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Martina Chromá (Prague, Czech Republic)

FERMENTED PRODUCTS AND THEIR LEXICAL REPRESENTATION IN OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

Fermentation is an ancient technological process used in food processing to extend shelf life, preserve food, enhance nutritional value, and improve digestibility. From a chemical point of view, fermentation is a metabolic process occurring under anaerobic conditions in which microorganisms, particularly bacteria and yeasts, convert organic compounds such as sugars into simpler substances, including alcohols and organic acids. Fermentation is the process that forms the basis for producing alcoholic drinks, leavened bread, fermented dairy products, pickled vegetables, and fermented condiments such as soy sauce or fish sauce (Katz 2012: 1).

Fermented foods and beverages constitute not only a substantial component of human diets but have also fulfilled important social, symbolic, and ritual functions throughout history. Among these, intoxicating beverages have occupied a particularly prominent role, accompanying human societies since prehistory and serving as key elements of social interaction, ritual practice, and cultural expression. In many cultural contexts, such beverages formed an integral part of ceremonial activities, festive occasions, and religious rites, frequently functioning as symbolic agents of transformation as well as mediators of communication with the supernatural. A comparable role can be attributed to bread. Beyond its nutritional value, it assumed considerable symbolic significance and constituted an integral element of numerous ceremonies and ritual practices, particularly those associated with fertility, prosperity, and the well-being of the community (СДЭС 5: 412). The earliest forms of bread consisted of unleavened flatbreads, which were subsequently largely replaced by leavened varieties. Both forms, however, retained distinct roles within ritual contexts. In Christian tradition, the distinction between unleavened and leavened bread became a matter of

significant theological and liturgical contention, contributing to the broader set of controversies associated with the so-called Great Schism of 1054, which resulted in the formal division of the Christian Church into its Western and Eastern traditions (cf., e.g., Smith 1978).

In this paper, we attempt to collect the lexical evidence for fermentation and fermented products in Old Church Slavonic, thereby illuminating the lexical material associated with processes that were familiar in everyday medieval life, although their underlying mechanisms were understood only in a basic and intuitive manner[1]. The paper also examines the processes of *interpretatio christiana* at the levels of vocabulary, translation, and ritual classification. The terminology of fermentation demonstrates how elements of everyday material culture entered the learned Christian textual world during the process of Christianization: how practical terminology related to food production was employed in biblical translation, liturgical symbolism, and polemical descriptions of ritual practice.

The basic terms denoting ferment as the basis of the fermentation process in Old Church Slavonic are дрождиꙗ and квасъ. The noun дрождиꙗ derives from Proto-Slavic **drozg-*, which in the Slavic languages developed the meanings ‘wine sediment’, ‘yeast’ or ‘leaven’ (ESJS 3: 149). According to the Old Church Slavonic Dictionary (*Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, SJS), the word occurs amongst the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts twice. The first instance appears as the equivalent of Greek τρυγίας in Psalm 74:9 (*Sin*, *Pog*, *Bon*), where it denotes ‘wine sediment’. The second occurrence is found in Isaiah 25:6 in the phrase вино дрождно (*Zach*), вино дрождиꙗно (*Lobk*), вино дрождѣмъ (*Grig*), corresponding to Greek πότον τρυγιῶν in the sense of ‘well-aged wine’, that is, wine rich in sediment.

The Proto-Slavic word **kvasъ*, meaning ‘ferment’ or ‘leavening agent’, derives from the Indo-European verbal root **kṷăt-*, meaning ‘to ferment’, ‘to sour’ or ‘to rot’ (ESJS 7: 387). The same root also underlies the Proto-Slavic adjective **kysьlъ*[2], meaning ‘sour’ or ‘fermented’ (ESJS 7: 390).

Over time, the semantic range of the word **kvasъ* expanded to include the fermented beverage *kvass*, a drink produced through the fermentation of grain, which was once widespread among Slavic peoples but became especially popular in the East Slavic region (Львов 1975: 172). Subsequently, the term underwent a further semantic development and came to denote also a feast[3] or

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[1] Let us recall that the process of fermentation and the role of microorganisms in it were first scientifically described only by Louis Pasteur in the mid-nineteenth century (Pasteur 1857).

[2] According to SJS, the adjective кнсѣлъ is attested only once in the collocation вино късѣло in the meaning ‘young wine’ (SJS). Verbs belonging to the same derivational family include въскъсѣтн, въкъсѣтн, въкъснѫтн and въскъснѫтн (SJS), all attested in Old Church Slavonic in the context of Matthew 13:33 and L 13:21 (SJS).

[3] The noun **kvasъ* is also used in personal names. The first example is *Strachkvas*, who, according to Cosmas’s *Chronicle of the Czechs*, was a son of Boleslav I, the brother of Saint

drinking gathering[4] (Брандт 1915: 354–355). A similar semantic shift occurred with the noun **pivo* (пивъ), a Proto-Slavic derivative formed with the suffix *-vo* from the root of the verb **piti* ‘to drink’. Its original Proto-Slavic meaning was therefore generally ‘a drink’, ‘beverage’. Over time, it acquired its present meaning, referring specifically to a beverage prepared by boiling malt, hops[5], and water, while also developing a broader sense denoting a feast or drinking party (Janyšková 2001: 362–363).

In Old Church Slavonic, the noun квасъ is attested both in its original meaning ‘leaven’, ‘leavening agent’ and in the meaning ‘fermented drink’ (SJS). In the former sense, associated with breadmaking, the noun occurs as a translation of Greek ζύμη in multiple Gospel and Apostol passages. In the latter sense, it is attested twice as a translation of Greek σίκερα (Luke 1:15 and Isaiah 5:11) and once without Greek parallel in an interesting prayer from the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* over the one who drinks квасъ (whatever its more precise meaning may be) excessively:

> мол‹нтва› над‹ъ› болем‹ь› пнѭщем‹ь› квасъ • съı на рaспонѣ • въкоусилъ есн • ı҃з гѫбъı оцьта • ı оупонилъ есн • в҃с҃а ненавидащаѧ тебѣ • весь же д҃х҃ъ непрннъ (!) • ı в҃с҃ѣкѫ ıа҃зıѫ квасънѫıѫ[6] • квасомь не испльненомь • погъıбѣльнъıмь ... *Euch* 42b13

Luke 1:15: бѫдетъ бо велнı прѣдъ б҃мь • ı внна ı творена кваса • не ımатъ пнтн (*Zogr*, снкера *Mar*, *As*, *Ostr*, кнсера *Nik*)

Isaiah 5:11: горе въстаѧщнмъ зоутра • н квасъ гонѧщнмъ • ждѫщнмъ в‹е›чера (*Grig*)

Wenceslas. According to Cosmas, Strachkvas was born on the very day of Wenceslas’s murder (traditionally dated to 929 or 935), and his name, literally meaning ‘terrible feast’, was intended to commemorate the event (Cosmas 2009: 66). A second attested name containing the element *kvas* comes from a birch-bark document discovered in Novgorod. Information about this find, however, has so far been published only in a press release issued in 2024, while the document itself has not yet been made available for scholarly examination (on-line: https://gazetanovgorod.ru/novosti/novye-berestyanye-gramoty-otkryli-novgorodczam-chto-ih-predkov-zvali-neobychno-kvas-dmak-pereshka.html).

[4] Related to this is, for example, the derivative квасьникъ, attested in 1 Timothy 3:3 in *Christ*, *Slepč* and *Šiš*, denoting a drunkard. Other nouns denoting a drunkard in Old Church Slavonic include пивьца, пиѧнница, винопивьца, винопинца (SJS).

[5] It is not known exactly when hops began to be added to beer. In Bohemia, written sources, especially monastic charters, attest this practice from the eleventh century onward (Niederle 1911: 212; СДЭС 4: 44).

[6] According to SJS, the adjective квасьнъ is attested only in this instance, referring to a disease arising from the consumption or habitual drinking of a fermented beverage – ıѧза квасьнаѧ. This prayer has no known Greek parallel, or at least none has yet been identified, and the precise meaning of this disease, whether it refers to an illness resulting from a single act of drinking or rather to alcoholism and its chronic effects, remains uncertain.

The expression твоѓена кваса in Luke 1:15 is attested in *Zogr*, whereas the other Old Church Slavonic Gospels *Mar*, *As* and *Ostr* use the borrowing снкѓа (with the misspelled form кнсѓа in *Nik*). Adjective твоѓенъ is originally the passive past participle of the verb твоѓнтн, which carries several meanings in the Old Church Slavonic, including 'to transform', 'to alter' (SJS). This may indicate that the beverage underwent some form of transformation or processing. This adjective is moreover attested several times in the context of alcoholic beverages (see below).

Greek σίκερα (hence Latin *sicera*) denoted a type of fermented alcoholic beverage distinct from wine, a term the Greeks borrowed from the Semitic peoples. The word derives from Hebrew *šēkār*, which referred broadly to a fermented drink (David, Clines 2011: 362; ESJS 14: 816). In Babylonia, such beverages were made from various grains, fruits (especially dates), or honey (Janyšková 2001: 362). From the Latin *sicera* derived the Old French *sidre*, denoting an intoxicating beverage produced through the fermentation of apples (whence the modern French *cidre* and the English *cider*; Wartburg 1964: 589–591). This association with apples is also attested in Byzantine Greek, where the expression σικερίτης οἶνος has the meaning of 'apple wine' (Trapp 2011: 1551). Ulrich Theissen, who examined the term σίκερα and its reflex in Old Church Slavonic, regarded it as an alternative to wine accessible to the broader population and, on the basis of a cultural-historical analysis and the religious symbolism underlying the opposition between grape and the apple, suggested that it may have referred to a fermented beverage produced from apples (Theissen 1993).

In essence, σίκερα denoted a beverage that was probably in some way familiar to the Greeks and functioned as an alternative to wine, whereas for the Slavs it remained a vague term without a concrete referent. Translators therefore tended to approximate it to a more familiar local reality[7].

According to SJS, the Greek term σίκερα is therefore attested in the Old Church Slavonic translations квасъ, твоѓенъ квасъ, твоѓено пиво, твоѓено вино, олъ, and снк͡ѓа. The translation олъ is attested only once, in an interesting passage preserved in the Nomokanon:

> аще которъын еп(н)с(ко)пъ ли поп(ъ) прнесеть на жьртвоу етеро уто на олтарь · ли мьдъ ли млеко ли въ вина мѣста (pro мѣсто) олъ ли етероу тварь, ли птнцѣ ли животьно етеро уто ли соуиво кръмѣ заповѣдн г(оспод)ня да нзвержеть с(а) с(вя)щенныа NomUsť 45a

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[7] For comparison, in Old Czech sources, Latin *sicera* is rendered as *opojiště*, *opilé pitie*, *traňk*, or simply *sicera* (STB). In Old Russian, снкѓа appears primarily in translations from Greek, but a notable explanatory example occurs in the 17th century text *Книга глаголемая греčески алфавит*, which states that any drink capable of intoxicating a person is called снкѓо (всякое пнтне, ѵпонтн могѵщее человека, снкѓо нарнцается, н пиво снкѓою нменуется; СРЯ 24: 132). In Old Polish, Latin *sicera* is attested with several equivalents, including *pyvo*, *gine piczascze*, *pyczie vpile*, *pyczie opylę*, or *drogye pyczye* (Urbańczyk 1970–1973: 81, 146).

Slavic translator appears to have substituted the reference to Greek σίκερα with a closely comparable Slavic beverage ѡлъ: an early form of unhopped beer prepared from malt mixed with hot water, flavoured with bitter herbs, and fermented to produce alcohol (Niederle 1911: 211; СДЭС 4: 44). The origin of the word ѡлъ is traced back to the Indo-European root **alu-*, meaning ‘bitter’, which is connected to the English word *ale*, denoting a type of beer (ESJS 10: 584–585).

We have already touched upon пивѡ (‘beer’) in Old Church Slavonic in connection with its semantic shift from the general meaning ‘drink’ to ‘beer,’ and from there further to ‘feast’ or ‘drinking party.’ Apart from the attestation твѡрієноіє пивѡ as a rendering of the Greek σίκερα, the noun is not otherwise attested in SJS in the sense of an alcoholic beverage.

The noun пивѡ is, however, attested in an interesting passage in both the Vostokov and Croatian redactions of the *First Life of St. Wenceslas*, where Boleslav tries to persuade his brother Wenceslas not to leave the city, saying that he has prepared something special for him – пивѡ цѣлѡ. This phrase has been interpreted in various ways: the first word, either as a drink or a feast[8], while the adjective цѣлъ itself also admits multiple interpretations: according to SJS, the adjective цѣлъ (Proto-Slavic **cělъ*) in Old Church Slavonic carries the meanings ‘whole’, ‘complete’, ‘intact’, ‘perfect’, ‘flawless’, ‘healthy’ (cf. also Janyšková 2025: 4–5). The intended meaning was probably not clear even to the scribe who later copied and adapted the text of the legend in the Russian milieu in the Menaion redaction, replacing the word пивѡ with вино и медъ. Although mead – a honey-based alcoholic beverage – was probably the most important and widespread fermented alcoholic beverage among the early medieval Slavs (cf. Niederle 1911: 208; Kajkowski 2013: 228), this occurrence in the Menaion redaction of the First Life of St. Wenceslas is the only attested occurrence of mead in the SJS text corpus.

The most widespread alcoholic beverage worldwide today is wine. Although wine reached the Slavic world later than mead and cereal-based beer, its central role in Christian ritual established it as the principal ceremonial beverage in medieval Christian society. In some, especially more northerly, regions inhabited by the Slavs, the spread of wine was accompanied by the gradual expansion of viticulture, a tradition introduced from the southern Europe. Initially, however, wine was primarily an imported commodity and an object of trade. Only later did the development of viticulture enable its local production (Niederle 1911: 214–215; Kajkowski 2013: 228).

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[8] At this point, Latin legends of St. Wenceslas usually recount a feast (Bláhová, Konzal 1976: 97). For interpretations of this passage in the *First legend*, see Chromá 2012: 53.

The Old Church Slavonic word for wine, вино, is considered to derive from the Latin *vīnum*, either as a direct borrowing from Latin or through Germanic mediation (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 125–127; ESJS 18: 1063). The noun вино is well attested in Old Church Slavonic, occurring in more than 150 instances (according to the SJS card index). Particularly noteworthy are its collocations with various modifiers. The expression вино кꙑсѣло appears once in the *Euch* with the meaning of 'young (sour) wine', notably without a corresponding Greek parallel. Young wine is also denoted by the phrase ново(ıє) вино, which corresponds to the Greek οἶνος νέος. The term for wine mixed with myrrh (Greek: ἐσμυρνισμένος οἶνος) is translated in Mark 15:23 in different ways across manuscripts – *As* and *Nik* render it as вино озмьрѣно, while *Zogr*, *Mar*, *Ostr*, and *Sav* preserve the alternative translation вино оцьтьно[9].

The last fermented beverage attested in Old Church Slavonic is vinegar, recorded as the noun оцьтъ with the meaning 'vinegar', 'sour wine'. The word **осьтъ* was probably borrowed into Proto-Slavic from Gothic *aket* or *akeit*, which itself derives from Latin *acetum* (Lehmann 1986: 23). Vinegar, or more precisely acetic sour wine, was in the ancient times used not only as a beverage (whether in diluted or undiluted form due to its strong flavour), but it also played an important role in medicine, particularly as an antiseptic agent (Kokoszko 2009: 50). The precise time when the Slavs began to produce and use vinegar remains unknown. It is generally assumed that they were familiar with it at an early stage, possibly reinforced by contacts with the Mediterranean world, including Italy and Greece (Niederle 1911: 200). In Old Church Slavonic, the majority of attested occurrences of the noun оцьть are associated with New Testament passages describing the vinegar offered to Jesus during the Crucifixion by one of the soldiers (SJS).

The main and presumably the only fermented food product for which a lexical designation is attested in Old Church Slavonic is bread[10]. In traditional culture, bread occupies a central position as a 'gift from God', the principal means of sustenance, and a symbol endowed with diverse cultural and religious meanings. It is widely regarded as the prototypical food and as a symbol of life itself.

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[9] These two translations regarding their originality were discussed, e.g., by Hauptová (1968).

[10] Cheese (сꙑръ) may also be classified as a fermented food product. In Old Church Slavonic texts, the noun сꙑръ is attested twice: in *Euch* in a prayer over cheese, and in *Supr* in the collocation мл҃ѧдъı сꙑрꙑ (SJS). Historical sources indicate that cheese had formed part of the traditional Slavic diet since early times. However, our knowledge of the specific forms of cheese production remains limited, making it impossible to determine with certainty whether the predominant products were hard, matured cheeses or rather soft cheeses with little or no maturation (Niederle 1911: 168; СДЭС 5: 220).

The role of bread as a sacrificial offering among the ancient Slavs suggests that it had become an established part of Slavic culture at an early date. The first breads were probably unleavened flat cakes baked in hearth ashes or on heated stones (Valčáková 1995: 117). However, the baking of leavened bread required higher and more evenly distributed temperatures, and its introduction into everyday life was associated with more advanced methods of flour preparation and the construction of ovens (Niederle 1911: 185–186). It is not known when exactly the Slavs began baking leavened bread; however, archaeological evidence suggests that by the second half of the first millennium AD, the baking of leavened bread was already a common practice (Beranová 2005: 43–44).

The basic noun used for bread in Old Church Slavonic is хлѣбъ. From an etymological point of view, the Proto-Slavic **chlěbъ* is probably derived from the Germanic **hlaiba-* (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 83). This word may originally have referred to leavened bread, as opposed to the Proto-Slavic **kruchъ*, which may have denoted unleavened bread (ESJS 4: 219)[11]. The word хлѣбъ is very frequently attested in Old Church Slavonic, with more than 200 occurrences (according to the SJS card index). Over time, the term acquired a range of additional meanings, extending from the basic sense of ʻbread' or ʻloaf' to more general meanings such as ʻfood', ʻgrain', ʻlivelihood/work', or ʻsacrificial bread' (SJS).

Proto-Slavic **kruchъ* relates to the Indo-European root **krous-* meaning ʻto strike', ʻto press' and is probably a nomen actionis derived from the verb **krušiti* in the sense ʻto crack', ʻto break' (Valčáková 1995: 119). The meaning ʻbread' is considered a later innovation that developed from the older sense ʻpiece', ʻfragment.' This semantic shift has been explained by the fact that flat unleavened bread was harder than leavened bread and was therefore consumed by breaking off pieces, which led to its being perceived as a ʻfragment', ʻpiece' (ESJS 15: 923). In other words, the noun originally denoted something broken off or fragmented, and only subsequently came to refer to the bread itself.

In Old Church Slavonic, the noun **kruchъ* is attested only in the prefixed form ѹкрѫхъ with the meaning of ʻfragment' or ʻcrumb'. The word occurs in John 6:12–13 in *Zogr*, *Mar* and *Ostr* as a rendering of the Greek κλασμάτων, referring to the fragments of bread collected by the disciples after the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves: събєрѣте ізбꙑтъкꙑ ѹкрѫхъ ... събѣрашѧ же · ι нсплъннша дъва на десѧте коша ѹкрѫхъ · отъ пѧтн хлѣбъ (SJS).

The ritual use of bread allows us to trace the Old Church Slavonic terminology referring to unleavened bread. These include опрѣснъкъ and опрѣснъꙋынъ /

[11] The word **kruchъ* has been preserved to the present day in the meaning ʻbread' especially in modern Slovene and Croatian.

опрѣснъıскъ хлѣбъ, derivatives of the Proto-Slavic adjective **prěsnъ*, originally meaning ‘fresh’, ‘new’, or ‘unleavened’ (ESJS 12: 707). In Old Church Slavonic, these terms are used to translate the Greek τὰ ἄζυμα, alongside the prefixed nouns бесквасьствиѥ, бесквасиѥ and the phrase безъ кваса (ŘSI), all related to the noun **kvasъ*.

Numerous studies have examined the widespread ritual use of bread among the Slavs (for an overview, see, e.g., Radenković 2014; СДЭС 5: 412–437). In Slavic folk traditions, a vast variety of types and shapes of bread were used, each associated with specific ritual practices and ceremonies. Among these, the bread type *korovaj* (*karavaj*, *kravaj*) deserves particular attention, as it remains widely known today as a traditional ceremonial wedding bread, especially among the East Slavs (СДЭС 2: 461–466). This bread is probably the best-known bread type attested in surviving medieval accounts of Slavic pagan rituals. It is mentioned in several Old Russian homiletic texts as an offering made to pagan deities, including *The Sermon of a Christ-Lover and Zealot for the True Faith* and *The Sermon on Fasting for the Ignorant* (Dynda 2025: 180). The close connection between the *korovaj* and pagan ritual practice is further reflected in the existence of the compound коровaиѥмольць, denoting a person who offered a коровай in pagan rites (Dynda 2025: 208; СДРЯ: 268).

Fermentation has always been deeply rooted in everyday human experience. At the same time, fermentation and leaven became powerful metaphors in Christian thought. Leaven may symbolize evil when associated with sin that spreads subtly yet effectively, but it may also represent the Kingdom of God, whose transformative power gradually permeates the world through Christ’s words and actions.

In Old Church Slavonic, the process of fermentation is represented primarily in the biblical parables of the leaven, where it functions as a metaphor for transformation and growth. Though small in quantity, leaven permeates the entire dough and transforms it from within, serving as an image of the gradual yet profound spread of a transformative influence, whether positive or negative (citations taken from the SJS):

– Galatians 5:9: малъ квасъ все въмѣшеныѥ квасниⷮ (*Christ*, *Slepč*, *Šiš*);
– Matthew 13:33: подобьно естъ цр̄со нб̄ское · к҃ваcоу · иже вьзьмъшн жена съкрыı въ мѫцѣ трiн с(а)тъ · доньдеже въскъıсѣ вьса (*Zogr*, *Mar*);
– Mark 8:15: блюдѣте сѧ · отъ к҃васа фарнсѣıска · ı отъ к҃васа иродова (*Zogr*, *Mar*).

Over the centuries, knowledge of fermentation accumulated, the range of fermented products expanded, and production techniques became increasingly refined. The rise of industrial production in the nineteenth century did not displace many traditional fermentation practices, which continued to thrive in domestic and folk settings, attesting to the remarkable resilience and inventiveness of vernacular traditions[12].

Beyond its symbolic and theological significance, and its role as an integral part of everyday life, fermentation gave rise to a rich vocabulary associated with fermented foods and beverages. This article summarizes the basic lexical material related to fermentation as attested in Old Church Slavonic. From this viewpoint, the contrast between the everyday nature of fermentation and Old Church Slavonic as a language of elevated style is particularly noteworthy. At the intersection of these two spheres – the world of daily practice and that of learned textual tradition – it is possible to observe how contemporary knowledge, cultural habits, and intercultural contacts associated with fermented products were reflected in the lexicon, particularly through the strategies by which Old Church Slavonic translators adapted unfamiliar terms to their own cultural environment. Such adaptation represents a philological form of *interpretatio christiana*, whereby foreign concepts were integrated into a Slavic cultural context and their semantic potential correspondingly reshaped.

An instructive example of *interpretatio christiana* in the sphere of fermentation-related practices is the question of leavened and unleavened bread. By the Middle Ages, this issue had acquired a pronounced confessional significance and emerged as one of the major points of contention between Eastern and Western Christianity. The dispute over the proper form of Eucharistic bread transcended the sphere of liturgical practice, becoming a marker of confessional identity and a focal point of broader theological and cultural polemics between the two traditions.

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[12] A striking example is *pruno* (Czech *kvaska*), an alcoholic beverage produced under improvised conditions from readily available ingredients, most commonly water, leftover bread, sugar, fruit juices, or fruit. It is frequently made illicitly in prisons, where it often constitutes the only accessible source of alcohol for inmates (Spalding Walters 2015).

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ФЕРМЕНТИРАЛИ ПРОДУКТИ И ТЯХНОТО ЛЕКСИКАЛНО ПРЕДСТАВЯНЕ НА СТАРОБЪЛГАРСКИ ЕЗИК

(Резюме)

Статията разглежда лексикалните данни за ферментация и ферментирали продукти в старобългарския език (Old Church Slavonic). Стъпвайки основно върху материала от Slovník jazyka staroslověnského (Прага, 1966–2016), тя анализира терминологията, свързана с процесите на ферментация, ферментирали напитки и хляб. Изследването разглежда етимологичния произход и семантичното развитие на тези лексеми, поставяйки ги в по-широкия културен и религиозен контекст на средновековното славянско общество. Особено внимание се отделя на процесите на *interpretatio christiana*, чрез които елементи от ежедневната материална култура се включват в християнската текстова традиция. Освен това се обръща внимание на стратегиите, използвани от старобългарските преводачи при предаването на културно непознати понятия, особено в случая с гръцкото σίκερα, чиито преводи разкриват опити да се адаптират чужди реалии към познати в славянската културна среда понятия. Накрая се анализира символичното измерение на ферментацията, особено ролята на кваса в библейските притчи и други християнски текстове, където той служи като метафора за трансформация, растеж и разпространение както на положително, така и на отрицателно влияние.

Ключови думи: старобългарски (Old Church Slavonic); ферментация; ферментирали напитки; семантика; вино; бира; квас; хляб.

Martina Chromá
Institute of Slavonic Studies, Czech Academy of Sciences
martina.chroma@slu.cas.cz
ORCID: 0000-0002-4074-8043

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