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SOI: [1.1/TAS](#) DOI: [10.15863/TAS](#)
International Scientific Journal
Theoretical & Applied Science
 p-ISSN: 2308-4944 (print) e-ISSN: 2409-0085 (online)
 Year: 2024 Issue: 11 Volume: 139
 Published: 20.11.2024 <http://T-Science.org>

Issue

Article



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ON THE IMPORTANCE OF EVERYDAY LEVEL RELATIONS BETWEEN TATARS AND RUSSIANS IN ELIMINATING ETHNIC AND ETHNO-CONFESSIONAL CONFRONTATION

Abstract: In the article, the authors examine various aspects of the relationship between Russians and Tatars both in the 19th-20th centuries and in earlier times, both rural and urban populations. The historical experience of living together and enriching cultures during close and long-term contacts are illustrated by examples of mutual borrowings in material culture (tools, housing, food), and mutual linguistic influence. The authors pay attention to the reflection in folklore of stereotypical ideas of Russians and Tatars about each other, showing the origins of negative and positive stereotypes. The mass transition of the Crimean Tatars to the side of Nazi Germany during the Great Patriotic War led to the deportation of the Tatar population in May-June 1944 to the territory of the Uzbek, Kazakh and Kirghiz SSR.

Key words: Russians, Tatars, ethnic contacts, ethnography, folklore, Crimean Tatars, the Great Patriotic War, collaborationism, "Muslim committees", special settlers.

Language: English

Citation: Blagorodov, A.A., Prokhorov, V.T., Volkova, G.Yu., & Volkova, N.V. (2024). On the importance of everyday level relations between Tatars and Russians in eliminating ethnic and ethno-confessional confrontation. *ISJ Theoretical & Applied Science*, 11 (139), 336-347.

Soi: <http://s-o-i.org/1.1/TAS-11-139-35>

Doi: <https://dx.doi.org/10.15863/TAS.2024.11.139.35>

Scopus ASCC: 2000.

Introduction

UDC 323.22:303.69.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia on February 20, 2014 became a new test for the indigenous population of the peninsula – the Crimean Tatars, who

were able to return to their homeland only after 1989. While Crimea and the Russian Federation celebrated the new status of the peninsula, there was no word at all about the reaction of the Crimean Tatars. In February-March 2014, the interethnic situation in Crimea escalated again. In March 2014, the Mejlis of

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the Crimean Tatar People called for a boycott of the referendum and expressed the opinion that 99% of Crimean Tatars are against Russia's annexation of Crimea. It is important to note that according to the census conducted in 2014, the Crimean Tatars are the third largest population on the Crimean peninsula 116. The reasons for such a contradictory attitude towards the new government on the part of the Crimean Tatars will be discussed in this article. The distrust of the Soviet government was caused by the events of 1944, when about 200 thousand Crimean Tatars were deported from the peninsula by the Decree of the State Defense Committee. The Tatars were able to return to their homeland only after 40 years had passed. The purpose of this study is to study the reasons for the policy pursued by I.V. Stalin towards the Crimean Tatars and to find out the consequences of the events, the echoes of which we still hear today. This topic has been covered in historical science more than once. The scientific and documentary journal "Gasyrlar Avyzy" ("Echo of the Ages") widely covers the problem of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars on its pages. For example, in 1997, the article "At the Origins of the Crimean Tragedy" was published, which presented a report by M. Sultan-Galiev on the social and political situation in Crimea. In his memoirs, Erich von Manstein, "Lost Victories," describes the relationship between the Crimean Tatars and the German occupiers. Alexander Werth, in his book "Russia in the War of 1941-1945," while traveling through Crimea in April 1944, describes the actions of the Crimean Tatars as accomplices of the Nazis. The Crimean Khanate ceased to exist at the end of the 18th century as a result of the Russo-Turkish wars. The peninsula became part of the Russian Empire. The imperial manifesto "On the acceptance of the Crimean Peninsula, Taman Island and the entire Kuban region under the Russian State" of 1783 stated that the population of this territory would be supported, guarded and protected by the Russian Empire on an equal basis with the rest of the population of the state. The property, churches, and faith that existed in this territory before the annexation remained inviolable, the upper class of Crimea received the rights and privileges of the Russian nobility, except for "the right to buy, acquire, and have serfs or subjects of the Christian faith." The deportation of the Tatars was first discussed during the reign of Nicholas I. During the Crimean War of 1853-1856, when Russia's forces were united against the enemy, the Crimean Tatars again began robbing and killing the Russian population, which caused discontent among Nicholas I. A.D. Menshikov was given the order to resettle the Crimean Tatars. The Semipalatinsk province was to become the place of resettlement of the Tatars. However, due to the death of the emperor, no action was taken in the direction of the "Crimean question".

By the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of Crimean Tatars lived outside the Crimean Peninsula, most of them in Turkey. The census conducted in 1939 showed that the Tatar population of Crimea was 218,180 people, which was 19.4% of the total population of the peninsula. For comparison, the Russian population was 49.6%, and the Ukrainian population was 13.7%. A significant part of the population was made up of Germans, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. Thus, the Crimean Tatars were the second largest population in the Crimean ASSR. The Crimean Tatars, like other peoples of the peninsula, were full citizens of the USSR. The official languages in this territory were Russian and Tatar. The administrative division of the autonomous republic was built on the national-territorial principle: in 1928-1929. In the territory of the Crimean ASSR, national village councils were created: Russian - 209, Tatar - 184, German - 45, Jewish - 14, Bulgarian - 8, Greek - 7, Armenian and Estonian - 3 each. National Crimean Tatar districts included Sudak, Alushta, Bakhchisaray, Yalta and Balaklava districts. Throughout the territory, national minorities were taught in their native language. The Great Patriotic War, which began in 1941, reached the territory of Crimea in a few months. Already on September 24, 1941, German troops led by General Erich von Manstein began an offensive on Crimea. In 1941, the German army failed to take this territory. However, on July 1, 1942, the resistance of the Soviet troops in the Sevastopol region was broken.

With the arrival of the Nazis on the territory of the Crimean ASSR, mass desertion of the Crimean Tatars was recorded: their transition to the side of fascist Germany. Some defended the idea of national independence of the Crimean Tatars, others tried to protect their relatives from the occupiers. This is evidenced by the memoirs of contemporaries and reports of the commanders of partisan detachments. In the fight against the partisans, Erich von Mantshein hoped to involve the Tatars and Muslims, who were hostile to the Russian population. The commander of the partisan detachment Vergasov reports that out of 130 Tatars under him, 40 people deserted, 30 of them were Tatars. In connection with this, Germany launched extensive propaganda activities in their ranks: leaflets and brochures were dropped from airplanes, in which promises were made to resolve the issue of the independence of this nationality. From among the Tatars who voluntarily surrendered, members of the agent network were prepared, who were subsequently sent to the Crimean ASSR to conduct anti-Soviet propaganda and pro-fascist agitation. In the report of the first deputy of the USSR state security B. Kobulov and the deputy people's commissar of internal affairs I. Serov, written in the name of L. Beria on April 22, 1944, it is reported: "... All those called up to the Red Army amounted to 90 thousand people, including 20 thousand Crimean

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Tatars... 20 thousand Crimean Tatars deserted in 1941 from the 51st army during its retreat from Crimea..."

The commander of the 11th German Army, General Erich von Manstein, recalls that when German troops entered the territory of Crimea, the Tatars sided with the enemy. In their eyes, Nazi Germany was a symbol of liberation from Bolshevik oppression. Manstein also writes that the Tatars came to him with a delegation and brought handmade fabrics as a gift to "Adolf Effendi". The occupiers respected the customs and traditions of the Crimean Tatars, their language and religion. Erich von Manstein's memoirs also indicate that the occupiers were tolerant of the civilian population, especially women.

The newspaper "Azat Krym", published in the Crimean ASSR, which was published in the occupied territory in 1942-1944, called Hitler "the Great", "liberators of peoples and religions". Documents published in March 1942 said that the Crimean Tatars were praying and asking Allah to bless the Germans for victory. The victory over the common enemy in alliance with the German troops was recognized as a victory for the entire Muslim world. The grandson of the former mayor of Bakhchisaray, A.M. Ablaev, expressed sincere "gratitude to His Highness Mr. Hitler" on behalf of the Crimean Tatars under Jewish-communist oppression. He assured that partisan detachments in the territory would soon be destroyed. Thus, as written sources note, the majority of the Tatars called up for service in the Red Army went over to the side of the Reich. In November 1941, "Muslim committees" were created in the Crimean ASSR - a collaborationist organization that acted on the side of Nazi Germany under the SS. The first Muslim committee was formed in Bakhchisarai, then transferred to Simferopol. The main goal was to assist the German administration in the occupied territories, to support volunteers who went over to the side of Germany. Members of the "Muslim committee" published their works in the newspaper "Azat Krym". In 1943, Mustafa Kurtiev wrote that the newspaper "Azat Krym" played an important role in propaganda activities, thanks to which Tatar youth joined the German army. The main task of "Azat Krym" was to cover all orders of the German Empire. Crimean Tatars were called upon to actively cultivate the land in order to increase crop yields. The occupiers were provided with warm clothing and food. These actions were taken to fight against the Jews and Bolsheviks who had ruined the country. The slogan of the "Muslim committees" was "Crimea only for Tatars", which was expressed in all actions carried out by deserters on the territory of the Crimean ASSR. Some Tatars were involved in punitive detachments, while others were sent to the Kerch Front and partly to the Sevastopol section of the front to fight the Red Army.

The Crimean Tatars who went over to the Reich were part of the German army, organized police units,

formed part of punitive detachments, SD security battalions, and served in prisons and camps organized in the occupied territory. Thus, it is clear how widely anti-Soviet forces operated in Crimea. They were directed not only at Soviet soldiers and their allies who came to the territory of Crimea, but also against the peaceful, "undesirable" population. The uniform of the "volunteers" who went over to the enemy side was German, they were fully provided with weapons. Loyal figures of the German army in the person of the Crimean Tatars could be appointed to command positions. A report from the Supreme Command of the German Ground Forces dated March 20, 1942 states: "The Tatars are in a good mood. They treat the German authorities with obedience and are proud if they are recognized in or outside the service. The greatest pride for them is to have the right to wear the German uniform."

In 1943, the Turkish emissary Amil Pasha arrived in Feodosia, calling on the Tatars to help organize events held by the German command. In Berlin, the Germans created a Tatar national center, whose representatives came to Crimea in June 1943 to familiarize themselves with the work of Muslim committees.

In April-May 1944, battalions consisting of Crimean Tatars fought against Soviet soldiers liberating Crimea. Thus, on April 13, in the area of the Islam-Terek station in the east of Crimea, three Crimean Tatar battalions were operating against units of the 11th Guards Corps.

In 1944, the evacuated Crimean Tatar battalions in Hungary organized the SS Tatar Mountain Jaeger Regiment, which was later expanded into the first Tatar Mountain Jaeger Brigade. Some of the Crimean Tatars joined the reserve battalion of the Volga Tatar Legion, which was in France. The ideological basis of the Volga Tatar Legion was the idea of fighting Bolshevism and Jews. The legions were controlled only by Germans, and the command of the legions was also supposed to be German. The legionnaires were taught German.

However, even in this situation, when the support of the German occupiers by the Crimean Tatars was recorded by many Soviet and foreign sources, we cannot say that all 180 thousand deportees were traitors. Speaking about the Crimean Tatars, we cannot fail to mention those who were members of the partisan movement operating in the occupied territory. Partisan detachments became the main force against the German invaders. Therefore, the German troops organized an anti-partisan movement. For example, the chief of the Southern headquarters of the partisan movements Seleznev reported in the spring of 1944 that at the moment the transition to the partisan movement of the Crimean Tatars was typical. The fourth partisan brigade under the command of Mustafa Selimov noted that there were 501 Crimean Tatars in his brigade. A small part of the Tatar population

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heroically fought against the fascist invaders along with other citizens of the Soviet Union. For example, A.I. Reshidov made 222 combat sorties during the entire war and was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Military pilot Amet-khan Sultan shot down 30 German planes and was twice awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Abdul Teyfuk was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union in December 1943, U.A. Ubdurmanov was a squad commander of the 321st separate engineering battalion. S. Seitveliev, I.B. Berkutov, A.A. Abilov, E-U. Chalbash, U.A. Adamanov are Crimean Tatars who received the title Hero of the Soviet Union. S.N. Abdurmanov, N. Velilyaev, B. Setarov, A. Umerov, S.A. Afuzov received the title of Knights of the Order of Glory of the 3rd degree.

But despite the feats performed by representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, despite the partisan detachments they joined, the mass defection to the side of Nazi Germany was obvious. After the liberation of Crimea in May 1944, proceedings began on cases of treason. 48 members of "Muslim committees" were arrested, more than 5 thousand people were detained, including persons who served in German intelligence, 266 traitors, 363 accomplices and activists of punitive detachments. Let us recall that treason under the Criminal Code of the RSFSR was regulated by Articles 58.1 a), 58.1 b); desertion - Art. 193.7 g), 193.22. However, despite the fact that not all Crimean Tatars fought on the side of the Reich, they were also subject to deportation.

L.P. Beria developed a project on the deportation of the Crimean Tatars. According to the Decree of the State Defense Committee No. 5859-ss "On the Crimean Tatars" dated May 11, 1944, in connection with the mass desertion of the Crimean Tatars, their transition to the enemy side, joining the volunteer Tatar military units organized by the Nazis, by June 1, 1944, the entire Crimean Tatar population is subject to deportation to the territory of the Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR and Kirghiz SSR. Special settlers were allowed to take with them personal belongings, inventory, food no more than 500 kg, however, this condition was not met, since the collections were carried out in the shortest possible time. Crimean Tatars were forced to leave their homes, farms, livestock, which were transferred to local authorities. Echelons were formed for transportation according to the schedule. Echelons were provided with hot food and boiling water. Each train was staffed by one doctor and two nurses.

Those who arrived in the territories of the Uzbek, Kirghiz and Kazakh SSR were used in agriculture and industry. Special settlers were settled in state farm settlements, existing collective farms, subsidiary farms of enterprises and factory settlements. Commissions were created in these territories to monitor the reception and placement of Crimean Tatars. Special settlers were given a loan of up to 5

thousand rubles per family with an installment plan of up to 7 years for construction and acquisition of property. In the first few months, special settlers were also provided with flour, cereals and vegetables. Garrisons and trucks were stationed in the areas of their settlement. Of the 180-190 thousand deportees, 191 died en route. From the time of deportation to October 1, 1948, 44,887 people from among those deported from Crimea (Tatars, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians and others) died.

However, contrary to popular belief, not all Crimean Tatars were deported. Only members of the Crimean underground and their families, front-line soldiers and their relatives were able to stay. Women who married representatives of other nationalities were left or, in rare cases, returned to their homeland. About 1,500 Crimean Tatars remained in Crimea. The Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, adopted in 1967, removed the accusation of collaborationism from the Crimean Tatars, but they were unable to return to their small homeland. Since, according to the Resolution of the State Defense Committee No. 6372s of August 12, 1944, in order to quickly develop the liberated lands, 51 thousand people were resettled to the territories where the Crimean Tatars previously lived. Clause 3 of the Resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of September 5, 1967 "On the procedure for applying Article 2 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of April 28, 1956" states: "To recognize it as necessary for the President of the USSR and the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR to cancel within one month the decisions of the former State Defense Committee of the USSR and the Government of the USSR on issues of forced displacement of individual peoples and restrictions on the rights of citizens from among these peoples. The Tatar population was able to return to Crimea only in 1989, when the post-war deportation was deemed illegal.

To sum it up, we can conclude that there were reasons for the mass deportation of an entire nationality from the territory of the Crimean ASSR. Desertion, participation in German punitive detachments, anti-Soviet propaganda, the creation of "Muslim committees", memoirs of contemporaries, official documents - this is evidence that the Resolution of the State Defense Committee "On the Crimean Tatars" is not an unfounded event, it has its reasons. However, against the background of these events, it is important to clearly understand that there were also those who fought in the ranks of the Red Army. Those who were not convicted of treason were able to continue living in their homeland.

Main part

Turkic-Slavic interaction has a rich and long history. By the beginning of the 19th century, when the mass migration and settlement of Russians in the

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region was mostly completed, a system of their interaction with the Tatars as representatives of the largest ethnic group in Russia had also developed. In the interaction of Russians and Tatars (starting from the time of early Slavic-Bulgar contacts up to the period of Muscovite Rus and the Kazan Khanate), two levels should be distinguished. At the institutional – interstate – level, these relations were antagonistic and led, as is known, to the annexation of the Kazan Khanate. The second level of relations is everyday, intergroup, interpersonal. Despite the fact that from the moment of the Mongol invasion, interstate relations between Rus' and Volga Bulgaria lost their intensity, the common population, especially the merchants, continued to maintain relations with the Bulgars, and throughout the entire Golden Horde period they were mostly peaceful. Mutual migrations were observed, which made the settlement over a huge territory interspersed, and the interaction more intense. From the middle of the 16th century, Kazan became a Russian support city, a center for the advancement of Orthodoxy to the east. It was from this historical moment, according to L. V. Sagitova, that two main stereotypes began to form in Tatar society, in which the actions of Russians in relation to the Tatar state can be traced: the stereotype of "Russians as colonizers" and in relation to faith - "Russians as persecutors of Muslims" - stereotypes that have survived to a certain extent to the present day. Obviously, these stereotypes were formed as a result of the policy of the Russian state and had no relation to the bulk of the Russian population. Russian merchants permanently lived in Kazan during the period of the Kazan Khanate, and Russian settlements existed. One of these settlements was on the site of the former Admiralty Sloboda. Here the Russians had their own church and cemetery. Every year, a large trade was held at the Gostiny Dvor, opposite the old mouth of the Kazanka River, where merchants from different countries, including Rus', gathered. The absence of antagonism in interethnic relations (including Russian-Tatar) in this and subsequent periods, as L. Sagitova rightly noted, "can be deduced from the fact of the unification of Russians and Tatars on the basis of the common interests of various social groups in opposition to their state." Other researchers also point to objective circumstances that contributed to the rapprochement of Russians and Tatars in various historical periods. Thus, E. Tagirov, reflecting on the implementation of national and state interests in modern Tatarstan, notes: "The Tatar and Russian civilizational subcultures have a lot in common... In the thousand-year process of communication and transformation, a mechanism of cooperation between the Russian and Tatar peoples was developed... This mechanism covered a wide variety of areas: economics, land use, distribution of natural resources, the education system, peaceful coexistence of two communities, knowledge of each other's everyday

features, and proficiency in spoken language." And the famous Tatar educator K. Nasyri in the 19th century. wrote: "Due to the fact that the Russian people and the Muslim (Tatar) live on the same land, eat the same bread - these two peoples know each other's customs well, have close relationships. At the state and political level, the relationship between the Tatar and Russian people (represented by its ruling state elite) from the moment of the annexation of the Kazan Khanate and up until the October Revolution of 1917 (however, with some weakening from the end of the 18th century) was not so much ethnic as ethno-confessional confrontation, in which economic and cultural elements were subordinate. At the same time, at the everyday level, such a serious confrontation between the Tatars and Russians has not been revealed according to historical sources. On the contrary, already in the 16th century, mixed Russian-Tatar villages arose. And such villages mixed in national composition existed in all subsequent periods. Moreover, in mixed villages, representatives of different nationalities were often approximately equal in population. Representatives of different nationalities lived in settlements "at the ends", quite autonomously, but at the same time were part of one community ("society" or "world"). The so-called complex communities (including the population of several settlements with different national composition), as researchers note, were found only in the Volga region and were a widespread phenomenon (in some districts of the Kazan province, they accounted for more than half of all communities). The inclusion of people of different nationalities in one community was the most important factor in interethnic interaction in the region. In complex communities, common traditions were formed that regulated the processes of coexistence. At the head of such a nationally mixed community stood the village meeting and the common headman, elected in turn from representatives of different nationalities. The procedure for elections to other positions was the same. The norm of the communal way of life was "pomochi" - joint construction of a house or other outbuildings, logging, etc. Girls had common gatherings. Even the barge hauler artels in the Volga region were multinational. Despite the rapid growth in the number of urban Tatars, from the end of the 18th century in Kazan their interaction with the Russian population that dominated the city was limited to the economic sphere. The reasons for this were not only the enclave nature of their settlement, but to a greater extent the increased influence of Islam on the culture of urban Tatars as a result of the softening of the state missionary policy, especially since this was facilitated by the intensification of their trade and economic ties with Central Asia. Therefore, historians note that the influence of Russian culture on the Muslim peoples of the region (Tatars, Bashkirs) in a number of areas, primarily spiritual, including language, had a lesser

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impact than the Finno-Ugric peoples. Meanwhile, the channels of ethnocultural interaction between Russians and Tatars only expanded over time, and the forms were diverse and mutual, as evidenced by various sources of the 19th - early 20th centuries. It should be noted that in the 19th century, researchers of the region focused their attention exclusively on non-Russian peoples, believing that the Russians of the Volga region were an exact copy of the Russians of the indigenous ethnoregion and had already been sufficiently studied there. "We are not touching on the peculiarities of the Russian people of the Kazan province," wrote the famous ethnographer of the region A. F. Rittikh, "since they are much more developed than the non-Russian people, differing at the same time in very few deviations from the customs and traditions of the internal provinces." It is quite natural that in matters of interethnic interaction, the main emphasis was placed on the influence of Russians on other local peoples ("non-Russians," as they were usually called). In the works of N. V. Nikolsky, devoted to the ethnography of the Chuvash, we find the following observations: "A custom of dressing in the Russian style is spreading among young people... Russian clothing is considered a beautiful outfit for a man... Russian clothing is seen among those Chuvash who live closer to the cultural centers-cities. It is more difficult to see a woman in Russian costume. 1 in 200 dresses in a Russian sarafan... At gatherings with a mixed composition, there is an excess of more cultured nationalities... When there are no more than one third of Russians at a gathering, the Russians will prevail... Thanks to native literature, a desire has appeared to get acquainted with Russian literature. In the home of a Chuvash, you can now find a Russian Bible, newspaper, dream book, etc." In one of the ethnographic descriptions of the Mordvins, the following remarks are found: "The Mordvin huts are almost no different from the same huts of the Great Russians... There are no other foreigners in the neighborhood, and therefore the Mordvin costumes have been preserved in their purity... When speaking, the Mordvins call themselves only by Russian names. For words such as people, world, clan and tribe, there are Mordvin designations. Kinship terms - father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, son, daughter, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, grandson, granddaughter, stepson, adopted child, groom, bride - are called in Mordvin. For the names: brother-in-law, nephew, etc., there are no corresponding Mordvin words and Russian ones are used... A wedding is little different from a Great Russian one... The burial rite is also little different from the Russian one." There are references in the literature that among the Udmurts by the end of the 19th century, the inhabitants of some villages were no longer any different from the Russians, had forgotten their language, and knew of

their Udmurt origin only from legends. The Tatars, despite their significant cultural and religious distance, also adopted many cultural elements from their foreign-language neighbors. Professor Karl Fuchs of Kazan University, considered the first researcher of the Kazan Tatars' way of life, noted their mutual influence with the Russians as a result of long-term cohabitation. "Their houses are built by Russians, who even work on repairing mosques, and vice versa, I often saw that Tatar men were engaged in the construction of wooden houses in Russian villages... The houses of rich merchants differ little in appearance from the houses of Russian nobles and merchants. Inside the house, the walls are often painted by Russian painters, where landscapes with trees, flowers, a river are represented; sometimes the sea with ships is depicted; but you will never see people, animals, or birds there - this is strictly prohibited." As a result of close cultural and everyday contacts between the Tatars and Russians, Fuchs notes the borrowing of various elements of material and spiritual culture by both sides: "... the Tatar women had a headdress ... covered with Russian gilded ruble coins"; "... all the women she knew come to the woman in labor and each brings a tooth just like the Russians do" The Tatars for the first time invited Russians to their holiday through a herald ... walking along the streets of Kazan ... At this holiday there is a large gathering of Russians from all classes; and in the last days of the holiday, often many of the most distinguished nobles in the city"; "... so-called ichegs, or boots, are embroidered in large quantities with silk and gold. Not only Tatar women, but also many Russian girls are engaged in this work"; "The Tatars willingly take part in our public entertainments, in theaters and masquerades, and some of their honorable citizens attend dinners given by the Kazan Merchant Society"; "Tatar townspeople trade in small items at the Tatar town hall... but Tatar merchants are already trading with Russians at the common inn"; "For Maslenitsa, according to an ancient custom, Tatars from 3, and sometimes up to 5 thousand people come to Kazan from nearby Tatar villages and give Russians rides along all the streets for a very small fee." The researcher does not ignore the differences between Russians and Tatars and the negative, in his opinion, nuances of their relationships: "... Tatars in terms of helping the poor exceed Russians not by the desire of the heart, but out of fear and dread they will fulfill the law of their strict prophet; "Tatars suffer from diseases less than Russians... Not having their own doctors, they invite local Russian or foreign doctors, but pay them very little or nothing for their work"; "... sometimes Russian coachmen scold a Tatar on the streets, calling him a dog, if he does not quickly turn off the road to make room for them to pass. But the Tatar in such a case quietly mutters under his breath - Dongus, and thinks to himself: you are an alcafer." K. Fuchs was quite surprised by the Tatars'

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reluctance to learn Russian: "It is remarkable that the local Tatars, being among the Russians, with whom they have many contacts in trade, try so little to know Russian, and even less to know how to write in it. When I asked why they are not taught Russian in schools, I received the answer that such a student, in their opinion, would become a scoundrel and would have no place in their society"; and further: "You will almost never find a Tatar who speaks and pronounces Russian well and clearly, and it is even more difficult to find among them someone who can read and write correctly in this language. They do not try to learn Russian, but are content to speak it somehow, from habit." However, Karl Fuchs concludes his research on a very positive note: "The Tatars now live in great harmony with the Russians." According to the most authoritative researcher of the Tatars, N. I. Vorobyov, the Tatar culture has absorbed influences of the most diverse origins. The main forms of Tatar culture were supplemented by influences from outside (in order of strength): "Persian, mostly refracted through the culture of the Central Asian Turks, European - through the Russians and, finally, Finnish - through the Mari, Votyaks and Mordvins. One can also note the Chinese influence, since the Turkish peoples often came into contact with China both culturally and politically. In almost all elements of everyday life these influences are reflected in various combinations, and the untangling of these influences is extremely difficult and often even impossible, so much have these elements come together to form a single whole, which can be called the Kazan-Tatar culture... The difficulty of ethnographic analysis is complicated by the fact that all the peoples of the region, having lived together for almost 500 years, have become very close culturally, thanks to common interests both in material and spiritual culture, a mass of features common to all the peoples of the region.... Tatar estates do not differ in size from Russian ones... The arrangement of buildings in the estate is specifically Tatar, but in large trading villages this plan is not observed and the placement of houses is carried out in exactly the same way as among the Russians.... The kazakin came to the Tatars, apparently, from the Russians, being a form of service Tatar Cossacks, of the same cut as the Russian Cossacks; peasants usually wear bast shoes of the so-called Tatar type, which in appearance and manufacturing technique are a simplified Chuvash bast shoe; in jewelry there is a huge number of the most diverse influences, including Chinese, a lot of imported forms, some of which are successfully executed by local Tatar and Russian jewelers), Tatar bracelets are the same, widespread not only among the Turkish peoples, but even among the Finns; vegetables are consumed comparatively little and only recently under the influence of the Russians; the Tatar loom is a fully developed loom of the Great Russian type with some distinctive details (the frame is so low that you have to sit almost on the floor), but

completely unlike the loom of other Turkish peoples, or the Finnish; Tatar agriculture is built in general terms the same as all the peoples of the region: the same land tenure systems are used, the same grain is sown, the same agricultural equipment is used, the same breeds of cattle; "For transportation in the summer, the main vehicle is a cart, the so-called "Cheremis" model, which differs from the Russian peasant cart by its higher back." Most of the cultural elements borrowed by the Tatars date back to the early stages of Russian colonization of the Volga-Ural region; as, for example, G. S. Gubaidullin notes, "Russian colonization forced the rural population of the territory to more intensive forms of agriculture. In the census books of monastic and metropolitan villages of the mid-17th century, we already see three-field systems in some Tatar villages." The Russians certainly had a great influence on the culture and life of the local peoples. Russian peasants brought with them more advanced methods of farming: as noted, the three-field system of agriculture, which had previously had a relatively limited distribution, began to be widely used; new, more advanced agricultural tools (plows, harrows, scythes, threshing tools, etc.). Under the influence of the Russians, the Tatars developed gardening, which had previously been practically uncommon among them, and adopted a number of household items and clothing (chairs, tables, cupboards for storing dishes, Russian felt boots, knitted stockings). "In the book "Chuvash" N. I. Vorobyov will write that under the influence of the Russians, the Chuvash switched to a three-field system, borrowed many agricultural tools and methods of soil cultivation. The Russians contributed to the creation of Chuvash literacy, laid the foundations of Chuvash literature (Vorobyov, 1956). Professional Tatar literature and art (painting, sculpture, music) experienced the strongest influence from Russian culture. According to A. Sh. Yusupova, a special role belonged to the Russian language in enriching the lexical composition of the Tatar language. The Tatar language was in particularly close contact with Russian, starting from the 16th century. In the process of general development, words related to various areas of life (power, court, trade, military affairs) penetrated from the Russian language into the Tatar language. The overwhelming majority of Russianisms can only be etymologically considered borrowings. In fact, they have long been assimilated by the Tatar language and are not perceived as foreign language elements. They are already listed alongside Tatar vocabulary in bilingual dictionaries of the 19th century. The author concludes that some of them settled in the Tatar language as a result of oral communication between Tatars and Russians, while others could have penetrated during the process of Tatars becoming familiar with Russian written texts. The enrichment of the Tatar vocabulary with Russian-European borrowings in the 19th century was due to

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changes in the socio-political, economic and cultural life of the Tatar people. At the beginning of the 20th century, in connection with the rise of the educational movement among the Tatars, the active displacement of Arabic-Persian borrowings from the Tatar vocabulary fund and their replacement with Russian and European words began. A. Sh. Yusupova classifies this vocabulary according to thematic features, which makes it possible to find out in which particular sphere of society's activity the most significant changes took place.

Based on the semantics of Russian-European vocabulary, the author identified 17 thematic groups:

- 1) names of dishes and household utensils: kukshin, padnus, tyarlinkya, samavir, etc.;
- 2) household and everyday objects: munchala, ponary, slab, bstyal, etc.,
- 3) tools: loom, shpaler, shotka, ystan, etc.;
- 4) units of measure: lot, ger, birshuk, pot, etc.;
- 5) names of buildings: matcha, mich, zhdeshe, zastun, etc.;
- 6) names of plants, food products: kyabestya, kryan, anise, grbzdy, upunka, etc.;
- 7) names of clothing and materials: eshlape, kartus, material, plis, etc.;
- 8) agricultural items: bitch, kamy, buryanya, burazna, salam, etc.;
- 9) school supplies: map, vacation, compass, ruler, etc.;
- 10) military vocabulary: drushka, pulyn, shtik, attack, etc.;
- 11) names of professions: apikun, piser, patriot, passenger, etc.;
- 12) vocabulary related to the financial sphere: cash register, sum, bank, pankrutlyk, etc.;
- 13) legal terms: contract, essence, agreement, etc.;
- 14) medical terms: pharmacy, liqueur, chakutka, etc.
- 15) musical terms: violin, argan, gbslya, guitar, etc.;
- 16) names of minerals: lazur, magnit, izbis, labasteer tashy, etc.;
- 17) religious vocabulary: monastery, group, navel, porphyry, Christmas Eve, etc.

Among the selected thematic groups, the largest in volume, i.e. including the largest number of Russian borrowings, is the group of words denoting the names of different spheres of life, namely: names of plants, drinks, food products, etc.; the smallest thematic group is terms from the field of medicine; the main part of Russian and European borrowings relate to the sphere of everyday life. The penetration of everyday vocabulary of the Russian language was carried out in the course of everyday communication of Tatars with Russians. Many Russian borrowings were subject to the phonetic laws of the Tatar language, some of them have not changed. Some borrowings have adapted to the system of the Tatar language so much that their

foreign origin is not felt by native speakers and is detected only with the help of etymological analysis. In many ways, similar processes occurred with Tatar borrowings in the Russian language. The Tatars, in turn, influenced their neighbors, which is also reflected in the local history literature. The influence of the Tatar national cuisine on the cuisine of other peoples of the region, borrowings in clothing and jewelry are mentioned; there are especially many references to the influence of the Tatar language: some groups introduced "Tatarisms" into their native speech, in places of joint settlement the non-Tatar population spoke the Tatar language quite fluently. Unfortunately, the coverage of these topics was not without bias. As N. I. Vorobyov rightly noted, "the previous study of the Tatars, conducted, with the exception of a few researchers (K. Fuchs), from the angle of the need to prove the superiority of Russian culture over Tatar, gave very insignificant results for an impartial analysis, because there are very few facts and many of them are distorted" (Vorobyov, 1925). I. N. Smirnov, for example, wrote in the preamble to his "Program for collecting information on the Russification of the natives of Eastern Russia": "The capital issue, in the development of which the Kazan OAE would like to attract the attention of as many workers as possible, is the issue of assimilation, Russification of local natives." True, a little further on he stipulates: "To bring together, over the course of at least a number of years, all the material that literature and life offer on this issue is of essential importance in view of those risky general conclusions that are given about the assimilative capacity of the Russian people on the basis of several particular and insufficiently researched facts." The general ideological attitude was reflected in the following statement by A. F. Rittikh, a generally very objective researcher: "...the Russified Tatars, Chuvashes, Cheremis, Votyaks, and Mordvins mixed with the Russians and so strongly speckled them with a variety of facial features that it is easy to take the Russians of the Middle Volga region for a completely separate type. But two or three centuries will pass and the Tatars, Chuvashes, Cheremis, Votyaks, and Mordvins will merge with the constantly arriving Russian element; then only the signs revealed by careful research, "they will talk about these obsolete and lost peoples, as they now talk about the Burtases, Khazars, Vesi, Meri and other tribes that increased the Russian family by merging." Undoubtedly, such a biased perception of reality could not but affect real relationships. The negative factors that influenced interethnic interaction included both forced Christianization and attempts at Islamization. It is possible that there were clashes of ethnic interests on everyday grounds. Mentions of elements of ethnophobia among the Volga peoples are very rare, but still occur in descriptions of the past. For example, N. V. Nikolsky, citing his informant, cites the

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following statements: "The Chuvashes have no idea about the life of the Tatars. They see Tatars only in the bazaars, which are full of Tatar traders. They have formed a concept of the Tatars as people with a bestial nature. To get into a Tatar village, according to their ideas, means to go to certain death. Tatars serve as a scarecrow for children. "Don't be naughty, if you do, I'll give you to the Tatar," - a mother says to a mischievous child... The Chuvash are reluctant to let Tatars into their apartment. I remember one incident with Tatars from my childhood. Once, when I was about 7-8 years old, a Tatar came to visit us. I immediately began to cry and ask my father not to let the Tatar in. For some reason, it seemed to me that the Tatar would definitely kill us that night. My parents, despite my tears, let him in, and he spent the night with us. I couldn't sleep all night. Why do the Chuvash of this region have a bad idea of Tatars? After all, they know almost nothing about Tatars? Now I understand why all this happened: my imagination was working under the influence of the bad things I heard from adults." G.K. Shklyayev cites impressions of participants of academic expeditions of the end of the 18th century, confirmed by materials of the mid-19th century, about the Udmurts' desire for isolation, their extremely hostile attitude towards Russians. At the same time, other researchers of the past cited evidence of mutual rapprochement between Russians and Udmurts, in particular, Russians quickly adopted the Udmurt language, and the Udmurts did not interfere with Russians attending pagan prayers. In general, however, as evidenced by sources of the past, quite strong traditions of friendly relations developed between the peoples of the region. In particular, the fact of tolerant interethnic relations in the region is indicated by numerous references in local history literature about interethnic marriages. Interethnic marriages have been known in the region for a long time. Beginning with dynastic marriages of the times of the Bulgar state and the Golden Horde, documents and local history literature note their spread in subsequent periods. Ethnically mixed families in Rus' began to form as the Slavs penetrated and developed new territories, including the Volga-Ural region. The Moscow government, even under Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, issued several decrees on church marriages between Russian service people and baptized foreign women. One of the earliest references to interethnic marriages in the Middle Volga region, contained in a letter by Metropolitan Hermogen (15th century), is cited by the famous pre-revolutionary researcher G. I. Peretyatkovich: "...many Russian captives and non-captives live with the Tatars and Cheremis and Chuvashes and drink and eat from the same people and marry them." However, before the 1917 revolution, interethnic marriages were not widespread, which was greatly facilitated by the legislation of the Russian Empire, which prohibited marriages between people of different faiths, as well

as the sufficient isolation of rural communities and traditional circles of pre-marital acquaintances, mainly from one or several neighboring villages with a population of the same nationality. The latter obstacle, however, was easily overcome by changing the religion of one of the future spouses. The works of regional historians of the 19th century are full of information about interethnic marriages in the territory of the Kazan province. Among this information, some features are easily discernible, namely:

Firstly, adhering to official policy, most authors viewed interethnic marriages as a means of assimilating "foreigners" into Russians, since the state encouraged mixed marriages, seeing this as the easiest way to convert non-believers to Orthodoxy;

Secondly, there are practically no references to Russian-Tatar marriages: while maintaining close economic and friendly ties with their foreign-ethnic neighbors, the Tatars, nevertheless, stubbornly resisted Christianization, and different religions became an insurmountable obstacle to the conclusion of mixed marriages.

At the same time, examples of interethnic marriages between Tatars and Chuvashes and sedentary Bashkirs, as well as with Mari, Udmurts and Mordvins in areas of joint settlement are mentioned. A large role in this process was played by the proximity of language, common features in the economy and culture, the influence of the Muslim religion, the transition to which was accompanied by the Tatarization of the new converts. Finally, differences are revealed related to the gender of those entering into interethnic marriages: among Russians, women entered into mixed marriages much more often than men; among other Volga peoples, the opposite trend was observed. Russian men preferred marriages within their own ethnic group and rarely took a representative of non-Russian peoples as a wife; meanwhile, men of non-Russian nationalities willingly married Russian women, which was considered very prestigious in connection with the special position of Russians and the high priority of Russian culture. Udmurt researcher G.K. Shklyayev, noting this feature of the Udmurts, gives a different idea: "The criteria of beauty that developed among the Udmurts by the end of the 19th century were to a certain extent connected with the influence of the aesthetic traditions of neighboring peoples: a girl was considered beautiful who did not look like an Udmurt woman, but had either "Slavic" (in the area of contacts with Russians) or "Turkic" features." Such a factor could undoubtedly take place, but we believe that the "criteria of beauty" were rather socially conditioned not only in relation to Russians, but also in relation to the Tatars, who since the time of the Bulgar state were the dominant ethnic group in the region. The traditions of interethnic marriage among the peoples of the Volga-Ural region were carried over into Soviet and

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post-Soviet times, confirming the strength of their roots, laid down in previous historical eras. Since the mid-20th century, when systematic studies of the population of the Middle Volga region began, a gap that pre-revolutionary researchers had ignored began to be filled: the influence of the Volga peoples on local Russians. Before that, only isolated evidence of such an impact was found in sources. For example, the writer S. T. Aksakov, whose childhood and youth at the beginning of the 19th century were spent on his grandfather's estate in Zakamye, surrounded by the Mari, Mordvins, Chuvash and Tatars, left in his biographical works ethnographic information that was truthful down to the smallest detail, which was "invaluable in terms of reliability and richness of factual material about the time, people and events". S. T. Aksakov noted that the peoples who settled together, differing in language, culture and religious affiliation, had the most friendly, good-neighborly relations. He testified that the clothing, language and way of life of the Russians of Zakamye were a motley mixture of Tatar and Russian customs; emphasizing that the Russians knew the languages of their neighbors well. He wrote about the saban, a plowing tool of the Tatars, known in the region since the Bulgar times and borrowed by the Russians; cited facts of mutual Russian-Tatar borrowings in clothing and food; mentioned the marriage of a Russian landowner with the daughter of a Tatar nobleman, positively assessing this fact as a natural manifestation of high human feelings. In fact, as shown in the works of recognized authorities in the study of the middle Volga Russian population E. P. Busygin and N. V. Zorin, their associates and students, the Russians of the region did not simply enter into contacts with local peoples; this interaction was a powerful factor in the formation of a special ethno-territorial group of Russians in the Volga-Ural region - the Volga Great Russians. The influence on the ethnocultural appearance of Russians from other peoples, including the Tatars, can be traced through many components. This is due to a number of reasons, namely:

Firstly, the ancestors of some of the Russians in the region were non-Russian groups that underwent assimilation, as a result of which they adopted the Russian language and culture, but at the same time retained individual features of the previous ethnocultural complex - those that were most convenient and best adapted to local conditions. For example, Russian old-timers of the village of Aysha in the Zelenodolsk district of the Republic of Tatarstan remembered in the mid-20th century that their ancestors were Tatars. The population of the village of Shigali in the Tetyush district of the Republic of Tatarstan in the 1950s - 1980s was mainly Russian, but sources from the beginning of the century noted that half a century ago the population was Mordvin, Tatar and Chuvash. However, by the time of the events described, there was no trace of the Tatars and

Chuvashes either in costumes or in language; the Mordvin speech also disappeared without a trace. "Shigali has become a Russian village in terms of nationality." I. Iznoskov cites a similar fact for the Mamadysh district of the Kazan province. The founders of the village of Gorokhovoye Pole (Burgas-yas) were baptized Tatars, to whom Russians from the village of Pomarovka went over; as a result, "the children of the Russians married the baptized ones, and the latter merged with them so much that now they cannot be recognized either by their clothes or by their language." In a number of cases, the opposite processes were observed - the assimilation of Russians by non-Russian peoples of the Volga region. According to ethnographers, in the Menzelinsky district of Tatarstan there are villages where the inhabitants, considering themselves Russian, speak Tatar, sing Tatar songs, and differ little in their way of life from the surrounding Tatars. The ancestors of this population may have been either runaway peasants who hid among the Tatars, or missionaries who, unable to cope with the duty entrusted to them, merged with the local population. As E. P. Busygin notes, the process of merging Russians with the local population was not extensive, but the facts themselves indicate that the influence of local peoples in a number of cases was quite significant;

Secondly, the reason for the presence in the ethnoculture of the Volga Russians of a layer containing elements of the culture of other Volga peoples is direct mutual influences. The interaction of Russians with other Volga peoples was manifested in everyday life, language, and anthropological appearance.

Thus, the Tatar plough - saban, known since the Bulgar times, well adapted to the development of virgin lands, fallow lands, was widely used by Russians throughout the territory of the region. With the most common in the past U-shaped connection of the house with outbuildings, when the house and outbuildings form a continuous U-shaped line, leaving the inner part of the yard open, the Russians widely used yards with separate outbuildings (the estate consists of several outbuildings, not connected to the house and to each other).

This form of homestead was typical for the Tatars in the past. Where Russians lived in strips with Tatars, the interior of the Russian home was characterized by a free position of the stove (in a traditional Russian home, the stove is always pressed tightly against the wall of the house, in the Tatar home, free passages are left around the stove); the presence of built-in and suspended boilers in the stove, which is typical for Tatar and Chuvash homes; Tatar curtains (kashag), dividing the living parts of the house. A characteristic feature of the housing of the Russian population of the region was the presence in many areas where Russians lived next to Tatars, of polychrome (multi-colored, in three, four and even

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five colors) painting of the house. The polychrome painting of the Tatar home is of ancient origin and dates back to the Bulgar times of the Golden Horde period. If in other places of settlement of Russians the painting of houses is a comparatively late phenomenon connected with the influence of the city, then in places of interspersed settlement of Russians and Tatars of the Volga region it has an early origin and was borrowed from the Tatars. This is evidenced by the nature of the painting itself, the combination and composition of colors, as well as the distribution of painted houses mainly in the zone of settlement of Tatars. Among the Russian peasants in the Volga region, jewelry making, processing of very high-quality leather (yuft) and products from it, felt, making various artistic products from metal were widespread - skills and traditions that became widespread in the region even during the period of the Bulgar state and the Kazan Khanate. Russian blacksmiths (from the captives) worked in the region, undoubtedly, even before its annexation to the Russian state and were well acquainted with the traditions of ancient blacksmithing, in particular, the manufacture of jewelry from twisted iron, the ability to make small ornamented items. In their clothing, the Volga Russians adopted some types of robe-like and sleeveless clothing, felt shoes with leather galoshes, Tatar hats and Bashkir malakhai from the local peoples. Tatar hats were bought by Russian peasants at bazaars or were made to order by Tatar tailors who visited Russian villages. In Russian villages, Russian women were noted for tying scarves "in the Tatar style", wearing black onuchi (like the Mari), using ornamental motifs of the Volga peoples in decorating individual parts of the costume, and tambour embroidery. There were enough borrowings in food. In the eastern regions of Tatarstan, Russians have long used kaymak (a thick brown fatty mass made from baked milk). The preparation of kaymak and the term itself are typical of the Tatars and Bashkirs, who served it at the table instead of butter. Sour milk was a common dish among the Russians. To prepare it, milk was "heated" until red hot, and after cooling, fresh milk and cottage cheese were added. In many Russian settlements, especially those located near Tatar settlements, sour milk was made in the same way as Tatar katyk: milk was boiled, leaven was added (usually cottage cheese), kept in a warm place, and when the milk curdled, it was kept in the cellar for several days. In this case, the sour milk was more pungent. Arem (airan in Tatar) was made from sour milk by stirring one spoon of katyk in a mug of water.

Conclusion

This is the use of non-Russian terminology (for example, kalym instead of masonry), the inclusion of local national dishes in the composition of festive and ritual food, a change in beliefs about the ethnicity of individual components of the wedding. The language

of the Russian population of the Middle Volga region over a long period of cohabitation was enriched with a number of words and expressions characteristic of the Volga peoples. The works of regional historians of the 19th century contain many references to the fact that Russians living between the Tatars, Chuvashes, Mordvins speak their languages well, and even conclude that the languages of non-Russian peoples penetrate the Russian environment more widely than vice versa. Russians used local terminology to designate individual parts of villages, dwellings and estates, clothing, utensils, etc. Linguists studying Turkic-Slavic mutual influences on linguistic material cite a number of Tatar words widely used by the Russian old-timer population of Tatarstan. Among them, for example, chilyak is a wooden bucket (in the Tatar language - any bucket); sarcha - sheep; ash - flour soup (in Tatar - any soup); beshmet - an old coat (in Tatar - the name of a type of insulated outerwear); bashmak - a yearling calf; kazan - a cauldron; maidan - a square; urman - a forest; bagan - a pillar; urema - a bush, thickets along a river; saban - a plow, etc. It is not for nothing that Gabdulla Tukay wrote:

"We have become related to the Russians over the centuries,

We exchanged a dictionary and language,

Some songs were born among us

And some events were sung about" (Tukai, 1943, p. 265).

Kazan linguists noted the influence of the foreign-language environment in the Russian dialects of Kazan and adjacent areas, which is reflected in the presence of individual lexical borrowings from their Tatar language, not characteristic of the Russian language and its dialects outside the Kazan zone. Even the anthropological appearance of the Volga Great Russians was influenced by local peoples (both through interethnic marriages and through the Russification of individual groups of non-Russian peoples). This is often written about in regional studies literature; see, for example, the above quotation from the work of A. F. Rittikh or: "Look how many purely Russian surnames there are in this region, in the names of which foreign roots are clear and whose members retain in their physiognomies the characteristic features of the Tatar, Kalmyk, Kirghiz, Chuvash, Mordvin and other nationalities." The features of the sublapanoïd (Volga-Kama, mixed Caucasoid-Mongoloid) anthropological type are manifested in the Volga Russians in the presence of epicanthus, high cheekbones, and a lower overall height (the latter difference was especially noted by the participants of the anthropological academic expedition of the second half of the 19th century to the Middle Volga). Thus, the history of the development of the territory by the Volga peoples and their joint residence goes back more than one century, the circumstances and factors of interethnic interaction were different, among which there was room for far

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from peaceful forms. However, the dominant features of interethnic relations as a whole remained tolerance, cultural and linguistic mutual influences, and joint

economic activity. The works of scientists of the pre-revolutionary and subsequent periods convincingly testify to the positive results of interethnic interaction.

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