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THE GHOST-WORD OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC *SĘŠTЬ/SĘŠTЪ* 'CLEVER, WISE' – OR: THE LONG SHADOW OF FRANZ XAVER (RITTER VON) MIKLOSICH (MIKLOŠIČ)

Abstract

In the newer Indo-European linguistics literature, several times the Old Church Slavonic (OCS) adjective sęštь *'klug, weise', respectively* sęštъ *'sensible, wise', is mentioned. It is usually reconstructed as Proto-Indo-European* *sent-i̯o- *and said to be related to Latin* sentīre *'to think, to feel, to mean' etc. On the other hand, there are several publications, where one might expect to find that word, but does not find it. In (etymological) dictionaries of OCS the word is also missing. The aim of the paper is to elucidate where and when the ghost-word OCS* sęštь/sęštъ *came into being by checking the relevant literature. The method, thus, consists in the traditional way of checking the relevant literature for the occurrence of the incriminated word. It becomes clear that the ghost-word arose by a misreading. It seemingly appears as a hapax legomenon in the Codex Suprasliensis (early 11th century). Instead of the really attested OCS* sǫštęję *'being' (PART.PRES.GEN.SG.F) Miklosich gives* sęštęję *'prudens' in his first (1845) edition of the respective homily and in the first full edition of the Codex Suprasliensis (1851), because the original Greek text has the adjective* φρονίμου *'wise' (GEN. SG.M). After 1851, Miklosich repeats the ghost-word in about half a dozen grammars and dictionaries, from where it was taken over into the Indo-European linguistics literature and survived into the 21st century.*

1. Introduction[1]

In the newer Indo-European linguistics literature, several times the Old Church Slavonic (OCS) adjective *sęštъ* 'klug, weise' or *sęštъ* 'sensible, wise' appears. It is usually reconstructed as Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **sent-i̯o-* and said to be related to Lat. *sentīre* 'to think, to feel, to mean' etc. On the other hand, there are several publications, where the word might be expected, but where it is not found. In (etymological) dictionaries of OCS the word is also missing.

The aim of the article is to find out, where and when the ghost-word OCS *sęštъ/ sęštъ* came into being by checking the relevant literature – going slowly back in time. The elimination of ghost-words is a necessary prerequisite to produce reliable (historical) corpora and reliable historical dictionaries containing only really attested words. Thus, especially (seeming) hapax legomena should automatically undergo special scrutiny.

In the course of the article, it becomes clear that the ghost-word came into being by the combination of a misreading and the misinterpretation of the then accessible textual basis. The word seemingly appears as a hapax legomenon in the Codex Suprasliensis (early 11th century). Instead of the really attested OCS *sǫštęję* 'being' (PART.PRES.GEN.SG.F) from the codex, Miklosich gives the ghost-word in his first (1845) edition of the respective homily and in the first full edition of the Codex Suprasliensis (1851) as *sęštęję* 'prudens', because the original Greek text has the adjective φρονίμου 'wise' (GEN.SG.M). After 1851, he gives the ghost-word in about half a dozen grammars and dictionaries. From there it was taken over into Indo-European linguistics literature and survived into the 21st century.

The article will first offer an overview over the life and work of Franz Xaver (Ritter von) Miklosich, who may be said to be the inventor and propagator of the ghost-word. Then the rather adventurous story of the Codex Suprasliensis, the manuscript purportedly containing the hapax legomenon which became a ghost-word will be told. And finally, a reconstruction of how the purported hapax legomenon turned into a ghost-word will be given and it will be shown how the ghost-word then lived on mainly in Indo-Europeanists' literature.

2. Franz Xaver (Ritter von) Miklosich

The Slovene Franz Xaver Miklosich (November 20, 1813 – March 07, 1891), knighted in 1864, was one of the titans of 19th century Slavistics. He published editions of Old Church Slavonic texts (cf., e.g., Miklosich 1845b; 1847; 1851), grammars of Old Church Slavonic – or as he would call it: "Altslovenisch" [Old Slovene] – (cf., e.g.,

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Miklosich 1854; 1874; 1878), a comparative grammar of the Slavic languages (cf., e.g., Miklosich 1852; 1879) and dictionaries, especially of Old Church Slavonic, but also the first really scientific etymological and comparative dictionaries of the Slavic languages (cf. Miklosich 1845a; 1862–1865; 1886). His publications, together with those by the Czech Josef Dobrovský (August 17, 1753 – January 6, 1829), those by the Slovak Pavol Josef Šafárik (Šafařík) (May 13, 1795 – June 26, 1861) and those by the Slovene Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar (August 21, 1780 – August 11, 1844), lay the foundations of Slavistics, primarily in Austria-Hungary, but in the end generally. Without his grammatical and lexicographical 'preliminary studies' the Young Grammarians oriented on Slavistics (and Baltistics) as August Schleicher (February 19, 1821 – December 6, 1868), August Leskien (July 8, 1840 – September 20, 1916) and finally also Paul Diels (Dec. 28, 1882 – Feb. 19, 1963) would certainly have had a hard time to reach their achievements.

As so often, also in the case of Miklosich the first try was not perfect. In his case, this judgement mainly concerns his partial editions (Miklosich 1845b; 1847) and the first full edition (on the basis of work done by Kopitar, as shall be shown) of the Codex Suprasliensis (Miklosich 1851).

3. The Codex Suprasliensis

The Codex Suprasliensis, a Cyrillic manuscript from the turn of the 10ᵗʰ and 11ᵗʰ centuries, which is probably the copy of an older Cyrillic manuscript written in Bulgaria during the reign of Czar Simeon the Great († 927), contains a menologion for March with 47 texts: 24 lives of saints and 23 additional homilies for the Easter week, which can fall into March (cf. Meyer 1939: 64f. [2f.]). With the exception of parts of the pages 129–131 and 218 (cf. Marguliés 1927: 10), the manuscript was most probably in its entirety written by the copyist Retъko, who gives his name on p. 207: гӣ по/мı/лоу/ї ре/тъ/ка амı/н [*g(ospod)i pomilui retъka amin*] 'O Lord, have mercy on Retъko, Amen' (cf. Marguliés 1927: 10; Zaimov/Capaldo 1982–1983, 1: 5). Miklosich (1851: IIIf.), however, did not accept this idea:

> "Qui ultimo ternionis quarti folio, id est folio 104., notatus legens: господи помилоуі ретъка амин sibi persuaderet, hunc Retka nostrum codicem scripsisse, certo certius erraret: est enim manus recentior. Dubitari tamen nequit, etiam hoc scriptum esse, antequam codex in Russiam venit." ["Who might persuade onself that this Retka mentioned in the note on the last folio of the fourth ternion, that is on folio 104, reading: господи помилоуі ретъка амин [*gospodi pomilui retъka amin*], has written our codex, is most probably wrong: It is written by a younger hand. But there is no doubt that also this [note] was written, before the codex came to Russia."]

The Codex Suprasliensis[2] was discovered in 1823 by Professor Michał Bobrowski – the name is usually given in its russianized form: Michail Kirilovič Bobrovskij – (Nov. 8, 1784 – Sep. 21, 1848) from the Vilnius university in the monastery of the Basilian denomination in Supraśl/ Suprasl' in the Gouvernement Grodno, county Białystok, then part of the Russian Empire, today in Eastern Poland (on Bobrowski cf. Kuev 1986: 196, fn. 2; Kaszlej 1997: 9–13). Little is known about the history of the Codex Suprasliensis; it is certainly documented in the Supraśl/Suprasl' Monastery in 1645. But there is no certainty whether it is already mentioned in the 1557 list of the monastery's books. The Codex might have been brought there already in the course of the foundation of the monastery which took place shortly before 1500 (in the literature the years 1497 and 1498 are mentioned) and was supported by the voivode of Nowogródek and the Marshall of the Great Duchy of Lithuania Aleksander Chodkiewicz (ca. 1475 – May 28, 1549) and the Archbishop of Smolensk and Archimandrite of Slutsk (Sluck, Sluc'k) Joseph Soltan. The foundation was confirmed in 1503/05 by the Patriarch Joachim I of Constantinople. In the foundation participated monks from the Holy Mountain Athos in Greece and probably monks hailing from the Kiev/Kyjiv Monastery of the Caves (in Ukrainian: Kyjevo-Pečers'ka Lavra), who might have brought along the Codex Suprasliensis already then.

In the 19th century the Codex Suprasliensis was divided up into three parts: Bobrowski sent it to Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar to Vienna in two parts: one in 1838 and the other in 1839 so that Kopitar should make a copy of it for himself.[3] According to Marguliés (1927: 1) this happened in 1839 and 1840 in order to prepare an edition of the codex.

While Kopitar returned the second part of the codex, which had been sent to him first, after roughly three or four years, the first 118 folia, which he had received as the second 'instalment', remained in Vienna. After Kopitar's death in 1844, this part of the codex went to Ljubljana/Laibach with all the other contents of his library as part of his legacy and was there integrated into the Library of the Lyceum.[4] These 118 folia are in Ljubljana/Laibach to this day, now as one of the jewels of the National and University Library. Part 2 of the codex, which had been sent back to Bobrowski, was bought after the latter's death by the bibliophile Władysław Trębicki, later it came into the possession of the noble Zamojski family.[5] After their return to Rus-

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2   For the most detailed history of the Codex Suprasliensis cf. Kaszlej (1997); for a shorter version leaving aside the codex's adventures in the 20th century cf. Kuev (1986: 195–199).
3   The history also suffered some restructuring which led to a tradition of its own right: In several handbooks and monographs can be read that Bobrowski/Bobrovskij had *found* the manuscript in 1838/39 in the Supraśl/Suprasl' Monastery (cf., e.g., Auty (1960: 77; Gardiner 1984: 9; Picchio 1991: 118).
4   Cf. also Miklosich (1847: [III]): "Vitas Sanctorum, quas nunc emittimus, exscripsimus e codice, qui, olim Bartholomaei Kopitarii, nunc cum reliquis ejus libris servatur in Bibliotheca Lycei Labacensis." ["The Lifes of Saints, which we are now editing, we copied from a codex, which once belonged to Bartholomaeus Kopitar and is now kept with the rest of his books in the Library of the Laibach/Ljubljana Lyceum."]
5   Interestingly, Miklosich seems not to have known, where the second part had remained. In the

sia, 16 folia of that part 'disappeared' somehow and were in 1856 bought by Afanasij Fedorovič Byčkov (1818–1899).[6] These 16 folia are now in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.

The last 151 folia still in the possessions of the Zamojskis were kept in Warsaw/Warszawa until 1939. Then, after the successful attack of Nazi Germany on Poland on September 1, 1939, the Codex Suprasliensis (estimated at roughly 4–5,000,000 RM) was confiscated and brought to Berlin. But in 1941 it was returned to Warsaw/Warszawa following the wishes of the General Governor Hans Frank (May 23, 1900 – October 16, 1946; General Governor October 26, 1939 – January 1945), a devoted Nazi reigning the central parts of Poland (the so-called "Generalgouvernement") from Cracow/Kraków, who wanted to have such a precious document back in his 'realm'. In October 1939, when the Wehrmacht marched into Warsaw/Warszawa, and again during the Warsaw uprising in August-September 1944, the edifice, where the Codex Suprasliensis was being kept, went up in flames, but both times the codex did not suffer any damage. After the liberation of Warsaw/Warszawa and then the rest of Poland by the Soviet Red Army the Library of the Zamojskis was brought to the Soviet Union, but was returned (partially almost instantly) in three instalments in 1945, 1948 and 1957 – but the Warsaw part of the Codex Suprasliensis was not among the things restituted.

It was simply gone and not heard of for more than a decade. Then it appeared again in 1962 – a variant says 1966 – in the USA. It was offered by a man, who most certainly used a pseudonym, to the Harvard University library for 20,000 US$. After a commission of three slavicists, among them Henrik Birnbaum, had declared the manuscript to be indeed the missing part of the Codex Suprasliensis, there was another problem: The Harvard University could not spend money on such a dubious offer (cf. Kaszlej 1997: 51–53). The solution was offered by one of the biggest pork dealers of the time, Herbert Moeller. As his name shows, he was German by descent, born in Danzig, and he had become rich by exporting socialist Polish ham and sausages to the capitalist USA. He was obviously on good terms with the government of Poland. So he gave the money, the Codex was bought with his money by the Harvard University Library and in 1968 it was brought back to Poland, where it has been kept in the National Library in Warszawa/Warsaw since then (cf. Diels 1931/1963/1989: 13f. [the 1931 version of the text was not changed in the following

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foreword to his full edition of the Codex Suprasliensis he writes (Miklosich 1851: III): "Priora centum duodeviginti folia habes nunc in bibliotheca lycei Labacensis, quo cum libris Bartholomaei Kopitarii venerunt; posteriora vero centum sexaginta septem folia quo delata sint, nos quidem nescimus." ["You now have the first 118 folia in the library of the Laibach Lyceum, where they came along with the books of Bartholomaeus Kopitar; where, however, the last 167 folia have been brought, we indeed do not know."]
6   An alternative story can be found in Marguliés (1927: 1): "Heft 17–18 wurden gestohlen und 1856 von einem Strelbickij in die Kaiserl. Bibliothek zu Petersburg gebracht, die sie dann «erwarb»." ["Booklets 17-18 were stolen and were brought in 1856 by a certain Strelbickij to the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, which then «acquired» them."]

editions]; Zaimov/Capaldo 1982–1983, 1: 5; Kaszlej 1997: 54f.; Borkowski 2013: 66f.; Trunte 2005: 253).

Already in the second full edition of the codex by Sever'janov (1904) it is mentioned in the foreword (Sever'janov 1904: I) that the first edition contained numerous mistakes (cf. also Leskien 1909: 445 [3] and passim; 1910). This had become clear before by several studies already in the 19th and later in the 20th century, giving corrections for several readings,[7] among them the PhD thesis by Ezechiel Zivier (1892–1899). These corrections were taken into regard partially already in the edition by Sever'janov (1904) and the more so in the one by Zaimov/Capaldo (1982–1983), where another 71 improvements with regard to Sever'janov (1904) are listed (and also given in the edition; cf. the list in Zaimov/Capaldo 1982–1983, 1: 9f.).

4. The Ghost-Word OCS *sęštъ/sęštъ* 'clever, wise' – its birth, life, and discovery

Working on the Old High German lemma *sinnan* 'to strive for, to think about, to go around' for vol. VII of the *Althochdeutsches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Etymological Dictionary of Old High German] (cf. *EWAhd* 7: 1258–1262) I stumbled over the OCS adjective *sęštъ*: The Old High German verb *sinnan* is most probably a derivative of the PIE root **sent-* 'to go' (cf. *LIV²* 533), but it cannot be excluded that also the PIE root **senh$_2$-* 'to achieve, to arrive' (cf. *LIV²* 532f.) plays a role. Both PIE **sent-ne/o-* and **senh$_2$-e/o-* develop into Proto-Germanic **senne/a-*. Interestingly, only the Proto-Germanic causative **sanđ-ija-* 'to send', cp. English *to send*, German *senden* 'to send' from the PIE root **sent-* is attested, but a causative ***sann-ija-* 'to cause to think' does not exist. This might be an argument for the contamination of two roots in the thematic present, while only one of them formed also a causative.

When writing an etymology within the framework of the Old High German Etymological Dictionary habitually a fixed corpus of other etymological dictionaries is checked. When doing so in the case of *sinnan*, at some point the Old Church Slavonic adjective *sęštъ* 'wise' turned up, which was mentioned among others in the *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (*LIV²*), in Smoczyński's various editions of his *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego* from 2007 (*SEJL*), 2018, 2019, 2020, 2022, 2023, 2024 (*SEJL²*, *LithED*), then in Pokorny (1959 = *IEW*), in Walde/Hoffmann (1932–1956) and in some other dictionaries. Moreover, it was mentioned in three dictionaries of the Leiden Indo-European dictionary series: in de Vaan's (2008) etymological dictionary of Latin (*EDLIL*), in Derksen's (2008) etymomological dictionary of Proto-Slavic (*EDSIL*) and in Kroonen's (2013) etymological dictionary of Proto-Germanic (*EDPG*).

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7   Such papers are easily identified in the bibliography in Zaimov/Capaldo (1982–1983, 1: 13–16).

Derksen even gives the Proto-Slavic pre-form of the Old Church Slavonic adjective *sęštъ* as an entry in *EDSIL*.

However, trying to verify that adjective turned out to be problematic and led to an interesting, even surprising result: The word was neither mentioned in the *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (*ESJS*) nor in the *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*, the Prague Old Church Slavonic dictionary (Kurz/Hauptová 1966–1997 [2006]). Also, the other dictionaries of Old Church Slavonic did not list the word, as there are, e.g., Sadnik – Aitzetmüller (1955/1989) and Cejtlin et al. (1994). On the other hand, the word was listed in a number of standard comparative dictionaries of Indo-European linguistics: Torp – Falk (1909: 430: "asl. *sęštĭ σοφός*" – taking over the interpretament from Miklosich 1862–1865 [1977]: 975), Walde (1910: 699f.), Walde – Pokorny (1927–1932, 2: 496), *LatEW* (2: 515f.), *IEW* (908), Meiser (2003: 121), *SEJL* (552f.),[8] *SEJL²* (2018: 1264), *SEJL²* (2019a: 1334) = *SEJL²* (2019b: 1390) = *SEJL²* (2020: 1443) (s. v. *siů̜sti*).[9]

As a further variant of OCS *sęštъ* – with the purportedly correct ending of a *i̯o*-stem adjective – there appeared, in some dictionaries of the Leiden school of Indo-European linguistics (cf. *EDPG* 437; *EDSIL* 450; *EDLIL* 554), also a form *sęštъ*, which looks like a form adapted to the rules of Old/Middle Bulgarian phonology (with the standard 'harder' ending – as in the 3rd sg. pres. Proto-Indo-European *-*ti* > Common Slavic *-*tъ* > Old Bulgarian/OCS -*tъ*). The reason for the appearance of this common form in the three Leiden dictionaries might be the use of a common data base for writing these dictionaries. The most interesting appearance is the one in the Slavic etymological dictionary (*EDSIL*), where the form was made even an entry of its own. This shows clearly that for writing the dictionary the real existence of this potential hapax legomenon had never been checked.

On the other hand, there are quite a few publications, in which the word might have been mentioned, but never was. It remains unclear, however, whether the authors were aware of the nonexistence, and thus the 'ghost-word-ly' status of the word (which was actually obvious since the publication of Sever'janov 1904). In most cases the fact that the word was not mentioned was probably rather either due to the necessity to keep texts short (as in dictionaries) – or, alas, to the fact that among West European linguists / Indo-Europeanists the knowledge of Slavic languages is not too common ("Slavica non leguntur").

Of these publications a representative part will be given in the following table. Mainly such publications have been checked which contained (or might have contained) Old High German *sinnan* and/or Latin *sentīre* and their relatives. The titles are given in chronological and synchronized order:

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8   *SEJL* (553) asks: „tu też scs. *sęštĭ* 'mądry'?" ["does OCS *sęštĭ* 'clever' belong here?"].
9   In all checked versions of *SEJL²* can be found the question: „tu też scs. *sęštĭ* 'wrażliwy, mądry'? por. de Vaan 2008, 554" ["does also OCS *sęštĭ* 'sensible, clever' belong here? cf. de Vaan, 2008: 554"]. – Thus, the semantic expansion of the meaning of the ghost-word has been kept since the 2018 version.

Table 1: Chronological list of (non-)attestations of the ghost-word in scientific literature

sęštъ 'clever, wise'	sęštъ 'sensible, wise'	sęštъ 'sensible, wise'	publications not mentioning the word, although it might have been mentioned
Miklosich (1850a: 176) Miklosich (1851: 242) Miklosich (1862–1865: 975) Fick (1870: 401) Fick (1874: 318) Miklosich (1878: 42, 303) Miklosich (1879: 42, 580) Miklosich (1886: 292) Torp – Falk (1909: 430) Walde (1910: 699f.)			Miklosich (1852) Fick (1868: etymological nest not booked)
Walde – Pokorny (1927–1932, 2: 496) LatEW (2: 515f.) IEW (908)			Vondrák (1908) Torp (1919: 580f.) Trautmann (1923: 292) Vondrák (1924) Holthausen (1974 [1934]: 295) Feist (1939: 423f.) Sadnik – Aitzetmüller (1955 [1989]) Kluge (1963: 710) LitEW (789) Kurz – Hauptová (1966–1997 [2006]) Vaillant (1974) Lehmann (1986: S-25, S-66) LEIA (S-86f.) DÉLL (614) LEV (2001 [1992]: 962f.) Pfeifer (1993: 1294f.) ESJS Cejtlin et al. (1994) Meiser (1998: 194) Baldi (1999/2002) Lühr (2000: 210) Orel (2003: 325) OFED (341) Müller (2007: 290f.)
LIV (483) LIV² (533) Meiser (2003: 121)			
	SEJL (552f.)		

sęštъ 'clever, wise'	sęštъ 'sensible, wise'	sęštъ 'sensible, wise'	publications not mentioning the word, although it might have been mentioned
		EDLIL (554) EDSIL (450)	Bjorvand – Lindeman (2007: 951f.) NIL (PIE *sent- not booked) Weiss (2009) EDAIL (636f.) Levickij (2010, 1: 452f.) Kluge (2011: 850) EDBIL (399) ALEW (2: 916f.)
	LithED (1176) SEJL² (2018: 1264) SEJL² (2019a: 1334) SEJL² (2019b: 1390) SEJL² (2020: 1443)	EDPG (437)	Bjorvand – Lindeman (2019: 1040–1042) Weiss (2020)

Thus, since the early 20ᵗʰ century, i.e. since Sever'janov's edition of the Codex Suprasliensis in 1904 and/or at the latest since Meyer's 1935 dictionary of the Codex Suprasliensis, it was clear for Slavists (and Baltists) that the word did not exist, while in Indo-Europeanists' literature the word continued to exist and was copied from dictionary to dictionary after it had made it into that vein of secondary literature around 1870.

From time to time there are interesting curiosities with some authors quoting the word in one work and not quoting it in another: In Meiser (2003) vs. Meiser (1998) the reason might be that Meiser (1998) quotes examples only very restrictedly. Derksen, however, has the word as a lemma of its own in 2008 in *EDSIL* (450), but does not mention it in 2015 in *EDBIL* (399). To be mentioned is also the (parallel?) widening of the semantics of the ghost-word to be seen in *SEJL²* (2018; 2019a; 2019b; 2020) (narrower semantics still in *SEJL* [2007]) and *EDLIL* (2008), *EDSIL* (2008) und *EDPG* (2013): Polish 'wrażliwy, mądry' in Smoczyński's dictionaries has its exact counterpart in 'sensible, wise' in the three Leiden dictionaries. How this widening came about cannot be explained exactly, maybe it happened independently by the fact that the word has been etymologically connected to Latin *sentīre* 'to think, to mean, to believe, to feel' etc. – and at least the English word *sensible* is etymologically connected via English *sense* and Latin *sensum* 'sense, meaning' with Latin *sentīre* anyway.

After having been informed by the author of this article on the ghost-word character of the OCS word, the respective article in *SEJL²* (2022: 1519f., esp. 1520, fn. 546) has been altered (cf. also *SEJL²* 2023: 1548 with fn. 552; 2024: 1568 with fn. 564).

But now finally the question how the ghost-word came into existence shall be answered. The first appearance of the word in question can be found in the edition of the homily for the Sunday of Pentecost by Johannes Chrysostomos (344/349 – September 14, 407) from the Codex Suprasliensis: Miklosich (1845b: 20 [v. 325]) here offers the reading саштаꙗ <sęštęję>. In the commentary on this passage, he writes (Miklosich 1845b: 42):

> "саштаꙗ φρονίμου, genitivus sing. fem. formae definitae. Vox nunc primum emergens. Nobis cum сатъ (dicit, vide nostras Radices linguae Slovenicae veteris dialecti) videtur cohaerere [= Miklosich 1845a: 91f.; H.B.]; nota enim est affinitas verborum dicendi et cogitandi." ["саштаꙗ (sęštęję) φρονίμου, gen. sing. fem. of the definite form. A word appearing here for the first time. From our point of view, it seems to be connected with сатъ [sętь] ('says', cf. our *Radices linguae Slovenicae veteris dialecti*) [= Miklosich 1845a: 91f.; H.B.]; the closeness of the verbs of saying and the verbs of thinking is wellknown."]

Important here from hindsight is the phrase "Vox nunc primum emergens" ["A word appearing here for the first time"]. And in the glossary to the edition, Miklosich (1845b: 62) writes:

> "саштаꙗ *prudentis*, gen. sing. f. formae defin. 325. Vide not. crit." ["саштаꙗ *prudentis*, gen. sing. fem. of the definite form. 325. Cf. the critical notes."]

So here for the first time the meaning is given as 'prudens', i.e. 'wise'. But it must also be noted that Miklosich here still gives another etymology of the word (OCS сатъ [sętь] 'says' is now rather connected with Gothic *singgwan*, English *sing*, German *singen* 'to sing' [via PIE **seng^{uh}*- 'to sing, to pronounce' (cf. IEW 906f.; LIV² 532), which he seems to have discarded soon after in favour of the one that than made such a fabulous career.

In contrast with the first edition of that homily the first dictionary by Miklosich (1850a: 176) already does not any longer show the translated Greek word of the original text, Greek φρόνιμος, but there can be found a new Greek interpretament: "саштъ σοφός prudens *cod. sup*.".[10] This new meaning "σοφός" is either based on the Latin meaning 'prudens' or already on the supposed etymological connection with Latin *sentīre* (*vide infra*).

For the ghost-word one may suppose the following source(s): The wrongly read or emendated passage in the first edition (Miklosich 1845b) with its integration into the 1850 dictionary and the more so the continued use Miklosich made of the first

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10   The copy accessible via archive.org is from the Library of Congress (signature *PG 693.MS Copy 1*) and shows a handwritten note "242,20." by an unknown writer; this is the page and line of Miklosich's 1851 edition, where the word can be found.

edition of the homily in his first full of the Codex Suprasliensis (Miklosich 1851: 242, line 20). One may suppose further that during the preparation of the publication of the dictionary in 1850 the full edition of the Codex Suprasliensis had progressed to such a point that the material of the Codex Suprasliensis could probably be integrated into the dictionary (entirely). Although the ghost-word came into existence already in 1845 it seems to have to come too late to be taken over already in Miklosich's 1845 (etymological) dictionary *Radices linguae slovenicae veteris dialecti* (Miklosich 1845a): There is no such entry on p. 92 and also according to the list of sources excerpted for the dictionary on p. 150f. the Codex Suprasliensis had not yet been used for this dictionary. Neither is the word given in the first edition of the phonology part of his comparative grammar of the Slavic languages (Miklosich 1852); but here the reason might also be that there were enough other words already showing the front nasal vowel <ę>. At least one might rather not assume that this grammar should have been written already before Miklosich's Old Church Slavonic grammar (Miklosich 1850b) and the full edition of the Codex Suprasliensis (Miklosich 1851) but should have gone to the press only after those other books had already been printed. Before continuing following the history and career of our ghost-word in Miklosich's publications and beyond, shortly the question has to be engaged in, on which basis Miklosich actually produced his partial and full editions of the Codex Suprasliensis. As outlined above, there were first partial editions containing certain homilies in 1845 and 1847, later the full edition followed in 1851. As further shown above, the second part of the Codex Suprasliensis (fol. 119ff.) was in the possession of Jernej Kopitar in Vienna from 1838 until ca. 1842, the first part (fol. 1– 118) from 1839 until his death in 1844. Part one then left with the rest of Kopitar's possessions for Laibach/Ljubljana. In that time (i.e., for part 1 from 1839 until 1844, for part 2 from 1838 until ca. 1842), Miklosich could have seen (and used) the Codex Suprasliensis at Kopitar's home in Vienna. Whether he really did so, is still a matter of research. For the partial edition of 1847 this may be regarded as quite probable, cf. the quote already given *supra* in fn. 3 (Miklosich 1847: [III]):

> "Vitas Sanctorum, quas nunc emittimus, exscripsimus e codice, qui, olim Bartholomaei Kopitarii, nunc cum reliquis ejus libris servatur in Bibliotheca Lycei Labacensis." ["The Lifes of Saints, which we are now editing, we copied from a codex, which once belonged to Bartholomaeus Kopitar and is now kept with the rest of his books in the Library of the Laibach/Ljubljana Lyceum."]

The texts edited in Miklosich (1847) are taken from that part of the Manuscript, which was transferred to Laibach/Ljubljana after Kopitar's death.

But the situation is different for the 1845 partial edition: The text is taken from part 2 of the Codex Suprasliensis, which at the time of its publication had already been in Poland for two or three years. Thus, there are two possibilities: Either

Miklosich (himself?) produced a copy of the (complete?) manuscript between 1838/39 and 1842, especially of the later returned second part of it – or he edited the Codex Suprasliensis based on the full copy made by Kopitar. As shall be shown, the last-mentioned possibility is what most probably happened: Kopitar's full copy of the Codex Suprasliensis indeed still exists and is kept with the other books of his library in the National and University Library in Ljubljana – and it is obvious that Miklosich knew it (Miklosich 1851: III):

> "Bibliotheca lycei Labacensis servat etiam totius codicis apographum factum manu Bartholomaei Kopitarii." ["The library of the Laibach/Ljubljana Lyceum also holds the transcript of the whole codex made by the hand of Bartholomaeus Kopitar."]

Kopitar made the copy in Cyrillic hand-writing, he also copied the diacritics slavishly and also kept exactly all the line and page breaks of the original; whenever and wherever he happened to make mistakes, he corrected them at once (cf., e.g., p. 88, l. 1, 24, 27, where letters wrongly written at the end of the line are crossed out and are repeated in the following line).

The line with our ghost-word is on p. 356 of the copy. The page shows in the upper right corner the numbers "165-179" written with pencil. The difference between that and the original folionumber 163 probably arose by the fact that several back pages of the copy remained empty. Here now the word of interest can be found, but there can also be seen several corrections pertaining to the word, especially concerning the first nasal vowel: It looks as if there had first been written <sǫštėję> which was corrected to <sęštėję>. But the middle vertical stroke of the ѫ <ǫ> remained standing, thus the sign became similar to the ѧ <ję> used in the Codex Suprasliensis elsewhere. Kopitar used to write this letter in his handwriting with a somewhat longer middle stroke reaching below the line. This sign then seems to have been corrected again by writing anew a letter ѫ <ǫ> over the position in the word in question. This letter ѫ <ǫ>, however, shows a ductus somewhat different from the other ѫ-s written by Kopitar in the copy; it looks close to a Croatian-Glagolitic <a>. The question thus arises, whether this correction was indeed made by Kopitar – or whether this correction was not rather made by Franz Miklosich when he used Kopitar's manuscript. But then of course, why should he have taken the <ę> into the edition instead of the (correct) <ǫ> he himself would have written there?

All in all, one gets the impression that Kopitar misspelled the word but saw his mistake and corrected it. Miklosich, however, who used Kopitar's copy for his edition (maybe he even used it exclusively for the edition of the second part of the Codex Suprasliensis) seems to have ignored the correction, because he interpreted the sign as <ę> instead of <ǫ> – thus inventing a new word.

If Miklosich had had at hand the original of the Codex Suprasliensis, all this could impossibly have happened. The Codex Suprasliensis excels by the clarity of
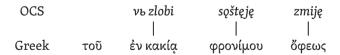
its writing/spelling and by its generally very clean pages: Checking the facsimilia of the Codex Suprasliensis (Zaimov/Capaldo 1982–1983, 2: 118 [edition on p. 119]; http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/pages/supr165r.html; 15.03.2019) only made clear that there indeed is written, what is the standard view since Sever'janov (1904: 329, 6 [fol. 165r, 6]); there is OCS *sǫštęję*, GEN. SG. FEM. of the PART. PRES. ACT. of OCS *byti* 'to be': *vъ zlobi sǫštęję zmiję* "of the snake being in wrath" translating the Greek original τοῦ ἐν κακίᾳ φρονίμου ὄφεως "of the wise snake being in evil/wrath".

Whether Miklosich's 1845 edition of that homily was also done on the basis of Kopitar's copy cannot be proven at the moment, but it is very probable. Miklosich knew the Greek text of the homily by Johannes Chrysostomos, else his willing to find a fitting word in the Old Church Slavonic text which might have a meaning corresponding to Greek φρόνιμος cannot be explained. Whether already Kopitar was misled by the fact that he knew the Greek text, is unknown. But Miklosich knew it and as he obviously was also a clever etymologist, an etymological solution for the misinterpreted word was at hand at once – or to be more exact, he even offered two solutions: an elder, short-lived one (connecting it to OCS *sętъ* 'says') and the longliving one (connecting it to Latin *sentīre*), which has stood quite firm – for some Indo-Europeanists at least – for 175 years.

The mistake thus came into existence by the fact that the Greek adjective φρόνιμος 'wise', the attribute of ὄφεως "of the snake", had not been translated into Old Church Slavonic. But in Old Church Slavonic the prepositional attribute Greek ἐν κακίᾳ = OCS *vъ zlobi* had to be connected somehow with the head of the construction, for which aim the present active participle of 'to be' was used. OCS *sǫšt-* was then wrongly read/interpreted/emendated as *sęšt-*, although the spelling of the Codex Suprasliensis was absolutely clear; and in a last step the wrongly read/interpreted word was attributed the meaning of the adjective Greek φρόνιμος 'wise', simply because it stood at the same point of the sentence:

Figure 1: The original Greek text and its OCS translation

OCS		*vъ zlobi*	*sǫštęję*	*zmiję*
Greek	τοῦ	ἐν κακίᾳ	φρονίμου	ὄφεως

This reading error was known at the latest since the edition by Sever'janov (1904: 329,6), where he offers the following text: въ зълоби сѫштаꙗ змиꙗ́. The additional commentary accompanying this phrase (note 6 on p. 329) reads:

"сѫ.. φρονίμου, не сꙗ.., кк у Микл. (242,20; Ziv. не замѣтилъ; у Копитара сѫ..), въ Lexic. уничтожь ст. «сѫшть»;" ["(read) сѫ... instead of сꙗ..., Zivier [1892–1899;

H.B.] did not see it; in Kopitar's text [his copy of the Codex Suprasliensis?, H.B.] there is сѫ-; delete сашть in the Lexic(on) [Miklosich 1862–1865; H.B.]."

The final extinction of the mistake should have come with Meyer's 1935 dictionary of the Codex Suprasliensis: There the form is booked correctly s.v. "быти (εἶναι; γίγνεσθαι etc.) ..." (Meyer 1935: 18–23): "сѫштаа GSgf 219₁₁ 28₁₀ (παρεῖναι) 329₆" (Meyer 1935: 20).

A kind of sideline of the explanation of the word gives Solmsen (1901: 208f.): "[a] ltbulg. sęštĭ 'klug' (von der Schlange) aus *sent-jŭ* ["Old Bulgarian 'clever' (of the snake) from *sent-jŭ*]. He connects the word with the etymological family of Goth. *swinþs* 'strong' thinking that both go back to a Proto-Indo-European root *su̯ent-*. This explanation did not find any followers, already Walde (1910: 700) refuted it (similarly later *LatEW* 2: 516).

Nevertheless, the word created by Miklosich made its career starting from his comparative dictionary (Miklosich 1862–1865 [1977]: 975):

"сашть adj. σοφός prudens въ зълоби саштаіѧ змиіѧ τοῦ ἐν κακίᾳ φρονίμου ὄφεως in malitia prudentis serpentis sup. 325." ["сашть adj. σοφός 'clever, wise', въ зълоби саштаіѧ змиіѧ τοῦ ἐν κακίᾳ φρονίμου ὄφεως 'in the wrath/slyness of the clever snake'; Suprasliensis p. 325."]

From there he takes it over to his etymological dictionary (Miklosich 1886: 292):

"asl. sęštъ *prudens. – Dunkel: man denkt an lat.* sentio. *Vergl. lit.* sintiėti *denken.*" ["Old Slavonic sęštъ *prudens.* – Unclear; one might think of Latin *sentio*; Cp. Lithuanian *sintiėti* 'to think'."]

Then he mentions it in his grammars (e.g., Miklosich 1878: 42 = Miklosich 1879: 42):

"sęštъ φρόνιμος *prudens sup. 242. 20, wohl* sentjъ: *lit.* sintieti denken." ["sęštъ φρόνιμος 'clever, wise' Suprasliensis 242. 20, probably *sentjъ*: Lithuanian *sintieti* 'to think']."

And finally, it can be found in Miklosich (1878: 303) = Miklosich (1879: 580):

"*42. z. 3. Mit* sęštъ *prudens vergleiche man das europ. sent, vertreten durch lat. sentire usw.*" ["on p. 42, l. 3. Cp. with sęštъ 'clever' the European *sent*, as in Latin *sentire*, etc."]

Most probably from Miklosich (1862–1865: 975), later once more from Miklosich (1886: 292) the word got into the publications of others and became part of the stock of Indo-Europeanists' literature: cf. Fick (1870: 401: "ksl. sęštъ *σοφός*"), Fick (1874: 318: "ksl. sęštъ *σοφός*"), and Torp – Falk (1909: 430: "asl. sęštĭ *σοφός*"), where even the

new interpretament 'invented' by Miklosich (1850a: 176; 1862–1865: 975), i.e., "σοφός" instead of the original Greek φρόνιμος, seems to have been interpreted by Fick et al. as the original Greek word. The word went on to Walde (1910: 699f.: "... wozu wohl auch a[lt]b[ulgarisch]. sęštъ ,klug'"), from there to Walde – Pokorny (1927–1932) and finally to the *IEW* (908), making it a definitely codified word – which nobody, alas, bothered to verify again. And finally, it can be found at the turn of the 20[th] and the 21[st] centuries in *LIV* (483, note 1) = *LIV*² (533, note 1 [by Thomas Zehnder: "... viell. noch aksl. sęštъ ,klug'" ["... maybe also OCS sęštъ 'clever'"] and further on in the mentioned Leiden dictionaries (2008ff.) and in Smoczyński's dictionaries (2007ff.).

In other words: One may suppose that the ghost-word OCS *sęštъ* 'clever, wise' came to life, because the first editor of parts of the Codex Suprasliensis and then the entire Codex Suprasliensis, Franz Miklosich, seems to have made his editions not based on the original codex, but based on a copy written by Jernej Kopitar. And although Jernej Kopitar was a solid and reliable copyist, he happened to make errors here and there. One of these errors, though corrected presumably by Kopitar himself at once, was wrongly interpreted by Miklosich. The error made Miklosich think – and because he knew the Greek original text and because he was a good etymologist, he accepted Kopitar's scribal error instead of its correction. Thus, the ghost-word including its etymology was born and was quoted several times first by Miklosich himself in his books, then by several other researchers.

5. Conclusions

This article tried to give the line-out of the career of a classical ghost-word: A misreading / wrong emendation in the course of the process of the constitution of the first edition of the Codex Suprasliensis by Franz Xaver (Ritter von) Miklosich (Miklošič) found its way into Miklosich's own grammars and dictionaries. Being booked in the publications of this famous philologer and linguist of his time led to the dissemination of his creation. Already in 1870, the word found its way into Indo-Europeanists' standard literature. Although the word was/is a potential hapax legomenon (even without siblings within Slavic!) its attestation seems never to have been checked again. Thus, it remained in standard dictionaries and handbooks until 2020. Already the first new edition of the text after Miklosich (Sever'janov 1904) had discovered the reading mistake which had brought the ghost-word to life; in the dictionary of the Codex Suprasliensis (Meyer 1935) the word was correctly analyzed as the participle present active of the verb *byti* 'to be' and did not appear again in Slav(ist)ic grammars and dictionaries during the 20th century.

On the other hand, there developed a separate Indo-Europeanist-linguistic tradition independent of the Slavistics-philological tradition. It seems that the Slavistics line of development was not really taken into regard any longer

by Indo-Europeanists. As no research seems ever to have been done regarding the hapax legomenon OCS *sęštъ*, it could lead a rather unharmed life. What can be learned from this study? Especially hapax legomena should always be looked at quite closely – the more so if they are etymologically isolated in their language.

Philology can be done without Indo-European studies, but Indo-European studies should not be done without philology: linguistics done without philology can easily go astray – as can (historical) lexicography not constantly taking into account philology (and etymology).

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