

# African Metaphysics and Theocracy: A Case Study of Theocratic Politics in Ogba Land, Rivers State, Nigeria

Uche A. Dike

Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Nigeria  
Email: [ucheuad@yahoo.com](mailto:ucheuad@yahoo.com)

Received September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2012; revised October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012; accepted October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2012

The modus operandi of this paper is centered on governance and the metaphysical forces in Ogba Land. In other words the main focus of the article is that theocracy is concomitant with Ogba metaphysics. The salient points discussed include Maduabuchi Dukor's reflection on African cosmic environment as posited in Dukor's four great works on African philosophy. Others include Jewish theocratic tradition, Islamic theocratic tradition and Ogba theocracy and metaphysics in the light of Dukor's philosophy. The researcher adopted the literature approach to achieve the aforementioned objectives.

*Keywords:* Metaphysics; Ogbaland; Africa; Theocracy

## Introduction

Democratic principles were widespread in Ogba traditional political systems. Kingships, where they existed embodied also democratic ideals. Such an overbearing democratic attitude prevented the development of full-blown monarchies and theocracies. This allowed the apparent harmonious co-existence of forms of republicanism, monarchism and theocracy and democracy. The development of theocracy or even the mere presence of theocratic impulses is explained by the presence of dominant religious fervor in the Ogba traditional society and the Oba Sacred Kingship represented the highest developed democratic theocracy. The comparative analysis made in this chapter is intended to expose to what extent the development of theocracy was realized among the Ogbas. The choice of the Jewish and the Islamic traditions as normative is based on the fact that the two have been among the most elaborate traditions and have had tremendous influences on world history. Even today the theocratic ideology is a strong force in the international forum as well as in several national political discussions. This paper goes beyond the mere appreciation of the complexity of the Ogba political tradition of multi-systems seen to exist sometimes in comfortable opposition. But while proposals for the revival and development of the Ogba theocratic structures and principles are not envisaged, the study nevertheless, strongly suggests that its particular insight could be of assistance in confronting the present Ogba political predicament.

## Maduabuchi Dukor's Reflection on African Cosmic Environment

Here I want to briefly recall the thought of the above eminent philosopher on Africa cosmic world particularly that of the Ogba people. An understanding of it is of immense importance to the readers of my paper. The African theocratic King or the Oba of Ogba Land Dukor (2010: p. 104) has stated is the traditional paramount authority, he is the central and Supreme authority because in the Ogba people cosmological hierarchy of forces the Oba of Ogba land is the nearest to the ancestors. On

that note the Oba of Ogba land is the living intermediary between the sacred and the profane world. It follows as a corollary that any pronouncement from the Oba is supported and backed by the spiritual authorities.

One of the most important issues in Ogba theocracy Dukor (2010: p. 2) has informed us is the overriding role of ethics. Ethical and social conception of justice is concomitant with Ogba people theocracy. That is, to say that, the Ogba must obey the ethical laws of the land if further civilization is desired on the land. For Dukor (2010: p. 24) everything has a spiritual cause. Hence all physical and metaphysical laws have their offshoots from the spirit world. The Ogbas are religious, in every day affairs, be it economic or political they permeate the thought of God and yearn to commune with him. One of these thoughts (Dukor, 2010; also see Dukor, 2009) is the Ogba concept of polymonotheism which dominates African or Ogba belief in the Supreme Being and the lesser gods, who were created by the same Supreme Being. This is why Ogba religion could be said to be polymonotheism (Supreme Being in diversity). The Ogba people religion or her theocratic government could also be said to be "theistic panpsychic" because according to Dukor the Ogbas personify nature in form of gods or spirits. These forces as we are going to see pervade Ogba theocratic government.

## What Is Theocracy

Theocracy is a term invented by the Hellenistic Jew Josephus Flavius (against Apion 2: p. 16) to describe the Hebrew political system by which God is acknowledged as ruler over Israel. It is therefore understood as a political organization in which God himself is recognized as head of state. Such government or state is believed to be under the immediate direction of God. Generally, the divine will is mediated through some charismatic or constituted leadership, or through an authoritative priesthood by which the system becomes a hierocracy. This was the case in the hierocratic government set up in Israel after the exile when the monarchy had disappeared. The theocratic form of government existed among many ancient peoples. In Mesopotamia it

was accepted that “Kingship was a divine institution and that it came down from heaven (Mackenzie, 1976: p. 475). In Sumeria, the god ruled the city through his viceroy, the *ensi*. The city itself was regarded as a temple community and as the estate of the god of the city (*Ibid*). Babylonian dynasty was believed to have come down from heaven at the beginning (Von Rad, 1975: p. 308). In Egypt the idea of divine choice was carried to extremes. This tradition affirmed the divinity of the king because he was the son of Re and Osiris. As Mackenzie (1976: p. 475) pointed out, “The divine power of kingship reached the Egyptian state directly through the person of the monarch. Hence the King was not a cultic officer but an object of cult”. The king was physically begotten by deity and was therefore the incarnation of the deity. The Pharaoh without any qualification was called “god” or “the good god” for he is the son of Re the creator god (De Vaux, 1961: p. 101).

The history of Christianity reveals quite a widespread theocratic impulses, ideas and indeed situations that were in essence theocratic. The influential church of the Middle Ages embodied the theme conspicuously. The papal title of *Vacarius filii dei* or the papal right of *ex cathedra* pronouncements which were considered as proper mediations of divine will is clear examples. Medieval heresies reacting against orthodox teachings often entertained theocratic ideals that were given expressions in millennial overtones. The theocratic idea even gained prominence when the Pope possessed also territorial sovereignty as was the case before the Italian unification in the 19th century.

In British protestant traditions and also in American religious history, theocratic loyalties are known to have flourished (of Braner S. V. theocracy). In modern times and outside Christianity, theocratic ideas have been conspicuously exemplified in Tibetan Lamaism and in Islam. While some forms of theocracy have become extinct, others have survived to the present and even with reinforced intensity such that the subject dominates any discussion in modern political theology. While theocratic formulations may have varied in time and among people, a common affirmation—the rulership of some deity pervasion of other sectors of culture is obtained theocracy all the more flourishes.

### Jewish Theocratic Tradition

Pre-monarchical Israel already was possessed by the theocratic vision. It saw itself as a people chosen by God. As Eichrodt (1961: p. 225) said, “God as king of Israel is not an idea born during the period the monarchy ... but on the contrary, is one of the most genuine and most ancient doctrines in Israel. In the period of the judges the tribes resisted an early kingship because of the prevailing belief that God is the real king of Israel and that the proclamation of an earthly king would constitute betrayal”. The God-centred origin of Israel, her dependence on Him for the realization of her identity is the essential basis of God’s rule. Therefore “Jehovah was the supreme ruler of the Hebrews whose laws constituted at the same time religious and civil obligations” (Peters, 2012: p. 15). At this period God’s rule was accomplished through the patriarchs, through charismatic people, such as Moses and the judges, through the pentateuchal legislation and through the priesthood institution. These were persons or institutions whose actions were considered inspired and mediations of the divine will.

Israel’s monarchical institution was truly theocratic in spite

of opposed currents in favour or against its institution. As De Vaux (1961: p. 99) pointed out, “Israel is Yahweh’s people and has no other master but him. That is why from the beginning to the end of its history Israel remained a religious community”. Digressions by individual kings notwithstanding, Israel’s monarchy remained essentially theocratic. Kings were regarded as God’s vicegerents. The king was an adopted son of God. He is not God’s son as in the sense the Pharaoh is the son of Re. If the king is God’s son *per adoptionem* it only means that “he is commissioned to rule by God himself, he governs with perfect justice and wisdom, he is the great benefactor and shepherd of his people which flourishes under his rule; yes, even the natural fertility of man, beast, and field increase through the blissful effort of this rule” (Von Rad, 1975: p. 41). Israel’s faith in Yahweh was that of a personal and transcendent God, making impossible the conception of the king as god. The making of a king in Israel was not mythically accomplished but by process of an historical legal act, “in view of which the king was summoned into a quite special relationship vis-à-vis Yahweh” (Von Rad, 1975: p. 320). He owes his election to God’s grace proclaimed through a prophetic oracle. The king just as the judges was a charismatic person, this means that he was endowed with the spirit of Yahweh. He fulfilled his mission by the impulses of Yahweh. Through anointing he was ritually conferred with the spirit and by this very rite the king was made a sacred person. Anointing conferred grace—the spirit of God took hold of Saul after he was anointed (1 Samuel 10: 10). The king a consecrated person, shares in the holiness of God, he is inviolable and this is why David refused to kill Saul because he is Yahweh’s anointed (1 Samuel 26: 9). The election of the king was purely Yahweh’s initiative. The case of David is a clear example (2 Samuel 16) which recounts the election of David as king over all Israel. His legitimating as a ruler commissioned by God was affected at the coronation ceremony in the sanctuary where he receives the royal protocol which contains the mandate to rule as given by the deity, as well as a new throne name (of Von Rad, 1975: p. 319). The king exercised authority as Yahweh’s viceroy. Von Rad (1975: p. 320) has pointed out that “the supreme privilege was that of ruling in God’s stead ... if the anointed is the son, then he is also the heir; and Yahweh makes over the nations to him as a heritage. The king in Zion is thus the mandatory of Yahweh himself ... The anointed sits as viceroy side by side with Yahweh himself: he does not sit upon his own throne but upon that of Yahweh”. The king does not act alone in his official duties. He does so in the presence of Yahweh and with his help.

In foreign politics the office of the anointed was a military one; he goes into battle against the foes of his people, battle for which Yahweh himself girds him (Ps, 18: 40), and with Yahweh’s help he vanquishes and destroys every enemy. In internal affairs he acts as the guardian and guarantor of law and justice. The presupposition of this is his own relationship to Yahweh—he knows himself to be completely subordinated to Yahweh’s will ... he is in a right relationship with God... (Von Rad, 1975: p. 322).

### Islamic Theocratic Tradition

Theocracy has remained essentially the Islamic tradition of politics. It seems very natural to it. The fundamental dogmas in Islam affirm it and uphold it. Theocracy has therefore, received

outstanding emphasis in the social and theological configurations of Islam. Islamic empires and nations have in the main the same tales of theocratic loyalties. The revelation granted Muhammad inter alia, is the affirmation of God who is creator and judge. From nothing, he created the universe and man and He will summon humanity before Him at the last day in order to judge them with perfect justice. He is sustainer of all creation and nothing else and nobody else is to be worshipped beside Him. Khrished (1976: p. 37) thus explained the nature of Islam:

Islam is not a religion in the common, distorted meaning of the word, confining itself to the private life of man. It is a complete way of life, catering for all the fields of human existence. Islam provides guidance for all walks of life—individual and social, material and moral, economic and political, legal and cultural, national and international.

The famous *Shahada* or profession of faith states: “There is but one God and Muhammed is the apostle of God”. Muhammed made no claims to divinity, nor have several miracles posthumously attributed to him changed the view for most adherents. He is the prophet of Allah and is such a messenger that to obey him meant to obey Allah (Schimmel, 1971: p. 133). The fundamental concept in the structure of the Islamic community is faith and not kin-ship or tribal affinities. With this basic ecclesiological principle Muhammed moulded “the different groups in Madina into a single community of faith, no longer clinging to the inherited Arab ideals of tribal honour but declaring Allah, the one God, the real ruler of His community (*Umma*) and himself as the organ of His Supreme Will”. (Schimmel, 1971: p. 129). This is the theocratic essence in Islam. God rules his community, indeed his family equals and he does so through Muhammed who mediates His divine will.

The five pillars of Islam, namely, *Shahada* or the affirmation of the faith, the *Zakat* or obligatory alms tax, *salat* or the five daily prayers, the month of fasting—*Ramadam*—and the annual pilgrimage to Mecca known as the *Haj* were effective instruments which Muhammed employed “to hold together his community of simple and often rather savage Bedouins” (Jansen, 1976: p. 21). The Koran is central in Islam. It is the word of God spoken to Muhammed by Gabriel, the angel of God. Popular tradition maintains that “the book is not a new creation but exists in archetype in heaven; fixed in the very essence of God and delivered piecemeal to the prophet” (Horden, 1963: p. 343). Rubman (1966: p. 33) has thus described the conception of the divine quality of the Koran. “The Koran is purely divine ... Divine Word ... equally intimately related to the inmost personality of the prophet’s heart ... but Muhammed was not himself divine, wholly or partly”. The centrality of the Koran is evidenced in the fact that “both the inner values of life personal piety and the external rules of behaviour—socio-political questions, legal decisions are regulated essentially by the same God—given laws which have been revealed in the Quran” (Schimmel, 1971: p. 126).

When a solution to a problem is not found in the Koran, the prophet’s example becomes normative and there has arisen several traditions (*hadith*) of his customary behaviour. Islamic jurisprudence, the sharia is a detailed articulation of God’s injunctions taken from the Koran and tradition and covering the areas of ritual, cult, politics, social relations and legal precepts. The Sharia is a prominent organ in the realization of Islamic theocracy. Since the Islamic community is under the direct

supervision of Allah, the existence of other divinely authorized institutions within the community is not provided. The learned Ulama who are interpreters of divine teaching are laymen. Orthodox Islam does not in any way envisage a hierocracy. Rather, as Horden (1963: p. 360) has pointed out, “in place of sacerdotal hierarchy, orthodox Islam has ever looked to the political sovereign for the direction of Moslem affairs, not excluding impositions of sanctions for breach of koranic precepts and interpreting these precepts by civil decree”.

In Iran for example where the Ulama has assumed clergy status and become a ruling class, they have tended to experiment on extreme theocratic forms. Extracts from Khomeni’s book, *Islamic Government*, a collection of lectures given in Iraq in 1970 reveal the tendency.

In our day ... the government, authority and management over the people, as well as the collection and expenditure of revenues has been entrusted to the religious experts. God will punish anyone who disputes their authority.

Government in Islam ... is constitutional ... in the sense that those in power are bound by a group of conditions and principles made clear in the Koran and by the example of the Prophet Muhammed ... thus Islamic government is a government of divine law ... the actual authority to legislate belongs exclusively to God.

Since Islamic government is a government of law, it is the religious expert and no one else who should occupy himself with the affairs of government. It is he who should function in all these areas in which the prophet functioned ... There is no room for opinions or feelings in the system of Islamic Government: rather the prophet and the Imams and the people all follows the wish of God and his laws (Laffin, 1979: p. 162).

In a comparison of Islamic and Western democracies Mawdudi (Laffin, 1979: p. 91) thereby offers the synopsis of the Islamic theocratic principles. What distinguishes Islamic democracy from Western democracy is that while the latter is based on the concept of popular sovereignty the former rests on the principle of popular Khalifa (leadership). In Western democracy, the people are sovereign, in Islam sovereignty is vested in God and the people are His caliphs or representatives. In the former the people make their own laws; in the latter they have to follow and obey the laws given by God through His prophet. In one the government undertakes to fulfil the will of the people; in the other the government and the people who form it have all to fulfil the purpose of God ... Islamic democracy is subservient to the Divine law and exercises its authority in accordance with the injunction of God and within the limits prescribed by Him.

Whether, indeed, Islam of such qualifications merits the democratic attribute may remain a matter of relative interpretation. What is worthy of note is the affirmation of the theocratic principles which the comparison very poignantly expresses. Islamic theocratic tradition centralizes the Koran and the Prophet Muhammed and from the two are derived the legislations and all the necessary injunctions by which the divine purpose of rulership is realized.

### Ogba Theocracy and Metaphysics

If anything the Ogba traditional political systems are essentially democratic with the segmentary lineage as the basic prin-

ciple of socio-political organization in all the variations. Even where title system, secret societies, kingships both secular and sacred obtained, the basic principles of lineage representations and consensus remained. The tradition of politics incorporates the Supreme Being, the ancestors and the deities in her system of governance (Dukor, 2010: pp. 103-104), thus the metaphysical principles or laws of these sacred beings must be strictly obeyed, hence there is no compartmentalization between Ogba theocracy and the metaphysical world. The lineage system is the Onuobudo. The system encourages political dialogue, equality, communalism, and egalitarianism at all levels of lineage-segments, while title-holding encourages individualism and gives prestige and a considerable amount of political and ritual power and authority to the holder." Given such democratic arrangement, it was most unlikely that theocratic ideas would find a place in the world of Ogba political conceptualizations. However, a closer examination reveals quite a good spread of underlying theocratic impulses within the system. By theocratic impulses we refer to implicit or explicit tensions within the political system arising from conscious or unconscious inclinations to make affirmations in favour of the theocratic paradigm. As we did in our preceding discussions on Jewish and Islamic traditions we shall seek to identify these impulses in the area of institutions of political authority, concept of community and injunctions.

The institutions of political authority deriving from the Onuobudo organization are the council of representative elders. Its political authority is religiously legitimated by the fact that elders are channels of communication between the ancestors, deities and the living members of the community. The moral code which originates from the earth goddess *Ala* is given to ancestors to deliver to the living members of the community through the elders. The function of safeguarding and interpreting this code to which compliance was reciprocated with security, progress and prosperity of the community falls on the elders. That this political organ is legitimated by the deity in the custodial and interpretative functions of the elders is already a theocratic setting. The theocratic view is more intensively reflected in the Ogba kingship institutions. In the instances of kingship institutions' numerous taboos shield the king from human defilement. In the case of Oba sacred kingship, the number of taboos reached exaggerated proportions.

At his coronation, the king is officially charged: "Rule your people well ... so that peace, health, prosperity, wisdom-truth ... justice ... may prevail in your town and in your kingdom" (John, 2011: p. 12). The emphasis on the high quality leadership expected of Eze Ogba or the Oba is made on the grounds that he has been ritually transformed into a spirit that partakes of the supernatural realm. His sacredness brings him close to the deity and ancestors and all the more he would discharge his authority perfectly. The ritual elevation apparently points to an expectation of the perfect rule of Chukwu or the other deities. Quite unlike the Jewish concept of the chosen people of Yahweh and in Islam where faith constitutes the basis of community, the Ogba idea of community consists of the living, the dead and the yet unborn. As Fortes (1965: p. 24) therefore explained "the ancestor ... is ... an "organic member of the community of the living, he is one of the links in the chain". The people are only the physical members of the community and they are spiritually and morally in intimate and active union with the ancestors. The union is so vital that severance of any part would result into crisis and disharmony. The

union fosters a theocratic tension since the aura of the ancestors exerts a dominant presence of the supernatural and the sacred. The theocratic impulse reflects in the body of sacred tradition which is the source of Ogba jurisprudence. The moral, social, cultic, traditional political laws are sacred because it has the gods of the land as author. The ruler and the ruled in Ogba society must abide by the laws. In most cases contravening the metaphysical laws demands ritual reparation, the metaphysical laws are therefore the divine will to which the people must submit or risk the deity's displeasure. Such is a dominant conception even in the well elaborated theocratic systems, where law is regarded as divine will.

## Conclusion

The semitic-originated theocratic paradigms arising from concrete event or a dramatic revelation have endured to the present in the Jewish and Islamic traditions respectively. While the Arab model has enjoyed conspicuous continuity in its religio-political ebbs and flows, Jewish theocratic tradition has had its dark ages but has risen to monumental heights as Jewish nationhood regained its existence.

The Exodus engendered Jewish theocratic concept. Referring to the event Pinchas Lapide (1987: p. 48) explained: "It was neither Moses nor Aaron who are the heroes of this drama but God..." On this basis, a complex linkage has been fashioned in modern Israel. According to Mazuri (1990: p. 150) the very notion of "returning to Israel, the fanatical commitment to the retention of Jerusalem as the capital, and the choice of the name Israel for a twentieth century nation-state are all symptoms of an underlying merger between biblical nostalgia and Jewish nationalism within the ethos of Zionism". In the centre of world and regional politics, at least the Jewish and Islamic theocratic ideas are very much alive and active. In the attempt to articulate the more or less theocratic forms, we noted the complexity of institutional interactions and interdependence in the Ogba tradition of politics. It is amazing how the traditional mind so ingeniously propelled the humanistic ideas of democracy and "dictatorship" of theocracy such that each made vital contributions according to the needs of the society. Compared to the Jewish and the Islamic, the Ogba theocratic tradition was undominating. As constituent element Ogba tradition of politics, confirms perhaps to an evolutionary trend—the common stage in socio-political and religious development. This may be the pre-humanistic stage, before man through his abilities began to assert his authority in several of human and mundane affairs. To some extent this interpretation may be valid given that existing theocratic systems, especially the undiluted types, engender dangerous tensions in regional and global political orders in modern times.

Perhaps for such reason as the fundamental Ogba democratic culture, even where theocratic forms achieved significant height in articulation, none of its elements became a system that claimed an overall acceptability. Otherwise, a more politically unified society organized and furthered on dominant theocratic principles could have emerged. Yet what was religious contribution served the model role guiding the many variations of Ogba political organization. It is however recommended that other African tribes should inculturate the good aspects of Ogba theocratic culture. Such inter cultural inculturation would enable African tribes to meet up the cumbersome of modern society.

As Dukor (2010: p. 12) has stated:

Culture is not static but dynamic; there have been emergence of values consequent upon the complexity of modern society. Society that fails to meet up the challenges of modern time would degenerate and asphyxiate in the competitive environment of scientific world order.

Religious and secular acculturation has endangered religion's function in politics of modern Ogba society. The contributions to the value structure arising from the more or less forms of theocracy became marginalized. Some other ethnic groups in Nigeria who are participants in the national politics are fundamentally impelled either by traditional cultural model or by a purely religious one. The Ogbas are essentially guided by ultrademocracy which following many opinions is responsible for individual and sub-group conflicts that have dangerous implications for the tradition of politics in the contemporary Nigerian socio-political context. The question which arises touches on a certain pre-disposition that determines for a people, reactive patterns in the multi-ethnic society. As the influences of religion have been suppressed, a vacuum exists which a guide for the politics of the future must fill. The Hausa-Fulani have the theocratic paradigm, and the Yoruba have the cultural model. For the Ogba two options exist: one may be based on the historical event that made crucial demands on all Ogba, directly or indirectly; the other on the irruption of a certain personality, a leader that commands trust and respect, and who is perceived as a powerful symbol of unity and strength. Both of these could serve without compromising Ogba democratic attitude and they could serve as good as the theocratic or cultural paradigm.

## REFERENCES

- Ah, K. (1976). Islam: Basic principles and characteristics. In K. Ahmad (Ed.), *Islam, its meaning and message*. London: Islamic Council of Europe.
- Botterweik, G. J., & Ringgren, H. (year). *Theological dictionary of the old testament* (Vol. 2). Michigan: William B.E. Erdmans Publishing Company.
- Brauer, J. C. (year). *The Westminster dictionary of church history*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.
- Cross, F. C. (1983). *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian church*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dukor, M. (2010a). *African philosophy in the global village*. Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing AG and Co.
- Dukor, M. (2010b). *Scientific paradigm in African philosophy*. Germany: Lambert Publishing.
- Dukor, M. (2010c). *African freedom: The freedom of philosophy*. Germany: Lambert Publishing.
- Euchrodt, W. (1961) *Theology of the old testament* (Vol. 1). London: SCM Press.
- Fortes, M. (1965). Some Reflections on Ancestor Worship in Africa. In M. Fortes, & G. Dietorlen (Eds.), *African systems of thought*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Guthrie, D. (1981). *New testament theology*. IL: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Hardon, J. A. (1963). *Religions of the world*. Westminister, MD: The Newman Press.
- Henry, C. F. H. (1981). *Baker's dictionary of Christian ethics*. MI: Baker Book House.
- Jansen, G. H. (1979). *Militant Islam*. London: Pan Books.
- John, F. C. (2011). *Religious development and democracy*. London: Clarendo Press.
- Laffin, J. (1979). *The daggers of Islam*. London: Sphere Books.
- Lapide, P. (1987). Exodus in the Jewish tradition. *Concilium*, 189.
- Mazrui, A. A. (1990). *Cultural forces in world politics*. Kenya: Heinemann.
- Mckenzie, J. L. (1976). *Dictionary of the bible*. London: Geoffery Chapman.
- Ogbalu, F. C., & Emenanjo, E. N. (1975). *Ogba language and culture*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.
- Onwuejeogwu, M. A. (1981). *An Ogba civilization: Nri Kingdom and Hegemony*. London: Ethiope Publishing Corporation.
- Peters, E. (2012). *Religion and politics in Nigeria*. Lagos: Ivy Press.
- Rahman, F. (1966). *Islam*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Schimmel, A. (1971). Islam. In C. J. Bleeker, & G. Sidengren (Eds.), *Historia religionum: Religions of the present* (Vol. II). Leiden.
- Vaux De, R. (1961). *Ancient Israel: Its life and institution*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd.
- Von Rad, G. (1975). *Old testament theology* (Vol. 1). London: SCM Press.