

**ANOTHER ARABIC VERSION OF *SEFER HA-RAZIM*
AND *ḤARBA DE-MOŠE*:
A NEW *SIFR ĀDAM* MANUSCRIPT**

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The Manuscripts

This article should have been written by my late professor, Alexander Fodor, since it gives account of a new manuscript of *Sifr Ādam* (The Book of Adam) found by him shortly before his sudden death. It is a new version with regard to the manuscript of *Sifr Ādam* he acquired in 1973. For the sake of convenience, in the following I will designate the manuscript discovered by him in the seventies MS 1973, and the manuscript found by him some months before his passing away MS 2014.

Fodor reported in two articles (Fodor 2006, 2011) that in 1973 he had been offered to buy an Arabic manuscript by a Copt bookseller in Cairo. The manuscript was entitled *Sifr Ādam* and looked recently written. Some peculiarities of the copy, however, pointed towards the fact that it had been copied from an older manuscript: it contained catchwords at the bottom of the pages to indicate the sequence of the pages; the titles, chapter-headings and some important words were rendered in red ink, while the text itself was written in black. The text began with the Christian formula “In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, One God, Amen”, but – as it became clear from the continuation – it was evidently the Arabic translation of a Jewish Magical text. Fodor succeeded in reconstructing the sources of the text, and he established that it comprised the Arabic versions of various Jewish Magical works, including *Sefer ha-Razim*, *Ḥarba de-Mošē*, *Sefer ha-Yašar*, and *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*. These texts were combined in one Arabic recension under the title *Sifr Ādam*.

Ever since I have known Fodor, he was planning to prepare the critical edition of the manuscript,¹ and he was constantly looking for parallel versions of the text. Shortly before his death, in April 2014, he wrote me several excited e-mails from Cairo alluding to “some excellent news” he preferred to communi-

¹ The first sentence of his article published in *JSQ* about his finding is the following: “The present paper wishes to be a kind of preliminary report on an Arabic version of *Sefer ha-Razim* before the publication of the whole text...” (Fodor 2006:412).

cate to me personally after returning to Budapest. Once he arrived, we met at the University and he said to me laughing and with great excitement that after so many years of searching, finally he had traced a second manuscript of *Sifr Ādam*. He told me that he bought the digitalized photos of several magical works from a bookseller in Cairo. Among these he discovered the photos of a version of *Sifr Ādam*, therefore he returned to the bookseller and asked whether it was possible to buy the original manuscript. The bookseller promised to him to obtain a *Sifr Ādam* manuscript – either the same that appears on the photos or another – within a couple of days. But since Fodor was about to return to Budapest, and I was scheduled to travel to Egypt some days after his return, he asked me to buy the manuscript on his behalf. He also provided me with a digital copy of the photos so that I be able to compare the text with that of the promised manuscript. Therefore, once I arrived to Cairo, I immediately made my way to the bookseller I had already knew, because we happened to visit him together with Fodor several times before. Unfortunately, to my (and Fodor's) great disappointment the book he tried to sell me was only a photocopy of a manuscript, bound and prepared as if it was an old book. Although it bore the title *Sifr Ādam* (the first lines of the text included the title) but in reality it was a completely different work under the same title, so I did not buy the book. Fodor was still optimistic; and when we next met at the end of May in Hungary, he explained that in his view it was still possible to track down the manuscript somehow, and after all, the photos could serve as a sufficient basis for a comparison between the two versions and for a critical edition based on two complete texts. Lamentably, he did not have the chance to carry out his plan, because two months later he died.

After recovering from the shock of his sudden death I remembered the new Arabic version of *Sifr Ādam* he discovered, and it seemed to me unacceptable to let this version fall into oblivion as if he never found it. Therefore I decided to give an account of the structure, form and contents of MS 2014 comparing it with those parts of MS 1973 Fodor published in the two articles mentioned above. Unfortunately, while preparing this article, I did not have access to MS 1973, which is in the possession of Fodor's family.²

MS 1973 contains 213 pages, and there are 12 lines in most pages, therefore the whole text comprises approximately 2556 lines, from what Fodor has published altogether some 280 lines in his two articles. Although this sum is hardly more than the tenth of the text, but in fact it is more than it appears, since the pages published by Fodor are basically the most substantial and important parts of the manuscript.

² Except for two photocopied pages of the manuscript Fodor gave me several years ago so that I may include their copy in the Appendix of my MA thesis written under his guidance about magical devices related to Moses.

The Contents of *Sifr Ādam*, MS 1973

The Introduction of the book contains its title and a short history of the book's origin. It was revealed to Adam after he ate from the tree and implored God to deliver him from punishment. The angel Zaryāyīl descended with a book containing the description of the heaven's seven firmaments, the hierarchy of the angels in them, the names of angels appointed over matters determining time and space (years, seasons, days, hours, planets, the four cardinal points, etc.). The book was passed on from generation to generation. Noah learned from it when he built the Ark, and it was the first thing he took with himself in a golden box to the Ark. Solomon regarded it as the most outstanding book and made miracles with it. He who follows the instructions of the book is able to attain anything he wishes by adjuring the angel responsible for that specific issue (Fodor 2006: 413–415).

The Introduction is followed by two main parts. The first is a theoretical description of the seven firmaments, the angels pertaining to them and their main functions. The second part lists a great number of magical recipes telling which angels should be summoned for different purposes and the way it should be done. These parts are translated from the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim* (The Book of Secrets), but are arranged in a different way. While in the Hebrew original the presentation of each firmament is composed of two parts: angelic names and magical recipes, in the Arabic recension the names and the recipes are given in the two separate parts. In the Hebrew text the seventh firmament is occupied only by the Throne of God, hence no angelic names or recipes are associated with it. This is, however, not the case in the Arabic recension, where a most impressive list of divine names can be found. The last part of the book – called *Sayf Allāh* ("The Sword of God") or *Yad Allāh* ("The Hand of God") – contains a magical invocation composed of divine names (Fodor 2006:416).

Although according to the Introduction the title of the book is *Sifr Ādam*, this name does not appear in the main text. In the colophon of each main part the title is given as "Book of Secrets" (*Sifr al-asrār*) or "Book of Hidden Things" (*Sifr al-ḥafāyā*) (Fodor 2006:416).

MS 1973: Christian recension

The book has two introductory formulas, the first is: "In the Name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen.", while the second is: "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate."³ It has to be noted that for "Merciful"

³ MS 1973, p. 1, lines 1–6: "In the Name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen. With the help of God and with good fortune [granted] by Him we start to

instead of the usual *ar-Raḥmān* the word *ar-Raʿūf* stands (“*bism Allāh ar-Raʿūf ar-Raḥīm*”). In my opinion this change is significant, its purpose being to distance the formula from the standard Muslim expression. It is noteworthy that this formula is also frequently used by Copts. According to Fodor (2006:417–418), the translator of the Jewish sources or the last redactor of the Arabic compilation was a Coptic priest, since he used the Coptic names of the months, and remarked that God would accept the Mass from he who kept the instructions of this book. Fodor (2006:420) says: “In the light of this Christian background it seems particularly strange that some expressions with a definite Islamic tint found their way to the text. An interesting example for this phenomenon is the occurrence of the following Qurʾānic verse: ‘God is sufficient to us, an excellent Guardian is He’ (Q 3:173)”. Fodor (2006:420) supposed that a Muslim hand had access to the work and he also suggested that the translator might have inserted the Qurʾānic verse to make the book acceptable in a Muslim environment.

MS 2014: Muslim recension?

The manuscript starts with only one introductory formula: “In the Name of God, the only Creator, Living and Provider” (*bism Allāh al-Ḥāliq al-Ḥayy ar-Rāziq waḥdahu*) (p. 1). This phrase is repeated with slight modifications several times in the text at the beginning of the main sections: “In the Name of God, the Creator, the Living, the Provider, the Eternal” (*bism Allāh al-Ḥāliq al-Ḥayy ar-Rāziq al-Bāqī*) (p. 62), “In the Name of God, the Creator, the Living, the Provider, the Everlasting” (*bism Allāh al-Ḥāliq al-Ḥayy ar-Rāziq al-Abadī*) (p. 152). This is not a usual formula used by Muslims, although it contains names from among the so-called most beautiful names of God. In my opinion it can be regarded as an Islamicized form of an original Hebrew or Aramaic formula, employing typical Muslim adjectives of God, like *ar-Rāziq* (Provider), which does not have an obvious Hebrew or Aramaic correspondent.⁴

copy *Sifr Ādam* (‘The Book of Adam’) which God, the Holy King revealed to him. It is from the precious and useful books. May God help us in copying it. Amen” (Fodor 2006:414).

MS 1973, p. 1, lines 7–9: “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Now then, this is the Book of Adam which God, the Holy King (May He be Blessed and Exalted!) revealed to him” (Fodor 2006:414).

⁴ Naturally, it can be translated to Hebrew or Aramaic, but this adjective is not among those applied to God usually in Hebrew or Aramaic. Most manuscripts of *Sefer ha-Razim* do not have a similar introductory formula beginning with “In the name of...”, but they start directly with “This is *Sefer ha-Razim*...”. Two manuscripts that do have introductory formula start with “In the name of YHWH, the God of Israel...” (Rebiger and Schäfer 2009:5) and one with “In the name of YHWH, God of the Universe”

The reference to God accepting the Mass is absent from the text, maybe it was omitted by a Muslim redactor. The Qur'ānic verse, however, is present. In the list of the twelve months and their angelic hosts the names of the months are bilingual: the Coptic names are always followed by the names of Babylonian origin used in Iraq, Syria, and more significantly, in the Jewish calendar.⁵ According to the instruction describing the fifth firmament and the twelve angels appointed over the months, the sequence of the angels “follows the order of the Hebrew months: the first [angel] is Š'Y'YL who is on duty in *Nīsān*, etc.” (*wa-ḏālika 'alā ḥisāb šuhūr al-ibrānī al-awwal Š'Y'YL ḥidmatuhu fī šahr nīsān*) (p.41) without any reference here to Coptic names.

A *par excellence* Coptic formula appears, however, in MS 2014. The colophon of the first main part of the book is the following: “*Kamala as-sifr al-awwal min al-asrār al-musammā bi-sifr al-ḥafāyā wa-yatlūhu as-sifr aṭ-ṭānī al-munzal ma'a al-malāk Daryāyīl 'alayhi as-salām. Tūbā li-man yukšaf lahu asrāruhu. Wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-š-šukr dāyiman āmin kyrie eleison*” (p. 60). In translation: “It is the end of the first book of the [Book of] Secrets, which is called the Book of Hidden Things. It is followed by the second book that was revealed by the angel Daryāyīl, peace be upon him. Blessed is him to whom its secrets are unveiled. God should be praised and thanked forever. Amen. Kyrie eleison.” The Greek phrase is quite corrupted (كرالصون), a fact that makes possible the supposition that the redactor or copyist did not understand the expression. Since MS 2014 is a redaction that omitted obvious Christian traits of the text (like the reference to the Trinity and the Mass), it can be supposed that the redactor left this Greek phrase in the text because he did not understand its meaning. This is all the more plausible, since the colophon is followed by a short list of unintelligible “useful names”, and is preceded by a list of four pages of *nomina barbara*, very much in the vein of “*kīrālšūn*”.

These considerations lead to at least two possible conclusions: 1) MS 2014 is an Islamicized adaptation of the Christian version preserved in MS 1973. 2) MS 2014 was combined from various already existing Arabic sources, some of which were done by Muslim translators, while others by Christians (Copts).

Unfortunately, without having access to the whole text of MS 1973, it is impossible to discuss further the relationship of the two Arabic manuscripts.

(Rebiger and Schäfer 2009:106) The *Sword of Moses* edited by Gaster starts as follows: *bi-šeme de-elaha rabba we-qadiša* (Gaster 1925–28b:69) “In the name of the mighty and holy God” (Translation of Gaster 1925–28a:312)

⁵ The Hīgrī calendar could not be used to denominate the months, since that is a lunar calendar in which months are not connected to the seasons of the year. The twelve angels representing the twelve months, however, are arranged in groups according to the seasons of the year.

Physical description of MS 2014

The manuscript contains 266 pages.⁶ The text terminates on p. 263 with a colophon (Fig. 1). On p. 264 there are two amulets connected to the Sword drawn by a later hand, using blue ballpoint-pen.⁷ The last two pages of the manuscript are blank. The colophon of the manuscript (p. 263, l. 8–11) contains the name of the copyist and the date:

نسخه من اصله الفقير الى ربه تعالى عمر
لطفى التلغرافى وتم نسخه في يوم الاثنين
٢٧ رمضان ١٣٣٤ و ٩ اغستوس ١٩١٥
بارك الله له في يديه والسلام

Translation

It was copied from the original by ‘Umar Luṭfī, the telegrapher, who relies on his God (may He be exalted). The copy was completed on Monday, 27 Ramadan 1334 [corresponding to] 9 August 1915. May God bless his hands! Peace be upon you!

The Gregorian and the Hiğrī dates unfortunately do not correspond to each other, 27 Ramadan 1334 corresponding to 28 July 1916. The copyist made a mistake in the Hiğrī year. The correct date is 27 Ramadan 1333 corresponding to 9 August 1915, which in fact happened to be a Monday.

The remark of the copyist stating that he copied from the original text evidences that he had an earlier manuscript in front of him. Apparently he tried to reproduce it faithfully, hence the catchwords at the bottom of the first pages, and the use of different colours of ink, black and red. Headings and words or phrases regarded as important are usually rendered in red. In some pages it can be clearly discerned that the pages were carefully ruled. Each page contains invariably eleven lines.

The contents of MS 2014

Introduction (composed from the Introductions of *Raziel ha-Malak* and of *Sefer ha-Razim*)

First part corresponding mainly to *Sefer ha-Razim*

I.1 Theoretical Part: Description of the Seven Firmaments

I.2 Practical Part

– Names

⁶ The pages of the manuscript were numbered by different hands, but these paginations are erroneous.

⁷ Occasional marks by this pen can be found all along the text.

- Magical recipes

I.3 A Link between *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Ḥarba de-Mošē*

Second Part corresponding mainly to *Ḥarba de-Mošē*

II.1 The Sword of God

- Names
- Magical recipes

II.2 The Hand of God

- Prayer and names
- Magical recipes

Conclusion: Dismissal of the angels (originally the conclusion of the *First Part*, moved to the end of the whole compilation)

Introduction

- The first page of the manuscript mentions briefly that *Sifr Ādam* was revealed to Adam by the angel ʿDaryāyīl, a variation of the name Zaryāyīl of MS 1973, possibly due to hypercorrection. It has to be noted that the name Zaryāyīl (ZRYʾYʾL) itself is a misreading of the name Raziel (RZYʾYL) proceeding from the original Hebrew source entitled “The Angel Raziel” (*Raziel ha-Malak*).
- Contents and uses of the book (pp. 1–4). Parallel to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim*.
- Noah made the Ark following the instructions of this book, which was the first thing he took with himself to the Ark in a golden box (p. 4). Parallel to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim*.
- The book was passed on from generation to generation, it reached Solomon who made miracles with it (pp. 4–5). Parallel to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim*.
- ʿDaryāyīl descended from heaven since God had listened to Adam’s supplication asking Him to improve his situation which deteriorated after having eaten from the Tree. ʿDaryāyīl explained the names contained in the book and their uses. The names were so mighty and frightening that Adam fell upon his face but ʿDaryāyīl encouraged him until he became able to make use of the book (pp. 6–9). Parallel to *Raziel ha-Malak*, fol. 3a.⁸

The Introduction combines passages from the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Raziel ha-Malak*. MS 2014 differs from MS 1973 in the order of the sources: MS 1973 starts with a passage taken from *Raziel ha-Malak* (the prayer of Adam and

⁸ The Introduction of the Arabic version (both MS 1973 and MS 2014) is close to the Introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim* II reconstructed by Rebiger and Schäfer from Genizah fragments and manuscripts (Rebiger and Schäfer 2009:106–107).

the descent of the angel), and continues with the *Sefer ha-Razim* (starting with Noah, not mentioning either Adam or the angel), thus creating a chronological order of the events. In MS 2014, however, Adam and the angel are only mentioned in the first lines very briefly, but the text itself starts with passages parallel to *Sefer ha-Razim*. The prayer of Adam and his interaction with the angel, which do not form part of *Sefer ha-Razim*, but of *Raziel ha-Malak*, are intercalated between the introduction of *Sefer ha-Razim* and the description of the seven firmaments.

Transcription and translation of the first part of the Introduction, pp. 1-6
Remarks

I decided to transcribe and translate the beginning of MS 2014, since it differs from MS 1973. From p. 6 of MS 2014 the text runs parallel to the text that Fodor (2006:413–414) published, although with many slight alterations. Since MS 2014:6–9 is almost identical with MS 1973:1–4, I did not transcribe that part, already published by Fodor.

In the manuscript *hamza* is usually not indicated (but sometimes it is); P/3 masculine pronoun frequently takes the place of S/3 feminine pronoun; gender agreement and case endings are eclectic. The transcription reproduces the original with the exception of *tā' marbūṭa*, which is usually indicated by *hā'* in the original. In the manuscript sometimes *tā' marbūṭa* takes the place of the S/3 fem. ending in the perfect, or else the *tā' marbūṭa* is replaced by a *tā'*, possibly because of the confusion between the feminine ending of verbs and nouns. This peculiarity is reproduced in the transcription. The catchwords are transcribed in brackets.

p. 1

بسم الله الخالق الحي الرازق وحده هذا كتاب
 سفر ادم الذي انزله الله القادر الملك القدوس
 صحبه ذريائيل المالك عليه السلام فيه خفايا
 المعرفة وطرق الفهم وافكار الخشوع والوقوف على
 غايت معرفة الافلاك والعلم بكلمات في السموات
 السبعة وما فيهم من اجناد الملائكة ارباب
 الخدم المقدمين ومعرفة اسمائهم وما لهم
 من الخدام وكيف السبيل الي التقرب اليهم وبلوغ
 الايثار فيهم باذن اله العالم ومعرفة العلم
 والعمل بما في العالم من جيد وردي ومعرفة
 اوقات الموت واوقات الحياة واوقات

p. 2

المرض واوقات الشفاء والعافية وتفسير الاحلام
 وحقيقة الروياء واصلها وما هو اسبابها
 والطرق اليه في اي وقت اختار وكل انسان

يريد المعرفة بما يأتي من الامور من وقوع
الحرب بين شعب وشعب والصلح بين
قوم وقوم ومعرفة ما يكون في يوم ويوم
وكل شهر وشهر وسنة وسنة من الكاين
في الليل والنهار وكشف الاشياء وفهم دلالات
الشهور واوقات الحروب متى تكون وكثرة
الامطار وقلتها وكثرة الاثمار وقلتها وتعلم
ان كان ملوك الجنوب يحاصرون ملوك [الشمال]

p. 3

الشمال او ملوك الشمال يملكون الجنوب او ملوك
الشرق يملكون المغرب او ملوك المغرب يملكون
المشرق وتعلم كل كاين في العالم وتعلم من حوادث
السما والارض صغيرا كان ام كبيرا ظاهرا كان
ام مخفي من تحت الارض كان ام في ظواهر العالم تعلم
ان كان ذلك كله ردي ام جيدا تحدثهم
نفوسهم بخيرا كان ام شر لايقا ذلك ام
يغير لايقا لنفوسهم كان ام كان لغيرهم لتهديب
الحروب ام لتحريكها ومن اراد ان يتسلط على
جميع الارواح ويحكم عليهم ويرسلهم بسرعة
كالعبيد في جميع ما يريد من خير او شر

p. 4

او يحكم على اربع ارياح العالم والارشاد بطرق
الخير والبلوغ فبدلك الي ما تريد ومن اسرار
هذا السفر المبارك تعلم نوح عليه السلام
حتى عمل السفينة من خشب الساج واستتر بها
من الطوفان وادخل معه اثنان وسبعة سبعة
من الطيور والبهائم وادخل معه من كل طعام
واول ما ادخل معه هذا الكتاب المقدس
في صندوق من ذهب وكان دائما يعلم منه
ما يكون في كل يوم ويسأل الله تعالى قضي
حاجته به كل ايام حياته وفي وقت موته
وبعده سلمه الى ولده شيم وبلغ هذا بالتناقل [الى]

p. 5

الى ابراهيم عليه السلام ومن ابراهيم الى اسحق الى يعقوب
والي ولده لاوي والى هيب الى عمران الي موسى عليه السلام
الي يوشع الي شيوخ الاصل والى الانبياء والحكما جيل
بعد جيل الي ان وصل الى سليمان ابن داود عليه السلام
وانكشف له جميع اسراره ومعرفته والارشاد
بالحكمة وفعل العجايب به وكتب كثيرة كان
قد وقف عليها سليمان ابن داود بل ان هذا
كان عنده اجل واعظم وارشد من الكل فطوبى

لاذن تسمع ما فيه ولعين تنظر ما فيه وطوبى
 لمن يعرفه ويعرف حكمته ويفهم ما في باطنه لان
 فيه معرفة ما في السموات السبعة وما فيهم من

p. 6

من الملائكة المقدمين سلاطين السموات فطوبى للشعب
 الذي الله الاله ثم وكان نزول ذريائيل الملاك
 عليه السلام في وقت سواء ادم ربه بعد اكله
 من الشجرة واطأ فضعفت منزلته جدا
 وتسلطت الالهوال عليه وضجرة نفسه فقال
 في صلواته يا الله اله العالمين انت خلقت الكل
 ببها وقارك وعظم ملكك [...]

Translation

[p. 1] In the name of God, the only Creator, Living and Provider. This is The Book of Adam that God, the Omnipotent and Holy King revealed to him. The angel Daryāyīl (peace be upon him) accompanied him. It contains hidden knowledge, the ways of understanding and humble contemplations. [From this book] you can obtain absolute knowledge of the celestial spheres, you can learn everything that is in the seven heavens: the hosts of the angels, the leaders of servant angels, the chiefs. [You can learn] their names, and the servants they have, and to way of getting close to them and making them to prefer you, with permission of the God of the Universe. You can learn from it the knowledge (*ilm*) and the practice (*amal*) concerning what is beneficial and what is destructive in the world; and the time of death and the time of life, and the time [p. 2] of illness and the time of recovery and health; and the explication of the dreams, the true meaning of the visions and their origin, and what causes them; and the ways to it in any time he wishes.⁹ If anyone wants to know what will happen, if there will be war between the nations or peace between the people; what will happen in each and every day, month and year, during the night or the day; [if anyone wants to] reveal the things and to understand the signs of the months and the periods of wars; when the rain will be copious and when will it be scarce; when the fruit will be abundant and when will it be few; if someone wants to know if the Southern kings will besiege the Northern kings [p. 3] or the Northern kings will conquer the South, or the Eastern kings will conquer the West, or the Western kings will conquer the East; [if someone wants] to learn about anything that exists in the world, and to learn about anything that happens in the heaven or in the earth, be it small thing or big, apparent or hidden; be it from under the earth or from the visible world; if all this is harmful or beneficial; if these will cause to them good or bad, suitable or not suitable, to their benefit

⁹ The last sentence is difficult to understand, possibly the text is corrupt here.

or to the benefit of others;¹⁰ if these will provoke wars or remedy them; if someone wants to gain power over the spirits and rule them, to send them quickly like servants for any purpose he wishes, be it good or bad; [p. 4] or if someone wants to rule the four directions of the worlds, and wants to be guided in the good ways that do not lead astray: [this book] will guide you to anything you want. Noah (peace be upon him) had learned from the secrets of this book how to make the boat from teakwood, and he hid himself in it from the Flood, and he brought with him a pair, or seven-seven from the birds and the animals, and he brought with him all kind of foods, but the first thing he brought with him [into the Ark] was this holy book, in a golden box. He was learning from it all the time what would happen in each day, and he was asking God to fulfil his needs using this book during his whole life. And when was dying, he handed it over to his son, Shem, after him. And the book was handed over [p. 5] to Abraham (peace be upon him), and from Abraham to Isaac, to Jacob, and to his son Levi, to Heb [*sic*, instead of Qohat], to Amram, to Moses (peace be upon him), to Joshua, to the elders, to the prophets and to the sages, generation after generation until it reached Solomon the son of David (peace be upon him), and all if its secrets were revealed to him, and the knowledge and wise guidance it contained. He made miracles with it. Solomon, the son of David (peace be upon him) read a lot of books, but he estimated this book more than all the others. Happy is the ear that hears its content and the eye that sees what is in it. Happy is the man who gets knowledge of it, and gets knowledge of its wisdom, and understands what it contains. Because it let you know what is in the seven heavens [p. 6] and their chief angels, the commanders of the heavens. Happy is the people whose god is Allah. Now, then, the angel *Ḍaryāyīl* (peace be upon him) descended when Adam implored his God after he ate from the Tree. He committed an offense, his position deteriorated very much, fears overwhelmed him, and he was grieved. Therefore he said in his supplication: Oh Allah, God of the Universe! You created everything by the beauty of Your dignity and the greatness of Your kingship. [...]

First part corresponding mainly to Sefer ha-Razim

*I.1. Theoretical Part: Description of the Seven Firmaments*¹¹

- In the first firmament there are seven thrones occupied by seven chief angels created from fire, each one of them having an encampment (*ʿaskar*) of angels under his command. The names of the angels are listed. The specialties of

¹⁰ The text is corrupt.

¹¹ Judeo-Arabic Genizah fragments containing this part of *Sefer ha-Razim* were collected and published by Rebiger and Schäfer (2009). I compared the texts and it became evident that the Arabic *Sifr Ādam* had no relation to the Judeo-Arabic text.

each encampment are outlined briefly (war, travelling by sea, fire, revealing hidden things, governing the hearts of the rulers, talking with the Moon and the planets, exercising power over the dead, explaining the meaning of the dreams, etc.) without practical instructions (pp. 10–21).

- The second firmament is full of clouds and gloom. The angels of the firmament are standing on twelve steps (*daraġa*). They can disturb the plans of men, change their opinions, corrupt their hearts, interfere in wars, etc. (pp. 21–33).
- The third firmament is full of thunder and lightning. Three chief angels are sitting on thrones, each one of them having his servants (pp. 34–36).
- The fourth firmament is full of wind. Its angels can move quickly in every direction. There are seven rivers of fire and water. Angels stand over the rivers. Some of them are made of fire, they are on duty during the day. Some others are made of ice, they serve during the night (pp. 37–39).
- In the fifth firmament twelve chief angels are sitting facing the four cardinal points: they correspond to the twelve months of the four seasons (pp. 40–41).
- In the sixth firmament there are two chief angels leading two armies of angels, corresponding to East and West. Both chiefs have more than twenty officers over their armies; the names of these are listed (pp. 41–44).
- The seventh firmament is full of light. The Throne of God stands there carried by four spirits of angels made of light, having the form of man, lion, bull and eagle. There are other angels in this firmament whose light is shining and whose glance is like flash. Each angel has six wings: with two they fly, with two they cover their faces and with two they cover their feet. The angels praise God: “Holy Holy Holy is the Lord of Hosts. The whole world is full of His glory” (Jes. 6:3) This doxology is quoted twice in the text. The first (“*qaddūs qaddūs qaddūs YHWH šābāwūt*” p. 46) can be regarded either as an Arabic translation (*qaddūs* = “holy” in Arabic), employing the Hebrew term YHWH *šābāwūt* (Lord of Hosts), which is widely used in Arabic magical texts. Or else, it can be regarded as a Hebrew quotation (*qadoš qadoš qadoš YHWH tzewaot*) transliterated in Arabic characters. The second occurrence of the doxology (“*qaddūs qaddūs qaddūs ar-rabb aš-šabāwut, Allāh rabb al-ġuyūs*”, p. 48) omits the Tetragrammaton and translates the Hebrew phrase meaning “Lord of Hosts” into Arabic.

The doxologies are followed by two lists of God’s name. The first list (pp. 48–55) contains mostly attributes of God, while the second (pp. 55–57) is a list of *nomina barbara*, although some of the names can be explained as Hebrew words. In this point the Arabic recension differs radically from the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim*, which after the doxologies does not enumerate any names of God, not even attributes or adjectives.

p. 48, ll. 2–11

قدوس قدوس قدوس الرب
 الصباوت الله رب الجيوش ملوا جميع
 الارض جلاله هذه اسماء القادر الواحد
 الخالق العزيز الهيوب ذو الجلال الحي
 القيوم فاعل العجايب هو هو القادر الازلي
 انت وحدك لا شريك لك
 ولا راد لامرك فخرك وسلطانك
 الي الدهر والابد
 هذا اسماً الله العزيز
 ايوم يهوه حج ادون عزوز ال

Translation

Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord of Hosts, God, the Lord of the legions, the whole world is full of his glory. These are the names of the Omnipotent, the Only One, The Creator, the Mighty, the Fearful, the Glorious, the Living, the Existent, Maker of Wonders, He, He, the Omnipotent, the Eternal, You are the only one, there is no one besides You, and no one who could resist Your command, pride and power, forever, eternally.

These are the names of the Mighty God:

'YWM [Heb.: *ayom* = terrible] YHWH ḤḤ ADWN [Heb.: *adon* = lord] 'ZWZ 'L
 [Heb.: *el* = God] ...

The two lists of divine names occupy ten pages. A great number of the *nomina barbara* have discernible Hebrew origin (*adir* = powerful, *elohim* = God, *šadday* = mighty, *ehye* = I am [who I am], *rišon* = first, *aḥaron* = last, *eḥad* = one, *ṭahor* = pure, *ḥazaq* = strong, *šofeṭ* = judge, *meleḵ* = king, *ḥanun* = merciful, *raḥum* = compassionate, *qadoš* = holy, *qarov* = near, *raḥoq* = far, *neeman* = reliable, *emet* = truth, *tzadiq* = true, *ḥasid* = righteous). Most of these of course appear in the text in a corrupted form.

Conclusion of the Theoretic Part

The names are followed by the Koranic verse 3:173, and by general instructions concerning the use of the book (pp. 57–60). The endnote states that the „first book of the [Book] of Secrets, which is called the Book of Hidden Things” was concluded (p. 60). After the endnote there is a short magical recipe listing „useful names” and instructions concerning preparing an amulet with them (p. 61).

I.2. Practical Part: magical recipes connected to the angels of the seven firmaments

The text starts with an introductory formula “In the Name of God, the Creator, the Living, the Provider, the Eternal” (p. 62), which is followed by the enumeration of the virtues of the book and the necessary conditions for its use. Then it briefly repeats that the book was revealed to Ādam by the angel Ǫaryayīl,¹² and that it was passed on from generation to generation. Afterwards, it proceeds to explain that the magical procedures should be carried out by determining what one wishes to modify giving its coordinates in time and space, by enunciating the names of the angels of the specific year, season, month, day, hour, direction, sea or mainland, etc.

Names (pp. 71-107)

This part of the text does not form part of the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Razim*, its origin is again in *Raziel ha-Malak*, fols. 3b-6b.

- angels of the seasons
- names of the Sun, the Moon, the Sky, the Earth and the Sea in the four seasons
- angels of the twelve months and their servants
- angels of the days and the hours
- angels of the planets

Magical recipes (pp. 108–153)

Most of the recipes are taken from *Sefer ha-Razim*, and they are presented more or less in the order of the firmaments. In *Sefer ha-Razim* the description of each firmament is followed by the recipes connected to it; in *Sifr Ādam* the descriptive and the practical parts are separated. 21 recipes are listed. The first recipe, however, is taken from the beginning of *Raziel ha-Malak*, where it appears directly after Raziel’s descent to Adam.

- conjuring up an angel who can be asked about anything (pp. 105–108). Parallel to *Raziel ha-Malak*, fol. 3a.
- seeing what is hidden
- understanding dreams
- destruction of buildings, armies, ways, walls, boats, chariots
- conjuration of the souls of the dead
- frustrating hostile plans
- curing leprosy, paralysis
- keeping away beasts

¹² The name appears here in a corrupt form.

- preventing the rise and flood of waters
- against injuries caused by sword, arrow
- consolidation of the ruler's power
- horserace
- talking with the Sun
- seeing the Sun during the night
- talking with the four *arwāḥ* (winds, directions, seasons)
- curing illnesses
- divination
- curing illness
- knowing in which month you will die
- making oneself invisible for one's enemies
- curing madness

I.3. A link between The Book of Secrets (Sefer ha-Razim) and The Sword of God (Ḥarba de-Moše), two main sources of The Book of Ādam (Sifr Ādam)

The last recipe is concluded with some “blessed names” (*asmā' mubāraka*) which in fact constitute a coherent, although corrupted Hebrew text, starting with passages of Deut. 32:3–4: “For I will proclaim the name of YHWH” (*kī šem YHWH eqra...*).

In my opinion, it is significant that the text inserted between the Arabic recensions of The Book of Secrets and The Sword of Moses begins with Deut. 32, which is the so-called “Song of Moses” that mentions several times the “sword of God” and the “hand of God”, although in the present corrupted Arabic transliteration of the Hebrew text these words cannot be discerned.

The section that comes straight after the corrupted Hebrew text is the Arabic version of the Jewish magical book “The Sword of Moses”, which is in the Arabic recension is entitled “The Sword of God” and “The Hand of God” alternatively.

The corrupt Hebrew text starting with the Song of Moses can be found also in MS 1973, but in a different place. It is not inserted between the Arabic versions of *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Ḥarba de-Moše*, like in MS 2014, but appears in the second part of the Sword, in one of the magical recipes. Fodor made a tentative reconstruction of the whole text, identified its possible sources, and translated it into English (Fodor 2011:364–367). He also mentioned that this text cannot be found in the published versions of “The Sword of Moses”.¹³

¹³ *The Sword of Moses* was published and translated by Gaster 1925–28 and Harari 1997 and 2012.

Second Part corresponding mainly to *Ḥarba de-Mošē*

II.1 The Sword of God

This part of the manuscript is largely based on “The Sword of Moses” (*Ḥarba de-Mošē*), another major Jewish source of *Sifr Ādam*. The text of the Sword occupies almost half of MS 2014 (pp. 154–263). The Arabic recension differs in some respects from the original *Sword of Moses*: references to Israel, Moses, ‘*Amida*’ prayer, etc. are omitted, and the major parts of the text are structured differently. *The Sword of Moses* begins with describing the hierarchy of angels in the heaven, starting with the four angels appointed over the Sword; the Arabic version begins with some 225 names.

As has been mentioned before, in MS 1973 the Sword is inserted in the description of the seventh firmament occupied by the Throne of God, thus converting the most sacred firmament to the most magical one. As discussed by Fodor (2011:343), the Jewish *Sefer ha-Razim* did not associate angelic names and magical devices to the seventh firmament, possibly because according to the Jewish redactor the highest level of divinity is above that. Therefore in the Jewish text the intensity of magical elements decreases gradually in each firmament, disappearing completely in the seventh one. However, as Fodor explained, the redactor of the Arabic text felt uncomfortable with leaving the seventh firmament devoid of magical elements, and therefore he inserted precisely there the text of the Sword, thus endowing it with the most extensive magical power. This section of MS 1973 starts as follows: “Description of the Seventh Firmament. And it concerns the Sword of God and his Hand. And these are the Holy, Great Names which have the influences and the power and are known as the Sword of God” (Fodor 2011:344). See Fig. 2.

In MS 2014, however, the situation is different. Here the Sword is not associated with the seventh firmament, but is considered a totally new section of the book, which begins after concluding the description of the firmaments. The Sword constitutes the Second Part of the book, with its own introductory formula and a title (MS 2014, p. 154. See Fig. 3).

Names (pp. 154–160)

After the introductory formula: “In the name of God, the Living, the Creator, the Provider, the Eternal”, comes the title: “These are the blessed, mighty and holy names that have influence and power, and that are known as the Sword of God”. The list of names that follows is considered the Sword: “And this is the Sword: QWYWĠKLY, QWRYW, YTWLY, etc.” This list cannot be found in the Jewish version of the *Sword*. The list is followed by the conditions for using the names (pp. 160–161).

Magical Recipes (pp. 161–180)

- predicting success or failure of an act
- necromancy
- making someone incapable to move
- crossing the water on dry ground
- making a tree to produce fruits
- adjuring spirits
- if the hour of your death arrived and you don't want to die
- walking on fire
- shortening the way by rolling the earth
- adjuring spirits (different version)

These ten recipes are followed by an eleventh, which is in fact a reminiscence of the first sentences of the *Sword of Moses* about the four angels appointed over the sword. The recipe is patterned on the “if you want to do this-and-this” style, like the preceding ones: “If you want to be elevated to the highest and noblest rank [...] then know the names of the four angels...” (p. 174). The four names are identical with the guardians of the Sword in the first lines of *The Sword of Moses*, and the continuation of the text runs more or less parallel to the Jewish original of the *Sword*.

*II.2. The Hand of God (pp. 181–260)**Prayer and Names (pp. 181–201)*

The Hand of God is the title of a prayer, which according to the text is inseparable from the Sword: “there is no sword without a hand, and there is no hand without having a sword in it” (*wa-lā sayf illā bi-l-yad wa-lā yad illā bi-s-sayf*) (p. 181). The prayer in fact refers repeatedly to the Sword, and not to the Hand: “I ask you and implore you by means of these mighty names that you fulfil my wishes and reveal to me the sword that I may use it...” (p. 183); “...reveal me this sword and disclose me its secrets” (p. 186), etc. In MS 1973 the whole “Sword of God” is called at the same time “Hand of God”: “Description of the seventh firmament. And it concerns the Sword of God and His Hand. And these are the Holy, Great Names which have the influences and the power and are known as the Sword of God” (Fodor 2011:344).

In the original *Sword of Moses* the prayer is evidently part of the Sword, or more exactly, the essence of it. It is a prayer God taught to mankind: “If anyone is desirous of using this ‘Sword’ [...] then speak to Me [God] in the following manner, read before Me this and that, and conjure in such and such a wise, and I will instantly be prevailed upon and be well disposed towards you, and I will give you authority over this Sword...” (translation of Gaster 1925–28a:313–314). This part is omitted from the Arabic version, but the continuation of the

text, that is, the prayer itself starts identically and runs parallel in the Arabic and Jewish texts.

Magical Recipes (pp. 201–260)

Again the “theoretical” part (names and prayer) is followed by a practical part, entitled “Explication of the names in the Sword” (*Tafsīr asmā’ as-sayf*), which is in fact a list of magical recipes, most of them taken from the Jewish *Sword of Moses*. MS 2014 is undoubtedly more complete, since according to Fodor (2011: 347), MS 1973 contains only 12 recipes, while MS 2014 has some 80 recipes. The recipes operate with reciting or transcribing determined sections of the names the Sword is composed of. The recipes are of two major kinds:

- magical recipes for healing muteness, deafness, madness, pain of the eye, headache, earache, itch, pharyngitis, injuries, pain of the heart, bite of scorpion, incontinence, miscarriage, baldness, etc.
- magical recipes introduced by the phrase “if you want to do this-and-this” (*iḏā aradta / man arāda*): to stop raining; to make the heat of the Sun stronger; to enter a burning furnace without being burnt; to make people obey you; to make fish gather around you; to make someone follow you; to know whether you will succeed or not; to destroy your enemies; to make someone to see something in his dream; to frighten away animals or snakes; to withhold a crocodile; to make the dead speak to you; to kill a wild beast; to kill a lion; to open a lock; to make your enemy sick; to protect your house against thieves; to protect yourself against jinns and satans, etc.

Similarly to the Jewish text, this section is closed in the Arabic version as well with warnings against using the book in impure state: the angels of anger and wrath fall upon him who misuses the book.

Conclusion: Dismissal of the angels (pp. 260–263)

The whole composition of the *Sifr Ādam* is concluded with saying farewell to the angels of all the seven firmaments, specifying them this time by mentioning only their functions or characteristics: “Peace be with your servants and angels [...] in the form of beast, lion, eagle, and in the form of men and beast, peace be with the angels of day and night, hours and times, months and years [...] peace be with your angels in the seven firmaments and the seven encampments and the twelve steps,¹⁴ peace be upon the rest of the spirits in the four cardinal points,

¹⁴ The text has برجا, not درجة (“signs of the zodiac”, and not “steps”) as I translated. I decided to correct the text, since the forms of the two words are easily confoundable, and *daraġa* (step) fit the context more. In the description of the seven firmaments the seven

etc.” (pp. 261–262) The dismissal is completed with naming a hitherto unknown angel (ʾRWBYʾYL) and the angels of the seven days (Mikhael, Gabriel, Rafael, Uriel, Ḥasdyāʾil, ʿAnyāʾl and Samael). The Sword, or angels of the Sword are not mentioned.

The Dismissal of the Angels can be found in both MS 1973 and MS 2014 with slight differences, while it is missing from the Jewish sources, both from the *Sword of Moses* and the *Sefer ha-Razim*. Fodor considered it as a conclusion of the Sword, since he wrote: “The Arabic text of the “Sword” ends with these lines” (Fodor 2011:367); “This closing passage is totally different from the end of the edited versions of the *Harba*” (Fodor 2011:369). He also went to great lengths explaining why the Cherubs having the faces of eagle, lion, bull and man, “which have not been mentioned earlier” (Fodor 2011:367), appear here. However, the Cherubs were mentioned before, although not in the Sword, but in the description of the Seventh Firmament in the first part of the book (which is based on *Sefer ha-Razim*). In fact the whole Dismissal section mentions exclusively themes treated in the first part of the book, and does not make reference to the Sword or to its angels at all. Therefore, in my opinion it can be regarded as the conclusion of the Arabic redaction of the *Sefer ha-Razim*, which, however, was moved to the end of the whole *Sifr Ādam*, when it was compiled from its different sources. This is all the more obvious since the last lines of the Dismissal (and the whole manuscript) of MS 1973 explicitly states: “The Book of Secrets ended” (*Tamma sifr al-ḥafāyā*) (Fodor 2011:368–369), *Sifr al-ḥafāyā* being the Arabic name of *Sefer ha-Razim*. This sentence is missing from MS 2014, possibly because in the present structure the Dismissal is the end of the whole *Sifr Ādam*, and not to its first part.

The title of the book, conclusions

As it is obvious from the preceding discussion, the Arabic *Sifr Ādam* resulted from a process of editing. The Jewish sources were not merely collected in one work, but were divided in parts according to their literary genre and then they

encampments of the first firmament are followed by the twelve steps of the second firmament, later the four directions of the fifth firmament, while the signs of the zodiac are not mentioned at all in the book. The fact that *daraġa* has feminine gender while *burġ* masculine, hence the numeral 12 should be agreed differently for both is indifferent since rules of grammatical agreement are usually disregarded in MS 2014. When mentioned in the first part of the book, the 12 steps were agreed as if the word *daraġa* was masculine (and the numeral was in oblique case instead of Nominative required by the sentence): *fī ḥāḍiḥi s-samāʾi iṭnay ʿašara daraġa*. (MS 2014, p. 22) MS 1973 has *burġ*, a sign of the zodiac, too, but that can be indicative of the possibility that both manuscript belong to the same textual branch.

were reorganized in a completely new structure. The differences between the two Arabic versions show that the process of editing had not been completed when the manuscripts were copied, hence the minor structural divergences of the texts.

In my opinion, the title of the Arabic work originates in an alternative title of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ*. In the first printed edition of *Raziel ha-Malaḳ* (Amsterdam, 1701) the title page contains a title composed of two parts, the first in Aramaic and the second in Hebrew: “*Ze sifra de-Adam qadma* [Aramaic] *še-natan lo Raziel ha-malaḳ* [Hebrew]”. (“This is the book of Adam, the first man, which was given to him by the angel Raziel.”) The language shift is possibly indicative of two alternative titles the Jewish work had. The Arabic speaking editor (whether Copt or Muslim) chose the first part as the title of the whole composition, called now *Sifr Ādam*.

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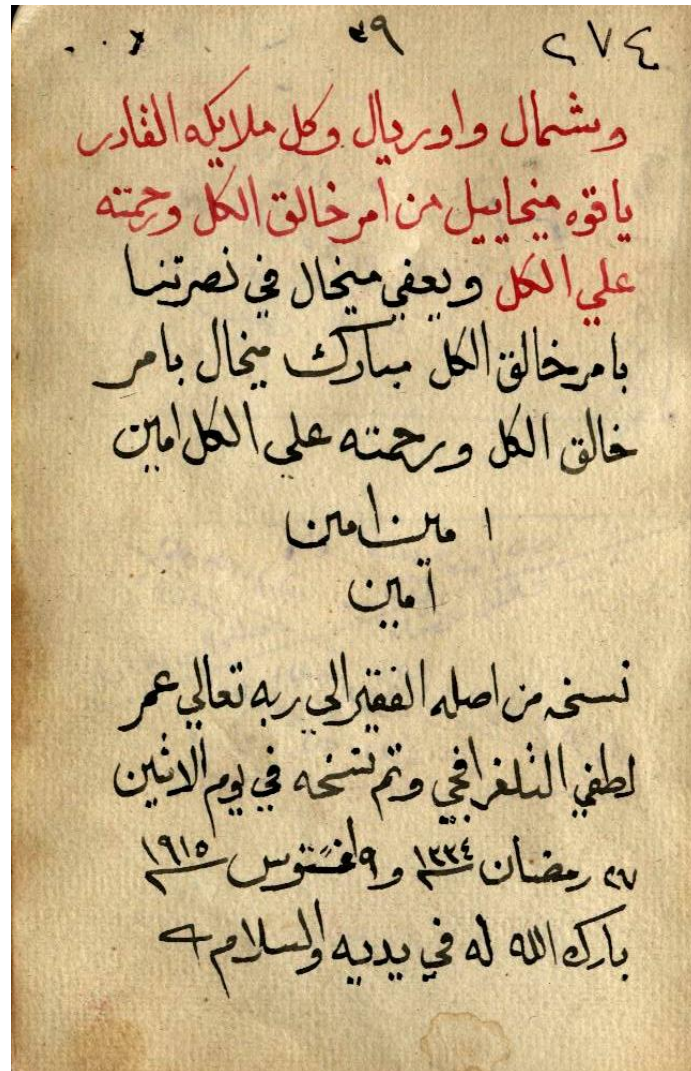


Fig. 1: Colophon of MS 2014, p. 263 (the handwritten page numbers on the top are incoherent and erroneous).

١٠١٦٢ صفحہ آدم
 ان تمضوا في هوي فكم بدم واحيل
 الخاتم في اصبعه . . . تم . . .
 . . . صفة السبا السابعة . . .
 وهي لسيف الله ويره وهذه الرسا
 العظيمة المقدسة التي لا الثاثيرات
 والقوه المعروفة سيف الله طوبى للرجل
 الذي تكون في صدره ويحفظها بقلب نفي
 وجسم طاهر فانه يرتفع درجه من
 اجناسه الارمين ويصل الى مطلوباته
 وينال الدنيا الحسنه والارضه الصالحه
 وهو هذا السيف المذكور . . .
 غويو: على . غويو: بنوي . فريطان .

Fig. 2: The beginning of the *Sword* in MS 1973, p. 162.

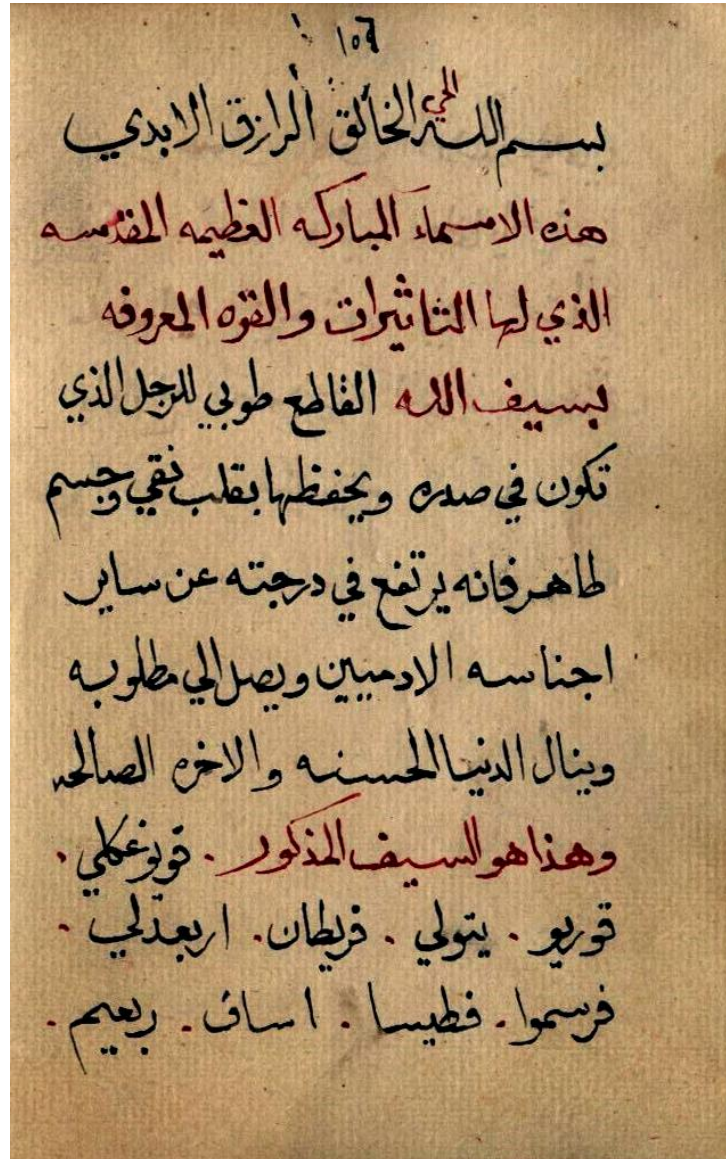


Fig. 3: The beginning of the *Sword* in MS 2014, p. 154 (the handwritten pagination is erroneous).