British-Museum-for-first-time-as-judge-studies-looted-Libyan-sculpture.html> consulté le 2/10/2015.

¹⁶ John Zani, rapport « In the Westminster Court between H. M. Revenue & Customs v Riad Issa Mohamad Al Qassas », 1er septembre 2015.

¹⁷ Cette partie est une synthèse de deux rapports, *Report - Cyrenaican sculptures seized in Damietta*, rédigé en janvier 2016 et *Preliminary report - Libyan sculptures seized in Egypt : Port Said 2011 and Damietta 2015*, co-rédigé avec Samar Elkhmissy en décembre 2020, destiné aux autorités Libyennes et Françaises.

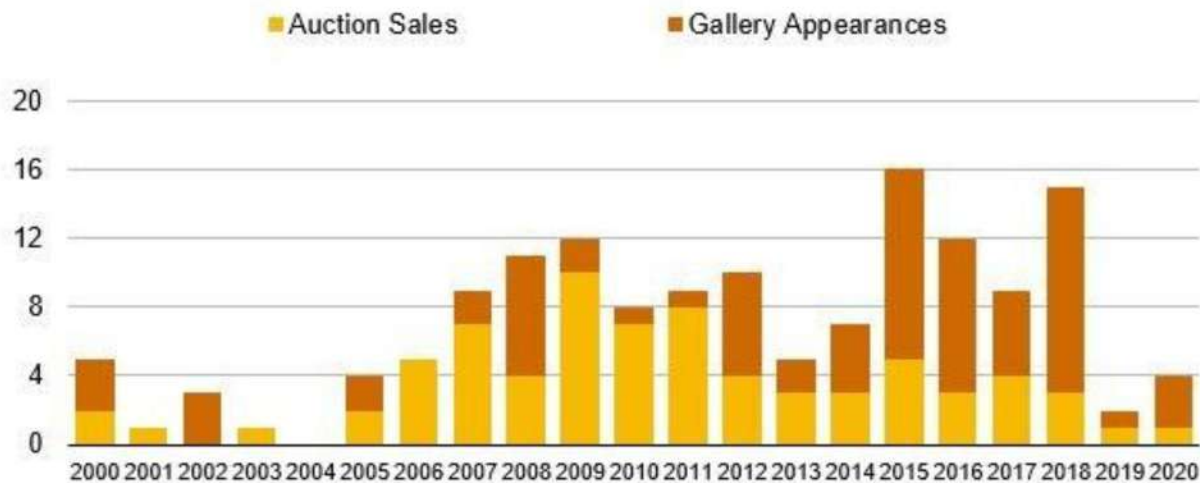


Fig. 3. Sales and offerings (auction or gallery) by known date of appearance of the funeral sculptures from Cyrenaica.

Dubai, in a container loaded with sofas. Inside, at least ten sculptures from Cyrenaica, including eight funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica, accompanied by various objects including two vases probably from a Greek tomb from the 4th century BC. The objects were wrapped in aluminum foil.

The Damietta seizure was made in a container of toilet paper bound for Bangkok in November 2015. Under the toilet paper were four wooden boxes containing more than a thousand archaeological objects with ten marble sculptures, including seven funerary sculptures of Cyrenaica. Some of the objects were wrapped in aluminum foil.

The methodology is similar between the two seizures, which are probably linked to the same network, organized from Dubai. Among the non-funerary works is a head of Lucius Verus, of which we already have the photographs taken by the looters in 2011, and collected on social networks by the Department of Antiquities of Cyrene.

The seizure of Damietta was already the subject of a first report in January 2016, and the two seizures are the subject of a new report in 2020, since a large part of the objects were exhibited at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo from October to December 2020. The investigation is ongoing, but one person has already been sentenced to ten years in prison in the case of Damietta. The man is currently on the run.

5. The seizure of Geneva

Three funerary deities (D.37, 237-238), probably from the same tomb, were seized in a Geneva warehouse, as part of another investigation linked to the activities of Ancient Phoenix Art. The investigation is currently underway, but the works passed through Dubai before arriving in Geneva.

6. L'affaire Bagot (pl. 6-7)

Another case in progress, the seizure made at the Barcelona merchant J. Bagot in 2018 led to the opening of an investigation for trafficking in antiques and suspicion of terrorist financing by the Patrimonio Histórico cell of the Spanish police. Some elements have already been revealed by the press.¹⁸ According to certain exchanges reported by journalists, Bagot was in contact with Hussam Zurqieh in Dubai, to whom he financed one or more trips to North Africa to collect coins, and to whom he paid works including the D. 121 and a head of a funerary divinity for a much lower price than the estimate proposed later in his gallery (around 1/6th of the sale price). He also asks for false papers to deceive the customs. J. Bagot's associate, Oriol Carreras, allegedly asked a Spanish transport company to falsify the documents to make it appear that a sculpture had passed through Germany. The works are then partly in Bangkok Thailand, in a branch of these merchants. The investigation is continuing and should culminate in a trial in 2021, but J. Bagot is quietly continuing his activities in the meantime.

¹⁸ Suárez-Mansilla, M., « Blood antiquities: a net acting in Spain helped to finance Daesh through illicit traffic of cultural goods », *Art world Law bulletin. Chronicles of Themis and Athenea*, 4, pp. 1-32, Madrid; Lamarca, E.; Parga, M. *La increíble storia di Jaume Bagot, el joven y poderoso antiquario a la sombra del Daesh*, «Vanity Fair Spagna», 2 settembre 2018, <https://www.revis-tavanityfair.es/la-revista/articulos/a-la-sombra-daesh-jaume-bagot-arte-financiar-daesh/32480>, consultato il 20/06/2020.

7. *Digital networks survey*

Finally, there is another survey conducted since 2011 by researchers in archeology and art history in which we are participating: the interception of exchanges on social networks (Facebook, Whatsapp, Youtube, etc.), sales platforms (Ebay, Opensooq...) and the e-mail exchanges of photographs and videos made by traffickers (looters and intermediaries in Libya and in the Middle East) of works from Cyrenaica put up for sale sometimes in a very open way in discussion groups.

Several hundred photographs were thus collected by us, by the Department of Antiquities of Libya, by Libyan heritage enthusiasts, or by investigative services. Obviously, we have not reproduced them here. When the works then appear on the art market, we can then intervene and provide supporting evidence to have the works seized arrest those concerned. Nearly 50 Libyan sculptures, mainly from Cyrenaica, are already listed.

We are recently indebted to the Athar Project for sharing some of their documents and methodology to enable us to go further in this process. What emerges from the images is that very often the sculptures are sold in lots of four to fifteen objects, mixing funerary sculptures with other types. This largely explains why it is ultimately rare to see, in an auction catalog, only one sculpture appear. They are most often sold in groups of two or three on the international art market, and up to seven in a single window as we have seen in Jerusalem.

Conclusions

We have inventoried more than 200 Cyrenaica funerary sculptures for nearly 240 Cyrenaica sculptures that have appeared abroad in the last 20 years, and for the most part since the start of the conflict in 2011.

We have inventoried as much information as possible, in particular regarding selling prices.

We generally only have estimates or prices, more rarely sales results. Depending on the dimensions, materials, state of preservation and place of sale, the price can change considerably. Funeral portraits are generally estimated between \$1,000 and \$3,000 in Israel, \$2,000 and \$5,000 in the U.S.A. and Europe. The largest and most beautiful portraits can be sold for between \$20,000 and \$100,000. The funeral deities are more variable: the smallest limestone ones can be sold between \$2000 and \$5000, the largest in marble above \$60,000. The exceptional coins, finally, are between \$100,000 and \$1 million. In total, we estimate that all the funeral sculptures of Cyrenaica represent a market of between \$5 million and \$20 million, and the set of sculptures of Cyrenaica inventoried, including the non-funeral sculptures, exceeds 30 million euros.

To be fair, we have probably only found a fraction of the items sold or exported in the market in recent years, maybe 10-30% being optimistic.

Perhaps not all of them come from recent illegal excavations. Three or four objects are already associated with older exports, prior to 1970. At least two identified funerary sculptures were stolen, and we have the documents allowing us to identify at least 20 other sculptures looted in Libya since 2010, for about 50 objects documented by photographs and videos of looters. The works from recent illegal excavations are therefore well suited to the international market, and sometimes in a very short period of time. With one ready exception, none of the works mentioned here has a history before 2000. There is no mention of a previous sale, and of all the earlier collections mentioned, we have only been able to verify one. The name collector occurs in 9% of cases; in 55% of cases there are only initials or a vague mention of the collector. In 36% of cases absolutely nothing is mentioned about the collector.

When a collection originates from a country according to the sales catalog, the countries that come back most often are Switzerland and the United States (20% each) followed by the United Kingdom, France, Israel and Belgium. The dates of acquisitions sometimes are only sometimes mentioned and the dates are mostly "before 1970".

We have seen how much attention should be paid to these references to previous collections: they are either vague, incomplete, or false.

This market, which to our knowledge begins around 2000, increased until around 2018 in Europe and the United States. The geography of sales is interesting: four so-called "first known" countries dominate sales: the United States, France, Israel and the United Kingdom, with four cities: London, Paris and New York, which traditionally constitute the "Golden triangle" on the art market for two centuries, and more surprisingly Jerusalem.

Jerusalem and Israel are therefore, along with the Dubai-Bangkok duo, the second main point of entry for the antiquities of Cyrenaica, which often pass through Egypt. However, most of the time we only discover the works when they have reached their final destination, the international antiques market.

The players in this market are not all criminals. It would be unfair to accuse all dealers of being intentional traffickers. We must respect the presumption of innocence, and start from the idea that some do not know that the works they are selling originate from a country in time of conflict. We should not, however, remain blind: in the antiques market there is a contempt for questions of provenance and origin, a desire not to see, if not to cover up. Only judicial inquiries and justice are able to discern who is guilty and who is not. Our role is therefore not that of an accuser, but we can do this in two very specific cases: Hassan Fazeli and Hussam Zurquieh, clearly important intermediaries between the traffickers from Libya and Egypt and the European market and American. We must be even more wary of names that are not in the spotlight, but are in small, scattered references in the sales catalogs: the good intermediaries are those whose names remain hidden.









It must be understood that these sculptures certainly did not arrive alone and are far from the only objects from Cyrenaica exported. Indeed, if only for the tombs, the first search of the looters is that of small objects in precious metals or decorated ceramics. How many










red-figure vases have been found with the deities? How many jewelry, terracotta, glasses or alabaster objects? Unfortunately, these are productions which, in the Greek and Roman times, were generally poorly characterized locally. The Cyreneans were able to create under the influence of generic models, which can be found in all ancient cities, or imported directly from other centers of creation. This also applies to the other categories of sculptures. It is difficult to distinguish the generic works that can be found in all the Greek and Roman cities, in particular when these resort to imports of sculptures produced in other centers as was the case in Cyrene as early as the archaic period.







In addition, Libyan sculptures are only a small component of sales: thousands of objects from dozens of countries are sold with: Afghanistan, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Mali, Sudan, India, Pakistan, Cambodia, China, Korea, Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador... The sale of Cyrenaic funeral sculptures testifies to a global phenomenon: the illegal exploitation of an archaeological resource by criminal groups installed between source countries and consumer countries, destroying by the millions every year the archaeological contexts which are the archives of humanity, with one and only goal: money. But where it is often a question of survival or subsistence on the side of the source countries, in particular the poor countries or in conflict, it is about pure profit on the side of the rich countries in particular in Europe and the United States.










While the decontextualization of generic artifacts is serious, it may be partially offset by our knowledge of other parts of the old world. On the other hand, these doubly local funerary sculptures, by their execution and their iconography, produced by Cyrenean craftsmen for a millennium, testify to the municipal activity, tastes, beliefs, permanence, changes, evolutions and the very structure of a particular and original society situated at the geographical and historical crossroads of Mediterranean cultures, and for which our written sources are very tenuous. The loss of the context of these sculptures is irremediable because these traditions, in particular that of the funeral deities, are unparalleled.










Appendix K.1—Extract from the “Directory of Libyan sculpture sales”










Image	N° de catalogue	Pays de circulation 1	Société / marchand 1	Année de vente 1	Pays de circulation 2	Société / marchand 2	Année de vente 2	Pays de circulation 3	Société / marchand 3	Année de vente 3	Date de saisie	Lieu de saisie
	P.3	Etats-Unis	Christies	2012	Etats-Unis	Goldberg	2012					
	P.4	Israël	Biblical Artifacts	2016	Israël	Archaeological Center	2017				01/04/2018	Jérusalem
	P.5	Etats-Unis	Royal Athena Gallery	2010	Etats-Unis	Artemis	2020					
	P.6	Israël	Baidun	2017							2018	Jérusalem
	P.7	Etats-Unis	Malloy, Alex G.	2016								
	P.8	Etats-Unis	Ancient Resource LLC	2017	Etats-Unis	Ancient Resource LLC	2018	Etats-Unis	Ancient Resource LLC	2018		
	P.11	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2015								
	P.13	Israël	Barakat	2018	Israël	Barakat	2019					










	P.33	Israël	Baidun	2017									
	P.36	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2006	Royaume-Uni	Artemision	2010						
	P.40	France	Bergé	2006									
	P.48	Royaume-Uni	Bertolami Fine Art	2017	Royaume-Uni	Artemision	2019						
	P.49	Israël	Barakat	2018	Israël	Barakat	2019						
	P.51	France	Bergé	2007									
	P.52	France	Millon	2009	France	Boisgirard et associés	2011	France	Bergé	2011			
	P.54	Emirats Arabes Unis	Zurqieh	2012	Allemagne	Gorny & Mösch	2013						
	P.55	Emirats Arabes Unis	Zurqieh	2012	Allemagne	Gorny & Mösch	2013						










	P.138	Etats-Unis	Christie's	2007	Etats-Unis	Christie's	2009						
	P.139	Etats-Unis	Christie's	2012									
	P.140	Israël	Barakat	2018									
	P.141	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2008									
	P.142	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2011									
	P.151	Etats-Unis	Sotheby's	2005									
	P.152	Emirats Arabes Unis	Zurqieh	2012	Allemagne	Gorny & Mösch	2013	Royaume-Uni	Timeline Auctions Ltd - Barneby's	2015			
	P.154	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2006									
	P.159	France	Piasa	2003	Etats-Unis	Ancient Resource LLC	2009						










	P.160	Pays-Bas	Archea Ancient Art - Catawiki	2017								
	P.161	France	Serres	2001								
	P.163	Libye		2005								
	P.165	Israël	Abraham Antiques	2017								
	P.166	Etats-Unis	Malter Gallery	2009	Etats-Unis	Artemis Gallery	2019	Etats-Unis	Artemis Gallery	2020		
	P.169	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2006								
	P.176	Libye		2012	Dubaï	Zurqieh - Vcoins et Ebay	2016-2020	Emirats	Zurqieh - Ebay	2020		
	P.177	France	Delorme et Collin du Boccage	2010	France	Pescheteau Badin	2012	Belgique	Drees	2019	2019	Bruxelles
	P.178	Etats-Unis	Christies	2009								










	P.179	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2016								
	P.183	Israël	Barakat	2018								
	P.184	Etats-Unis	Goldberg	2015	Etats-Unis	Palmyra Heritage	2016	Etats-Unis	Palmyra Heritage	2017		
	P.191	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2009	Israël	Baidun	2016					
	P.192	Royaume-Uni	Fich & Co	2016								
	P.202	Israël	Barakat	2018								
	P.206	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2006								
	P.207	France	Bergé	2008	Allemagne	Hirsch Nachfolger	2014					
	P.211	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2007								

	P.219	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2014	France	Millon	2018	Belgique	Drees	2019	2019	Bruxelles
	P.221	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2015	Israël	Abraham Antiques	2018					
	P.223	Etats-Unis	Owen	2016								
	P.225	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2009	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2012	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2013		
	P.227	Espagne	Bagot	2014								
	P.228	Etats-Unis	Royal Athena Gallery	2002	Etats-Unis	Christies	2002					
	P.229	Etats-Unis	Barakat	2019								
	P.230	Libye	Pilleurs	2012	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2015	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2016		
	P.231	Israël	Barakat	2018								

	P.287	France	Delorme et Collin du Bocage	2011	Royaume-Uni	Timeline	2011	Royaume-Uni	Timeline	2020		
	P.288	Royaume-Uni	Timeline Auctions	2020								
	P.289	Etats-Unis	Art for Eternity	2020	Etats-Unis	Artemis Gallery	2020					
	P.292	Israël	Biblical Artifacts	2018							2018	Jérusalem
	P.294	Allemagne	Van Ham	2016	Allemagne	Van Ham	2017					
	D.27	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2015								
	D.37	Emirats Arabes Unis		2012	Suisse		2016				2016	Genève
	D.72	Etats-Unis	Christies	2009								
	D.73	Royaume-Uni	Ariadne Galleries	2015								

	D.74	France	-	2012							2012	Paris
	D.81	Espagne	Bagot	2014								
	D.82	Espagne	Bagot	2014	France	Aguttes	2016				2017	Paris
	D.83	Israël	Archeological Center LTD	2015								
	D.93	Etats-Unis	Christies	2013	Espagne	Bagot	2013					
	D.121	Espagne	Bagot	2013								
	D.124	France	Bergé	2008							2012	Paris
	D.170	Etats-Unis	Aphrodite Gallery	2019							2019	New York
	D.175	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2008								

	D.185	Emirats Arabes Unis	Fazeli	2008	Jordanie	Riad Al Qassas	2011	Royaume-Uni	Aequitas Classical Arts	2011	2013	Londres
	D.190	France	G. Lotfi	2008							2012	Paris
	D.234	France	G. Lotfi	2008							2012	Paris
	D.237	Emirats Arabes Unis	Zurqieh ?	2012	Suisse	Aboutam	2016				2016	Genève
	D.238	Emirats Arabes Unis	Zurqieh ?	2012	Suisse	Aboutam	2016				2016	Genève
	D.241	Israël	Biblical Artifacts	2016							2018	Jérusalem
	D.243	Etats-Unis	Royal Athena Gallery	2008								
	D.257	France	Bergé	2012								
	Dt.14	Etats-Unis	Royal Athena Gallery	2002	Etats-Unis	Christies	2002					

	Dt.16	Belgique	Axel Vervoo rdt	2014								
	Dt.22	Etats-Unis	-	-								
	Dt.54	Emirats Arabes Unis	Hassan Fazeli	2008	Etats-Unis		2008					
	Dt.55	Etats-Unis	Royal Athena Gallery	2009	Etats-Unis	Christie s	2009	Etats-Unis	Christie s	2014		
	Dt.56	France	Leclère	2011	France	Leclère	2011					
	Dt.57	Etats-Unis	Royal Athena Gallery	2002	Etats-Unis	Christie s	2002					
	Dt.58	France	Bergé	2009	Royaume-Uni	Bonhams	2011	Allemagne	Gorny & Mösch	2013		
	Dt.59	France	Bergé	2010	Etats-Unis	Safari	2014	Belgique	Safari - Brafa	2016		
	Dt.60	Etats-Unis	Safari	2007								

	Dt.61	Etats-Unis	Christies	2007								
	Dt.62	Espagne	Cervera	2016	Espagne	Ifergan	2020					
	Dt.63	Suisse	Galerie Rhéa	2020								
	Dt.64	Espagne	Bagot	2014								
	Dt.65	Emirats Arabes Unis	Zurqieh	2013	Espagne	Bagot	2014			2018	Barcelone	
	Dt.66	Etats-Unis	Christies	2007								
	Dt.67	Espagne	Bagot	2015								
	Dt.68	Etats-Unis	Christies	2012								
	Dt.69	France	Delorme et Collin du Boccage	2014	France	Samarcande	2015	France	Delorme et Collin du Boccage	2015		

Plates



Museums of Cyrene and Apollonia.



Modes of exposure.

Pl. 1. The funerary deities of Cyrenaica: forms, types, modes of exposure.



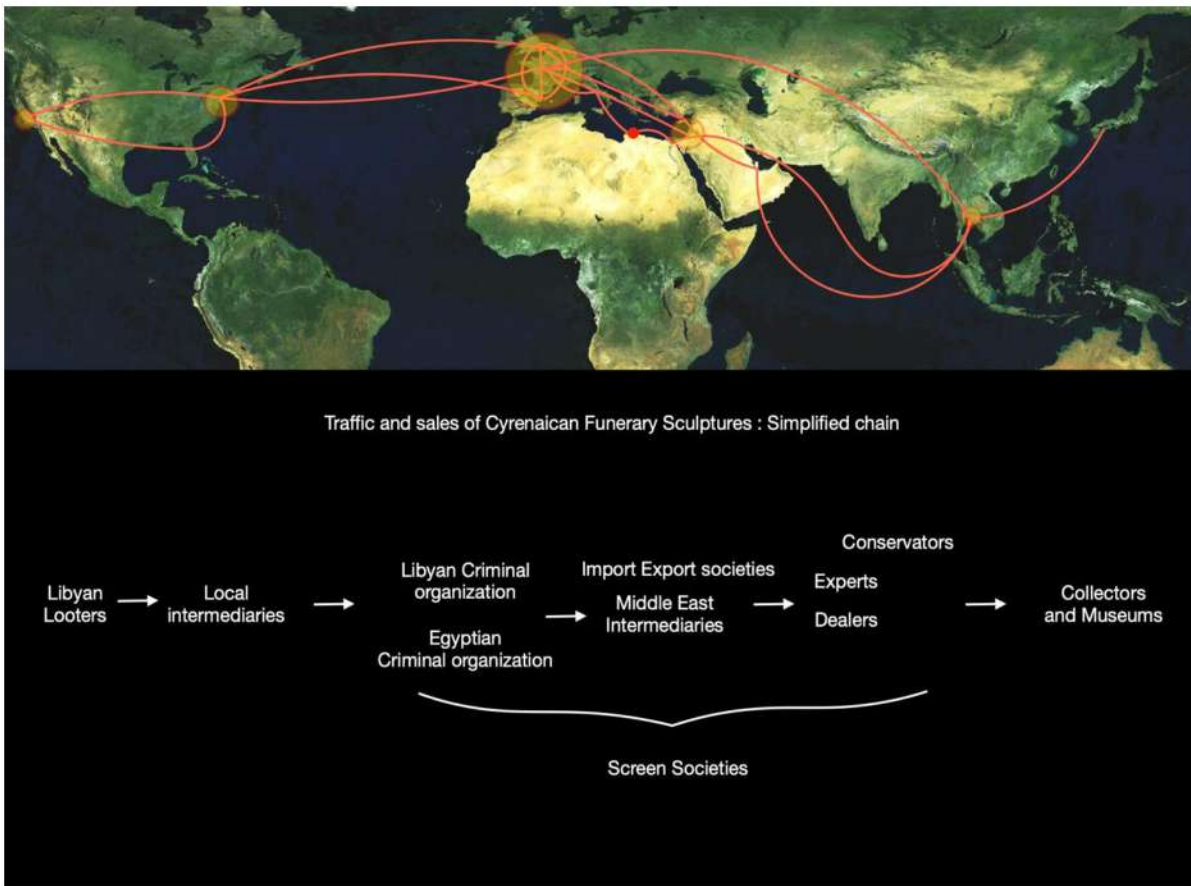
Pl. 2. Funeral portraits of Cyrenaica: forms, types, modes of exposure, niches for funeral portraits.



Pl. 3. Looting and destruction in Cyrene, 2014-2016. Photograph: Department of Antiquities, Libya.



Pl. 4. A funerary deity is being looted in 2014 (recovered by the Libyan authorities in 2018). Photography: Mercedes Fonte Cuy.



Pl. 5. a. Cyrenaica. b. Diagram: organization and routes of traffic.

v. 2013



D.9

v. 2014



D.12

2015



D.8

2016



D.8

2013



Dt.6

2015



P.2

2015



Dt.6

2013



Dt.6

Pl. 6.a. Sales of funerary sculptures from Cyrenaica share J. Bagot in Barcelona. Photographs: sales catalogs.



Pl. 7. Seizure at the merchant J. Bagot in 2018. Photograph: National Police, Spain.

2006



A

2007



2008



2009



Pl. 8. Bonhams sales, 2006-2009. Photographs: sales catalogs.

2010



2011



2012



2013



F

G

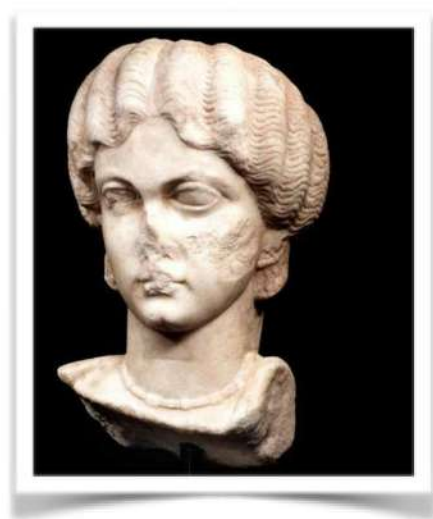
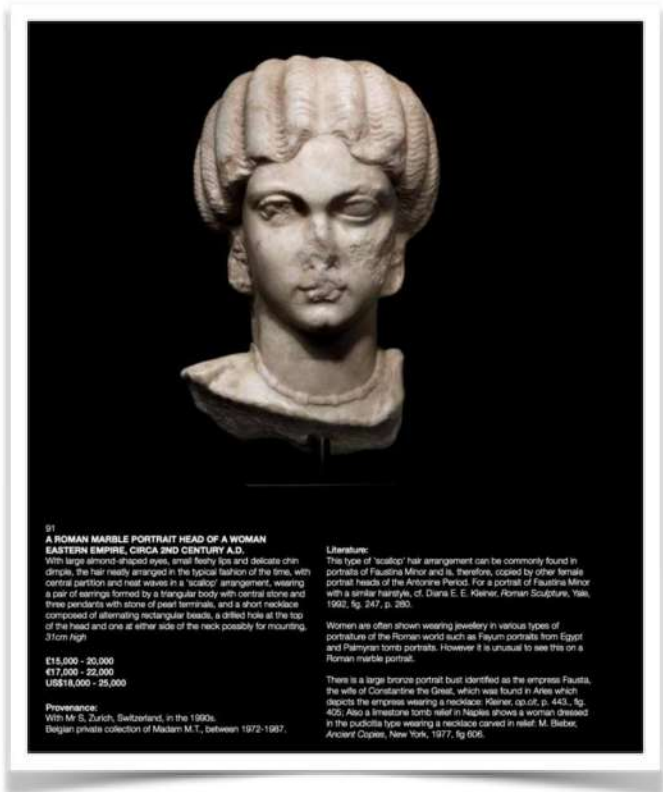
2014



2015
ET
2016



Pl. 9. Bonhams sales, 2010-2016. Photographs: sales catalogs.

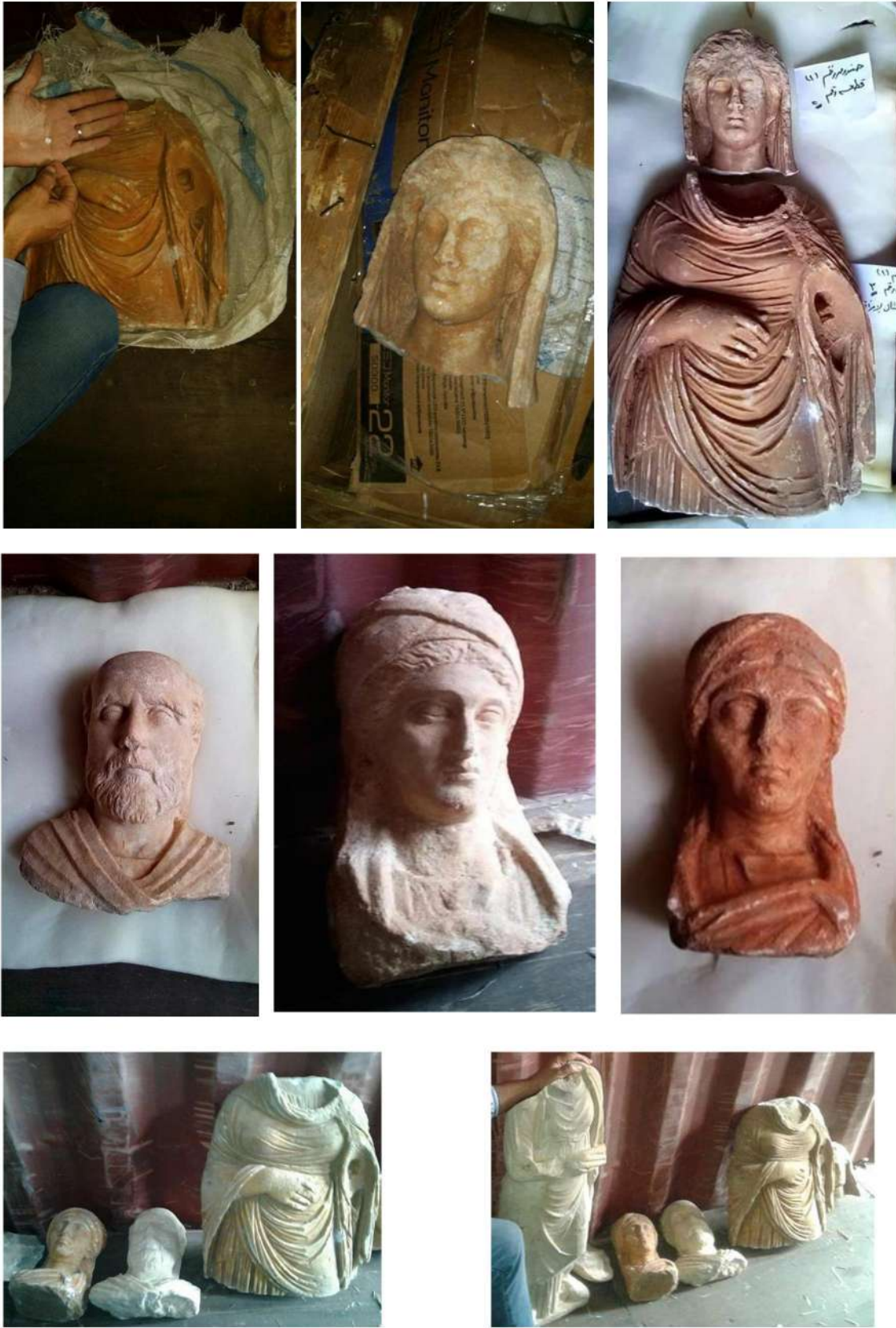


Catalogue Bonhams



Photographies des pilleurs

Pl. 10. The portrait P.230, looted around 2011, sold by Bonhams in London in 2015 and 2016.



Pl. 11. Some sculptures seized at Damietta in November 2015.



Pl. 12. The Dt.54 head, seized in the United States in 2008, returned in 2019.

Appendix L— Libyan Antiquities Trafficking on Facebook

Five Years of Research: A Preliminary Assessment

Katie Paul

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December 2020

Social media in general, and Facebook in particular, have been major conduits for misinformation, extremism, and trafficking in the years since the 2011 Arab Uprisings. Facebook is dominant among platform usage in Libya, accounting for over 66% of the country's social media usage in 2020.¹ The number of Libyan Facebook users in March 2020 is roughly 5.4 million, over 79% of the country's population.² The ongoing conflict and destabilization has contributed to the trafficking of Libyan antiquities and Facebook's role is as a facilitator of this crime.³

Facebook users in Libya have taken advantage of the widespread illicit antiquities trade that is facilitated by the platform. Facebook's most popular features including Pages and Groups are used as stages for the trafficking of antiquities,⁴ wildlife,⁵ and weapons.⁶

Facebook Pages are similar to profiles but are established for businesses and brands and are always publicly accessible.⁷ Facebook Groups, however, can be either public or private. Users who want to join private Facebook Groups must be approved by administrators of the Group.⁸ Dozens of Facebook Groups for the looting and trafficking of antiquities have generated the interest of millions of Facebook users across the Middle East and North Africa.⁹ Both real and fake artifacts from Libya are frequently trafficked through Facebook, in some cases supporting militant activity.

Conflict zones and countries bordering conflict make up a significant portion of the documented areas where Facebook antiquities trafficking. A 2019 case study by the Antiquities Trafficking and Heritage Anthropology Research (ATHAR) Project, which documented trafficking of antiquities across four Facebook Groups, found that 80% (1,302) of posts offering artifacts for sale were listed in countries either in conflict or bordering conflict zones.¹⁰

Material recorded by ATHAR Project as offered for sale from users in Libya has included items from the UNESCO World Heritage site of Cyrene as well as material matching the typology of many items in the ICOM Emergency Red List of Libyan Cultural Objects at Risk.¹¹

¹ <https://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/libya/#yearly-2011-2020>

² <https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-libya/2020/03>

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIH1lhSJBaU>

⁴ <https://qz.com/1657192/terrorists-are-trafficking-antiquities-with-impunity-on-facebook/>

⁵ <https://www.counteringcrime.org/wildlife-sales-on-facebook>

⁶ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35980338>

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/business/pages>

⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/help/1629740080681586>

⁹ <http://atharproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ATHAR-FB-Report-June-2019-final.pdf>

¹⁰ <http://atharproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ATHAR-FB-Report-June-2019-final.pdf>

¹¹ https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/151028_ERLL_EN-pages2.pdf

<http://atharproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/red-list-artifacts-final-june-2019-.pdf>

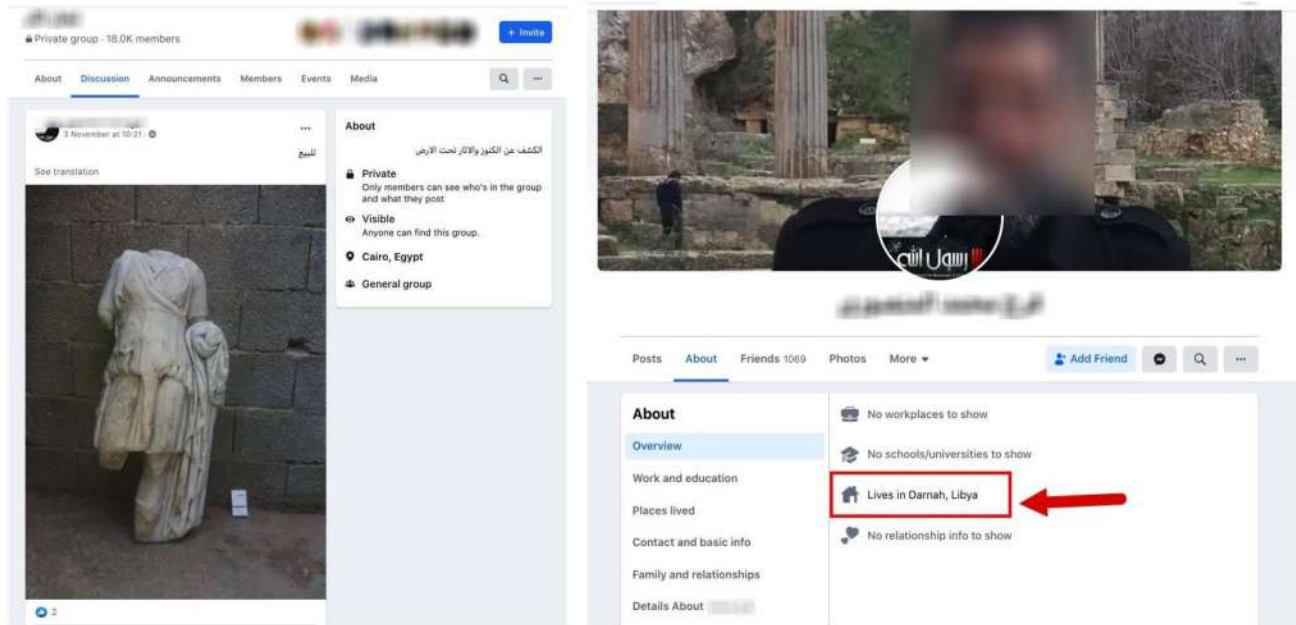


Figure 1: (Left) Statue for sale on Facebook and (right) post author's profile.

Libyan users' Facebook activity in antiquities trafficking Groups is varied. Many users post explicit offers that make clear the item is "for sale." (See figure 1) In other cases, artifacts will be posted with a request to analyze material or with no text at all. These types of posts serve as signals to users that an item is available for sale without enabling any Facebook algorithms that might track words related to sale.¹²

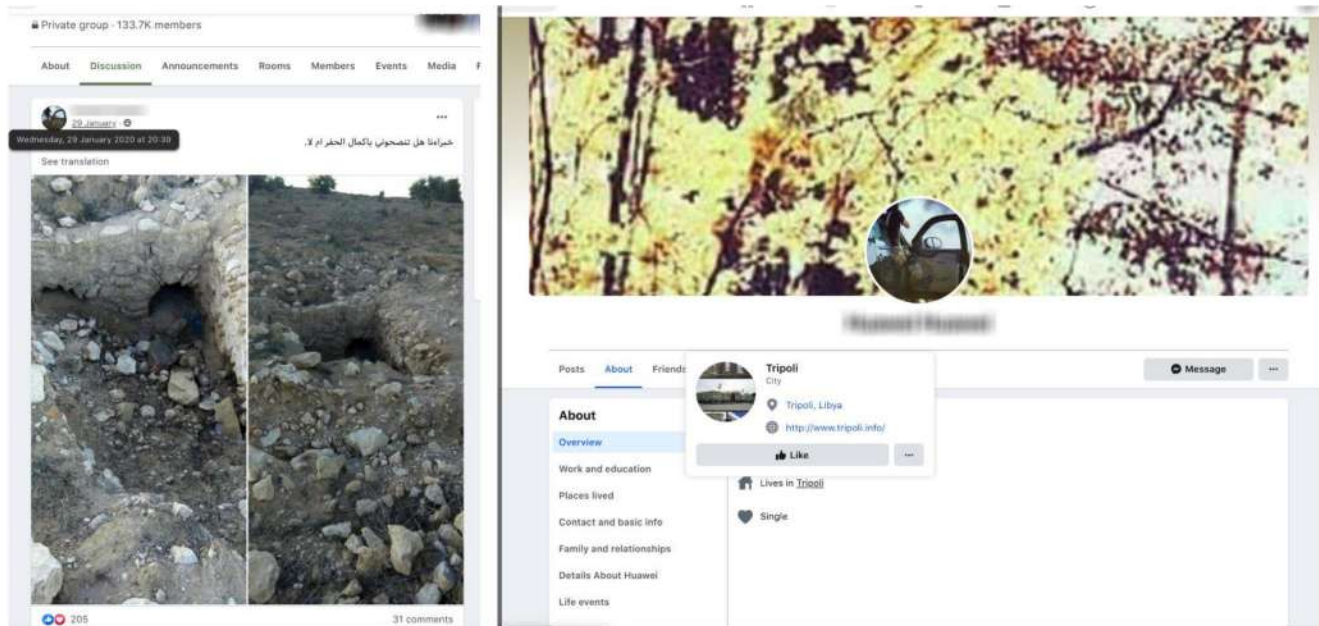


Figure 2: (Left) Post of active site looting and request for advice in a Facebook looting and trafficking Group and (right) post author's profile and location.

¹² <http://atharproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ATHAR-FB-Report-June-2019-final.pdf>

Active looting at open air sites and posts with looters showing newly unearthed mosaics still in situ are common occurrences as well. Users will post active looting images for several reasons: first, they may be seeking assistance from other Facebook Group members on how best to continue their efforts (See figure 2); second, they are showing users that they are actively digging as a show of “proof” they will have genuine artifacts available soon.

Haftar Supporters Trafficking Antiquities on Facebook

With over 79% of Libya’s population engaging on Facebook, the presence of militants on the platform is virtually guaranteed. Extremists and militants across conflict zones have been recorded trafficking antiquities on Facebook. ATHAR project has recorded examples of antiquities trafficking activity on Facebook by militants in Libya, in particular users affiliated with Khalifa Haftar’s Libyan Arab Armed Forces as well as with Ghaddafi’s former private security forces the Khamis Brigade (also known as the 32nd Reinforced Brigade of the Armed People).

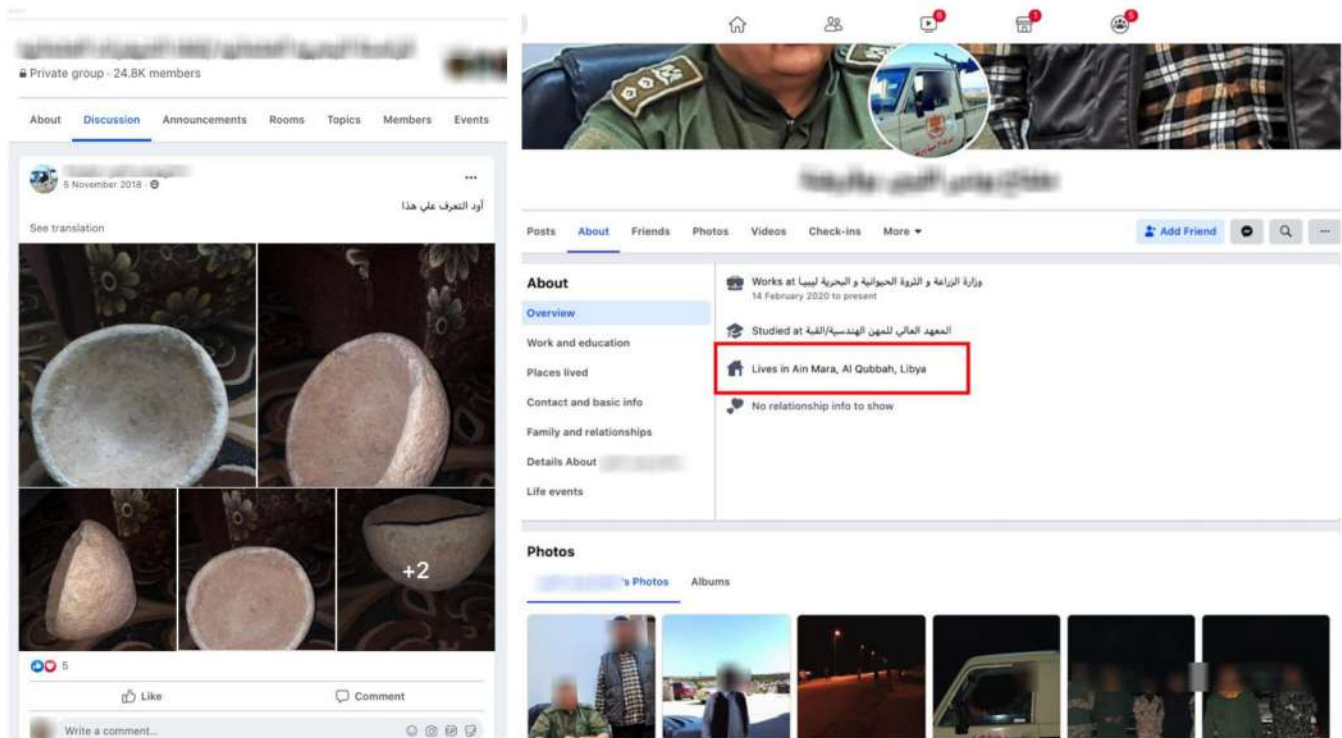


Figure 3: (Left) Post of stone bowl available and (right) post author’s profile and location.

Haftar supporters have been offering illicit antiquities on Facebook for years. On November 5, 2018 a user posted a stone bowl for sale in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group with over 24,000 members. (See figure 3)

The post author lists his location on his public Facebook profile as Ain Mara, Al Qubbah, Libya. His profile posts—all publicly accessible—include propaganda for Haftar. Furthermore, his profile “likes” show support for multiple Facebook Pages dedicated to Haftar’s forces. (See figure 4)

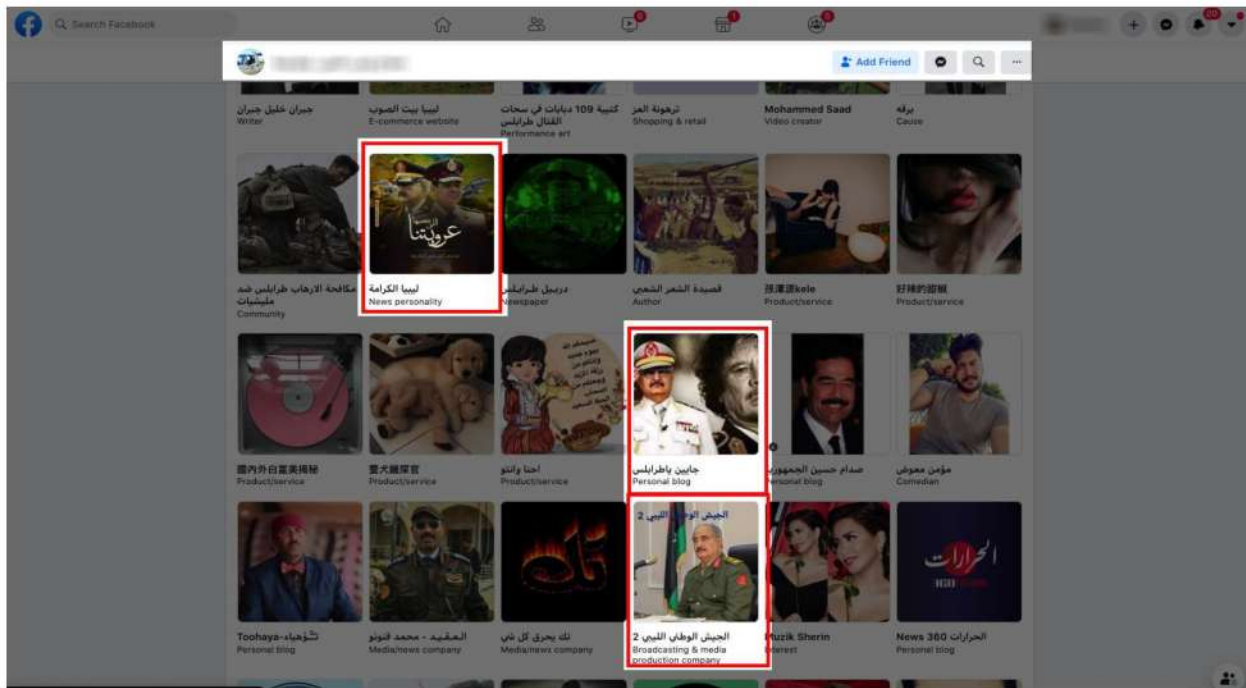


Figure 4: Pages supporting Khalifa Haftar “liked” by the Facebook profile of a user trafficking artifacts on Facebook.

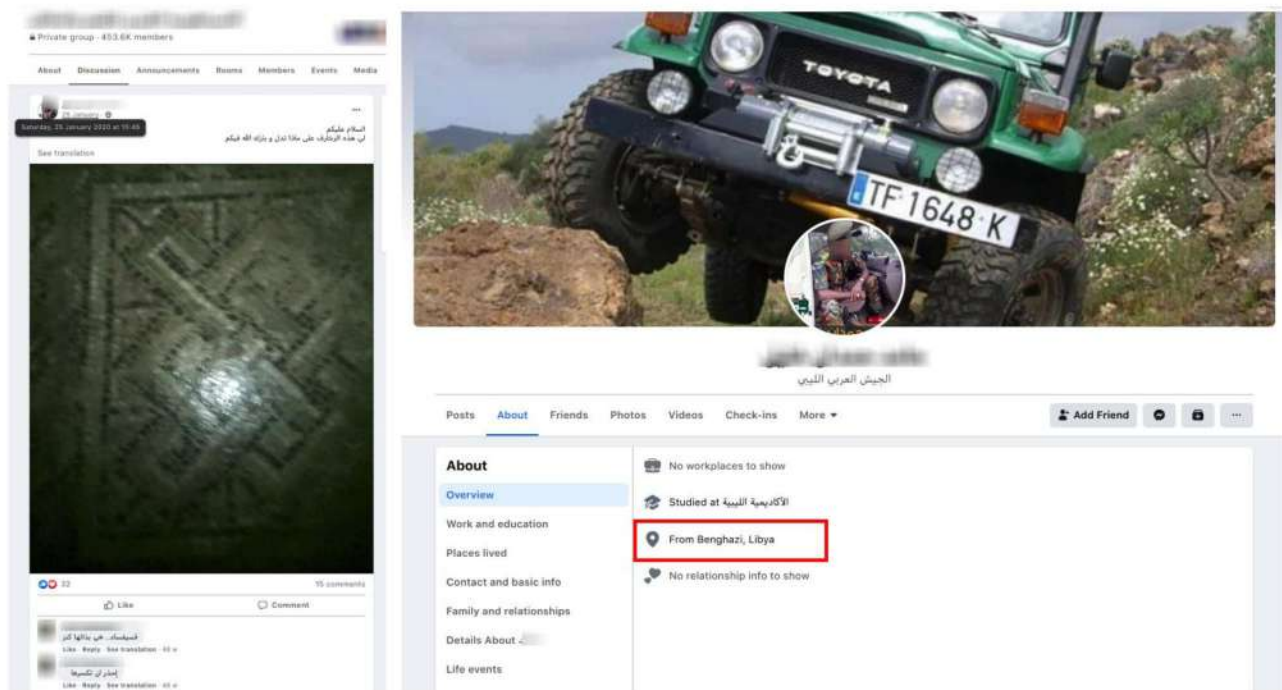


Figure 5: (Left) Post requesting information on a mosaic discovered during illicit digging and (right) post author’s location and profile.

Haftar supporters also posted evidence of illegal excavation. On January 25, 2020 a user posted an *in situ* mosaic in a Facebook antiquities trafficking Group with over 453,000 members. The post sought inquiries about whether

the discovery was a sign of treasure. The first replies from a user tell the post author that the mosaic itself is a treasure and that he should be careful not to break it. (See figure 5)

The public profile information of the post author lists his location as Benghazi, Libya. His profile photo shows him in military uniform and his profile “likes” indicate support for Haftar’s forces.

On October 23, 2019 a post in a Facebook antiquities trafficking Group requested analysis of a Roman oil lamp. The Facebook Group had over 196,000 members as of December 2020. The group location, which is typically the location of the groups administrators (admins), is listed as located in Tunis, Tunisia. Tunisia is a major hub of illicit antiquities trafficking for material from Libya.¹³

The public profile information of the author of the oil lamp post lists the user in Tripoli and as working at the 32nd Reinforced Brigade, while his profile photos show poses with weapons. His profile job listing links to a Facebook Page for the 32nd Reinforced Brigade. (See figure 6) The Page was created on March 22, 2011¹⁴—three days after NATO military intervention in Libya began against Gaddafi forces.¹⁵

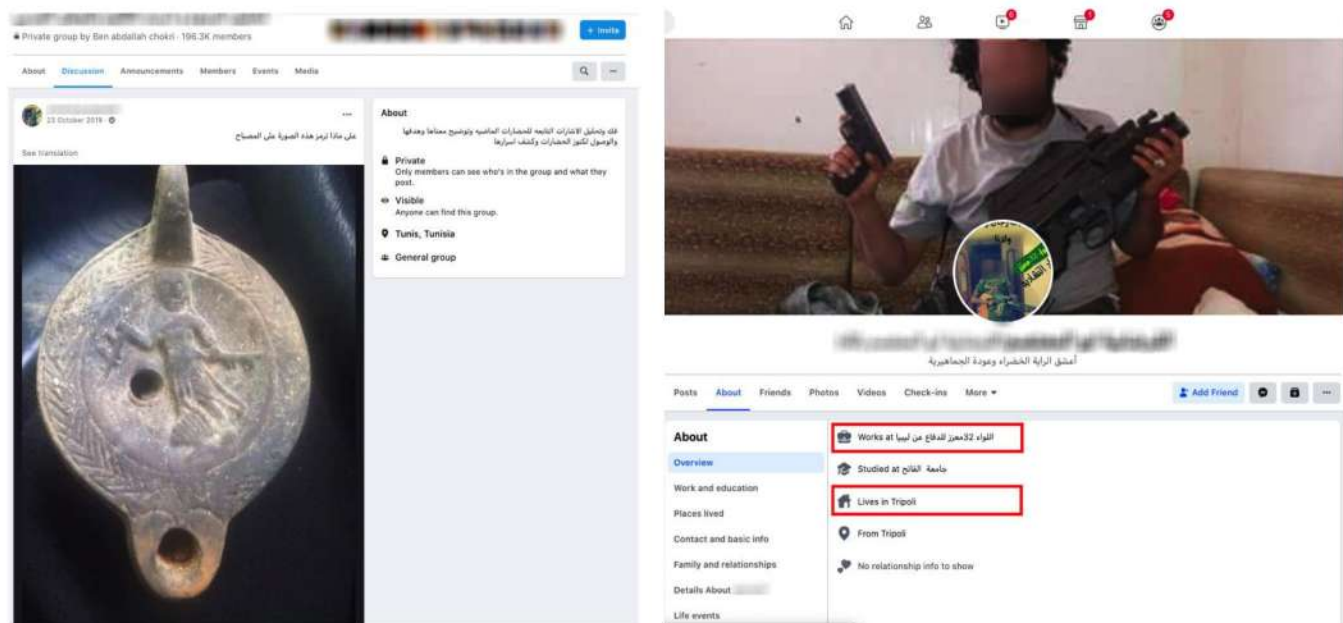


Figure 6: (Left) Post requesting analysis for a Roman oil lamp and (right) profile, job listing, and location of post author.

In addition to the important data regarding the artifacts and sites posted in these groups, the content and the users posting it are evidence of war crimes under the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.¹⁶ While Facebook’s new June 2020 policy bans the trade of historical artifacts on the platform,¹⁷ its standard reaction to violating content is erasure of the data. In the case of war crimes, this data is valuable evidence. In 2017, the International Criminal Court used video uploaded directly to

¹³ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/amid-pillaging-and-looting-tunisia-works-to-preserve-its-jewish-heritage>

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/MajorGeneral.32.To.Protect.Libya/>

¹⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12796972>

¹⁶ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/armed-conflict-and-heritage/convention-and-protocols/1954-hague-convention/>

¹⁷ https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards/regulated_goods

Facebook as evidence in a war crimes case against Mahmoud al-Werfalli, former head of the Special Forces unit of the Libyan National Army (LNA).¹⁸ The Facebook evidence was considered a “game changer” in the case.¹⁹

Antiquities Trafficked from UNESCO World Heritage Sites on Facebook

As recently as the fall of 2020, valuable artifacts from UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Libya were being offered for sale on Facebook. On August 4, 2020 a user in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group posted statue heads for sale.²⁰ The heads included one of the iconic veiled goddesses from the UNESCO Site of Cyrene.²¹ In the post the user stated the statues were in Libya. (See *figure 7*)



Figure 7: Post offering Cyrene heads for sale in Libya through a Facebook trafficking Group.

Authorities were able to seize the heads in late 2020 before they left the country.²² (See *figure 8*) The willingness of many traffickers to openly post their material for sale online also provides a unique opportunity for authorities on the ground to intervene in the sale of artifacts before they are smuggled out of the country. This is particularly the case for material that is posted while in situ.

¹⁸ <http://opiniojuris.org/2017/08/17/and-so-it-begins-social-media-evidence-in-an-icc-arrest-warrant/>

¹⁹ <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/social-media-evidence-a-game-changer-in-war-crimes-trial-1.3243098>

²⁰ <https://twitter.com/ATHARProject/status/1299774865264857089?s=20>

²¹ https://www.academia.edu/43935960/Les_sculptures_fun%C3%A9raires_de_Cyr%C3%A9na%C3%AFque_sur_le_march%C3%A9_de_lart

²² <https://www.facebook.com/1615537332003341/posts/2870403506516711;>

<https://www.facebook.com/1615537332003341/posts/2852910774932651/>



Figure 8: Post about the recovery of the Cyrenaica heads offered for sale on Facebook.

Despite the seizure of those heads, other statues from the site are still being trafficked on Facebook. On December 19, 2020 a user in a Facebook Group posted an available statue head for sale. The statue head again appears to be from Cyrene (See figure 9). This particular offer was posted as a reply to another author's post in a Facebook group. The user who posted the statue head lists his public profile location as Tripoli, Libya.

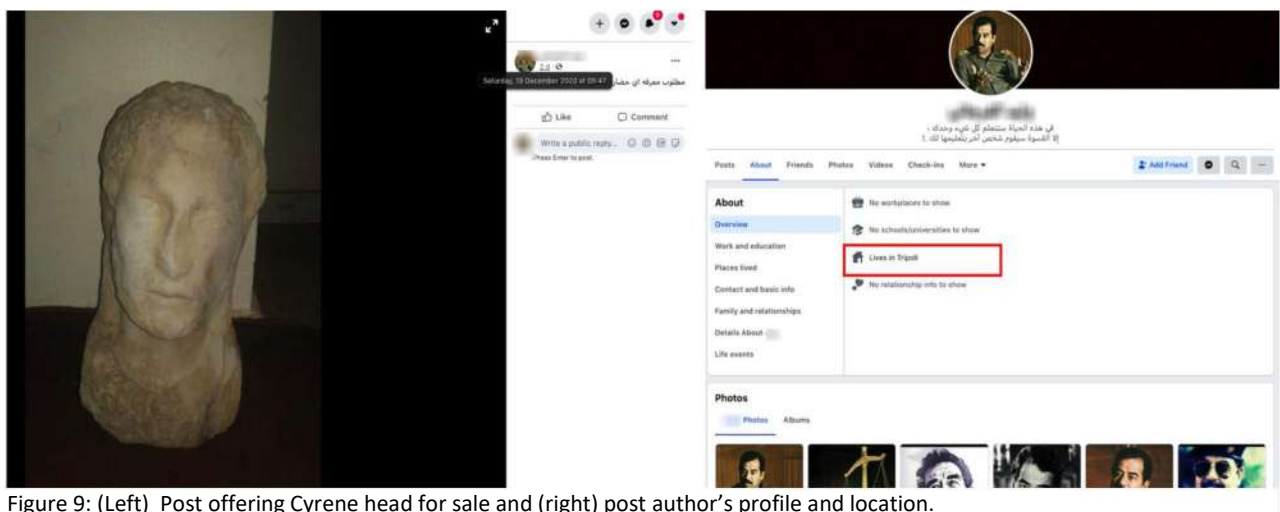


Figure 9: (Left) Post offering Cyrene head for sale and (right) post author's profile and location.

Types of Libyan Cultural Material Trafficked Through Facebook

The material offered from users in Libya (determined by either location listings in post authors' public profiles or as stated in their posts) varies from small portable items to large statues and coffins.

Portable materials including manuscripts, coins, and small idols are most frequently offered for sale in Facebook antiquities trafficking groups. With material of these types circulating in higher volume they are also among the targets for faked material, particularly Jewish books and manuscripts. However, real archaeological ethnological material is still offered and can be mixed in with post “lots” of both genuine and fake material.

Coins are one of the most commonly offered objects in Facebook antiquities trafficking groups, according to ATHAR Project's 2019 report and case study. These small and easily portable artifacts are also easy to launder into the licit market as coins do not require the same level of provenance in the large western market as is required for other types of artifacts.²³ On November 21, 2020 a user posted that he had Roman coins for sale available in Libya. (See figure 10).

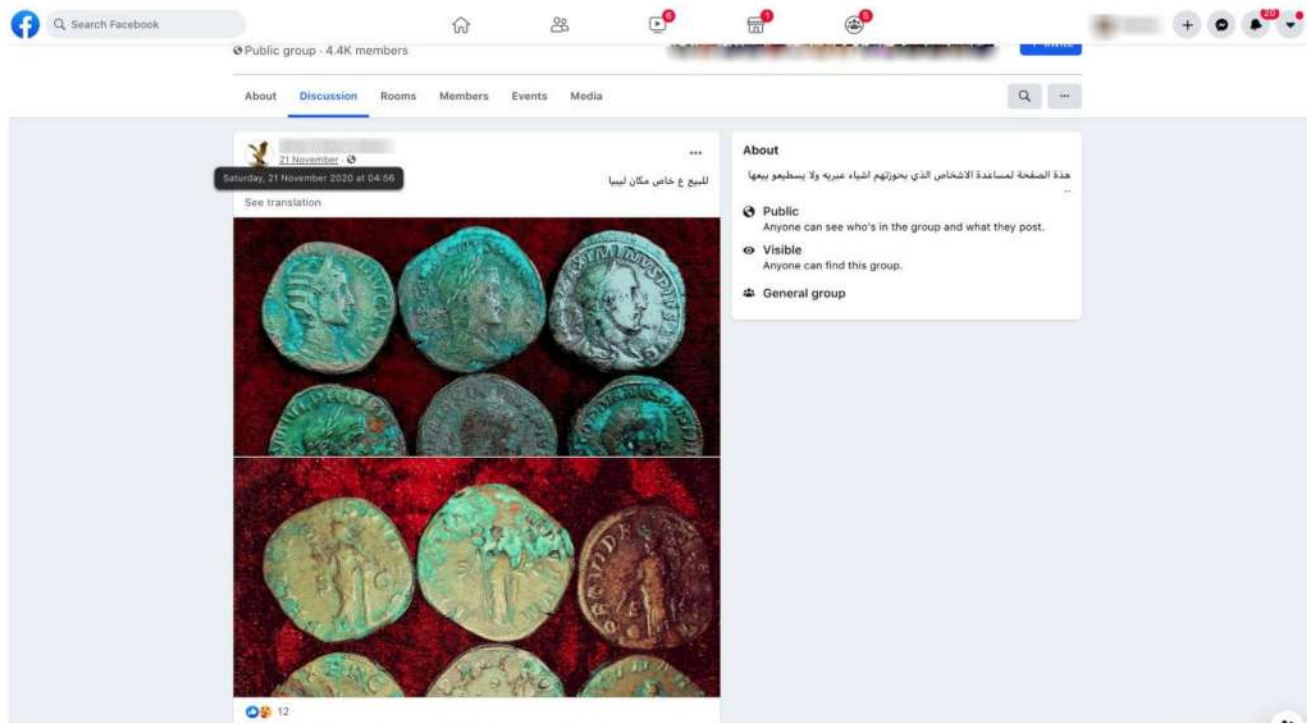


Figure 10: Post offering Roman coins for sale in Libya through a Facebook antiquities trafficking group.

Small artifacts are also trafficked via Facebook groups. Both real and fake artifacts of these types are sold through the platform. A user posted a small Roman statue head for sale in Libya on March 24, 2018. Material continued to show up a year later when a user whose profile name indicated he was located in Libya posted statuette pieces in a Facebook trafficking group with over 112,000 members on March 29, 2019. Continuing to feed a demand for such material, a user posted fake statue pieces for sale on December 21, 2020. While the post noted that the objects were in Libya, the post author's profile listed his location as Berlin, Germany. (See figure 11)

²³ <https://marketmassdestruction.com/trafficking-out-of-syria/>



Figure 11: Facebook antiquities trafficking group posts offering (left) small Roman head for sale in 2018, (center) small statuette parts in 2019, and (right) fake statue pieces for sale in 2020.

Large antiquities are also available for sale in Facebook Groups. This material can include columns or pieces of ancient architecture as well as large Roman statues. Material that is large in scale, and thus likely takes more sophisticated and capable trafficking networks to smuggle, has been offered for sale on Facebook for years.

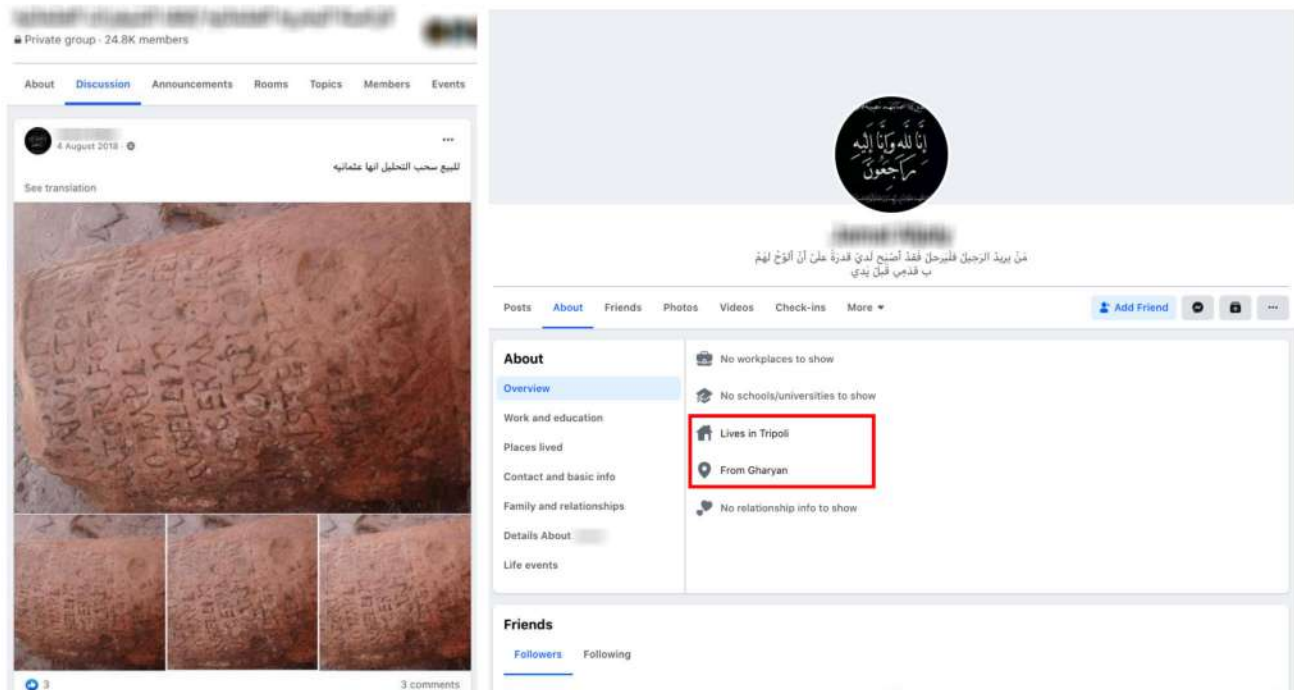


Figure 12: (Left) Post offering inscribed column for sale on Facebook and (right) post author profile and location.

On August 4, 2018 a user posted a portion of an inscribed column for sale in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group. The user’s public profile information indicated that he lived in Tripoli, Libya. (See figure 12).

For items that are popular in the art and antiquities market, like Roman statues, users will post across multiple Facebook trafficking groups to generate multiple buyers. In one example, a user listed as located in Darnah, Libya posted a Roman marble statue for sale across three Facebook trafficking groups over the course of two weeks. (See figure 13)

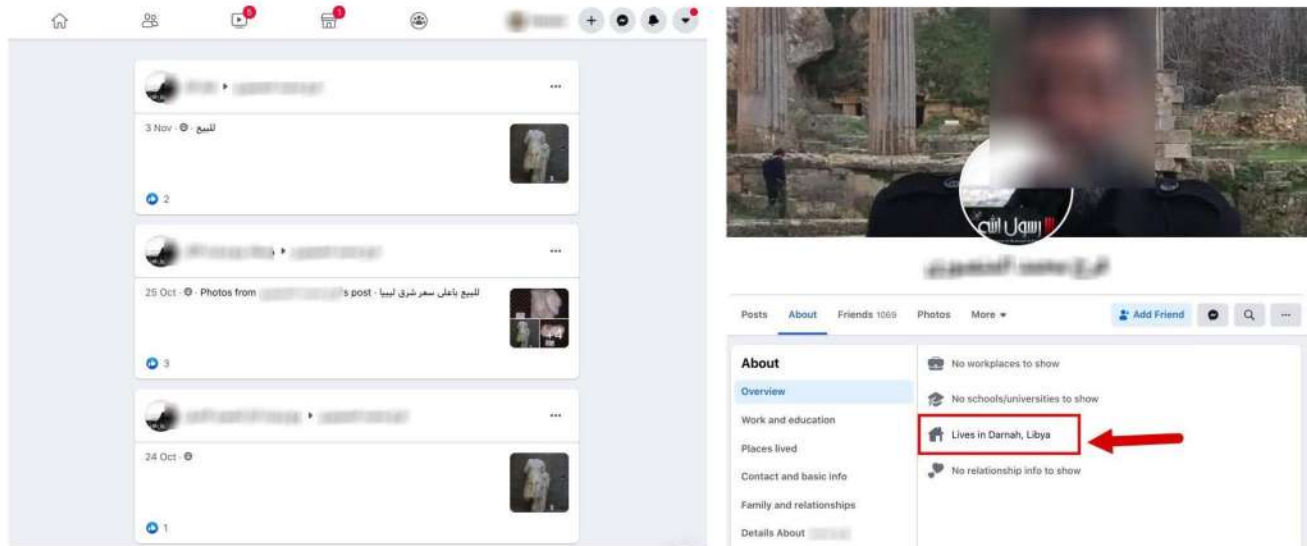


Figure 13: (Left) a Facebook user offers a statue for sale in posts across multiple Facebook groups and (right) the post author’s profile and location.

The Darnah-based user authored his first post on October 24, 2020 in a Facebook antiquities trafficking group with roughly 13,000 members. His post included no text, only a photo of a statue. This is often a signal to other users that the pictured item is for sale. Facebook data shows that the user had only joined the group one day before he posted the Greco-Roman statue.

On October 25, 2020 the same user in Darnah posted the same statue along with several other pieces in another Facebook antiquities trafficking Group. The user’s post explicitly stated that the artifacts are “for sale” and available in Libya. Facebook data shows that the user joined the 5,200-member Facebook Group the same day that he posted the materials for sale. (See figure 14)

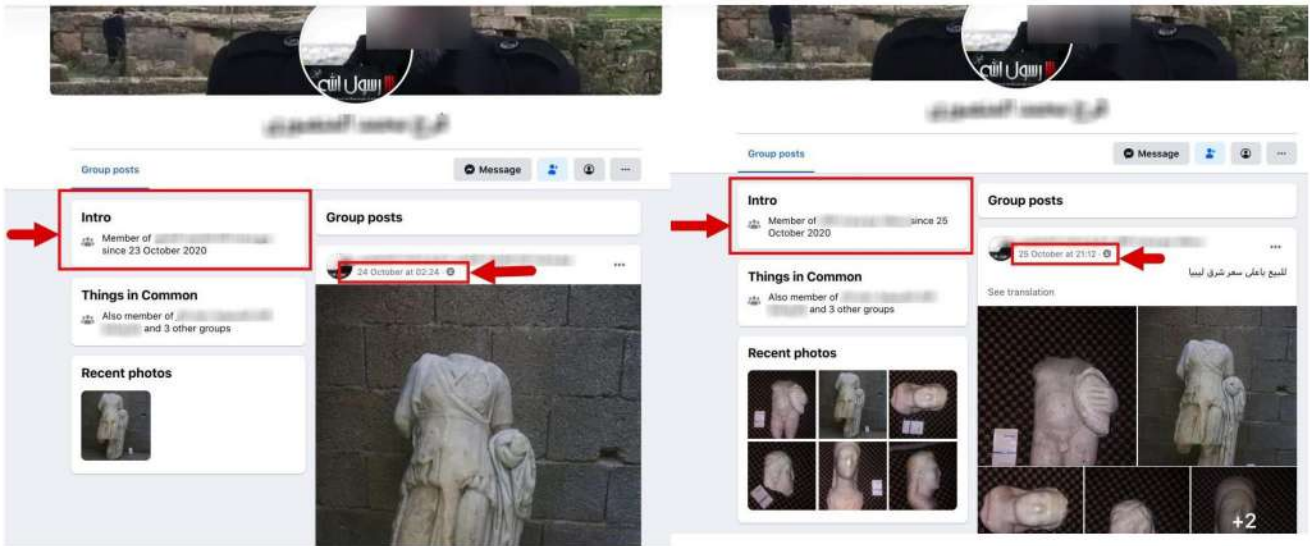


Figure 14: (Left) Post offering statue for sale in a Facebook trafficking group on October 24, 2020 and (right) post offering the same statue for sale in a Facebook trafficking group on October 25, 2020.

On November 3, 2020 the same user in Darnah posted the same statue a third Facebook antiquities trafficking Group, this one with roughly 18,000 members. His post explicitly states that the statue is “for sale.” By posting the valuable item across multiple Facebook trafficking groups the user was able to get his wares in front of tens of thousands of potential buyers and middlemen.

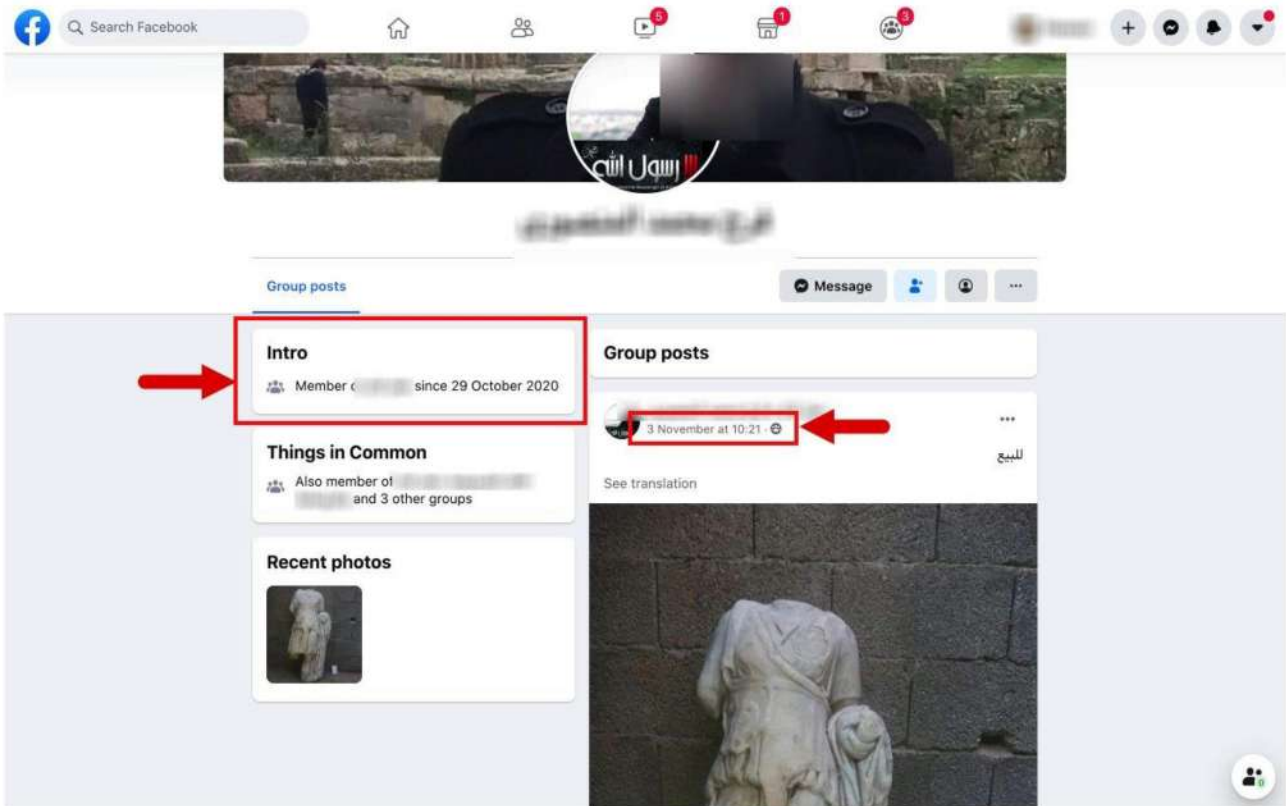


Figure 15: User offering statue in a third Facebook antiquities trafficking group on November 3, 2020.