

# The Semantics of Roads within the Cultural Landscape of the Northern Circumpolar Latitudes: The Russian Point of View

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## **Abstract**

The semantics of the words «road» and «path» are highly variable and largely universal across most cultures. Within the semiotic concept of a cultural landscape, it is important to observe how the features of the host landscape influence the formation of these concepts in the culture, and how the established cultural codes determine the meaning, aesthetic and semantic perception of roads in various landscapes.

The roads of the circumpolar latitude represent a unique case in the realm of culture. While this area lacks a developed road network, winter roads are predominantly associated with the semantics of survival. Migration routes of the nomadic peoples in the circumpolar world are of major importance. This article focuses on the circumpolar roads on the territory of Russia.

## **Keywords**

semantics, roads, cultural landscape, circumpolar world.

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## **Introduction**

The concept of the *road* is seen as polysemantic in world cultures. It is also one of the fundamental concepts in general. On the one hand, it is an indispensable element of landscapes and, on the other, it represents a complex of meanings that are part of this so-called linguistic and cultural code of the natural landscape. This code is “a corpus of names and expressions which denote natural objects or their parts including elements of the landscape that have been harnessed by humanity as a separate entity or as their mutual special arrangement” [Gudkov, Kovshova 2007:97]. These meanings have been studied as self-sufficient for quite some time; however, variations of their correlation with the cultural geographical reality offer a

much more interesting field for further investigation. In this particular article, I would like to focus primarily on the Russian circumpolar roads for the reason that Russian roads often lack proper facilities in comparison with other countries located in the high latitudes of the northern and southern hemispheres. The roads of higher latitudes in the southern hemisphere by default do not possess some of the semantic aspects which are characteristic of the northern latitudes. It is mainly connected with the different climatic conditions and the lack of permafrost.

In its practical meaning, a road is only an optimization of regular routes on the cross-country terrain, and it was not invented by human beings as there are numerous examples of deer trails which significantly simplify the way to get to the places of vital importance such as watering holes, feeding areas, or solonetz soils, though it is natural for a human to turn everything into signs, give names to objects, re-think, and then designate again. Cultural landscapes can thus be viewed as a semiotic system and an expression of the cultural symbols. Each element of the landscape becomes a sign functioning at a variety of levels.

The word “road” is one of the examples of how the etymology of the word can be determined by the landscape. In the Russian language, the term «Дорога» (doroga, road) can be etymologically traced to the root *\*dorgh-* which means “space in the forest created by way of scrambling” that comes from the verb “*депсать (dyorgat’*, to twitch) [Fasmer 1986-87]. From the point of view of paleogeography, it makes sense because the early Slavs inhabited the zone of the mixed woodland, and even Kievan Rus had more woodland than modern steppe Ukraine. It is clear that such an etymology is impossible for the steppe or desert mountainous landscapes. In Russian, the word «путь» (put’, path) can be traced to the root *\*pont-*, that means “overcoming”. Mountains, forests, “wrongdoers”, as well as other obstacles intensify this meaning.

However, even though the words “road” and “path” find the same expression in the landscape, they are semantically disengaged. A “path” is typically connected with a sacred space while “roads” denote secular space. Some say that “in the Slavic cultural traditions the symbolism of the path is connected with the Christian point of view while the symbolism of the road is related to the pagan mindset and perception” [Cherepanova 2000].

In Russian northern dialects, the semantics of the common Russian lexemes “path” and “road” differ from the generally accepted one; in these dialects, they retain a closer spatial orientation in comparison with the

literary language. “The relevance in the meaning of this lexical unit in the same ‘the contact surface’ makes it possible to use it in depictive constructions, including those with descriptive attributes. In the dialects of Arkhangelsk, the component of ‘movement’ plays a significant role in the formation of the semantic picture for the lexeme ‘road’, while for the literary language this component is secondary. [...] The metaphor of the path in the meaning of ‘beliefs, ethical rules, actions, human actions’, so often found in Old Russian book writing, is widespread in the dialects of Arkhangelsk, which means that it is associated with Christian religious beliefs. However, the road, in its symbolic meaning that refers to the life path of a person, corresponds to magical rites and witchcraft and correlates with pagan views and perception” [Kolesnikova 2014: 204].

### **The role of roads in the cultural landscape**

In its practical application, the road plays an important role in the landscape as a link, as a means of communication between settlements and countries. That is why roads can be perceived metaphorically as nerve fibers in the morphology of the cultural landscape that transmit the impulse of energy and information; but also as arteries that transport matter. The latter word is primarily used in reference to the river routes which can also be considered as roads.

More than that, roads can be seen as a kind of a “skeleton of geo-cultural space”, “which is further layered with economic, political, social and spiritual landscapes. It is the strength of this skeleton, its flexibility, and its ability to adapt to the meaning changes in each and every of these landscapes that defines the bonds with one another, which is mandatory for the people who inhabit this territory to comprehend their collective identity. The importance of such processes is quite obvious when it comes to countries” [Ternovaia 2013: 97]. It is the static idea of a road, its fixed position in the space, and the monosemy of the main traffic flow that matters in the case of this metaphor.

Another metaphor refers to the lines of permeability of cultural landscapes. They are perpendicular to the “power lines” of the cities, from one meaningful place to another, non-stop threading “empty” spaces. Roads are always BETWEEN two places. Symbolically, it stands for an empty space which one has to overcome in order to reach the next settlement.

According to T.B. Tschepanskaia, a road in the Russian culture is “semiotically invisible”, “not designated, i.e. not included in the sign model of the world”; it plays the role of “the other” in relation to the home as a special and semantic core of “one’s own”. [Tschepanskaia 2003: 33].

“Bad roads” and off-road trails are juxtaposed to the roads that are “good and right”. These roads serviced as the right way are opposed not to the off-road trails (bad roads) but to the absolute virgin soil and uncultivated land. “The reverse relationship is also possible when the road represents a zone of stability and order: the road as ‘law, a rule, a custom’ [...]” [Cherepanova 2000].

In Turkic languages, the word *road* “was another way of referring to such notions as law, custom, and character. And everyone had to go down this road”. [Beydilli 2005, cited by Gudkov, Sarach 2015].

Juxtaposition of the road and a virgin soil signifies the foreclosure of the way: if you have chosen that way, you have to go down this road. Ancient roads where the ruts don’t let you change the course of the movement serve to confirm this meaning in the landscape. Nowadays, deviating from the path means finding oneself outside the network of significant or organized places.

## **Roads and Landscapes of the Circumpolar World**

Circumpolar latitudes are characterized by the low radiation balance; the climate is connected with the annual average temperature below zero which causes formation of glaciers and permafrost as well as predominance of tundra vegetation and Arctic deserts. The North is traditionally determined by the isotherm of annual average atmospheric temperatures at the level of 0°C. This is primarily the mainland, ranging from the coast of the Arctic seas to the afore mentioned isotherm. Even higher there, is the Arctic (limited by the isotherm of the warmest month -5 ° C), or the Far North [Transport ... 2013: 11].

Landscapes of the circumpolar latitudes have always been inhabited. For example, some archaeological finds in Chukotka date from the 15th–13th centuries BC. For many centuries, traditional cultures lived in harmony with Nature. Many of them were nomadic and moved in space without creating a stable road network. The paths of nomads seemed to be an indispensable quality and property of the cultural landscape, their direction

remained unchanged, time was cyclical, it was like a tide. “Social matter” obeyed the forces of nature and its uncompromising laws.

Creating a road transport network in these areas dates back to their colonization by a completely different culture, for which cold, permafrost and impassable swamps were not taken for granted and seen as pertaining to the surrounding landscape, but as a challenge, a symbol of danger and death. The direction of the road construction was dictated primarily by the development of the territory and resources, and often did not take into account the interests of local residents.

Accordingly, for a colonising culture, the roads of the North enhance the contrast between uninhabited and man-made spaces, the power and stability of the latter remaining questionable. As a result, high latitude roads are both real paths and symbols of colonisation.

The actual conquest of the North and North-East began with the construction of roads. “Colonization, seen as a comprehensive development of empty territories, is not only an event, but also a state-owned enterprise, capable of providing real assets when having access to the exploitation of the productive forces in the colonized area” [Tarakanov 2011: 2]. By assets we do not only understand actual resources, strategic points of control over the border territories, etc., but also symbolic values of the development of hard-to-reach territories as the idea of spreading state (sovereign) power, the “conquest” of nature by human beings, heroism and the constant overcoming of environmental resistance, the fight between life and death.

Environmental issues create new imagery for the roads in the North. It is now becoming clear that the roads used by heavy machinery, especially tracked vehicles, cause irreparable damage to the fragile circumpolar ecosystem. “The tracks of all-terrain vehicles and tractors, on the territories close to exploration, production and transportation of natural gas wiped out tens of thousands of hectares of reindeer moss and changed the surrounding landscape” [Magyarov et al. 2013: 54]. It takes 20-30 years for lichens, which are the foundation of the vegetation cover in tundra, to restore. Their extinction leads to the depletion of deer pastures and questions the chances of survival for indigenous peoples.

Therefore, roads are now becoming a problem leading to the destruction of the cultural landscapes of indigenous peoples that have long inhabited this seemingly empty space. New roads contradict the logic represented by the original paths of the nomads, thus complicating motion for deer and sledges.

In the regions further south of the taiga and forest-tundra, road embankments in the state of water saturation “function in a way as impounding dams and create conditions when sections of a good healthy forest when located in such impounded valleys, in a very short time turn into vast grassy swamps with crookedly protruding and fallen dead trees” [Ilchenko 2001: 264].

## **Manifestation of time**

Roads stand for “special representation of time” [Cherepanova 2000] in the cultural landscape. A leg of the route, that is an interval, is seen as a certain union of time and space.

This static element of the landscape is semantically and physically connected with the idea of movement, with a certain kind of people whose lifestyle is “always on the road”. “Since the dawn of times there have been vagabonds, wandering pilgrims, paupers, peddlers, seasonal workers and field men, hunters, peasants and convicts on the run, river pirates and bandits, coachmen who went on long trips, migrants who were trying to find out ‘who and where lives well in Russia’; all these Russian people whose life was connected with permanent travelling and moving along the roads of the huge country” [Cherepanova 2000]. Many of these socio-cultural types are inherent to other cultures: one can always find people who are on the move for whom any stop or settling down would be equivalent to death. In the modern realm of the North, this role belongs to truckers, “the off-road kings”, as their work is connected with constantly overcoming not only distance, but also the poor quality of the roads.

Road etiquette includes a variety of well-wishing guarding people on the way [Zorina 2013]. “Oncoming caravans salute each other. They would always ask where you are from but they would never ask who you are. Character is already drowning in the movement” [Roerich 1992: 94]. Northern roads are also known by traditions of mutual assistance irrespective of personality; crossing this territory without assistance can turn into an insoluble task. Observations of modern travellers show that the North begins where the car never passes by a hitch-hiker: this is a rule of etiquette which is dictated by harsh environmental conditions.

High-speed trains and highways cancel the traveler’s perception of the surrounding landscape as the task of such roads is to minimize the time one needs to get from point A to point B.

There is a significant difference between high-speed motion which functions as a metaphor for the absorption of space and a slow leisurely movement that acts as a manifestation of love for an inhabited and well-known place, and careful movement in a landscape that can become a trap even for modern vehicles.

## **Kinds of the Roads**

Roads as such vary in their types, and this fact finds its reflection in the culture and language. References to the lexeme “road” in Russian correspond to the classification of roads according to the following aspects:

- location (central, backstreet, roundabout),
- material the road is made of (soil, beam, snow)
- parameters/ size (big, small, country)
- starting point and the point of destination
- moving object (horse-drawn, cow-drawn, sleigh)
- the season when it is used (winter, summer)
- the goal of travelling (post, military)
- production method [Kolesnikova 2014]

The basic road network provides the main movement of goods and assumes the stability of its location. Dirt roads are unstable; they appear and cease to exist, depending on the industrial needs of mining, or when new settlements are found and being developed, etc.

Summer roads differ considerably from winter roads in high latitude landscapes. A winter road is passable only when the temperature is below zero. In order to build a winter road, the snow is rolled and shoveled, and on the rivers ice roads are frozen onto them. “Winter roads are built with the aim of creating an even surface suitable for vehicles; in the permafrost areas, they also protect the surface of the plant and peat layer. Transport tests have shown that properly built winter roads can withstand thousands of wheel transport passes without damaging underlying soils” [Magyarov et al. 2013: 54].

From the point of view of construction and use of the road network, circumpolar latitudes are characterised by seasonality, the use of winter and summer roads, which often do not coincide in their location. Within the

cultural landscape, “shimmering paths” are created that are “switched on” in a particular season.

Harsh winter conditions make it possible for the roads to be built in impassable places, for example, “the supply of the north-eastern territories located in the Kolyma basin was virtually completely dependent on “resources of the cold” [Suleymanov 2019: 62].

When it comes to lightness, crossing the territory and its permeability, winter roads along the rivers can no longer be the space “BETWEEN”, as they often become traps. Ice deposits formed as a result of water coming to the surface through cracks, and unstable ice are especially dangerous for heavy vehicles. Trucks and eighteen-wheelers collapse under the ice, and drivers are forced to live next to their vehicles for many days and even weeks. Machines are gradually freed up using a “freeze-out” method, when one cuts the ice around and leaving only a thin lower layer of it. During the night, the river freezes by no less than half a meter, and the next day, ice cutting continues.

A road as a journey can be “long”. It may be so insignificant that it loses its semantics of the way. A typical daily commuting route can be quite short: from home to the field, from home to the church, from house to house. In reindeer herding cultures of the North, everyday practices include moving to distances of up to 30 kilometres, which are not perceived as a departure to a “foreign” space.

Roads can have no fixed place in space such as, for instance, caravan or nomad tracks. They are not defined by a line but by direction and its use.

Pattern of caravan routes are invisible, but they are embedded in the culture in a much deeper way than if they had been carved in stone. They remained unchanged for centuries until modern means of transportation began to replace caravans.

## **Sacred Space**

In different cultures, the semantics of the road are associated not only with “one’s own” and the “foreign”, with right and wrong, but also life and death. “The road is a mediator of two spheres, life and death, this world and ‘that one’, one's own and that of the other” [Cherepanova 2000]. Death often prevails in this couple, and in folklore the road becomes a metaphor and a symbol of death [Schepanskaia 2003: 41]. A real road can also be the space of initiatory death, when the difficulties of the path lead to the spiritual



transformation of the traveller. Accordingly, like any other dangerous spaces, it may serve the purpose of rebirth and nurturing of the spirit.

One might say in this respect that to a certain degree the archaic and Christian symbol of the path can be found in every cultural landscape. Any path or road within the corresponding mind set can carry a part of this value.

“I am the way and the truth and the life” (John 14: 6), says Jesus Christ, thereby rendering the sacred meaning of the path absolute. The Christianization of cultures transformed the road and crossroads from places of origin of conspiracies and rituals into symbols correlating with the Christian value system. In Christian cultures, a cross is seen as a polysemantic symbol of the universe, a symbol of salvation, the intersection of the high and the lower worlds. The cross in the landscape is a crossroads, one of the sacred places of traditional culture. Crossroads are a horizontal projection of the Cross, oriented vertically, from the Earth to Heaven. In the landscape, the intersection is a kind of bifurcation point where choice of the path takes place and the further course of events. This value is much older than Christian semantics. Furthermore, personal itineraries and even fate will depend on the path the traveller chooses at the crossroads. Here one can recall the plots of Old Russian epics, where the hero stands at the crossroads near the boulder which has different variants of fate written on it, the hero’s fate depending on the choice of the road he takes. “Sacraments or crossroads [...], the source of the paths, present to us the closest resemblance to the course of human life. There, from one source, as its focus, the paths spread in different directions. Ancient people revered such places as acceptable before gods” [Snegirev, 1865: 176].

The opposite semantics are also possible when a cross is perceived as a crossroads in the most profound existential sense: “A person of mythopoetic consciousness stands in front of the cross as if at the crossroads, a fork in the road where death is to the left, life is to the right, but the person does not know where right or left is in those coordinates of the mythological space, which is defined by the image of the cross” [Toporov, 1988a: 12]. Only the heart, which symbolically represents the crossroads of the earthly and heavenly roads, can indicate the way out in this situation.

Pilgrimages are associated with the mentioning of a number of places in sacred texts or in sacred tradition. They represent a special case of sacralisation of a path in actual cultural space. As a result, there was “fusion” of the sacred text with the cultural landscape. Such a sacred landscape symbolized not cosmological categories, but events of sacred history. The

landscape text evokes a natural desire to “read” it. “Sacred, i.e. consecrated by the church as having a special holiness, the space instilled the wish to visit it. For a pious Christian, the pilgrimage represented a unique opportunity to come into contact with the relics. Unlike Islam, Christianity did not oblige every believer to make a pilgrimage, but in various ways encouraged them to do so. [...] Alongside with Jerusalem as the most sacred centre, there were many other local places. Some of them were also widely known in the Christian world” [Melnikova, 1998: 111]. Pilgrims read the sacred history through the geography of the Holy Land. An example of such a “reading” is the “Description of the Holy Land” given by John of Würzburg [Iohannes Wirzburgensis, 1890]. “The geography of the Holy Land by John is, in fact, a New Testament story remembered by a pilgrim as he moves through space” [Melnikova, 1998: 112]. When read accordingly, places associated with the life and death of Jesus Christ, the prophets and saints, become mysterious landscapes that help pilgrims symbolically repeat the ways of the Saviour, or the revelatory paths of the martyr and saint.

In Russian culture, moving North was initially seen as a form of austerity requiring special qualities of the soul [Matonin 2012]. Later, when large monasteries began to appear, the pilgrimage routes to the Russian European North were connected primarily with the Solovetsky and Valaam monasteries. Until recently, the pilgrimage to the Solovetsky Monastery was a great feat, which only a few dared. Pustozersk is interesting as a place of the Old Believer pilgrimage, where Archpriest Avvakum lived in exile for 15 years, but practically nothing has survived except for the memory of this.

During the pilgrimage, God speaks to the pilgrim using the language of symbols which appear in the elements of the landscape: a stone, a bush, a roadside temple can become Divine tidings and open the door to spiritual revelation. To a certain extent, the semantics of pilgrimage are also present in secular texts related to roads, travelogues and travel novels.

The north of Siberia and the Far East bears no *loci* of attraction for the Orthodox pilgrimage. Local sacred geography was primarily created by the indigenous peoples who live there. A visit to their sacred places does not require deliberate movement in space. However, one also finds a different kind of pilgrimage in those regions: to the abandoned camps of the GULAG. Some visitors of these places perform memorial services, remembering the innocently killed.

## Historical Paths

A road can signify movement through centuries and cultures, connecting space and time. This is especially true of the historical trade routes which were also used as information channels as goods also brought along stories about faraway countries, information about their nature, the way people live and their customs. “The road acted as a space of cooperation more often than a territory of rivalry. [...] We are well aware of how the Spice trade ran, the Great Silk Road, the royal path between Egypt and Persia, the frankincense between the Arabian Peninsula and the Mediterranean countries, the tin path between the Cornwall peninsula and the Mediterranean, the amber path from the Baltic to the Mediterranean Sea, the lapis lazuli “from the Western Pamirs to Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria and the Eastern Mediterranean, the jade route from China to Europe” [Ternovaia 2013: 98].

The historical northern ways have their own specifics where the semantics of life and death, heroism and the conquest of territory come to the fore.

Through the centuries, an episodic historical significance of a road that no longer exists can be preserved. An example of such this is the “road of life” (Military Highway No. 101) through Lake Ladoga during the siege of Leningrad from 1941 to March 1943, which has become a symbol of courage and hope, which has not lost its vividness and significance for Russian national identity until the present day.

For many years, the semantics of travelling towards high latitudes in Russia was associated with the “Northern Supply”, i.e. providing the regions of the North with the necessities for the Arctic Ocean during a short period of navigation. “Linear atomic and diesel icebreakers paved the way for caravans of transport vessels along the Northern Sea Route to ensure the supply of the Arctic and the subarctic regions with everything that was necessary [...]. This system was expensive, and sometimes even wasteful, but it functioned steadily, preventing malfunctions that could threaten the survival of the settlements in the Arctic and the North and local communities of people living here” [Vasiliev 2018: 148].

The state strategy has always been associated with the roads of the North in Russia. One of the first strategic roads was when “... an army march led by Peter the Great in impassable Karelian ‘narrow lands’ from the White Sea to Lake Onega and further to Lake Ladoga and the Baltic [...] In two weeks, i.e.

in eight walking days, five battalions of the Russian army, holy synod and European diplomats overcame a 264-kilometer 'perspective' in the taiga of Karelia that was specially 'forced' from north to south. The road was built by 'common' peasants of Pomerania, Podvina and Zaonezhie as well as with the help of the 'workers' of the Onega Monastery of the Cross and the Solovetsky Monastery. Projects of this kind are unknown in the world practice of engineering" [Dankov 2015: 166].

The Petrovsky route, referred to as the "Sovereign's Road", paved the way for a special sacred landscape, since "a series of churches of the 'new system' in the name of the apostles Peter and Paul appeared along this route. Orthodox patronage churches in strongholds and outside, as well as in shipyards turned into iconic architectural monuments of the early Petrine time in the Russian North" [Dankov 2015: 166]. "These initiatives allowed the Russian government to form a 'protective' sign system along the Swedish border. The military expediency of the raid of 1702 during the Northern War, combined with mysterious marks, created a new Orthodox-mythological geography of the Russian North. The Peter and Paul Cathedrals, the namesake centres and cities on the previously almost uninhabited territory beautifully connected the White Sea periphery and the centre that was being created in the Baltic. Patronal churches, as symbols of the reclaimed cultural and historical territory, turned into some sacred emblems of young Russia at the border of the enemy. This way the state built protection not only against a military threat, but also possible religious expansion" [Dankov 2015: 170]. Thus, the name "Peter", which entered the sacred and profane toponymy, influenced the "consecration" of the vast territory from the mouth of the Northern Dvina to the mouth of the Neva, placing it under command of the sovereign reformer, his glory and will.

In Russia, the domestic route to the East was not only a trade route. It was not in vain that the Great Siberian Highway was called the great shackle path as columns of prisoners were moving along this path for at least two centuries. This is a unique case when the road became not only an element of the cultural landscape, but also turned itself one, since it organized and subjugated the surrounding space. "The Great Siberian Highway connected Europe and Asia for several centuries, being the world's longest cultural landscape. It changed the life of the cities it passed through" [Fiodorova s/d].

Interestingly enough, in Russian history the roads to the East and North were not only used to transport prisoners, but also built by them. Particularly large-scale road construction took place during the GULAG and was associated

with the development of mineral deposits (also mainly using labour force provided by “the enemies of the state”). For example, the Egvekinot – Iultin – Cape Schmidt route, Russia's easternmost highway crossing the Arctic Circle at kilometre 24, “was built in a short time, from 1946 to 1951, using the labour of the Chukotlag prisoners in connection with the opening in 1937 of the Iultin tin ore deposits and due to the problem with the extraction and transportation of metal” [Ivanov 2014: 71]. Accordingly, the history of how such roads appeared and existed is associated with the semantics of “cursed places” and places of suffering and death.

In the post-GULAG period, in the 1960s, about half of all the “northern” workers were conditionally released persons from forced labour colonies (FLCs) [Sapozhnikova 2016: 277]. The second half are Komsomol volunteers who went on this feat in the name of a brighter future.

The Soviet heroism of conquering the North began with paving roads: “behind every kilometre of driving, a winter road or an ice crossing stood the dedicated work of hydraulic operators, road workers of main and field roads, motorists and their elite, or the drivers of large heavy autonomous trawlers (called BATs in Russian); its drivers were nicknamed “BATists” who, as rule, were former tank crewmen” [Sapozhnikova 2016: 276].

Despite the strategic importance of the routes to the North, the authorities saved on providing builders with vital things and establishing necessary conditions, using the ideology and the spirit of heroism for this. “The pioneers [...] were content with so very little that the very concept of ‘sociosphere’ as a variety of socially ‘protective’ institutions lost its ‘vital ecological’ context for people in the extreme northern conditions. It is the unique type of human relationship and mutual assistance that came to the fore; and it became the determining factor for a victory of a human being over nature in the struggle for ‘big oil’ while the authorities ignored the concept of ‘household’ as such” [Sapozhnikova 2016: 275].

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Modern media make the world more permeable. The task of information transfer has moved from roads to the Internet. Nevertheless, a road continues to retain its importance as a way of “reading” the cultural landscape. Its semantics, however, are mainly valid in case of the old-cultivated territories. Roads of circumpolar latitudes represent a unique case where the importance of conquering a territory, colonisation, the meanings

associated with it and emotional degrees of danger, heroism and the confrontation of life and death come to the fore. Today, roads leading North, as well as investment in the economic, human and cultural systems of the road network, together with the hope to revive the lost spirit of pioneer heroism, are becoming one of the landmarks of cultural policies to strengthen Russian borders.

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