

*Eeva-Kristiina Nylander*

## **FROM REPATRIATION TO REMATRIATION. DISMANTLING THE ATTITUDES AND POTENTIALS BEHIND THE REPATRIATION OF SÁMI HERITAGE**

Lectio praecursoria  
at the Sámi Cultural Centre Sajos, Inari 10.2.2023

Honourable Opponent, honourable Custos, honourable audience.

In the summer of 1996, after a Sámi research field course in Kilpisjärvi and Koutakeino, I celebrated midsummer at my grandparents' place in Haukipudas near Oulu. My aunt mentioned that she wanted to show me something. It was something, a stone object, she thought, one that she had found in the 1980s from the shoreline of the Kiiminkijoki River. She had been cleaning the vegetation to keep the sand beach open when something peaked out of the sand. She thought that, after two years of studies in archaeology, I would probably know what it was. She handed me the object, and I was amazed, even shocked, when I saw what it was: a beautiful, skilfully carved object that I recognised to be a *bálin* or *veahčir*, a hammer that was used with the Sámi drum.

I cannot avoid thinking that during my childhood years spent playing with sand on the shoreline, the hammer influenced my future and led me to become a Sámi researcher. And if not, at least the hammer has influenced my being and thinking since our first encounter. The reason I am telling you this story has to do with my personal history that led me to this point, but also the situation of repatriation and its impact on the future.



Picture 1. A *bállin* or a *veahčir*, a hammer used with the Sámi drum. According to the prehistorical exhibition of the National Museum of Finland it is a "bone object" from Haukipudas, Sankoniemi (KM29659:1). Päristin; noitarummun päristin. Museovirasto. Arkeologian esinekokoelma (CC BY 4.0). <https://www.finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.0B0AB60DEE7183BB92671323D0FA3921?sid=3545850590> Accessed 19.12.2023

Govva 1. Goavdá bállin dahje veahčir. Suoma Álbmotmusea ovdahistorjjá čájáhusa mielde "dáktedinga" Haukiputaas, Sankoniemes (KM29659:1). Päristin; noitarummun päristin. Museovirasto. Arkeologian esinekokoelma (CC BY 4.0). <https://www.finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.0B0AB60DEE7183BB92671323D0FA3921?sid=3545850590> Čujuhuvvon 19.12.2023

Repatriation entered my life in 2006 when I started working as a project manager in the *Recalling Ancestral Voices* project at the Sámi Museum Siida. Even though the concept of returning knowledge had been somewhat familiar to me, the project led me to the world of museums and museum objects. I would say it was love at first sight, at least from my side, and I felt that repatriation could bring new meaning to my professional life. It could offer me a possibility to work with something that has social significance to the Sámi people, and maybe I could contribute to something important.

Repatriation is the ultimate reason why we are gathered here today. I started my dissertation in 2014 when I conducted my first interviews with my colleagues, Finnish archaeologists who had been working in Sápmi or with Sámi

material. At that time in Finland, or even in Sápmi, repatriation was not really discussed outside Sámi institutes and the circle of Sámi researchers. All in all, repatriation was seen as irrelevant in Finland.

This was one of the reasons that motivated me to write an article-based dissertation and to write my thesis in English. It gave me the possibility to look at repatriation from several angles and participate in several discussions. The English language gave me the possibility to reach out to a broad network of researchers. Naturally, the choice of language always shuts someone out, and this is the reason why I have chosen to speak in Northern Sámi today.

Although my subject was not among the hottest topics in Finland, it was considered interesting by the Sámi researchers in the Nordic countries, as well as researchers coming from Europe and other continents. During my time as a PhD student, I have attended numerous conferences and highlighted the importance of the Sámi collections to the Sámi people. I want to believe that the presentations had some influence on the positive progress in the field of Sámi repatriation that has been happening in the Nordic countries and Europe.

Since I started my research, the museum world has changed, and repatriation is now a mainstream subject in heritage and museum circles. I would even argue that there has been a change of paradigm. Nordic and other European museums are now familiar with such concepts as repatriation and provenance research, ergo the clarification of the history and background of museum objects.

However, I wish to emphasise that we are only at the beginning of a huge act of dissolution of this dark colonial heritage of museums. Due to historical and ongoing injustices, the world is full of people – and peoples – who need healing and repatriation.

In comparison to the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where repatriation politics have a history of over 30 years, the Sámi are only at the beginning of this voyage. Hence, how the completed or ongoing acts of repatriation will affect the Indigenous peoples, their position, societal life, and individuals is still to be seen. Therefore, we cannot draw any extensive theoretical conclusions. These are questions that remain to be studied in the future.

Museum objects are not dead. I see them as actants and entities, beings, just like we humans are. While travelling through time and space, they create a multitude of networks. They have been made with love and care, used in practical situations, remodelled, and finally abandoned or reallocated, and sometimes collected in museum collections.

At that moment, they are separated from the society that created them; they are attached to collections, measured, numbered, drawn, or photographed, and tucked into glass vitrines to be exhibited and stared at by the public. Thus, they are given a new role in creating an image of the people they are supposed to represent. However, in most cases, they are maybe put into a cardboard box and hidden away in a storeroom for decades, even centuries.

In repatriation, these beings again become actants in the process of decolonisation of Sámi history and heritage, or at least that is how I define repatriation and the measures related to it. Repatriation is a process between Sámi museums and non-Sámi museums that offers possibilities to study the difficult, painful, and dark history shared by the Sámi peoples and the majority populations.

The collections reflect the mindset, ideologies, and actions of their time, and by shedding light on the background and history, ergo the provenance, we add a voice to these beings that have not been listened to for a long time. This, too, is an aspect of the decolonial nature of repatriation, to bring into light the networks and travels that these beings have partaken.

Repatriation, with all its possible impacts, is important, even though it can be difficult and painful. Repatriation creates emotions, and recognising and acknowledging these emotions can build a new kind of understanding between people. Maybe it could even have an influence on the politics. Nevertheless, I want to emphasise that, in my opinion, repatriation is only the beginning.

My research shows that, for the Sámi people, the most important parts of the repatriation process are the present-day and future possibilities that repatriation can offer and the opportunities it opens for new generations. That is the possibility to create your own narratives, to share your own story through representations, and to tell your own histories. This is done, for example, through the histories that the pieces of ancestral *duodji* tell those who can listen and understand the language. Furthermore, it is rebinding the traditional knowledge, *árbediehtu*, and the traditional ways, *árbevierru*, to the objects. A prominent example of this work is the *ládjogahpir*, the power hat of Sámi women on which I have worked together with Čiske-Jovsset Biret Hánsa Outi/Outi Pieski and other Sámi women. When Sámi women gather and share the learning experience regarding the history and background of an ancestral object, they also relive the emotions and repeat the bodily movements of their foremothers. This enables something powerful to happen: beings like the *ládjogahpir* obtain new meanings and interpretations. There, as Jalvvi Anna-Liissä Niillas/Niillas Holmberg says, ‘the body remembers.’

These actants are re-socialised; they become a part of society again. They are once more a part of a living society, networks and entities that can help discussions about difficulties created by colonial influences and patriarchy such as colonialism or the lack of reciprocity in the society. This is the indigenisation part of the process that I call repatriation. For me, it is the real essence of repatriation and shows the powers of the *duodji* of the ancestors. As I said earlier, the real impact of these processes is to be seen first in the future.

But let me get back to the *veahčir*, the hammer I introduced to you in the beginning. When looking at it through the lens of repatriation, the root question is: Where is it now? In 1996, it was given to the hands of the Finnish Heritage Agency, and we – my aunt and the rest of the family – wished that it should be placed in a Sámi museum. But the hammer is not in Siida. As it is classified as an archaeological object, it was not included in the repatriation of the Sámi collections from the National Museum to the Sámi Museum Siida in 2021.

The hammer is situated in a locked glass vitrine in Helsinki, in the archaeological exhibition of the National Museum of Finland. It carries the information ‘bone object, Haukipudas’. An entire worldview, cosmology, and philosophy are alienated from this beautiful being that could tell its narratives to the people whose ancestors made it.

This is the result of the struggle for Sámi archaeological material, the subject of my first article. Even though it was written several years ago, the situation has not changed. The archaeological material from Sápmi is administered by the Finnish Heritage Agency and owned by the Finnish state. This classification problem might seem harmless, but it is not. It is, actually, a highly influential and political issue.

The question of Sámi archaeology and how it is defined plays a leading role in the new Antiquities Act, which is currently under revision. The renewed Act will build new understandings of what Sámi cultural heritage is, and therefore, it will influence the Sámi cultural self-determination.

But in the case of archaeological collections, the question is not only about the ownership. It is also about economics. For example, in order to exhibit Sámi archaeological heritage in the new main exhibition opened last June in Siida, the Sámi Museum had to loan the prehistoric objects from the Finnish state. This loan had a price tag of 20,000 euros.

To loan and pay for the possibility of exhibiting your own heritage, and in a way that you yourself can recognise is not right. By this example, I wish to emphasise that there is still a lot of work to be done and plenty of questions to be answered. There are still a lot of museum collections waiting for their moment to act for a better future for the Sámi people and future Sámi generations.

## Repatriašuvnnas rematriašuvdnii. Sámi kulturárbbi máhcahanpolitihka hástalusat ja vejolašvuodát

Lectio praecursoria

Sámi kulturguovddáš Sajosis, Anáris 10.2.2023

Buorre vuostenákkáhalli, buorre Kustos, buorit olbmot.

Go geasset 1996 gergen sámedutkamuša gieddegurssas, mii lei leamaš Gilbbesjávrris ja Guovdageainnus, mannen ávvudit mihcamáraid mu máttuid geassebáikái Haukiputaa:ai, mii lea Oulu lahka. Doppe mu muoŋá dadjalii, ahte sus lea juoga maid son háliidivččii čájehit munnje. Dat lei su sániid mielde geađgedinga, man son lei gávdnan 1980-vuođđologus Kiiminkijoga gáttis. Son lei leamaš sáttogáttis rádjame eret rávrraid vai gáddi ii obboše, go juoga idistii oidnosii sáddos. Son jurddašii, ahte go mun ledjen studeren guokte jagi arkeologijja universitehtas, de ammahal mun dieđášin mii dat lea. Hirpmástuvven, go oidnen diŋgga, man son geigii munnje. Dat leai čáppa, čehpet hervejuvvon duodji, goavdá ballin dahje veahčir.

Dál in sáhte lea jurddaškeahhtá iežan mánnávuoda gesiid ja movt mánnán stohken dien sáttogáttis. Smiehtan leigo nu, ahte veahčir ieš váikkuhii mu boahtevuhit, ahte mun šadden sámekultuvrra dutkin. Ja jos ii aiddo nie, de dat veahčir goit váikkuhii mu jurdagiidda munno vuosttas deaivvadeami rájes. Manne mun dál muitalan dán muitalusa didjiide? Mu persovnnalaš historjjá geažil, muhto sivvan lea maid sámi repatriašuvnna dálá dilli ja makkár váikkuhusat dilis sáhttet leat.

Repatriašuvdna bođii fámoláččat mu eallimii jagis 2006, go álgen bargui Sámemusea Siidda ja eará sámemuseaid oktasaš repatriašuvdna-prošektii, man namma lei “*Recalling Ancestral Voices*”. Vaikko ledjen jo ovdal oahppan máhcaheami birra, dát prošeakta láidestii mu museamáilbmái ja ereno mážit museadiŋggaid máilbmái. Sáhtá lohkat, ahte dat lei dalán buolli ráhkisvuohhta - goit mu bealde. Dovden, ahte repatriašuvdna sáhtášii addit ođđa mearkkašumiid mu ámmátlaš eallimii. Jurddašin, ahte repatriašuvdna attašii munnje vejolašvuodaid bargat fáttáiguin, main leat čiekŋalut sosiálalaš mearkkašumit ja kánske beasašin bargat sámiid buorin sámiide dán dehálaš áššis.

Loahpa loahpas repatriašuvdna lea sivva dasa, ahte mii leat odne čoahkkanan deike. Mun bargagohten nákkosgirjjiin jagis 2014. Dalle jearahallen vuosttas háve mu kollegaid, daid suomelaš arkeologaid, geat ledje bargan Sámis

dahje sámi materiálaiguin. Dalle ságastallan repatriašuvnnas jođihuvvui eanáš dušše sámi ásašusain ja sámedutkiid gaskkas. Orui, ahte Suomas repatriašuvdna lei dubmejuvvon dárbašmeahtun fáddán.

Okta sivain manne mun mearridin bargat artihkalnákkošgirjji ja čállit dan eanjalasgillii lei, ahte artihkkalhápmi attii munnje vejolašvuoda lahkoni fáttá iešguđetlágan geahččanguovlluin ja oassálastit mánggalágán ságastallamiidda. Eanjalasgiella fas fála vejolašvuoda joksat dutkiid fierpmádagaid viidát. Eanjalasgiella välljen dutkamuša giellan fas gokčá olggobeallái muhtun olbmuid. Vai beasan fátmastit mielde goit muhtumiid sis, lean välljen odne hállat davvisámegillii.

Vaikko mu dutkanfáddá ii leat leamaš daid báhkaseamos fáttáid gaskkas Suomas, dasa lea čađat leamaš beroštupmi sámedutkiid gaskkas eará Davviriikkain ja maiddá eará riikkaid dutkiid gaskkas. Nákkosgirjedutkin lean oassálastán ollu konferánssaide. Konferánssain lean deattuhan, man stuorra mearkkašupmi museačoakkáldagain lea sámiide. Háliidan jáhkkit, ahte mu sániiguin leat leamašan mánggalágán váikkuhusat dasa, man buori muddui sámi repatriašuvdna lea ovdánan sihke Davviriikkain ahte viidát Eurohpás.

Museamáilbmi lea nuppástuvvan das, go duolbmagohten dutki bálgá. Dál repatriašuvnna ii sáhte giige badjelgeahččat ságastaladettiin eamiálbmogiid kulturárbbis ja museas. Mun oainnán, ahte dás lea dáhpáhuvvan velába paradigma nuppástus. Davviriikkalaš ja eará eurohpálaš museat leat oahppagoahtán ja váldán atnui odđa doahpágiid dego repatriašuvdna ja proveniensa dutkamuš, mii lea museadinggaid historjjá ja daid duogášdieđuid dutkan.

Háliidan deattuhit, ahte mii leat easkká álggus, leat easkká álggahan burgit museaid sevdnjes kolonisttalaš árbbi. Historjjálaš ja dáláš eahpevuoggalašvuodaid dihte, máilmmis leat ollu olbmot ja álbmogat, geain lea dárbu buorrá-neapmái ja repatriašuvnnii.

Jus veardidit sámiid dili Davvi- ja Lulli-Amerihkái, Kanadain, Australiain dahje Aotearoain, gos repatriašuvdnapolitihkas lea jo badjel 30 jahkášaš historjjá, sápmelaččat leat aiddo vuolán dán mátkái. Danin repatriašuvnna buot váikkuhusat sámiide, sin sajádahkii, servodateallimii dahje ovttaskas olbmuide, váikkuhusat, mat leat juo dáhpáhuvvan dahje mat leat ain dáhpáhuvvame in ja daid čuovvumušat, eai leat vel oaidnimis. Danin ii leat vel vejolaš dahkat teorehtalaš árvoštallamiid repatriašuvnna mearkašumiin. Dat báhcet boahttevaš dutkamušaid fáddán.

Duojit musea čoakkáldagain eai leat jápmá dinggat. Mu áddejumi mielde dat leat doaibmit ja heakkalaččat dego mii olbmotge. Go dát dinggat mátkkoštit áiggiid ja báikkiid gaskkas, dat seammás godđet mánggalágan fierpmádagaid.

Dát diŋggat lea duddjojuvvon ráhkisvuodain, dat leat geavahuvvon árgabeaivválaš eallimis, daid leat geavahan ođđa dujiid ávnnasin ja loahpas dat leat hilgojuvvon, duššaduvvon – dahje muhtun diŋggaid buohta – dat leat čohkkejuvvon museačoakkáldagaide.

Sirdin museačoakkáldahkii sirre dujiid dan servodagas ja dain olbmui, mat hábmejedje daid. Duojit šaddet oassin museačoakkáldaga, gos dat mihtiduvvojit, daidda addo nummir, daid govva sárgojuvvo dahje dat govvejuvvojit ja dat stellejuvvojit lássavetriinnaide geahččanláhká, vai olbmot besset daid gaivát. Seammás dat ožžot ođđa rollaid, mat gaskkustit ipmárdusa olbmui, geat leat sin duddjon. Mánnggaid diŋggaid oassin lea leamaš páhkkejuvvot kásaside ja ráddjot musea vuorkálanjaide. Doppe dat leat de vuordán logiid jagiid, muhtumin velába jahkečuđiid.

Repatriašuvnnas diŋggat šaddet fas aktevran, doaibmin, sámi historjjás ja sámiid árbbi dekoloniserenproseassain. Nu mun goit meroštallan repatriašuvnna ja doaimmaid, mat dasa gullet. Repatriašuvdna lea proseassa sámemuseaid ja eará museaid gaskkas. Dat fállá vejolašvuodaid dutkat váttis, ja muhtumiin bávččas ja sevdnjes historjjá, mii sámiin lea válđoálbmogiiguin.

Čoakkáldagat speadjalastet iežaset áiggi jurddašuvugiid, ideologiijaid ja doaimmaid. Dutkkadettiin čoakkáldagaid duogášdieđuid ja historjá nappo proveniensa, mii máhcahit jiena daidda, geat eai leat beassan hállat guhkes áigái. Dát ášši gullá rematriašuvnna dekolonialisttalaš lundui, mas mii maid čielggadit dáid diŋggaid fierpmádagaid ja mátkkiid, maid dat leat johtán.

Repatriašuvdna ja buot dasa gullevaš váikkuhusat leat dehálaččat. Dakkár dutkamuš sáhtta leat váttis ja bávččagahtti, muhto dat liikka lea dehálaš. Repatriašuvdna duddjo dovdduid ja go dat dovddut dovddastuvvojit ja fuomášuvvojit, lea daid bokte vejolaš hukset ođđalágán áddejumi olbmuid gaskii. Dat soaitá váikkuhit vel sámiid diliide ja vuoigatvuodaid ollašupmái. Juohke dáfus, ja dán háliidan geažidit, mu mielas repatriašuvdna lea dušše álgu.

Mu dutkamuš čájeha, ahte sápmelaččaide deháleamos repatriašuvnnaš leat dat otnáš ja boahttevaš vejolašvuodát, maid dat fállá, liibbat, maid dat rahpá boahttevaš buolvvaide. Sámiide repatriašuvdna lea vejolašvuohka čohkket sámi muitalu-said, juogadit daid sámi vieruid mielde, muitalit sámiid historjjáid. Dat lea bargu, mas máttuid duojit sáhttet ofelaštít sin, gain lea máhttu guldalit ja áddet duoji giela. Bargu, mas čatnat ođđasit diŋggaid oktii árbedieđuin ja árbevieruiguin.

Munnje hui divrras ovdamearka dakkár barggus lea ladjogahpir, sámenissoniid fápmogahpir, mainna lean bargan ovttas Čiske-Jovsset Biret Hánsa



Outiin ja eará sámenissoniiguin. Go sámenissonat čoahkkanit oktii oahppat dološ dujiid ja daidda gullelaš duogášdieđuid birra, sii ellet ođđasit dáid dujiid duddjon máttaráhkuid dovdduid ja geavahit daid seammá rumašlaš lihkastagaid, maid sin máttut leat geavahan. Dás bohciida juoga hui fámolaš: árbeduojit, dego ládjogahpir, ožžot ođđa mearkkašumiid ja dulkojumiid. Dalle, nugo Jalvvi Anna-Liissa Niillas lohká, “rumaš muitá”.

Seammás duojit doaibmin sosialiserejuvvojit ođđasit ja šaddet fas oasázin servošiid. Dat leat fas ealli servodaga fierpmádagaid oasis. Heakkalaččat, mat sáhttet veahkehit ságastaladettiin daid váttisvuodaid birra, maid kolonialisma ja patriarkalisa oassin kolonialismmas ja servodaga váilelaš dássearvu leat dagahan. Dat lea indigenisašuvnna oasis proseassas, maid mun lean gohčodan rematriašuvnna. Munnje dat lea dat buot deháleamos oasis repatriašuvnna. Dat čájeha máttuid dujiid fámu. Nugo jo lohken ovdalaš, daid proseassaid duodalaš váikkuhusaid sáhttit oaidnit easkká boahttevuodas.

Dás loahpas mun áiggun máhccat ruovttuluodda veahčirii, man birra muitalin álggos. Go mun geahčan veahčira repatriašuvnna čalbmeglásaid čađa, badjaná gažaldat: Gos son lea dál? Jagis 1996 dat sáddejuvvui Suoma Musealágádusa háldui ja mii - mu muohtá ja eará bearašlahtut – sávaimet, ahte dat beašii sámemuseai. Muhto veahčir ii leat Sámemusea Siiddas. Go dat lea meroštallojuvvon arkeologalaš dološbázahussan, dat ii beassan leat mielde jagi 2021 Suoma Álbmotmusea ja Sámemusea Siidda gaskasaš sámečoakkáldaga repatriašuvnna. Veahčir lea Helssegis, lássavetriinnas Suoma Álbmotmusea ovdahistorjjá čájáhusas. Dan buohta čuožžu “dáktedinga, Haukipudas.” Dasa čadnon máilmmigovva, kosmologijja ja filosofijja lea rievduvvon eret, vaikko dat čábbá heakkalaš sáhtášii muitalit su muitalusaid olbmuide, geaid máttut leat su duddjon.

Dát lea boadus gižžus Sámi arkeologalaš árbbi badjel, mii lea maid mu vuosttaš artihkkala fáddá. Vaikko dan čállimis lea jo gollan áigi, dilli ii leat rievdan. Ain hálddaša Musealágádus sámiid arkeologalaš materiáldaid ja ain Suoma stáhta eaiggáduššá daid. Dat kategoriserenváttisvuohta sáhtta orrut vigiheapme, muhto dan dat ii leat.

Dat, man jovkui kulturárbi kategoriserejuvvo, váikkuha iešalddes hui olu ja dán áššis leat maid politihkalaš bealit. Gažaldagas, mii lea sámi arkeologijja ja mo dat meroštallojuvvo, lea stuorra mearkkašupmi maid dál go Suomas ráđđádallojuvvo ođđa kulturmuitalágas. Ođđa láhka hukse ođdalágán áddejumi das, mii lea sámi kulturárbi ja danin dat váikkuha sámiid iešmearrideami ollašupmái.

Ságastallamis sámi arkeologalaš čoakkáldagain ii leat gažaldat dušše geasa dat gullet. Dat lea maid ruhtagáldat. Sámemusea Siidda ođđa bistevaš čájáhus ráhppojuvvui geasemánus 2023. Dan várás Sámemusea galggai sihtat luoikkas arkeologalaš diŋggaid Suoma stáhtas. Dat šattai máksit museai 20 000 euro. Luoikkahit ja máksit das, ahte beassá čájehit iežat kulturárbbi ja muitalit dan birra nu ieš dan ipmirda, ii leat vuoiggalaš. Dainna ovdamearkkain háliidan geažidit, ahte lea vel ollu barggatkeahtes barggut ja ollu vástitkeahtes gažaldagat. Máilm-mis leat vel olu museačoakkáldagat vuordimin, ahte besset ruoktot ja duddjot buoret boahttevuoda sámiide ja boahttevaš sámi buolvvaide.

PhD Eeva-Kristiina Nylander defended her PhD thesis, *From repatriation to repatriation. Dismantling the attitudes and potentials behind the repatriation of Sámi heritage* at the University of Oulu, Giellagas Institute in February 2023. In her studies and work life, Nylander has specialised in Sámi collections in Nordic and European museums, ethical questions, repatriation and curating Sámi exhibitions. Since 2023, Nylander has led a provenance research project of the Sámi collections in collaboration with Sámi *duojárs/crafters* at the Museum of European Cultures in Berlin.

Filosofija doavttir Eeva-Kristiina Nylander bealuštii iežas nákkosdutkanmuša *Repatriašuvnnas rematriašuvdnii. Sámi kulturárbbi máhcahanpolitihka hástalusat ja vejolašvuodát* Oulu universiteahta Giellagas Instituhtas guovvamánus 2023. Nylander lea dutkamušas ja bargoeallimis beroštuvvan sámečoakkáldagain Eurohpá ja Davviriikkaid museain, ehtalaš gažaldagain, repatriašuvnnas ja sámečájáhusaid plánenbargguin. Jagi 2023 álggus Nylander lea bargan Eurohpalaš Kultuvrraid Museas Berliinnas, gos son ovttas sámi duojáriiguin dutká musea sámečoakkáldaga proveniensa nappo čoakkáldaga duogáža ja álgoboahtimiša.