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NATIONAL MYTHS AND THEIR IMPACT ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION: EXAMPLE OF THE HERITAGE OF PRINCE LAZAR'S EPOCH

Abstract: This paper analyses the impact of Kosovo Myth as the national paradigm on the interpretation of the archaeological heritage from Prince Lazar's epoch. Since the second half of the 19th century a new narrative about the Battle of Kosovo and its heroes had emerged and its core was to become the national cult connected with the struggle for freedom and national state. Consequently, since the first issues of archaeological periodicals in Serbia there has been an interest in the finds connected with Prince Lazar, sometimes as a result of a romantic tendency rather than sound scientific evidence. In addition, such an influence can be especially noted in the first archaeological exploration of the so-called Lazar's Town in Kruševac as it was recorded, admittedly somewhat sporadically, in the scientific interpretation but more often in the popular articles of a weekly newspaper *Pobeda* from Kruševac. This paper examines to what degree archaeologists are involved in the construction of such myths i.e. in which way archaeology and material culture contribute to the confirmation of the such narratives. It is pointed out that when the research into this issue is conducted, it is necessary to pay attention to the question of authority, as well as the public target group who are the recipients of such interpretation. Besides, bearing in mind that the topic concerns the existence of a deeply rooted national epic that had long preceded archaeological investigation, it is emphasised that the interpretation of the results heavily depends on respecting archaeological context as the basic imperative in interpretation. The context serves to limit the broadness of interpretation, encouraging revisions, which is the only method of preserving the objectiveness of the scientific statements which has to be the basis of the popular texts issued by media as well.

Key words: national, myth, archaeology, interpretation, heritage, romanticism, Battle of Kosovo, Prince (Tzar) Lazar

INTRODUCTION

Until the appearance of a serious systematic approach to the study of national history, i.e. the foundation of national historiography, it can be argued that myths and

legends constitute its history. More precisely, this is the history that has remained in the collective memory of a nation and which people have chosen to remember, building their values based on it. In terms of that, when we speak about Serbia, a significant place belongs to the myth about the Battle of Kosovo, where Prince (or Tzar) Lazar stands out as the central figure.¹ The cult of this martyr ruler, ready and determined to confront the Ottoman Turks, taking sacrifices for the sake of higher spiritual good, has remained an important national paradigm and a question of identity to this very day.² What adds to the difficulty to separate the scientific interpretation of the events connected to this period from folk tales and legends is the difference in the approach among the historians who have conducted research into the topic of the Battle of Kosovo. A similar situation can be noted in the field of archaeology, so that from the very beginning of Serbian archaeological periodicals an interest into the finds connected with Prince Lazar can be discerned, sometimes as a result of romanticism rather than realistic scientific identifications. Also, during the first archaeological explorations of Lazar's Town in Kruševac, this influence was present in professional as well as in popular interpretations of the events. That is why in this paper, following such archaeological notes in the periodicals and printed media, we tried to point out the significant influence of the national mythology on the interpretation, which undoubtedly resulted in the substantial interest of the general public into the discovered archaeological heritage and the perception of its values.

NATIONAL MYTH AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

The historians who have seriously studied the Battle of Kosovo agree that there are few dependable sources concerning this topic. However, their opinions differ in terms of what can be taken into consideration as a material for the review of such an event. Thus, some authors urge all material that cannot be deemed a reliable historical source should be excluded from the study, while the others point out that what was assumed, believed and told creates social reality and should not be discarded despite the fact that today we know it does not correspond with the data found in the historical sources.³ Since the 19th century, in the form of folklore and literature or religious writings the first scientific research about Kosovo myth had appeared, not limited only to the facts that would perfectly match the historical data.⁴ Also, while in the texts by Greek and Turkish chroniclers, as well as in folk poems about Battle of Kosovo dating back to the 18th century, the acts of the participants are assessed from the standpoint of the values of the feudal society where loyalty to the ruler, religiousness and honor as virtues of the higher classes are especially appreciated, from the second half of the 19th century onwards the ideological center shifts from such values to romantic nationalism. That is where a new

¹ The cult of Prince Lazar appeared soon after his death, and since the appearance of his hagiography, the Church has nurtured this cult that was to remain prominent during the entire Ottoman reign. Furthermore, the translation of the relics of St Lazar to the monastery of Vrdnik in 1697 added to its popularity, Макуљевић 2006, 62.

² Поповић 2017, 34.

³ Радојчић 1934; Ђирковић 1990, 113.

⁴ Роровић 2007, 167-168.

narrative about the Battle of Kosovo and its heroes was formed, with the cult of the nation and its struggle for freedom and national state⁵ in its center, which was in line with the contemporary patriotic and monarchical ideas about the rebirth of the state and the nation. Thus the Kosovo myth became a symbol of a vision about the restoration of the *Golden Age*.⁶

In terms of the significance of myths for archaeological interpretation, it may be said that this question has received more attention lately.⁷ The myths are regarded as permanently present narratives, which influence the constant change in religious and cultural forms as social phenomena through contemporary processes of *storytelling*, as they represent our connection to our ancestors, or sometimes nature and the worlds beyond our reality.⁸ As myths are significantly connected to the question of the authenticity of heritage,⁹ today the connection between people, stories and places has been increasingly encouraged,¹⁰ as opposed to the traditional definition of authenticity that used to rely mostly on the quality of material testaments. Such attitudes are boosted by the recommendations of world organizations concerning the importance of intangible heritage, such as spoken traditions, myths, rituals, knowledge or skills handed down from generation to generation, as a general contribution to the authenticity of places or objects that comprise heritage.¹¹

On the other hand, a question can be posed about the degree archaeologists are involved in the constructions of myths and about the way archaeology and material culture contribute to the confirmation of such narrative. While answering the question it is especially important to bear in mind that a report from the site, based on the personal impression of the researcher, is often the only remaining testimony to what happened during the exploration, while all the other uses of the material culture found in an archaeological context rely on the initial research in this way or another.¹² Disregarding whether it is a press release or scientific paper reporting on the results of research, archaeologists should strive to communicate clearly in the way that can be understood by all.¹³ Hence, if we avoid excessive impacts of mythological narratives in professional interpretation that need to retain scientific objectiveness, but we use them with thoughtfulness in the communication with the general public, good results can ensue in terms of suggesting the value of the heritage. This bears special significance in the case of the local community that can identify more easily with it, perceiving it as a part of its cultural identity, which makes the community a more responsible guardian of the archaeological heritage. Popular archaeology, defined today as communication about archaeological research targeted at the general public through available and popular media, uses such modalities and narratives, constituting a significant part of the activities of the so-called

⁵ Čolović 2016; 2017.

⁶ Поповић 2017, 33; Ковић 2017, 35.

⁷ Gilchrist 2020, 176-177.

⁸ Puhvel 1987, 2; Barthes 1994, 129; Bowman 2000, 85.

⁹ Gilchrist 2020, 176-177.

¹⁰ Emerick 2014, 216.

¹¹ ICOMOS 1994; UNESCO 2003.

¹² Olsen 2002, 266; Edgerworth 2006, 1-19.

¹³ Milosvaljević 2011, 116.

public archaeology aiming to ensure economic, political and cultural support to heritage through the influence on the public understanding of archaeology i.e. human history itself.¹⁴ In this paper one of our focuses is on the printed media, as these are, at the most general level, always interested in sensational discoveries making up an influential source of information on local heritage,¹⁵ which is, as a rule, often exposed to various narratives of national history.

MYTHICAL NARRATIVES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HERITAGE OF PRINCE LAZAR`S EPOCH IN SCIENTIFIC PERIODICALS

Since the second half of the 20th century, when the most significant archaeological research connected to the heritage of Prince Lazar`s epoch was conducted during the excavation of Lazar`s Town in Kruševac (Fig. 1-4),¹⁶ an objective approach has been present in the scientific interpretation of the above mentioned.¹⁷ However, in the older publications, we can notice a stronger impact of the national myth reflected in the increased interest in the objects assigned to Prince Lazar. Thus, in the first issue of our oldest scientific archaeological journal *Starinar* from 1884, we can find a short article entitled "The fake stamp of Prince Lazar".¹⁸ The article speaks about an artefact whose authenticity the author of the text Mihailo Valtrović doubts, comparing the known stamps of Prince Lazar with it and stating that it was bought in Jagodina from a monk from the monastery of Ravanica in Srem. Given that the text opens with the words: "*The stamp that has been the subject of great interest since it was announced to have been bought in Jagodina as a possession of Prince Lazar...*", indirectly attests to the popularity of the artefacts connected with Kosovo mythology and Prince Lazar exhibited among antiquity lovers, although the text itself has no intent



Fig. 1. Archaeological excavations of the Lazar`s Town in Kruševac in 1962 - discovery of the southeastern rampart (source: Documentation of the National museum Kruševac)

¹⁴ Moshenska 2017, 9.

¹⁵ Holtorf 2007, 45-50.

¹⁶ On this occasion, we would like to thank Nataša Miladinović from the National Museum in Kruševac for helping us to select photographs from the museum`s documentation.

¹⁷ See the overview of scientific literature on this subject in: Васиљевић 2015, 21-23.

¹⁸ Валтровић 1884.

to support the romantic interpretation. The same situation is evidenced in the next issues of *Starinar* as well, where similar discussions appeared. In the next issue of 1885, in the text entitled "The Signet of Prince Lazar in Ravanica (Vrdnik)"¹⁹ Valtrović hinted that he was intrigued by the news in the newspapers about the photographs of the item so that he decided to buy the photographs for the Serbian archaeological society in order to make them available to the general public. Thus he came across the artefact that bore no connection with the Prince Lazar's epoch, but was produced much later, according to his expert analysis. Furthermore, in one of the following issues, the same author received an artefact that he described as the "alleged saber of Prince Lazar", stating that it was a counterfeit made for the naive who would pay "a huge sum of money" if they are "led to believe it".²⁰

A few decades later, in *Starinar* of 1926-1927 we can follow an even more direct influence of the folk tale under the influence of the cult of

Prince Lazar on the interpretation of archaeological material. Namely, architect Pero J. Popović, in the text dedicated to his work on the restoration of the West dome of Prince Lazar's church in Kruševac, while writing about the bad condition of the construction that he had encountered before the works, stated "Prior to the First Uprising by Karadjordje, an old woman in Kruševac received an order in her dream by a saint (Prince Lazar?) who requested her to go to the fortress and ask the Turks to allow the church to be cleaned and its



Fig. 2. Archaeological excavations of the Lazar's Town in Kruševac in 1962 - discovery of the palace (source: Documentation of the National museum Kruševac)



Fig. 3. Archaeological excavations of the Lazar's Town in Kruševac in 1962 - discovery of the remains of a stable (source: Documentation of the National museum Kruševac)

¹⁹ Valtrović 1885.

²⁰ Valtrović 1888.

roof repaired. She did so and the Turks allowed the citizens of Kruševac to enhance the church. At that time the church was covered with large, old-fashioned clay tiles that I have found the remains of, but it was not active. That is what the old people told me in Kruševac twenty years ago".²¹ In addition, similar romantic impressions appear in later issues as well, though rather rarely. Thus, these can be found in *Starinar* of 1978 which published thematic papers from a symposium entitled "Archaeological research of medieval Kruševac and Moravska Serbia." In the text "Lazarica – St Stefan`s Church in Kruševac", the author Branislav Vulović considers the specific features of its architecture as well as its history and emphasises the following in the introduction: "Poised, monastically meek and reserved architecture of the first monument of Moravska school, which was shown by the constructor as a model of five-domed edifice, is very impressive in its dignity along with discreet mausoleum accords of reliefs and plastic decoration. The creator of this magnificent monument of Moravska school displayed great intellectual power, employing exceptional skill and taste to produce the eternal house of the tragic Prince."²² On the other hand, similar descriptions and interpretations are more noticeable in popular articles in print which will be of further interest in this paper.



Fig. 4. Archaeological excavations of the Lazar`s Town in Kruševac in 1962 - discovery of the palace parts (source: Documentation of the National museum Kruševac)



Fig. 5. Newspaper *Pobeda* with a text about the discovery of medieval Kruševac (source: Documentation of the National library in Kruševac)

²¹ Поповић 1928, 230.

²² Вуловић 1979, 31.

ROMANTIC POPULISM IN THE REPORTS ABOUT THE FIRST EXCAVATIONS OF LAZAR`S TOWN

The great excavation campaign of Lazar`s Town lasted from 1961 to 1971, led by the team from The Archaeological Institute in Belgrade in cooperation with The National Museum Kruševac. During the campaign, it was determined that at the time of Prince Lazar an important fortification was erected there, probably on the site of the former settlement from the High Middle Ages, while in the aftermath of the Battle of Kosovo, the fort was annexed and some parts of it received a new function.²³ The research and its results were constantly covered by the printed magazine *Pobeda* (Fig. 5).²⁴ In this paper, we singled out certain interpretations of events and archaeological finds featured in this magazine, where we can notice the mixed conclusions about objective reports and romantic impressions or guesses. It is significant to note that these are more frequent in case of non-expert authors, but it was not possible to avoid them even in the statements of the involved professionals.

Even before the explorations of Lazar`s Town, we can notice the special disposition among the experts and the general public towards this heritage, so that during the 1950s the topic of the physical planning of the area around the tower and Lazarica church was raised. In the first place, the attention was drawn to the bad state of preservation of the medieval tower, which incited the conservation project. The author of the article from *Pobeda* reporting about it suggested that, as in the vicinity of the tower there is also Lazarica church, *“the area should be arranged as a park, especially because domestic and foreign tourists often visit the monuments from the glorious days of Serbian history.”*²⁵ The importance of this place is emphasised by naming it *Kruševac Town`s Kalemegdan* while its numerous unfulfilled potentials were also underlined.²⁶ In the following years, when archaeological examinations had already begun, *Pobeda* regularly reports about the process, and in some interpretations we can recognize ungrounded romantic judgments, especially in the case of attractive finds. Thus, in one article we can find the fact that during the probative archaeological explorations in five places, around four hundred various artefacts were found, among which the author presents the find of a golden buckle with the representation of a two-headed eagle, imaginatively stating that it belonged to *“someone in the immediate surroundings of Prince Lazar”*, and in addition finds the analogies with motifs on the robe of Prince Lazar that was housed in The Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church.²⁷ However, along with such reviews, the archaeologists

²³ Before the archaeological excavation campaign, among the medieval constructions from Lazar`s town, only a few were known: Lazarica church, the ruins of Donjon tower with one part of preserved ramparts heading northwards and a few traces of the walls on the surface of the terrain next to the tower and the building of the former High School (today The National Museum Kruševac), Дероко 1950, 122; Вуловић 1958, 15. For the review of the results of the archaeological research into the Lazar`s Town of Kruševac see: Миладиновић 2006; Васиљевић 2015; Васиљевић 2016.

²⁴ The detailed review of all the reports about the above mentioned events in the weekly magazine *Pobeda*, one of the authors of this paper presented in an earlier publication, Васиљевић 2021. Also, on this occasion we would like to thank to Snežana Nenezić, the director of the National library in Kruševac, for the insight into the archival documentation and permission to publish the illustration from magazine *Pobeda* in this paper.

²⁵ Ђ. Г. 1955.

²⁶ К. Ч. 1959.

²⁷ Б. М. 1961.

such as Emilija Tomić who took part in the research gave objective insights into the events and future plans,²⁸ so that a more complete image was presented to the public. Also, attention was paid to the interest of the general public in the digs, so that *Pobeda* noted the visit of the student members of the History Club from The High School in Kruševac to the “*excavations of the former Lazar`s Town*“, with the special mention that the pupils were interested in the movable finds “*that were over 2000 years old.*“²⁹

It can be said that a somewhat free interpretation, or even a somewhat sensational approach, is especially noticeable in the broad review of the topics of culture in the Social Plan of the municipality of Kruševac in 1965, which mentioned the construction and lay-out of the Archaeological Park as the most complex and the most extensive among “*a large number of considerable enterprises in the field of culture*“, stating that already at that time “*every historian, medieval culture lover or a curious tourist can find a large portion of the beauties of Prince Lazar`s Town available to see...* “. It is concluded that the archaeological research showed that Lazar`s Town was built according to a plan following the pattern of a feudal town with a lord`s court and additional facilities, “*as it was regulated by Dušan`s Code*“. It is especially underlined that in the vicinity of the main tower, near the big moat, a water cistern was found as well as one rampart, which the author identifies as the rampart mentioned in the notes of medieval French travelogue writer Bertrand de la Broquière. Later it is mentioned that in the “*Main Town*“ a large number of towers and gates had been found, as well as a small entrance, that the author of the article believes “*to have served for secret exits of the gentry.*“³⁰

A free approach is evidenced in later years nearing the end of the realization of the project of the constitution of the Archaeological park. Thus, one text in *Pobeda* from 1967 quotes the words of architect Mirko Kovačević who was engaged in the project: “*We have started the reconstruction of one part of the old Lazar`s Town on the surface which is available, because only a small number of finds remained there, and further excavations would be risky. That is why we decided to employ partial reconstruction, which would demonstrate the beauty and the magnificence of the walls, or more precisely the authentic elements of medieval architecture and paintings, so that we leave spectators free to use their imagination to “recreate” all the structures and walls. Hence this project may be named “imaginative reconstruction”, because each spectator may finalize it in their own way, which would be a unique experience.*” The article ends with the statement about the significance of the “*3900 rare archaeological artefacts*” that were to be displayed in the (Medieval) museum and with the impression about the reconstructed part of the town which “*had no match in beauty.*“³¹

Long expected opening of the permanent collection of The National Museum in Kruševac occurred in 1969, when the Archaeological Park was presented to the public as well. On this occasion, *Pobeda* conveyed the entire speech by professor Đurđe Bošković, held at the opening ceremony, as this occasion was the result of many years of cooperation among The National Museum in Kruševac, The National Museum in Belgrade, The

²⁸ Томић 1962; 1964.

²⁹ Љ. В. 1962.

³⁰ Ристовић 1965.

³¹ М. Н. Р. 1967.

Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and The Archaeological Institute. In the speech, it is stated that “*today The National Museum in Kruševac opens a collection of artefacts of great historical, scientific, cultural and artistic value, collected throughout decades, especially during the most recent archaeological excavations conducted at this very place, on the site of old, medieval Kruševac. The collection is thus inseparable with the place of its origin...*” Bošković then emphasises the importance of the realized project with the statement that the connection between the museum and the archaeological park, shows an example of the development of a contemporary museum, which cannot be “*home to dead relics, but a source of new creative impulses. This combination of the dynamic contemporary movements and the powers of the past that are still alive in us is rarely experienced as much as here in Kruševac...which once was, at least in one very important moment of our history, the capital of a small country which, with tremendous effort and great sacrifices, saved Central and Western Europe from Ottoman invasion. This tower, these walls, the foundations of palaces, Lazarica church as well as numerous artefacts in the collection are the material heritage of the epoch which throughout the time became a living legend, embodied in the epic of Kosovo.*” The further lines of the speech emphasise “*the ethics*” of Kosovo myth that has served as the basis for bringing up whole generations of Serbian people.³²

While in the next years the experts were preoccupied with the topics about the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the town of Kruševac, as well as the question



Fig. 6. Newspaper *Pobeda* with a text about the Museum in Kruševac (source: Documentation of the National library in Kruševac)

³² Бошковић 1969.

of the location of the monument to Prince Lazar,³³ the texts in *Pobeda* dealt with the reception of heritage among the public, so that it was noted that “*in the last few years Kruševac had experienced a real renaissance that draws attention of the general public in Yugoslavia and beyond*”. Also, it was held that the Museum “*had made a small revolution with its discoveries of Lazar`s heritage*”, while the excavated finds “*helped us imagine the medieval Serbian capital*” (Fig. 6). There is also a valuable testimony that in 1969 the museum received 13 000 visitors, while in the first five months of the 1970 there were more than 6000 visits, with a mention that the archaeological collection was the subject of the greatest interest.³⁴

CONCLUDING REMARKS

During the 19th century the concept of “national” influenced and encouraged archaeology. Thus, since the times of enlightenment, under the influence of historicisation, the modern idea of the nation has been projected onto the Middle Ages. We have already mentioned this in the introduction when we spoke about social and scientific perception of the Battle of Kosovo since the second half of the 19th century, which reflected the longing for the emphasis of the cultural unity and continuity between modern and medieval Serbian state. It seems that in this process, the material remains were seen as national symbols, and the first explorers of Serbian antiques, Mihailo Valtrović and Dragutin Milutinović, contributed to this among others. They traveled through Serbia in order to record and study our ancient heritage, providing romantic interpretations of this kind which they saw as the reflection of Serbian spirit,³⁵ while similar views in terms of the medieval art were later exhibited by Miloje M. Vasić.³⁶

On this occasion we pointed out the existence of deeply rooted narratives of national history, i.e. Kosovo myth in archaeological interpretation of the heritage of Prince Lazar`s epoch. These influences on its interpretation as an important remnant of the national past appear in various contexts in scientific writings, while free interpretations exist more frequently in printed media. In both cases, however, it is important to use such narratives with caution, as it may question the objectiveness of the statement. On the other hand, sometimes this is used on purpose to link scientific data with the need to draw public attention through the construction of the tales about the past.³⁷ Since archaeologists strive to present the items they collected as persuasive, the moment when they make a transfer from the site of excavation to a written text is actually crucial for identification of a specific artefact or an item of material culture as a building block in the creation of an image of the past and its characterisation as national heritage.³⁸ Also, the acceptability of the archaeological interpretation depends on which public group it is aimed at, while it is equally important to mention the question of

³³ Бошковић 1971; Васиљевић 2021, 342-347.

³⁴ Арсић 1970.

³⁵ Milosavljević 2020, 114.

³⁶ Милосављевић 2013, 224–225; Milosavljević 2020, 114.

³⁷ Милосављевић, Ђосић 2017.

³⁸ Yarrow 2006; Milosavljević 2011, 115

authority, because sometimes the degree of the possibility to implement certain beliefs into the perception of the past depends on who makes the statement, even regardless of appropriate argumentation.³⁹ In the situations similar to this one, when the existence of a deeply implemented national epic preceded the archaeological excavations, it is crucially important to respect the archaeological context as the basic imperative of the narrative. The context itself is what limits the possibilities of its broadness, constantly encouraging reconsideration.⁴⁰ Given that from the presented examples we can realize the degree to which archaeologists can contribute to the development of mythological narratives, significantly influencing experts and the general public along the way, we believe it is necessary to point out their responsibility in this respect more frequently, especially bearing in mind the long-term potential of mythical narratives` influence in cultural history of a nation.

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³⁹ Ćosić 2016; Милосављевић, Ћосић 2017, 184-185.

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Rezime:

UTICAJ MITOVA NACIONALNE ISTORIJE NA ARHEOLOŠKU INTERPRETACIJU: ROMANTIČARSKI NARATIVI U TUMAČENJU NASLEĐA EPOHE KNEZA LAZARA

Ključne reči: nacionalni, mit, arheologija, interpretacija, nasleđe, romantičarski, Kosovska bitka, knez Lazar

Ovom prilikom ukazali smo na postojanje ukorenjenih narativa nacionalne istorije odnosno kosovskog mita u arheološkoj interpretaciji nasleđa epohe kneza Lazara. Budući da od druge polovine XIX veka dolazi do formulisanja nove naracije o Kosovskoj bici i njenim junacima, čije središte će postati kult naroda i njegova borba za slobodu i nacionalnu državu, još od početnih brojeva srpske arheološke periodike može se uočiti interesovanje za nalaze koji su se dovodili u vezu sa knezom Lazarom. Njihova interpretacija ponekad je proisticala radije iz romantičarskih težnji nego realnih naučnih identifikacija, dok su takvi uplivi posebno bili prisutni tokom prvih arheoloških istraživanja Lazarevog grada u Kruševcu, kroz populistička pisanja lokalnog nedeljnika *Pobeda* koji je pratio tok pomenute kampanje. Stoga smo ovde razmatrali u kojoj meri arheolozi zapravo učestvuju u konstrukciji takvih mitova, odnosno na koji način arheologija i materijalna kultura doprinose potvrđivanju njihovih narativa. Budući da arheolozi nastoje da podatke koje su prikupili tokom istraživanja predstave kao uverljive, momenat kada se sa terena prelazi na sam tekst, zapravo je suštinski za identifikovanje određenog predmeta ili objekta kao građe za kreiranje slike prošlosti odnosno njegovu karakterizaciju kao nacionalnog nasleđa. Takođe, prihvatljivost arheološkog tumačenja zavisi i od toga kojim grupama javnosti je namenjeno, dok je veoma važno pomenuti i pitanje autoriteta jer nekad od toga ko saopštava informacije zavisi u kojoj meri se određena uverenja mogu implementirati u sagledavanje prošlosti. Shodno tome da se ovde radi o postojanju duboko ukorenjene nacionalne epopeje daleko pre samih arheoloških istraživanja, naglasili smo da je za tumačenje njihovih rezultata od krucijalne važnosti poštovanje arheološkog konteksta kao bazičnog imperativa u interpretaciji. Upravo je kontekst taj koji ograničava mogućnosti njene širine, konstantno podstičući na preispitivanja, što je jedini način da se očuva objektivnost naučnog saopštavanja, koja neophodno mora postojati kao temeljna osnova i u popularnim tekstovima štampanih medija. S obzirom na to da je iz predstavljenih primera bilo moguće uvideti koliko arheolozi zapravo doprinose razvoju mitoloških narativa, utičući na stručnu i širu javnost, smatramo da je neophodno više ukazivati na njihovu odgovornost u tom pogledu, posebno uzevši u obzir dugoročni potencijal delovanja mitskih narativa u kulturnoj istoriji jedne nacije.