Palmyra Museum from 2015 to 2025: an analysis of the destruction trajectory, documentation efforts, protection of cultural heritage amid conflict, and prospects for recovery



Abstract: In this study, the management and condition of the Palmyra Museum during and after the Islamic State's (ISIS's) control of the site in May 2015 are examined. The extensive damage inflicted on the museum's collection is highlighted, while the proactive emergency measures taken to protect its holdings are also emphasized. Thanks to the efforts of the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM), a significant number of statues and artifacts were successfully transferred shortly before the city fell, effectively mitigating potential losses. Following Palmyra's recapture in March 2016, preservation efforts were redirected toward the remaining objects, leading to additional evacuations. By December 2016, the museum was nearly empty when it came under ISIS control once more. In a positive development, a 3D digital record of the site was created by the French firm Iconem. At the invitation of the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM), a Polish archaeological team joined its Syrian counterparts and played a vital role in the joint efforts to document, package, and evacuate the remaining museum artifacts to Homs and Damascus. This paper offers a critical assessment of the museum's crisis management and showcases the collaborative international efforts that supported the protection of its cultural assets. It concludes with a forward-looking perspective that outlines key priorities for safeguarding and restoring Palmyra's heritage within a sustainable preservation framework.

Keywords: Palmyra, cultural heritage, museum, Syrian crisis, destruction, documentation, rehabilitation

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INTRODUCTION

The city of Palmyra, located in the Syrian desert, has historically served as a bridge between Eastern and Western civilizations. Its strategic, commercial, and cultural significance reached new heights during the Roman Empire, allowing Palmyra to develop a distinct identity reflected in its magnificent architecture, multilingual inscriptions, and exquisite funerary statues. Renowned for its architectural and archaeological treasures that embody cultural exchange, Palmyra has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1980 [*Figs 1–2*].

Despite its rich history, Palmyra and its museum, like many other Syrian museums and archaeological sites, have faced numerous threats, particularly during the Syrian conflict that began in 2011. Violence escalated dramatically in 2015 when the Islamic State (ISIS) seized control of large areas of Syrian territory, including Palmyra. The group first took control on 20 May 2015, and maintained it until the end of March 2016; it then regained control from December 2016 to March 2017. ISIS's occupation of Palmyra resulted in significant losses, including the destruction of major historical monuments such as the Temple of Bel and the Temple of Baalshamin. Many artifacts in the Palmyra Museum were also vandalized, particularly during the initial phase of ISIS control. These acts constituted a deliberate assault on cultural symbols and civilizational identity, driven by an ideology that condemned antiquities as "idols" (Clapperton, Jones, and Smith 2017: 1210; see also Jones 2018).

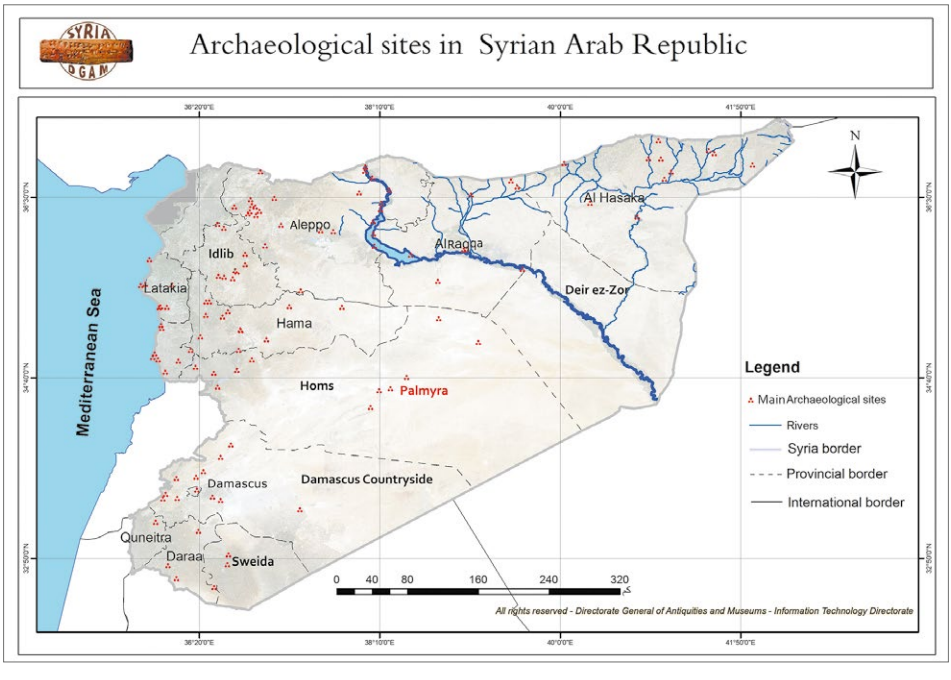

Fig. 1. Map of Syria (Photo DGAM Archive)

The situation sparked international outrage and prompted the Syrian Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) to take immediate action to salvage what it could during both phases of ISIS control. A Polish archaeological team assisted in these rescue efforts following the first recapture of Palmyra. The collapse of the Syrian regime on 8 December 2024 offered a crucial opportunity to reassess the role of cultural institutions in protecting Syrian heritage and to reform museum management and rehabilitation strategies in response to the challenges encountered.

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND QUESTIONS

The aim of this study is to examine the current state of the Palmyra Museum in the aftermath of ISIS's control of the site in 2015. In doing so, it seeks to provide insight into the complex relationship between cultural heritage, authority, and conflict in Syria. The investigation is guided by the following primary research question: What has been the status of the Palmyra Museum since 2015, and what initiatives have been implemented to protect and document its contents?

To develop this central inquiry, several subsidiary questions are addressed:

1. What is the extent of the damage sustained by the museum and its collections?

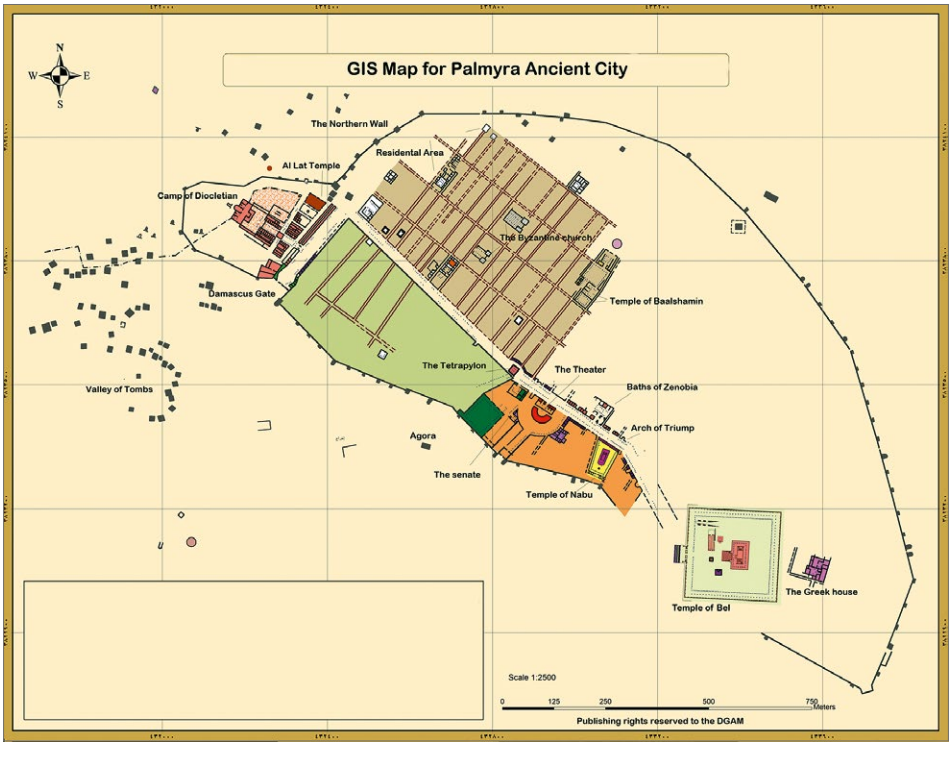

Fig. 2. Plan of Palmyra (Photo DGAM Archive)

2. How did local and international institutions respond following the initial recapture of Palmyra?
3. What procedures were implemented during the documentation and evacuation processes, and who were the principal participants in these efforts?
4. What became of the artifacts that were lost or damaged during this period?
5. How have these experiences influenced the development of heritage policies during the transitional phase following the fall of the Syrian regime in December 2024?

By addressing these questions, the study analyzes the relationships among cultural memory, institutional frameworks, and heritage policies in post-conflict Syria. The analysis is intended to inform practical strategies for restoring the symbolic and cultural significance of the Palmyra Museum and to contribute to broader discussions of heritage preservation in conflict-affected regions.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a comprehensive descriptive and analytical approach that combines field evidence with published research to assess critically the condition of the Palmyra Museum after 2015. Data were collected from official reports of the DGAM, direct field observations, and extensive photographic documentation covering the period 2016–2024. These resources provide important information concerning the scale of the destruction, the evacuation efforts, and the protective measures implemented after the museum was recaptured from ISIS. In addition, a thorough review of academic and institutional studies was conducted to situate these findings within broader discussions of ISIS's iconoclasm and post-conflict heritage recovery (Court and Wijesuriya 2015; Al-Asaad 2016; Clapperton, Jones, and Smith 2017; Abdulkarim 2020). A comparative and qualitative analysis was used to connect field observations with policy responses and to identify gaps in both national and international strategies. Through this integrated methodology, which combines empirical fieldwork, documentary evidence, and theoretical perspectives, the study establishes a comprehensive framework for evaluating the current condition of the Palmyra Museum and articulating a compelling vision for its restoration as a vital locus of cultural memory and national identity.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The architectural landscape of Palmyra is characterized by a distinctive style that combines Roman artistic influences with elements from the East. This fusion is especially evident in the city's impressive temples, monumental columns, intricately carved tombs, and multilingual inscriptions that commemorate its rich history. These features provide valuable insight into the cultural exchange that

shaped Palmyra's identity (for the history of Palmyra and its architecture, see Seyrig 1950; Will 1992; Schmidt-Colinet 1995; Sartre 2001; Delplace 2017; 2023; Gawlikowski 2021; Seigne 2021; Raja and Seland 2025).

The museum was established by the DGAM in 1961 to house archaeological artifacts unearthed during excavations that began in the 1920s. It has played an important role not only in preserving the cultural identity of Palmyra but also in promoting awareness of Syrian heritage among both local and international audiences. Its significance increased substantially through cooperation with archaeological missions from Europe and Japan, particularly from the 1970s onward. The museum served as a cultural repository, displaying a wide range of artifacts that documented Palmyra's history and contributed to the scholarly study of ancient civilizations. Before the outbreak of the Syrian conflict in 2011, the museum displayed a diverse collection of exhibits representing the city's rich historical heritage. Among the most important were the Palmyrene funerary statues, renowned for their expressive features and inscribed Aramaic texts, which demonstrate the artistic sophistication of the civilization.

The museum also featured monumental stone sculptures that once adorned tombs and family burial chambers, highlighting the grandeur of Palmyrene art. Visitors could view rare collections of gold and silver coins, pottery and glass artifacts, intricately crafted amulets, and stunning painted wall decorations recovered from ancient houses. In addition, the museum displayed decorative architectural elements from the region's temples, particularly those of Bel and Baalshamin, two of the most prominent symbols of Palmyrene architectural heritage.

From an educational and research perspective, the Palmyra Museum played a vital role in advancing studies of the ancient Near East. Through cooperation with numerous international archaeological missions from France, Germany, Poland, and Japan that had been active in the region since the 1930s, the museum contributed significantly to the excavation, documentation, and interpretation of Palmyrene artifacts. Many of these discoveries found a permanent home in the museum, reinforcing its position as a major center for exhibitions, educational programs, and cultural dialogue.

However, the outbreak of the Syrian civil conflict in 2011 posed an unprecedented threat to this cultural heritage. Archaeological sites in Palmyra and throughout Syria became increasingly vulnerable to destruction, looting, and military reuse. This vulnerability reached a critical point on 20 May 2015, when Palmyra was captured by ISIS forces, marking a dark chapter in the preservation of Syrian heritage. The aftermath of the capture witnessed the systematic destruction of major architectural monuments, including the Temple of Bel, the Temple of Baalshamin, and the Arch of Triumph. The Palmyra Museum itself was also vandalized, further compounding the loss of an important cultural legacy (Al-Asaad 2016; Abdulkarim 2020; Abdulkarim and Cunliffe 2022; Abdulkarim and Seigne 2024).

Following the recapture of Palmyra in March 2016, substantial collaborative

efforts were initiated with international partners, including the Polish archaeological mission and the French company Iconem. The DGAM undertook major documentation, evacuation, and restoration initiatives, supported by UNESCO and other international organizations, thereby underlining the importance of protecting cultural heritage even during armed conflict.

ISIS's Control of Palmyra in 2015: Context and Immediate Impact

During the height of the Syrian conflict in 2014–2015, the country was deeply fragmented, and allegiances among competing factions shifted rapidly. This instability created favorable conditions for the expansion of ISIS. Exploiting weak central authority in both government- and opposition-controlled areas, the group steadily increased its territorial influence. The decision to target Palmyra was not solely a military objective; it was also motivated by the city's considerable economic and symbolic value.

As military operations intensified in the spring of 2015, the DGAM revised its national policy from protecting artifacts within regional museums to relocating collections to the capital, Damascus. This decision followed the fall of Idlib in northern Syria and Bosra al-Sham in the south, where armed groups had taken control of the museums and looted portions of their collections. Earlier, in 2014, the Raqqa Museum had also been looted after ISIS captured the city and declared it the capital of its self-proclaimed caliphate, prompting urgent measures to secure museum collections throughout the country.

In Palmyra, despite efforts by government forces since 2014 to strengthen the military presence around the city in order to protect gas facilities and the nearby airbase, the defenses collapsed rapidly. After six days of fighting, from 13 May to 20 May 2015, ISIS breached the defensive lines and captured the city, including its ancient ruins and the Palmyra Museum. This event sent shockwaves throughout the international community and raised fears that Palmyra would suffer the same fate as Iraqi sites previously destroyed by ISIS, including Nimrud, Hatra, and the Mosul Museum (Al-Asaad 2016).

Faced with this imminent threat, the DGAM swiftly implemented an emergency plan to secure the Palmyra Museum's collection. Although the artifacts had been scheduled for air transport to Damascus approximately one month earlier, bureaucratic delays prevented the finalization of a contract with the Ministry of Defense for a cargo aircraft, in contrast to the successful airlift of objects from the Deir ez-Zor Museum (Abdulkarim 2026). As the situation worsened in April 2015, museum staff began packing artifacts under extremely difficult circumstances, using improvised materials such as old fabrics because of shortages of crates and standard packing supplies.

On 20 May, as ISIS forces advanced rapidly, the DGAM made an emergency decision to move as many artifacts as pos-

sible during the night using field trucks. The local team succeeded in evacuating approximately 400 statues and busts, together with hundreds of smaller artifacts, only hours before ISIS entered the museum. Three trucks were used to transport portable objects to Damascus and Homs, thereby preventing their immediate destruction. After ISIS took control, satellite imagery revealed unusual activity around archaeological sites and within the museum complex, raising concerns that the remaining cultural treasures were at risk of damage and destruction (Al-Asaad 2016; Abdulkarim and Seigne 2024) [*Figs 3–4*].



Fig. 3. The façade of the museum after the destruction (Photo H. Saad)



Fig. 4. The rear of the museum after the destruction (Photo H. Saad)

This operation became one of the most dangerous heritage-rescue missions undertaken in Syria, requiring close coordination between museum personnel and local security forces under extremely dangerous conditions, as the routes to Damascus were fraught with peril. Despite the successful evacuation of most of the collection, the ensuing chaos resulted in the loss of 28 gold artifacts and several smaller objects, which were subsequently added to Interpol's Red List of Missing Syrian Antiquities.

The DGAM financed the mobilization, documentation, and transport operations and provided full technical and administrative oversight. The local community played a crucial supporting role, aided by the Directorate's policy of maintaining political neutrality of cultural heritage. Even after the fall of the city, local residents continued to communicate with the DGAM and supplied reliable information regarding the condition of the museum and its holdings. Many museum employees remained in the city during the ISIS occupation and continued efforts to raise awareness of the importance of protecting cultural heritage, which helped limit the looting and vandalism that followed the group's takeover.

RESCUE DOCUMENTATION AND RESTORATION AFTER THE FIRST RECAPTURE

The fall of Palmyra to ISIS on 20 May 2015 marked the onset of a dark chapter in the history of cultural heritage preservation. The Palmyra Museum, which housed artifacts from the ancient city and the surrounding region, became a target of the group's destructive ideology. Following ISIS's capture of the city, the museum



Fig. 5. Damage in the Palmyra Museum during the ISIS occupation (Photo M. Abdulkarim)



Fig. 6. Damage to the statue of Athena in the Palmyra Museum (Photo M. Abdulkarim)

suffered extensive and deliberate damage, particularly to its large immovable artifacts and permanent displays. Many objects that could not easily be transported, such as funerary beds and numerous statues, were left in situ because of the extremely limited time available before the city fell [*Figs 5–10*].

After the first recapture of Palmyra in March 2016, specialized teams from the DGAM were rapidly deployed to assess and secure the damaged heritage sites. They were joined by international experts who assisted in the recovery efforts. A major partnership was established with the French company Iconem, led by Yves Ubelmann, known for its expertise in 3D digital documentation of heritage sites. Together with his colleague Hamam Saad, Ubelmann carried out the museum docu-



Fig. 7. Example of damage in the Palmyra Museum during the ISIS occupation (Photo M. Abdulkarim)

mentation project. Additional technical support was provided by members of the Polish archaeological mission that had been active in Palmyra for many years. Shortly after the city was recaptured in 2016, several Polish researchers arrived, including:



Fig. 8. Example of damage in the Palmyra Museum during the ISIS occupation (Photo M. Abdulkarim)



Fig. 9. Example of damage in the Palmyra Museum during the ISIS occupation (Photo M. Abdulkarim)



Fig. 10. Damage to the Lion of Al-Lāt in the Palmyra Museum during the ISIS occupation (Photo M. Abdulkarim)



Fig. 11. 3D documentation of the Palmyra Museum after its recapture in 2016 (Iconem | photo Y. Ubelmann)



Fig. 12. Condition of the warehouse at the Palmyra Museum after the first recapture in 2016 (Photo M. Abdulkarim)

–Bartosz Markowski, conservator at the University of Warsaw's Institute of Archaeology, who played a key role in the evaluation and restoration of damaged artifacts;
–Robert Żukowski, archaeologist at the Polish Academy of Sciences, who contributed his extensive knowledge of the region's archaeological significance;
–Krzysztof Jurkow, specialist conservator.

The operations were supported by Professors Michał Gawlikowski and Tomasz Waliszewski, co-directors of the Polish mission.

A comprehensive 3D model of the museum was produced using digital photogrammetry. This process involved capturing a dense set of overlapping high-resolution photographs throughout the damaged galleries, thereby creating a detailed photographic survey of the building's interior and exterior and of all surviving artifacts. The images were processed with specialized software, Agisoft Metashape, which generated accurate 3D meshes and textured models. The principal objective was to record the museum's condition comprehensively in order to support future restoration planning. As a result, a detailed digital record of the museum was preserved before any restoration work or relocation of artifacts took place (Stott 2016) [*Figs 11–14*].

Following completion of this detailed documentation phase, the DGAM initiated the second stage of the evacuation process in April and May 2016. The remaining artifacts were carefully transferred to the



Fig. 13. Evacuation of artifacts with the participation of members of the Polish archaeological mission in 2016 (Photo DGAM Archive)

National Museum of Damascus, where they underwent inventory, condition assessment, and conservation treatment as part of a structured recovery program. Under the supervision of Syrian specialists, and with support from UNESCO, a new phase of documentation and scientific assessment was undertaken. The examination revealed that at least 200 artifacts had sustained partial damage as a result of vandalism; however, approximately 80% were considered suitable for restoration.



Fig. 14. Condition of the museum after the first recapture in 2016 (Photo M. Abdulkarim)



Fig. 15. The restored Lion of Al-Lāt statue on display at the National Museum of Damascus in 2017 (Photo M. Abdulkarim)

Temporary conservation treatments were employed that emphasized the preservation of authenticity and the structural integrity of the artifacts. Among the items restored was the statue of the Lion of Al-Lāt, which had been severely vandalized during the ISIS occupation of Palmyra. The painstaking restoration was carried out by the Polish conservator Bartosz Markowski with financial support from UNESCO (2017). The restored statue was subsequently installed in the garden of the National Museum in Damascus in September 2017, where it became a symbol of the resilience of Syria's rich cultural heritage [*Fig. 15*].

In addition, two important busts underwent restoration in Rome at the Higher Institute for Conservation and Restoration (ISCR). This project was supported by an initiative led by former Italian Minister of Culture Francesco Rutelli, illustrating the broad international cooperation mobilized in response to the crisis affecting Syrian heritage (ICCROM 2017). The collective efforts of Syrian, Polish, Italian, and other international specialists demonstrate a sustained commitment to preserving and restoring the cultural legacy of Palmyra despite the severe challenges it has faced. In subsequent years, the DGAM continued the restoration of damaged statues with assistance from international experts and financial support from the Sultanate of Oman.

RANDOM DESTRUCTION AND MYSTERIOUS PUZZLES

ISIS followed a disturbing pattern of ideologically motivated destruction in which statues and sculptural icons were systematically targeted and denounced as "idols" in accordance with the group's extremist beliefs (Clapperton, Jones, and Smith 2017: 1210). This pattern was not confined to Palmyra; similar acts of destruction occurred at museums and archaeological sites under ISIS control, including Mosul, Hatra, and Nimrud. What distinguishes the Palmyra Museum, however, is that the destruction appears to have ceased after a relatively short period, only a few days after ISIS first took control of the museum on 20 May 2015. Although large sections of the museum still contained smaller artifacts and finds that could easily have been removed, there is no evidence of systematic looting or publicly documented sales by ISIS during the approximately ten months that it controlled the city. This unexpected period of relative inactivity has raised many questions among archaeologists and international observers, many of whom have expressed surprise at what appears to have been a deliberate decision not to exploit the museum's contents for financial gain.

Several key questions have therefore been raised regarding ISIS's actions at the Palmyra Museum:

1. Why did ISIS, which was known to finance part of its operations through the trafficking of antiquities, refrain from dismantling and looting the Palmyra Museum?
2. Did the group lack the expertise required to assess properly the value of the remaining artifacts?
3. Did unforeseen logistical difficulties or intelligence failures hinder potential smuggling operations?

To date, comprehensive investigations and inventories conducted by archaeologists, drawing on unpublished DGAM reports and on-site observations, have not revealed evidence of large-scale looting of the Palmyra Museum during ISIS's first period of control. Apart from 28 gold coins and a small number of other gold artifacts, no additional objects have been reported stolen from the museum after its capture in May 2015. Nevertheless, approximately 200 statue faces that remained in the museum were intentionally damaged and defaced. As a result, specialists have described the situation at Palmyra as an "archaeological enigma", distinguishing it from other museums that experienced both destruction and extensive looting under ISIS control.

After Palmyra was recaptured in spring 2016, an assessment of the museum revealed that a missile, fired by either the Syrian or Russian military, had penetrated the vault but had failed to detonate. This missile was observed by the author of this study and by Syrian and Polish experts who visited the museum immediately after its recapture. Its presence may have contributed to ISIS's complete withdrawal from the museum, possibly because of concerns about the potential consequences of remaining in the building.

COMPARISONS, CHALLENGES, AND PROSPECTS FOR THE REHABILITATION OF THE PALMYRA MUSEUM

The rehabilitation of museums after armed conflict is a complex process in which cultural, political, and humanitarian considerations intersect. A comparison between the Palmyra Museum in Syria and the Mosul Museum in Iraq illustrates the differences in post-conflict recovery approaches.

The Palmyra Museum suffered significant damage during ISIS's occupation of the city in 2015, including the destruction of parts of the façade and roof, damage to numerous artifacts. Although discussions regarding rehabilitation initiatives began approximately six months after the fall of the Syrian regime in the region, concrete progress on the ground remained limited until recently. Initial assessment visits were conducted, but tangible restoration work did not begin immediately. The resulting delay of nearly eight years created a critical gap that contributed to further deterioration of the building and worsening structural damage. In addition, international sanctions imposed on Syria restricted the ability of donor institutions to operate directly on site. Consequently, the rehabilitation process has remained in its early stages despite the museum's considerable symbolic and cultural significance (Rose 2025).

In contrast, the Mosul Museum experienced catastrophic destruction in 2014 due to the actions of ISIS, sustaining even greater damage than the Palmyra Museum. In response, the museum adopted a more integrated approach to project management and developed international partnerships. A global campaign was launched under the leadership of UNESCO, the World Monuments Fund, and the ALIPH Foundation, in collaboration

with the Louvre Museum and the Iraqi Ministry of Culture, to rehabilitate historic buildings in Mosul, including the museum itself. This initiative not only restored the architectural structure but also provided training for Iraqi staff in digital conservation and restoration techniques. The project focused on reconstructing historical narratives and engaging the local community, envisioning the new museum as a space for healing and for rebuilding collective memory (ALIPH Foundation 2018; UNESCO 2020; World Monuments Fund 2023. For a deeper understanding of the social aspects of the restoration process and the perspectives of Mosul residents on the reconstruction of heritage sites, including the museum, see Proctor 2023; Isakhan and Meskell 2024; Larkin and Rudolf 2024).

The comparison above indicates that the rehabilitation of the Mosul Museum has gone beyond physical restoration. It has evolved into a broader cultural vision in which the museum's educational and symbolic role in the city's recovery has been restored. In contrast, the rehabilitation of the Palmyra Museum remains focused primarily on addressing physical damage, while a comprehensive strategy for identity and collective memory has yet to be fully developed. From an analytical perspective, the success of postwar projects depends on their integration within a social and institutional context capable of transforming disrupted collective memories into constructive cultural energy. In this respect, Mosul provides a useful model when compared with the slower pace of recovery in Palmyra.

The key challenges and future prospects may be summarized as follows.

The findings reveal that the destruction of the Palmyra Museum affected not only the physical structure of the institution but also the broader cultural and institutional fabric of Syrian heritage. In light of these findings, the following constructive recommendations are proposed:

First, the rehabilitation of the Palmyra Museum should be incorporated into a comprehensive national heritage strategy in which culture is recognized as a central element of the reconstruction process (Abdulkarim 2020; for heritage and resilience in Syria, see Zugaibi 2022; Noaime and Alnaim 2025). This initiative should be supported by a detailed feasibility study exploring ways to transform the museum into a contemporary memorial site that preserves and interprets collective memory.

Second, the creation of a national coordinating body under the DGAM would be highly beneficial. Such an organization could unify international restoration efforts and align funding with national priorities, thereby creating a more coherent approach to heritage restoration (UNESCO 2016; 2025).

Third, this study advocates the introduction of specialized training programs, both locally and internationally, to address the shortage of qualified personnel. Such programs would help build expertise in digital documentation and architectural restoration.

Finally, active engagement of the local community and the Syrian diaspora is essential. Through the establishment of local heritage councils, participation can be encouraged, cultural identity strengthened, and a stronger sense of ownership over heritage fostered (Rumayed 2024; Court and Wijesuriya 2015).

CONCLUSION

The targeted assault on the Palmyra Museum by ISIS in 2015 represents a pivotal moment in the narrative of Syrian cultural heritage. The profound material devastation, including the breaking and mutilation of more than 200 artifacts and the widespread vandalism of the museum, highlights the indispensable role of heritage and identity, particularly during periods of conflict. This tragic event serves as a stark reminder that museums are not merely storage spaces for ancient relics; they are crucial embodiments of historical memory and cultural sovereignty. The protection of such sites is therefore essential for preserving the cultural fabric of any society. The response of the DGAM was commendable given the severe security and political circumstances. Decisive action was taken at an early stage, and hundreds of artifacts were evacuated using three trucks on the night of 20 May 2015, just before the city fell. These efforts continued after the liberation of the city. In addition, collaboration with international partners, notably the 3D documentation undertaken by the French company Iconem in cooperation with the Polish mission, played a vital role in accurately recording the condition of the site before any intervention took place. At the same time, this episode exposed critical gaps in the protection and management of cultural heritage. The loss of 28 gold coins during the initial rescue operation underscores the need for more systematic protection strategies. It also raises important concerns regarding the ability of existing institutions to adapt to evolving threats facing Syrian heritage. The absence of a clearly defined early warning system and a rapid-response framework for addressing security challenges further highlights these institutional weaknesses. By examining the destruction, documentation, and rescue of the Palmyra Museum, and by recognizing both the achievements and the shortcomings of the response, this paper presents the case as an important lens through which to understand the complex relationship among heritage, conflict, power, and society. The study underscores the urgent need to reform cultural policies in post-war Syria, develop proactive digital rescue mechanisms, and establish frameworks that enhance accountability and transparency in heritage management.

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