

### Abstract

How has the concept of war shaped the early Jewish liturgical imagination? This paper explores this question by examining the salience of martial language with respect to emotion in the first three books of the MT Psalter. I have created a catalogue that documents the occurrence of martial lexemes - here defined as lexemes that are (in)directly related to the semantic domain of war - in Pss 1-89. I first explain the methodology used to compile the catalogue and then quantify the results through basic statistical analysis. Using the results of this analysis, I identify Pss 27 and 55 as case studies and examine how they use specific martial metaphors to structure and mediate different kinds of emotional experiences. Drawing on insights from cognitive linguistics and cognitive science, I argue that these representations of war (1) can affectively shape a reader's sense of emotionality and so (2) can elicit strong emotional responses from the reader in the context of oral performance.

### Introduction

How has the concept of war shaped the early Jewish liturgical imagination? In this paper, I explore this question by considering the affective dimensions of war in the Psalms. Despite the frequency of martial language, themes, and imagery in the Psalms, this material has yet to be the focus of a systematic study.<sup>1</sup> This neglect arises in part from the obvious tensions between modern sensibilities about war and the centrality of war in Israel's sacred history and literature.<sup>2</sup> I plan to address this gap in the literature by creating a comprehensive catalogue that (1) documents references related to war in Jewish liturgical texts written in Hebrew before 200 CE, (2) categories the dataset according to the affective dimensions associated with military defeat and victory, and then (3) considers how the inclusion of martial imagery in these texts might induce certain kinds of emotional responses from liturgical participants. The project's current dataset includes the biblical and Qumranic Psalters, as well as a selection of Qumranic and tannaitic liturgical traditions. In the interest of time and space, this paper will present my preliminary findings from the first three books of the MT Psalter (Pss 1-89) and outline directions for future research.

Building on Angela Kim Harkins' work on embodied cognition and enactive reading,<sup>3</sup> I consider how individuals are affectively shaped through their engagement with liturgical texts. I am specifically interested in the potential of literary representations of war – ranging from the traumas of military defeat to the exhilarations of triumph – to elicit strong emotional responses

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<sup>1</sup> While the topic of war pervades the Psalter, to date it has attracted little scholarly attention. Instead, scholars have concentrated on the war narratives of the Torah and Historical Books, and the role of war in the prophetic corpus. See T. Raymond Hobbs and P. Kenneth Jackson, "The Enemy in the Psalms," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 21 (1991): 23.

<sup>2</sup> Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "Enemies and Evildoers in the Psalms," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 4 (1982): 61-62, 68; Hobbs and P. Jackson, "The Enemy," 27.

<sup>3</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, "The Emotional Re-Experiencing of the Hortatory Narratives Found in the Admonition of the *Damascus Document*," *DSD* 22 (2015): 289, 298.

from liturgical participants.<sup>4</sup> The study will explore how the biblical Psalmist deploys siege metaphors in order to mediate and structure the reader's/hearer's understandings of fear and confidence.

Some scholars have questioned the relevance of the category of emotion in the study of ancient literature,<sup>5</sup> usually by advancing the argument that 'emotion' is a loaded term that does not fully capture the range of experiences felt by ancient people. While these studies offer valuable insights into diachronic semantic change related to the semantic field of emotion in European languages, I remain unpersuaded that the term 'emotion' lacks utility to the study of early Judaism. Moreover, I do not feel that the adoption of an alternative term (i.e. affect, affectation, feeling, passion, sentiment, etc.) will allow us to sidestep the methodological difficulties involved in the reconstruction of emotional experiences from historical texts.<sup>6</sup> To my mind, emotion remains a useful and readily understandable term with which to describe the experiential dimensions of human life. Throughout this paper, I will use the terms 'emotion,' 'affect,' and 'feeling' interchangeably.<sup>7</sup> In line with appraisal theories of emotion, I assume that

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<sup>4</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, "Experiencing the Solidity of Spaces in the Qumran *Hodayot*," in *Dead Sea Scrolls: Revise and Repeat. New Methods and Perspectives*, eds. Carmen Palmer, Andrew R. Krause, Eileen Schuller and John Srenock (Atlanta: SBL, 2020), 354, 356, 359, 36.

<sup>5</sup> Françoise Mirguet, "What is an 'Emotion' in the Hebrew Bible? An Experience that Exceeds Most Contemporary Concepts," *Biblical Interpretation* 24 (2016): 443-444, 463-465; Phillip Michael Lasater, "The Emotions' in Biblical Anthropology? A Genealogy and Case Study with אֵרָא," *HTR* 110 (2017): 520-523, 540; David Lambert, "Mourning over Sin/Affliction and the Problem of 'Emotion' as a Category in the Hebrew Bible," in *Mixed Feelings and Vexed Passions: Exploring Emotions in Biblical Literature*, ed. F. Scott Spender (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 140.

<sup>6</sup> A scholar's choice of theory influences not only the terminology that they use to describe emotional experiences, but also their assumptions about the nature of those experiences. Research informed by cognitive theories of emotion and evolutionary biology emphasizes the universality of human psychology. While the expression of emotions may vary culturally and historically, the experience of those emotions is assumed to be universal and innate. Biblical scholars who draw on social constructivist and affect theory tend to assume that emotional experiences are culturally and historically contingent; while these arguments highlight the diversity of culturally specific emotions, they are vulnerable to linguistic determinism. These competing views of emotion have resulted in some crosstalk and siloing in research on the role of emotions in the Hebrew Bible. As Ian Jew notes, "One of the most difficult challenges facing emotions researchers today is how to establish a middle ground, by bridging scientific discourse in neuroscience and psychology with the work of social scientists and scholars in the humanities." See ; Ian Jew, *Paul's Emotional Regime: The Social Function of Emotion in Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 11; Thomas Dixon, *The History of Emotions: A Very Short Introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 10-16, 18; Dylan Evans, *Emotions: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 6-15.

<sup>7</sup> As Barbara H. Rosenwein points out, "I do not pay much attention to the careful differentiation many modern psychologists make between 'emotion' and 'affect.' In point of fact, there is no consensus on the difference between [affect and emotion] today, nor was there in the past when, indeed, they were from time to time considered synonyms... different writers used these words variously in different periods but all of these words formed what we might call the 'penumbra' of what we more-or-less mean by the word emotion." See Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 7.

emotional experiences have both “visceral and cognitive”<sup>8</sup> dimensions, insofar as they involve both physiological responses (i.e. fluctuations in heartrate, perspiration, muscle tension or relaxation, hormone release, etc.), as well as cognitive appraisals of situations, which are shaped by an individual’s subjectivity and cultural context.<sup>9</sup>

### Pss 1-89

The MT Psalter is an anthology of poetic compositions written in various genres that has been intentionally arranged into five books (1-41; 42-72; 73-89; 90-106; 107-150).<sup>10</sup> The circumstances surrounding the compilation process of this collection are unknown, but most scholars would agree that the Davidic collection (3-41) constituted an original core to which other collections were subsequently added.<sup>11</sup> Manuscript evidence from Qumran suggests that Books I-III had already crystallized into a discrete collection by the late Second Temple period, while Books I-IV remained in a more fluid state of transmission.<sup>12</sup> These collections were later joined through redactional processes, which fixed the psalms into their current canonical sequence. As Gerald H. Wilson’s work has shown, the present shape of the Psalter is the result of intentional redaction and consequently imports specific theological meanings to the reader.<sup>13</sup> When read consecutively, whether in small clusters or as a full corpus,<sup>14</sup> the Psalter tells a story about Israel’s political and military history that holds out hope for its future restoration.

This story is further shaped by the superscriptions that preface individual psalms, which provide possible “clues to their interpretation.”<sup>15</sup> About half of the psalms in the MT collection feature a Davidic superscription (דָּוִידִי), which primes the reader to recall specific episodes from

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<sup>8</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, “A Phenomenological Study of Penitential Elements and their Strategic Arousal of Emotion in the Qumran *Hodayot* (1Qha Col 1-8),” in *Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions: Emotions Associated with Jewish Prayer in and around the Second Temple Period*, eds. Stefan Reif and Renate Egger-Wenzel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 303.

<sup>9</sup> As Phoebe C. Ellsworth writes, “Different people may appraise the same situation in different ways, and their emotions will differ correspondingly.” See Phoebe C. Ellsworth, “Appraisal Theories of Emotion,” in *Emotion Theory: The Routledge Comprehensive Guide*, ed. Andrea Scarantino (New York: Routledge, 2024), 331.

<sup>10</sup> For a good overview of the genre classifications of the Psalms see William H. Bellinger, “Psalms and the Question of Genre,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 312-325.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Brueggeman, *Psalms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3; Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 1.

<sup>12</sup> Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, *Reading from the Beginning: The Shaping of the Hebrew Psalter* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 34-35.

<sup>13</sup> Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 209-228.

<sup>14</sup> Harry P. Nasuti, “The Interpretive Significance of Sequence and Selection in the Book of Psalms,” in *The Psalms: Composition and Reception*, eds. Patrick D. Miller and Peter W. Flint (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 333-334.

<sup>15</sup> Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, “The Meta-Narrative of the Psalter,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 367.

David's life and to read the psalm in his voice. Given that traditional interpreters assumed that David was author of the Psalms, it seems likely that many ancient readers similarly assimilated the biblical Psalmist with David.<sup>16</sup> It is highly significant that the Psalms present David, often in his capacity as Israel's warrior king,<sup>17</sup> as an idealized model not only of piety but also of a particular kind of emotionality.<sup>18</sup>

The psalms of Books I-III invite us to rehearse the traumas and exhilarations associated with David's reign, particularly his military campaigns.<sup>19</sup> Readers are encouraged to identify with David, "to join in his prayers, and to take them as exemplars for prayer in the common experiences of life."<sup>20</sup> Harkins offers a helpful explanation of how this process of identification unfolds through liturgical performance with recourse to method acting. Both forms of performance "emphasize the role of the body and the emotions in the performance of a script" and so allow the performer "to enter deeply into the character in the script," such that the performer's "personal memories" merge "with the experiences of the script."<sup>21</sup> Through the vivid description of his emotional experiences, the Psalmist qua David supplies the reader with emotional templates that structure how situations should be appraised and prescribe culturally appropriate responses. These templates are saturated with martial language and strategically deploy specific metaphors to conceptualize emotions like fear, shame, confidence, and vindication in terms of war. This choice of vocabulary is highly significant, as Gordon Wenham

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<sup>16</sup> For an overview of the reception history of the Davidic superscriptions see Nancy L. deClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, and Beth Laneel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2014), 22-25.

<sup>17</sup> As Marti J. Steussy observes, the psalms that directly reference David tend to emphasize his military prowess over other aspects of his reign. See Marti J. Steussy, *David: Biblical Portraits of Power* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 158.

<sup>18</sup> As Norman Whybray notes, the Psalms "have been taken by many as *models* of prayer" that "embody particular religious emotions." See Norman Whybray, *Reading the Psalms as a Book* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 1.

<sup>19</sup> The function of the Psalms is a subject of scholarly debate. William P. Brown offers a succinct summary of this debate: "Hymnbook, prayer book, textbook: such are the three major dimensions of the Psalter." Given the content of certain superscriptions, which reference musical notations, we find it likely that at least part of the collection served a liturgical purpose in the ancient period. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that the psalms had or acquired additional uses (i.e. meditative, prophetic, etc.) within early Judaism. See William P. Brown, "The Psalms: An Overview," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 5; Wilson, *Editing*, 207; Brueggemann, *Psalms*, 6.

<sup>20</sup> Howard N. Wallace, "King and Community: Joining with David in Prayer," in *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Out Testamentisch Wetgezelshap in Nederland end Belgie, Apeldoorn August 2006*, eds. Eric Peels and Bob Becking (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 270; Rolf Rendtorff, "The Psalms of David: David in the Psalms" in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, eds. Patrick D. Miller and Peter W. Flint (Leiden: Brill 2005), 63.

<sup>21</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, "The Performative Reading of the *Hodayot*: The Arousal of Emotions and the Exegetical Generation of Texts," *JSOP* 21 (2011): 66-67.

notes: “the words hymn-writers and liturgists put on our lips in worship affect us profoundly: they teach us what to think and feel.”<sup>22</sup>

## Theoretical Framework

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) provides a helpful theoretical framework for our project, as it allows us to examine the conceptual links between war and emotion in the Psalms. CMT investigates the function of metaphorical language from a cognitive linguistic perspective. Its most basic premise is that metaphorical concepts are foundational components of cognition<sup>23</sup> that make abstract reasoning possible.<sup>24</sup> As Daniel Casasanto and Tom Gijssels argue, “Metaphors aren’t just ways of talking, they are ways of thinking.”<sup>25</sup>

Metaphors establish conceptual patterns between two dissimilar elements and allow for one element to be conceived in terms of another. We can see this clearly in the metaphor “YHWH is my shield” (Ps 27:8), which conceptualizes God in terms of body armour. These concepts do not exist in isolation but rather invoke presupposed background knowledge structures called domains.<sup>26</sup> For a metaphor to be meaningful to us, we possess knowledge of both domains. Conceptual metaphors draw unidirectional comparisons between a source domain, which is more basic and readily understood, to a target domain, which is more abstract and cannot be apprehended via our direct perceptual experiences alone.<sup>27</sup> The source and target domains are not inherently similar in and of themselves.<sup>28</sup> Rather, metaphors map

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<sup>22</sup> Gordan Wenham, “Prayer and Practice in the Psalms” in *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Out Testamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en Belgie, Apeldoorn August 2006*, eds. Eric Peels and Bob Becking (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 280.

<sup>23</sup> George Lakoff and Mark L. Johnson give the example of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR and its attendant conventional metaphorical expressions (i.e. ‘I’ve never won an argument against him,’ ‘your claims are indefensible,’ ‘she attacked all the weak points in my argument,’ etc.). We can see how the activity of arguing is structured and understood in light of the experience of war in these expressions. The source domain of war not only describes the activity of arguing but fundamentally shapes our perception of what it means to argue. They suggest the counterfactual possibility that if a different source domain (dance) was commonly used to illuminate the target domain of argument, then we might have a very different perception of arguments. See George Lakoff and Mark L. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 4.

<sup>24</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Casasanto and Tom Gijssels, “What Makes a Metaphor an Embodied Metaphor?” *Linguistics Vanguard* 1 (2015): 327.

<sup>26</sup> T.C. Clausner and W. Croft, “Domains and Image Schemas,” *Cognitive Linguistics* 10 (1999): 2.

<sup>27</sup> A source domain represents our entire knowledge structure associated with a given concept. When the source domain is mapped onto the target domain, not all concepts or aspects of the source domain are mapped. Instead, only those aspects of the source domain that are relevant to the target domain are highlighted, while other aspects of the source domain that are inconsistent with the metaphor are de-emphasized or hidden. See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 10.

<sup>28</sup> Mark L. Johnson, *Embodied Mind, Meaning and Reason: How Our Bodies Give Rise to Understanding* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017) 26.

inferences between two domains based on common experiential correlations.<sup>29</sup> According to CMT, all metaphors rely on our embodied experience of the world. Primary metaphors draw upon our most basic pre-linguistic sensory and motor experiences (bodily orientation, motion, status change) of our physical and social environments.<sup>30</sup> Cognitive linguistics think that the acquisition of primary metaphors is largely unconscious and automatic.<sup>31</sup> From these bodily experiences, we can draw inferential patterns that allow for more abstract thought processes.<sup>32</sup>

Due to its relative simplicity, CMT has certain built-in limitations that constrain its explanatory power. As Karen Sullivan notes, “CMT involves only two domains and unidirectional mappings from SOURCE to TARGET. Many metaphors fit this template. However, metaphoric structures that are more complex cannot be fully captured in CMT.”<sup>33</sup> We can correct for this issue by augmenting the CMT framework outlined above with insights from Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT).<sup>34</sup> This theory reconceptualizes metaphorical mapping as a more complex and dynamic process, which involves the selective integration of multiple inputs from different mental spaces. Through this process of ‘conceptual blending,’ the various inputs are merged and transformed into a new ‘blended space,’<sup>35</sup> which is more than the sum of its parts. By drawing on CIT, we can explain complex metaphors that integrate multiple conceptual domains (i.e. warfare, hunting, court, etc.) to generate emergent meanings. Given the frequency of complex metaphors like bestial enemies in the Psalms, CIT provides an especially helpful framework for our project.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The partial mapping of domains is explained by the invariance principle: information from the source domain that conflicts with the schematic structure of the target domain will not be mapped. See Zoltan Kövecses, *Metaphor a Practical Introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 103.

<sup>30</sup> According to Joseph Grady, they “map perceptual experiences onto equally fundamental non-perceptual experiences.” See Joseph Grady, “Metaphor,” in the *Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, eds. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 192; George Lakoff, “Mapping the Brain’s Metaphor Circuitry: Metaphorical Thought in Everyday Reason,” *Frontiers in Neuroscience* 8 (2014): 6.

<sup>31</sup> Grady suggests that our close association of concepts has a neurological basis and reflects the co-activation of neural circuits between certain source and target domains. Take for example, the primary metaphor MORE IS UP. Its source domain is constructed from an image schema of verticality; it relies on our perception of the experiential correlations that obtain between the target domain (quantity) and the source domain (verticality). We can infer, on the basis of repeated experience of the world, that a stack of things is often taller than a stack of fewer things; this correlation lies behind expressions like ‘high prices.’ See Grady, “Metaphor,” 194; Johnson, *Embodied Mind*, 26-27; Sullivan, “Conceptual Metaphor,” 396-397.

<sup>32</sup> Johnson, *Embodied Mind*, 15.

<sup>33</sup> Karen Sullivan, “Conceptual Metaphor,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Barbara Dancygier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 394.

<sup>34</sup> Also known as Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT). For a full discussion of the potential (in)compatibilities of the CIT and CMT frameworks see Zoltan Kövecses, *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 146-149.

<sup>35</sup> Kövecses, *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory*, 139-140.

<sup>36</sup> For a full discussion of the potential applications of CIT to the Psalms see William A. Ross, “David’s Spiritual Walls and Conceptual Blending in Psalm 51,” *JSOT* 43 (2019): 611-614.

The benefit of using cognitive linguistic theories when discussing ancient texts is that human cognitive faculties can be assumed to have remained stable over time. Therefore, while our cultural context may differ vastly from that of our ancient subjects, we can assume a certain degree of shared continuity in our embodiment in the world, our cognitive processes, and the representation of perceptual experience in language. By augmenting traditional literary-critical analysis of early Jewish texts with CMT and CIT, we can come to a better understanding of how the war metaphors in the Psalms relate to the emotional experiences of ancient people.

### Methodology: Data Collection and Catalogue Compilation

My original objective was to collect all of the possible references to the semantic domain of war in the canonical MT Psalter and represent them in a table in this paper. I consulted the WLC edition of the Hebrew text, reading chronologically for any and all references to military personnel and units, defensive fortifications, armour, weapons, combat actions, tactical formations, strategic objects, military power, and spoils. I expected to encounter stereotypical language related to weaponry (חרב) and armour (מגן) with some frequency but was surprised by the density and variety of martial lexemes in the Psalter. When the conservative version of the catalogue surpassed 70 pages of material, I was forced to further delimit my dataset. I have since prepared a preliminary version of the catalogue that documents 1,256 instances of martial terminology in the first three books of the canonical Masoretic Psalter (Ps 1-89). See appendix 1 for a list of the 320 unique lexemes that appear in the catalogue.

The catalogue collects lexemes that are directly or indirectly related to the semantic domain of war. Some lexemes were relatively easy to identify, given their unambiguously martial nature, such as 'war' (מלחמה) and 'military camp' (מחנה). Other lexemes such as 'enemy' (איב) and 'deliverance' (ישועה) were more ambiguous due to their polysemy and so presented a methodological challenge. To ascertain that a martial connotation of these terms was in view, I looked to the surrounding context for additional martial lexemes. If other martial lexemes occurred in the same colon, bicolon, or unit, I included the ambiguous lexeme in the catalogue. In some cases, I had to look for additional martial lexemes in the stanza of the psalm. If no other martial reference occurred in the psalm, I excluded the ambiguous reference from the dataset. This method resulted in the exclusion of several possible references from the catalogue.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, if the only other martial reference occurred at some distance from the ambiguous lexeme in the stanza, then I excluded the ambiguous reference from the dataset. I did not consider superscriptions as possible evidence for the martial connotation of polysemous lexemes that occurred in the poetic body of a given psalm. Given that over 93% of psalms in

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<sup>37</sup> On this basis I omitted Pss 25:3, 51:14, and 51:18 from the catalogue.

Books I-III have a superscription<sup>38</sup> and a majority of these superscriptions allude to episodes from David's biography,<sup>39</sup> I felt that their inclusion in the judgment of edge cases risked an overinterpretation of the data. To avoid introducing false positives into the catalogue, I evaluated the martial lexemes in the superscription of each psalm separately. I also omitted ambiguous lexemes from my dataset in cases where another conceptual domain (i.e. court, crime, hunting, Sheol, etc.) clearly predominated the colon, bicolon, or unit, such that a martial connotation was not likely in view.

Admittedly, this method relies on the subjective judgments of the interpreter and is more of an art than a science. While compiling the catalogue, I tried to strike a balance between a maximalist and a conservative approach to data collection. A maximalist approach would include any lexeme with a possible connection to the semantic domain of war in the project's dataset, while a more conservative approach would include only those lexemes with a demonstrable and/or exclusive martial connotation. Naturally, the maximalist approach will document many aspects of warfare that may have been overlooked by conventional lexicons of martial terminology in biblical Hebrew (i.e. tactical maneuvers, routing, results of armed combat). By drawing broadly on our knowledge of ancient military history, we can better approximate the semantic domain of war that was operative for the ancient authors, redactors, and audiences of the MT Psalter. The main drawback of such an approach is that it allows for the introduction of false positives into the dataset that will necessarily skew our results. In spite of these limitations, I feel that my catalogue will be a valuable contribution to the study of war in the Psalter because its method of compilation does not rely on searching traditional concordances for stereotypical war terminology. By adopting a more holistic approach to data collection, we can better appreciate the role that the concept of war plays in the liturgical imagination of the authors and compilers of the Psalms. I welcome critical feedback as to how to improve the compilation method so that I can revise my preliminary results and apply the method to other early Jewish liturgical texts from the Second Temple and early tannaitic periods.

The catalogue is organized into three main sections - (1) nominals, (2) verbal roots related to combat, and (3) war idioms - that are further subdivided by 17 topical headings. Under each heading, martial lexemes are listed in Hebrew in descending alphabetic order. Each occurrence of a given lexeme is recorded as a separate entry in the catalogue. Where the Hebrew and English versification differs, the Hebrew versification is given first and the English versification follows in brackets.

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<sup>38</sup> 83 out of 89 psalms.

<sup>39</sup> 63% of the psalms in the first three books of the MT Psalter have a Davidic superscription.

## Maguire Affects of War

The section on nominals is divided by the following topical headings: (1) stages of armed conflict, (2) military units and personnel, (3) weapons, (4) armour, (5) fortifications, (6) terms for military power, and (7) battle outcomes. In addition to versification, I provide morphological information about the number and state of the nominal, as well as the presence of the definite article and inseparable prepositions.

The section on verbal roots related to combat actions is divided by the following topical headings: (1) arrayment, (2) strategic, (3) defensive, (4) offensive, (5) psychological, (6) retreat, (7) plunder, and (8) resultative. I further subdivided each lexeme listed in this section of the catalogue by verbal subject (i.e. enemies, impersonal, God, Psalmist, etc.). I parsed each term and made note of verbal objects, whether represented by a pronominal suffix or by a separate nominal.

The section on war idioms is divided into two sections (1) fortification idioms, and (2) conquest idioms. The idioms listed in each section are indirectly linked to the domain of war through the context supplied by surrounding verses. The first section lists only one metaphor (הַר קִדְשׁוֹ) and reports cases where it describes God's fortified position,<sup>40</sup> while the conquest section lists two metaphors (הִיָּה דִמְנוֹן / שֶׁלֹךְ נֶעַל עַל) that describe God's domination of the nations. Apart from these idioms, I did not include any thematic references to war in the Psalms in the catalogue (i.e. allusions to God's domination over creation, the names of chaos monsters, etc.). A counterargument could of course be made that thematic references to aspects of the Divine Warrior tradition deserve inclusion in the catalogue. I have flagged this issue for future review.

## Preliminary Findings

The following results were calculated through a basic statistical analysis of the catalogue. I found that 84% of the psalms contained within the first three books of the MT Psalter contained at least one lexeme related to the semantic domain of war. Put differently, only 14 of the 89 psalms surveyed did not contain martial terminology.<sup>41</sup> This relative frequency is stable across the divisions of the first three books of the Psalter.<sup>42</sup> I further observed that the content of superscriptions had little bearing on whether or not a given psalm used martial vocabulary. This is expected, given that the majority of psalms in the dataset feature at least one martial lexeme. More surprisingly, the average number of martial lexemes per psalm is stable across psalms with the three

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<sup>40</sup> Occurrences in Pss 51:1 and 87:1 were excluded from this section.

<sup>41</sup> Pss 1; 4; 15; 16; 19; 23; 26; 32; 49; 40; 50; 51; 65; 67; 87.

<sup>42</sup> By my calculation, 80% of the psalms in Book I (Pss 1-41), 84% of the psalms in Book II (Pss 42-72), and 94% of the psalms in Book III (Pss 73-89) have at least one martial lexeme.

most common superscriptions (לדוד, לאסף, לבני קרח).<sup>43</sup> While one might expect psalms with Davidic superscriptions to refer to war more frequently, this assumption is not borne out by the data. Taken together, these findings suggest that the concept of war was highly salient to the authors, compilers, and audiences of the first three books of the MT Psalter.

Given the poetic structure of the Psalter, it is unsurprising that a number of the martial lexemes documented in the catalogue appear together as lexical pairs. A lexical pair is here defined as two distinct lexemes that appear in parallel to one another, whether in the same verse or in consecutive verses. The catalogue documents 299 lexical pairs. Classic word pairs for military power appear with varying frequencies in the dataset. I documented 11 instances of enemy/foe (7 איב/צור), 4 instances of the shame/reproach (בוש/חרף), 4 instances of the sword/bow (חרב/קשת), and only 2 instances of chariot/horse (רכב/סוס). One interesting result of this analysis was the identification of the lexemes that occurred most frequently in parallel lines. By a wide margin, the term enemy (איב) occurred most frequently alongside other martial lexemes.<sup>44</sup> Following Adele Berlin, we can explain its frequency as a result of the normal word associations made by competent language speakers. Since the use of the term enemy elicits a number of different associations related to the semantic domain of war,<sup>45</sup> it follows that we should expect to see it occur in both fixed word pairs as well as in less common pairs.<sup>46</sup> I also found that certain verbs describing both offensive and defensive combat actions - such as יסע, קום, and נצל - frequently formed word pairs with other lexemes documented in the catalogue. This pattern often occurred in the psalms that express hope that God will deliver the Psalmist and/or Israel from military defeat.

The catalogue documents a broad range of verbs that are related to different aspects of warfare (i.e. actions related to military strategy, offensive combat actions, actions related to psychological warfare, etc.), as well as the subject and object of each verbal action. Statistical analysis of this data reveals how often a particular character (i.e. enemy, Psalmist, God) is the subject of a particular kind of combat action. The

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<sup>43</sup> We excluded the other superscriptions (לשלמה, להימן האזרחי, לאיתן האזרחי) due to the infrequency of their occurrence in the dataset. We found that psalms with Davidic superscriptions featured at least one martial lexeme 84% of the time, with an average number of 14 occurrences of martial lexemes per psalm. Corresponding numbers for psalms with Asaphite superscriptions are 92% and 16.5 occurrences per psalm and for psalms with Korahite superscriptions 82% (לבני קרח) and 10 occurrences per psalm. This is remarkably similar to the figures we found for the first three books of the Psalter, 84% and 14 occurrences per psalm.

<sup>44</sup> איב appears parallel to another martial lexeme 54 times out of a total of 57 occurrences.

<sup>45</sup> Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Chicago: Eerdmans, 2007), 97.

<sup>46</sup> Berlin defines 'fixed word pairs' as "the most common, easily produced, word associations," and contrasts these with 'less common pairs' that reflect "more careful thought." For a full discussion of the applications of psycholinguistics to lexical parallelism see Berlin, *Dynamics*, 91.

results of this analysis are plotted in figure 1, panels A-H of appendix 2. Our results show that God is the most frequent subject of combat actions related to arrayment (52%),<sup>47</sup> defensive maneuvers (87.5%),<sup>48</sup> offensive combat actions (47%),<sup>49</sup> and actions related to retreat from battle (48%).<sup>50</sup> Enemies were also frequently cast as the subjects of combat actions, especially with regard to actions related to arrayment (27%),<sup>51</sup> actions related to military strategy (26%),<sup>52</sup> offensive combat actions (25%),<sup>53</sup> actions related to psychological warfare (45%),<sup>54</sup> actions related to plunder (43%),<sup>55</sup> and actions that describe the results of combat (44%).<sup>56</sup> One interesting result of this analysis was that the Psalmist appears relatively infrequently as the subject of verbs related to combat;<sup>57</sup> when the Psalmist does act, it is usually in a strategic (26%) capacity,<sup>58</sup> or less frequently in the context of psychological warfare (17%). By and large, war seems to be something to the Psalmist. This suggestion is reinforced by our analysis of objects of combat actions in Pss 1-89. We observed that the Psalmist is both attacked and defended more frequently than any other character. This finding accords with our expectation that the Psalmist uses martial imagery in order to describe certain kinds of emotional experiences that are related to and/or arise from ancient people's experiences of war.

I then gauged which psalms had the highest concentration of war references through three metrics: (1) raw frequency of occurrences, (2) diversity of martial lexemes, and (3) lexical density.

The first measure considers how many martial lexemes occur in a given psalm. The results are plotted in figure 3 in appendix 2. Psalm 18 had the highest concentration of martial terminology (81 raw occurrences) in the dataset, followed by Ps 78 (55 raw occurrences). Such high concentrations of martial terminology were not uniform across the dataset. Analysis of the top twenty psalms by total raw occurrences yielded results ranging between 19 and 47 war lexemes per psalm. When the full corpus of 89 psalms was considered, the results were more modest, with a mean of 14 occurrences per

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<sup>47</sup> 65 out of a total of 124 total occurrences.

<sup>48</sup> 119 out of 136 total occurrences.

<sup>49</sup> 92 out of 197 total occurrences.

<sup>50</sup> 35 out of 73 total occurrences.

<sup>51</sup> 35 out of 124 total occurrences.

<sup>52</sup> 14 out of 55 total occurrences.

<sup>53</sup> 49 out of 197 total occurrences.

<sup>54</sup> 37 out of 83 total occurrences.

<sup>55</sup> 6 out of 14 total occurrences.

<sup>56</sup> 35 out of 79 total occurrences.

<sup>57</sup> The Psalmist appears as the subject of verbal actions only 9% of the time (68 out of total of 761 instances).

<sup>58</sup> 14 out of 55 total occurrences.

psalm and a median of 10 occurrences per psalm. These findings were relatively stable across the divisions of the first three books of the Psalter.<sup>59</sup> This suggests that the book that a given psalm occurs in has little bearing on whether it contains references to war, such that psalms in Book I are just as likely to contain martial lexemes as psalms in Books II or III. Our analysis further identified which psalms that had the lowest concentration of martial lexemes, here defined as 3 to 5 occurrences per psalm.<sup>60</sup> In general, these psalms tend to feature conceptual blends that integrate elements of multiple mental spaces (i.e. war and Sheol, war and court) and so may have introduced some false positives into the dataset. I have flagged these psalms for further review.

The second measure considers how many unique martial lexemes occur in a given psalm. This measure allows us to differentiate psalms that have a rich vocabulary for war from those that employ more stereotypical terminology. The results are plotted in figure 4 in appendix 2. We identified three genuine hapax legomena in the dataset, which denote different types of weapons.<sup>61</sup> Psalm 18 had the highest number of unique lexemes in the dataset, with 56 unique lexemes attested out of a total 81 raw occurrences. A similarly rich vocabulary was attested in other psalms in the dataset; we found six additional psalms that contained more than 30 unique martial lexemes.<sup>62</sup> The psalms with the richest vocabulary (Pss 35; 37; 59) avoided reusing the same martial lexemes and so approached a near 1:1 ratio of occurrences to unique lexemes. Across the full corpus, the mean number of unique lexemes per psalm was 11, while the median was 9. These patterns remained consistent across the first three books of the Psalter.<sup>63</sup> These findings confirm that the authors and redactors of the Psalter had an extensive vocabulary for describing different aspects of war, which might be obscured

<sup>59</sup> The table below represents the mean and median occurrences of war lexemes across the first three books of the Psalter, where 'n' represents the number of psalms per book and 'occ' represents the number of occurrences.

| Book | n  | Total Occ | Mean Occ | Median Occ |
|------|----|-----------|----------|------------|
| I    | 41 | 549       | 13.39    | 9          |
| II   | 31 | 429       | 13.84    | 11         |
| III  | 17 | 276       | 16.24    | 10         |

<sup>60</sup> Pss 8; 14; 29; 30; 39; 42; 47; 53; 77; 82; 88.

<sup>61</sup> קרדם in Ps 74:5; כליפות in Ps 74:6; כשיל in Ps 74:6.

<sup>62</sup> Pss 35; 27; 59; 68; 78; 89.

<sup>63</sup> The table below represents the mean and median occurrences of unique lexemes in the first three books of the Psalter, where 'n' represents the number of psalms per book and 'occ' represents the number of occurrences.

| Book | n  | Total Occ | Mean Occ | Median Occ |
|------|----|-----------|----------|------------|
| I    | 41 | 454       | 11.07    | 8          |
| II   | 31 | 364       | 11.74    | 11         |
| III  | 17 | 216       | 12.71    | 9          |

by some English translations. We can further infer that the richness of this vocabulary would have been evocative for ancient audiences, who possessed an extensive knowledge structure of war. The Psalmist's usage of a particular martial lexeme could arouse memories of the reader's/hearer's own direct experiences of warfare, as well as their knowledge of scriptural traditions that emphasized the centrality of war in Israel's faith and history. Renewed attention to the specific nuances of different martial lexemes in a given psalm stands to yield a better understanding of the Psalmist's choice of specific martial lexemes in descriptions of particular kinds of emotional experiences.

The third measure considers the lexical density of a given psalm, here defined as the number of martial lexemes relative to the number of verses in that psalm. This measure allows us to quantify how much attention a given psalm devotes to the topic of war. The results are plotted in figure 4 of appendix 2. When the full dataset was taken into consideration, we found that martial lexemes occurred in Pss 1-89 at a rate of slightly less than one term per verse.<sup>64</sup> One interesting finding to come out of this analysis is that psalms in Book II (Pss 42-72) tend to have a higher density of martial lexemes, as compared to psalms in Books I and III.<sup>65</sup> While the previous two metrics (total raw occurrences and number of unique lexemes) generated similar lists of psalms that feature rich descriptions of war, this metric produced different results. Of the eight psalms with the highest lexical densities,<sup>66</sup> here defined as  $X \geq 1.50$ , only Pss 18 and 71 also attest high numbers of raw occurrences and unique lexemes. Despite being rich in martial lexemes, Psalm 78 scores relatively low in lexical density due to its length.<sup>67</sup> This is unsurprising, given that shorter psalms are more likely to yield high lexical densities as compared to longer psalms. This suggests that lexical density on its own is not the best measure of the salience of the concept of war in a given psalm.

When taken individually, these measures produce slightly different lists of psalms with the highest concentration of war references. When we compare the list of the top twenty psalms according to each metric, we notice that certain psalms overlap in each of the lists. Noting these overlaps, we selected two psalms (Pss 27; 55) that (1) are saturated with martial terminology and (2) that use related metaphors to convey

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<sup>64</sup> The mean lexical density was 0.81 and the median lexical density was 0.76

<sup>65</sup> The table below represents the mean and median density of martial lexemes in Pss 1-89, where lexical density = # of raw occurrences/# of verses and 'n' represents the number of psalms in each book.

| Book | n  | Mean Density | Median Density |
|------|----|--------------|----------------|
| I    | 41 | 0.75         | 0.69           |
| II   | 31 | 0.93         | 1.00           |
| III  | 17 | 0.73         | 0.69           |

<sup>66</sup> Pss 3; 18; 27; 43; 46; 59; 70; 71.

<sup>67</sup> 55 raw occurrences across 72 verses, yielding a lexical density of 0.76.

different emotional experiences. These psalms offer a window of insight into the connections between war, affect, and performance and so will serve as case studies in the following section.

### The Spectrum of Martial Affects in the Psalms

The following case studies demonstrate how the Psalmist strategically deploys siege metaphors to conceptually structure emotions of confidence and fear. We argue that a reader who had internalized these psalms, through repeated reading and memorization, would be affectively shaped by the distinctly martial understandings of emotion contained within them.<sup>68</sup> Appraisal theory helps us to bridge the gap from the emotion discourses represented in literary texts to the emotions experienced by the people who engage those texts, whether through reading or oral performance. According to appraisal theorists, emotions arise from our appraisals of different kinds of situations and variously motivate us to approach, avoid, or confront the appraised stimuli.<sup>69</sup> Such evaluations can be directed towards a range of situations (i.e. immediate, remembered, imagined) and may arise as automatic reactions, or as the product of more conscious deliberations.<sup>70</sup> Individual and cultural differences play a role in how situations are assessed and may impact the specific emotions that are generated.<sup>71</sup> This is to be expected, as Ari Mermelstein notes: “the judgements, evaluations, and beliefs associated with emotion are unlikely to be stable across all cultures.”<sup>72</sup> Using appraisal theory, we can understand the Psalms as cultural templates that model how the reader/hearer should think and feel in a range of life situations. The reader’s/hearer’s internalization of these templates is facilitated both by the Psalms authoritative status as scripture, as well as through their regular recitation in liturgical settings.

#### *Psalm 27: Confidence*

The opening lines of Ps 27 describe the speaker’s supreme confidence in God:

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<sup>68</sup> Paul J. Griffiths notes that “a memorized work (like a lover, a friend, a spouse, a child) has entered into the fabric of its possessor’s intellectual and emotional life in a way that makes deep claims upon that life, claims that can only be ignored with effort and deliberation.” Paul J. Griffiths, *Religious Reading: The Place of Reading in the Practice of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47. For an instructive application of Griffith’s ideas about religious reading to the Psalms see Wenham, “Prayer and Practice,” 283-284.

<sup>69</sup> Amanda K. Steele and Ira J. Roseman, “Appraisals Associated with Interpersonal Negative Emotions: What Distinguishes Contempt, Dislike, and Hate?” *Psychology and Developing Societies* 32 (2022): 175; Ira Roseman, “Appraisal in the Emotion System: Coherence in Strategies for Coping,” *Emotion Review* 5 (2013): 142.

<sup>70</sup> Ellsworth, “Appraisal Theories of Emotion,” 331.

<sup>71</sup> While emotional experiences may be culturally conditioned and therefore variable, appraisal theory suggests that emotions serve similar adaptive functions. Emotions orient human behaviour and so help us “to cope with crises and opportunities” of life. See Roseman, “Appraisal in the Emotion System,” 141.

<sup>72</sup> Ari Mermelstein, *Power and Emotion in Ancient Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 5.

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YHWH is my light and my salvation<sup>73</sup> - whom shall I fear?  
YHWH is the stronghold of my life- of whom shall I be afraid?  
When evildoers encroach<sup>74</sup> on me to devour my flesh,  
my foes and enemies, they shall stumble and fall.<sup>75</sup>  
Though an army encamps against me, my heart shall not fear;  
though war rises against me, in this I trust. (Ps 27:1-3)

The passage is structured around two related metaphors: (1) GOD IS A FORTRESS and (2) ADVERSITY IS AN ARMY. God is first conceptualized as a defensive fortification (מַעוֹז) that shields the speaker from the encroaching enemy. Enconced in the safety of God's stronghold, the speaker revels in his intrepidity; he trusts in the impregnability of God's protection and believes that he can withstand any danger. Through its unwavering declarations of trust, the psalm not only offers "a prayer for people who feel besieged by life",<sup>76</sup> but also models a particular understanding of what it means to feel both fear in the face of adversity and confidence in spite of it.

The psalm's descriptions of the enemy's encroach (קָרַב) and encampment (חָנָה) recall experiences of siege warfare, wherein an army surrounds a city/fortification and cuts off its supply lines. Entrapped, the inhabitants must either confront the enemy at a tactical disadvantage or outlast them in spite of dwindling supplies. We argue that the Psalmist invokes siege warfare in order to highlight the claustrophobic dimensions of emotions like fear (יִרָא) and dread (פֶּחַד). Fear arises from the perception of threats, which we may consider severe or otherwise beyond our power to resolve,<sup>77</sup> and produces physiological effects (muscle tension, hyperventilation, chest tension, etc.) that can constrain our ability to respond logically to situations.

The Psalmist fears nothing, however, because he appraises his situation as a challenge that can be overcome rather than a threat. This appraisal is possible because the Psalmist trusts that he can successfully navigate the situation through his knowledge of God's protection. The psalm provides an idealized understanding of confidence, as the ability to impassively withstand adversity in spite of the odds.<sup>78</sup> This understanding is re-enforced by the psalm's conclusion:

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<sup>73</sup> Alternative translations such as 'victory' or 'deliverance' for יִשַׁע would further emphasize the military context of the passage. See Peter C. Craigie and Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 1-50*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 232.

<sup>74</sup> A martial sense of the verb קָרַב is also given in 1 Kgs 20:29. See deClaissé-Walford et al., *Psalms*, 290.

<sup>75</sup> Some commentators choose to translate the qatal verbs כָּשַׁל and נָפַל in this line in the past tense. See John Goldingay, *Psalms 1-41* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 362; Craigie *Psalms 1-50*, 228, 232.

<sup>76</sup> deClaissé-Walford et al., *Psalms*, 291.

<sup>77</sup> Jiyeon So, Kai Kuang, and Hyunyi Cho, "Re-examining Fear Appeal Models from Cognitive Appraisal Theory Perspectives," *Communication Monographs* (2016): 124.

<sup>78</sup> The martial understanding of confidence encoded by this psalm has powerful affective resonances for readers facing many different kinds of adversity. Reflecting on his battle with pediatric cancer, Rolf A.

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“Wait for YHWH, be strong! Let your heart have courage and wait for YHWH!” (Ps 27:14)

Through the double exhortation (יָצֵק וְאַמֵּץ), the psalm recalls similar rallying cries associated with the conquest of Canaan (Deut 31:6, 7, 23; Josh 1:6, 7, 9, 18).<sup>79</sup> Notice the shift from 1cs to 2ms voice in this verse; the Psalmist now invites the reader through direct address to embody the ideal of confidence projected earlier in the psalm.

### *Psalm 55: Fear*

Psalm 55 serves as an interesting foil for Ps 27. As in the previous case, Psalm 55 is built around a siege warfare metaphor, FEAR IS OCCUPATION, but it uses this metaphor to probe the experiential dimensions of fear rather than confidence. Verses 5-6 (4-5) characterize the onset of fear as a kind of attack:

My heart is in anguish within me, and deathly terrors fall upon me.  
Fear and trembling come over me, and horror overwhelms me.

The use of martial vocabulary in this passage reifies fear as an external assailant, such that the Psalmist’s “feelings occupy [him] inside and out, like an army that simultaneously occupies and surrounds a city.”<sup>80</sup> Goldingay notes that similar terminology is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible to characterize the fears of Israel’s enemies in contexts of military defeat. The expression ‘terrors befall’ (אִי־מוֹת נָפַל) is used to describe the routing of enemy armies (cf. Exod 15:16; Josh 2:9), while the term ‘trembling’ (רָעַד) is used to characterize the nations’ reaction to the victory at the Red Sea (Exod 15:15).<sup>81</sup> By applying the language of military invasion to his own body, the speaker becomes an analogue for the besieged city. Beset from within by fear itself, the Psalmist longs to escape his present circumstances and looks to God for deliverance (Ps 55:7-9).

The siege metaphor reappears slightly later in the psalm, in verses 10-12 (9-11).<sup>82</sup>

Swallow up, o Lord, confound their speech! For I see violence and strife in the city.  
Day and night, they go around it, on its walls, and iniquity and trouble are within it,  
ruin is in its midst; injury and deceit do not leave its square.

Here, the metaphor of occupation is more pronounced, as the enemies have now infiltrated the city and patrol its walls. This is a powerful inversion of the image of the besieged proffered by Ps 27; the once impregnable fortress has been infiltrated by the enemy. As Goldingay observes, “The city’s walls, which are supposed to be its people’s protection, have become their danger,

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Jacobson writes: “through its powerful metaphors (war, enemies, abandonment by family, etc.) it sketched, in an authentic way, a picture of the terrific challenges of life.” See deClaissé-Walford et al., *Psalms*, 295.

<sup>79</sup> Goldingay, *Psalms 1-41*, 371.

<sup>80</sup> John Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 153.

<sup>81</sup> Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, 152.

<sup>82</sup> The two units are linked through the repetition of certain keywords; אֵין appears in verses 4 and 11, while קִרַּב appears in verses 5 and 11. See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 53.

and the city itself is under attack from internal enemies.”<sup>83</sup> Undoubtedly, this image would have primed readers to recall their own experiences with foreign military domination, whether experienced directly or remembered through the collective memory of Israel’s authoritative scriptural traditions, and to associate their own experiences of terror with those of the Psalmist.<sup>84</sup>

Although necessarily brief, our comparison of Pss 27 and 55 highlights the contribution of martial metaphors to the ‘emotional inheritance’ of early Judaism. That these psalms adopt a militaristic rhetoric of emotional expression is highly significant and indicative of the ways in which fear and confidence were conceptualized in ancient Israel. Following Rosenwein, “We should not dismiss the emotions we find in text as belonging to the boilerplate of particular genres and therefore meaningless from the point of view of ‘real feeling.’”<sup>85</sup> Through recitation, the liturgical participant adopts the “I” voice of the Psalms and so blurs the distinction between himself and the Psalmist. As Carol A. Newsom notes, the first-person voice “strategically obscures who the speaking subject is” and so creates a sense of “ambiguity about exactly whose words these are.”<sup>86</sup> Under the right conditions, the emotions of the liturgical participant can converge with those described in the psalm.

## Conclusions

This project is very much a work in progress. I plan to use feedback from the Enoch seminar to refine my methodology and to make necessary revisions to the catalogue. I will then expand my dataset to consider references to war in Books IV and V of the MT Psalter. This data should provide an interesting point of comparison to the current catalogue. Are the results reported in this paper consistent across all five books of the MT Psalter, or are they unique to the first three books? Further analysis of the martial lexemes collected in the catalogue remains a desideratum. What lexical correspondences exist between the Psalter and descriptions of war found in the Torah, Historical Books, or the Prophets? Does the placement of a given psalm in a particular division of the Psalter have any bearing on the kinds of martial terms it employs?

Once I have collected data from the remaining books of the MT Psalter, I will expand the dataset to include canonical and non-canonical Psalms manuscripts from Qumran. This will allow for a comparison of variants among Psalms collections

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<sup>83</sup> Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, 155.

<sup>84</sup> Harkins, “Performative,” 68.

<sup>85</sup> Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Carol A. Newsom, “Constructing ‘We, You and the Others’ through Non-Polemical Discourse.” Pages in *Defining Identities: We, You and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*, eds. Florentino García-Martínez and Mladen Popović (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 19.

circulating in the late Second Temple period. Again, it will be interesting to note whether the distributions reported in this paper cohere with the manuscript evidence available from Qumran. I also plan to collect data from a number of Qumranic liturgical traditions, such as the *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll*, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *Songs of the Sage* traditions. I anticipate that this expansion of the dataset will produce very interesting results, given that these texts represent a variety of provenances, possible liturgical settings, and literary influences. Eventually, I plan to also consider early tannaitic traditions such as Birkat ha-Minim and Al Ha-Nissim. I welcome further suggestions as to early Jewish liturgical traditions should be included in the larger project's dataset, so long as they were written in Hebrew before 200 CE.

## Appendix 1

This table documents the 320 unique martial lexemes that are currently recorded in the catalogue. Column 1 provides the Hebrew lexemes in descending alphabetic order; column 2 provides an English translation; and column 3 provides the total number of occurrences of each term in the catalogue.

| Hebrew   | English                    | Total Occ |
|----------|----------------------------|-----------|
| אביר     | Mighty                     | 1         |
| אות      | Ensign                     | 3         |
| אחז      | I. Capture                 | 1         |
|          | II. Be Seized (by Emotion) | 1         |
| איב      | Enemy                      | 57        |
| אכל      | Devour/Defeat              | 2         |
| אלף      | Thousands                  | 1         |
| אמץ      | Fortify                    | 5         |
| אניה     | Ship                       | 1         |
| אסיר     | Prisoner (of War)          | 1         |
| אסף      | Assemble                   | 1         |
| אפף      | Encircle                   | 2         |
| ארב      | Ambush                     | 3         |
| ארמון    | Citadel                    | 1         |
| אשמרה    | Night watch                | 1         |
| בהל      | Panic                      | 6         |
| בוא      | Tread                      | 1         |
| בוס      | Trample                    | 2         |
| בוש      | Shame / Be Ashamed         | 29        |
| בזר      | Scatter                    | 1         |
| בטח      | Rely on                    | 26        |
| בלע      | Swallow/Defeat             | 2         |
| במות     | High place (Fortification) | 1         |
| בצר      | Cut off (Enemy)            | 1         |
| בקש      | Seek out                   | 11        |
| בקש שלום | Seek peace                 | 1         |
| ברח      | Flee                       | 2         |
| גבורה    | Force                      | 10        |
| גבר      | Prevail                    | 1         |
| גדוד     | Troops                     | 1         |
| גדע      | Chop off                   | 1         |
| גור      | Assemble against           | 2         |
| גזל      | Plunder                    | 1         |
| גזר      | Cut off                    | 1         |
| גיבור    | Warrior                    | 7         |
| גער      | Rebuke                     | 5         |
| גרה      | Blow                       | 1         |
| גרש      | Expel                      | 3         |

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|          |                                   |    |
|----------|-----------------------------------|----|
| דבר      | Subdue                            | 2  |
| דבר שלום | Make peace                        | 2  |
| דגל      | Raise banner                      | 1  |
| דחה      | Cast down                         | 2  |
| דכא      | Crush                             | 2  |
| דלג      | Scale (wall)                      | 1  |
| דם       | Blood                             | 7  |
| דרך      | Bend bow                          | 5  |
| דרש      | Pursue                            | 2  |
| דרש דמים | Avenge blood                      | 1  |
| הגה      | Devise                            | 1  |
| חמה      | Be in uproar                      | 2  |
| חמם      | Rout                              | 1  |
| הפך      | Turn back                         | 2  |
| הרג      | Kill                              | 6  |
| הר-יהוה  | Mountain of YHWH (fortification)  | 1  |
| הרס      | Break                             | 2  |
| הר קדשו  | His holy mountain (fortification) | 4  |
| זמם      | Scheme                            | 2  |
| זרוע     | Arm                               | 12 |
| חגר      | Gird                              | 2  |
| חזה      | Ruin                              | 2  |
| חומה     | Wall                              | 1  |
| חוש      | Hurry                             | 6  |
| חזק      | I. Strength (nominal)             | 2  |
|          | II. Take hold                     | 1  |
|          | II. Have courage                  | 3  |
| חיה דמן  | Become dung                       | 1  |
| חיל      | I. Troops                         | 5  |
|          | II. Strength                      | 3  |
| חילה     | Bulwark                           | 1  |
| חלל      | Slain                             | 3  |
| חלץ      | I. Deliver                        | 2  |
|          | II. Oppress                       | 4  |
| חלק שלל  | Divide (spoils)                   | 1  |
| חמס      | Violence                          | 6  |
| חנה      | Encamp                            | 3  |
| חנית     | Spear                             | 3  |
| חסה      | Seek refuge                       | 10 |
| חפז      | Hurry away                        | 1  |
| חפר      | Confuse                           | 5  |
| חץ       | Arrow                             | 10 |
| חרב      | Sword                             | 16 |
| חרבה     | Desolation                        | 1  |
| חרג      | Tremble                           | 1  |
| חרף      | Taunt                             | 18 |

## Maguire Affects of War

|          |                         |    |
|----------|-------------------------|----|
| חשב      | Plot                    | 7  |
| חשף ממות | Spare from death        | 1  |
| חתה      | Snatch                  | 1  |
| חתח      | Assail                  | 1  |
| טבח      | Slay                    | 1  |
| טול      | Hurl                    | 1  |
| יד       | Hand                    | 26 |
| יכל      | Prevail                 | 2  |
| ימין     | Right-hand              | 17 |
| ינה      | Subdue                  | 1  |
| יעד      | Assemble                | 1  |
| יעץ      | Devise                  | 2  |
| יצא      | March                   | 3  |
| יצב      | Array                   | 1  |
| ירד      | Cast down               | 3  |
| ירה      | Shoot                   | 4  |
| ירש      | (Dis)possess (by force) | 3  |
| ישועה    | Deliverance             | 21 |
| ישע      | I. Salvation (nominal)  | 15 |
|          | II. Save                | 34 |
| כון      | Prepare (for battle)    | 4  |
| כוס      | Cup (metaphorical)      | 1  |
| כח       | Strength                | 2  |
| כחד      | Wipe out                | 1  |
| כלה      | I. Destroy              | 6  |
|          | II. Be Destroyed        | 6  |
| כלי-מות  | Weapons                 | 1  |
| כליפות   | Maul                    | 1  |
| כלם      | Dishonour               | 6  |
| כנע      | Subdue                  | 1  |
| כף       | Hand                    | 3  |
| כרוב     | Cherub                  | 2  |
| כרע      | Subdue                  | 3  |
|          | Be Subdued              | 1  |
| כרת      | Cut off (body part)     | 1  |
| כשיל     | Hatchet                 | 1  |
| כשל      | Stumble                 | 2  |
| כתר      | Encircle                | 1  |
| כתת      | Beat down               | 1  |
| לוח      | Join (forces)           | 1  |
| לחם      | Fight                   | 4  |
| לטש      | Whet (sword)            | 1  |
| לעג      | Mock                    | 6  |
| לקח נקש  | Take life               | 1  |
| מבצר     | Fortification           | 1  |
| מגדל     | Tower                   | 2  |

## Maguire Affects of War

|                   |                           |        |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------|
| מגן               | Shield                    | 13     |
| מגר               | Cast down                 | 1      |
| מוג               | Lose heart                | 2      |
| מוט               | Falter                    | 11     |
| מות               | Kill                      | 3      |
| מחה               | Wipe out                  | 1      |
| מחנה              | Encampment                | 2      |
| מחסה              | Shelter                   | 6      |
| מחץ               | Wound                     | 3      |
| מחתה              | Ruin                      | 1      |
| מיתר              | Bowstring                 | 1      |
| מלחמה             | War                       | 7      |
| מלט               | Escape                    | 1      |
| מנוס              | Refuge                    | 1      |
| מסגרת             | Stronghold                | 1      |
| מסתר              | Hideout                   | 1      |
| מעוז              | I. Helmet<br>II. Fortress | 1<br>7 |
| מערה              | Cave                      | 1      |
| מפלט              | Escape                    | 1      |
| מצא               | Catch                     | 4      |
| מצוד              | Fortress                  | 4      |
| מצור              | Stronghold                | 3      |
| מרה <sup>87</sup> | Rebel                     | 4      |
| משגב              | Stronghold                | 11     |
| משואב             | Destruction               | 2      |
| מתנקם             | Avenger                   | 2      |
| נבל               | Lose heart                | 1      |
| נבלה              | Corpse                    | 1      |
| נגח               | Push back                 | 1      |
| נגע               | Strike                    | 3      |
| נגר               | Fall in battle            | 1      |
| נדד               | Flee                      | 4      |
| נדח               | Cast out                  | 1      |
| נדף               | Drive away                | 2      |
| נהג               | Lead (to safety)          | 3      |
| נהל               | Guide (to safety)         | 1      |
| נוד               | Flee                      | 2      |
| נוס               | Flee                      | 1      |
| נוע               | Scatter                   | 1      |
| נחה               | Lead (to safety)          | 9      |
| נחת               | Bend bow                  | 3      |

<sup>87</sup> For a learned discussion of the martial connotations of rebellion terms in the Hebrew Bible see Andrew Edward Walton, *The Language of Rebellion in the Hebrew Bible and the Ambivalent Attitude(s) it Represents* (ProQuest Dissertation 2019), 29-96.

## Maguire Affects of War

|        |                                                 |              |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| נטה    | Stretch                                         | 1            |
| נכה    | Strike                                          | 7            |
| נס     | Banner                                          | 1            |
| נסח    | Destroy                                         | 1            |
| נסס    | Raise banner                                    | 1            |
| נפל    | Fall in battle                                  | 11           |
| נפץ    | Dash to pieces                                  | 1            |
| נצה    | Fight                                           | 1            |
| נצל    | Deliver                                         | 35           |
| נצר    | Protect                                         | 5            |
| נקם    | Vengeance                                       | 1            |
| נקם דם | Avenge Blood                                    | 1            |
| נקף    | Surround                                        | 3            |
| נשא    | Raise                                           | 2            |
| נשא יד | Lift a hand against                             | 1            |
| נשג    | Overtake                                        | 4            |
| נתן    | Handover                                        | 8            |
| נחץ    | Overthrow                                       | 2            |
| נתק    | Tear out                                        | 1            |
| נתש    | Uproot                                          | 1            |
| סבב    | Surround                                        | 7            |
| סגר    | I. Sheath (nominal)<br>II. Imprison/close off   | 1<br>4       |
| סוג    | Turn back                                       | 5            |
| סוס    | Horse(man)                                      | 3            |
| סור    | I. Rebel<br>II. Withdraw                        | 4<br>1       |
| סכך    | Cover                                           | 1            |
| סלע    | Rock                                            | 3            |
| סמך    | Uphold                                          | 3            |
| סעד    | Support                                         | 2            |
| ספה    | Destroy                                         | 1            |
| סתר    | I. Hideout (nominal)<br>II. Hide                | 3<br>6       |
| עבר    | Advance                                         | 1            |
| עגלה   | Chariot                                         | 1            |
| עור    | Rouse                                           | 5            |
| עז     | I. Strongman<br>II. Stronghold<br>III. Strength | 1<br>1<br>27 |
| עזב    | Abandon                                         | 4            |
| עזז    | Prevail                                         | 4            |
| עזר    | Aid                                             | 17           |
| עי     | Ruin                                            | 1            |
| עלה    | Go up against                                   | 2            |
| עלץ    | Triumph                                         | 1            |

## Maguire Affects of War

|          |                       |    |
|----------|-----------------------|----|
| עמד      | Station               | 4  |
| עצם      | Be mighty             | 2  |
| ערה      | Spread out            | 1  |
| עריץ     | Tyrant                | 3  |
| ערם      | Scheme                | 1  |
| עטר      | Encircle              | 1  |
| פוז      | Scatter               | 2  |
| פזר      | Scatter               | 2  |
| פלט      | Deliver               | 18 |
| פקד      | Visit                 | 2  |
| פריץ     | Destroyer             | 1  |
| פרש      | Scatter               | 1  |
| פשע      | Rebel                 | 1  |
| פתח      | Draw weapon           | 1  |
| צבא      | Host                  | 19 |
| צוה      | Command               | 2  |
| צור      | Rock                  | 13 |
| צל       | Protection            | 5  |
| צמת      | Annihilate            | 5  |
| צנה      | Shield                | 2  |
| צעד      | March                 | 1  |
| צפה      | Watch                 | 2  |
| צפן      | Hide                  | 4  |
| צר       | Foe                   | 25 |
| קבר      | Grave                 | 1  |
| קדם      | Confront              | 3  |
| קוה      | Lie in wait for       | 1  |
| קום      | Arise                 | 25 |
| קיץ      | Arise                 | 3  |
| קצץ      | Chop                  | 1  |
| קרא      | Meet (on battlefield) | 1  |
| קרב      | Battle                | 4  |
| קדם      | Ax                    | 1  |
| קרן      | Horn                  | 7  |
| קשת      | Bow                   | 9  |
| רבבות    | Myriad                | 2  |
| רגש      | Conspire              | 1  |
| רדם      | Be Stupefied          | 1  |
| רדף      | Pursue                | 9  |
| רדף שלום | Pursue peace          | 1  |
| רום      | I. Raise              | 1  |
|          | II. Triumph           | 1  |
| רוע      | Battle cry            | 5  |
| רוץ      | Run                   | 2  |
|          | Cast out              | 2  |
| רחץ      | Wash (with Blood)     | 1  |

## Maguire Affects of War

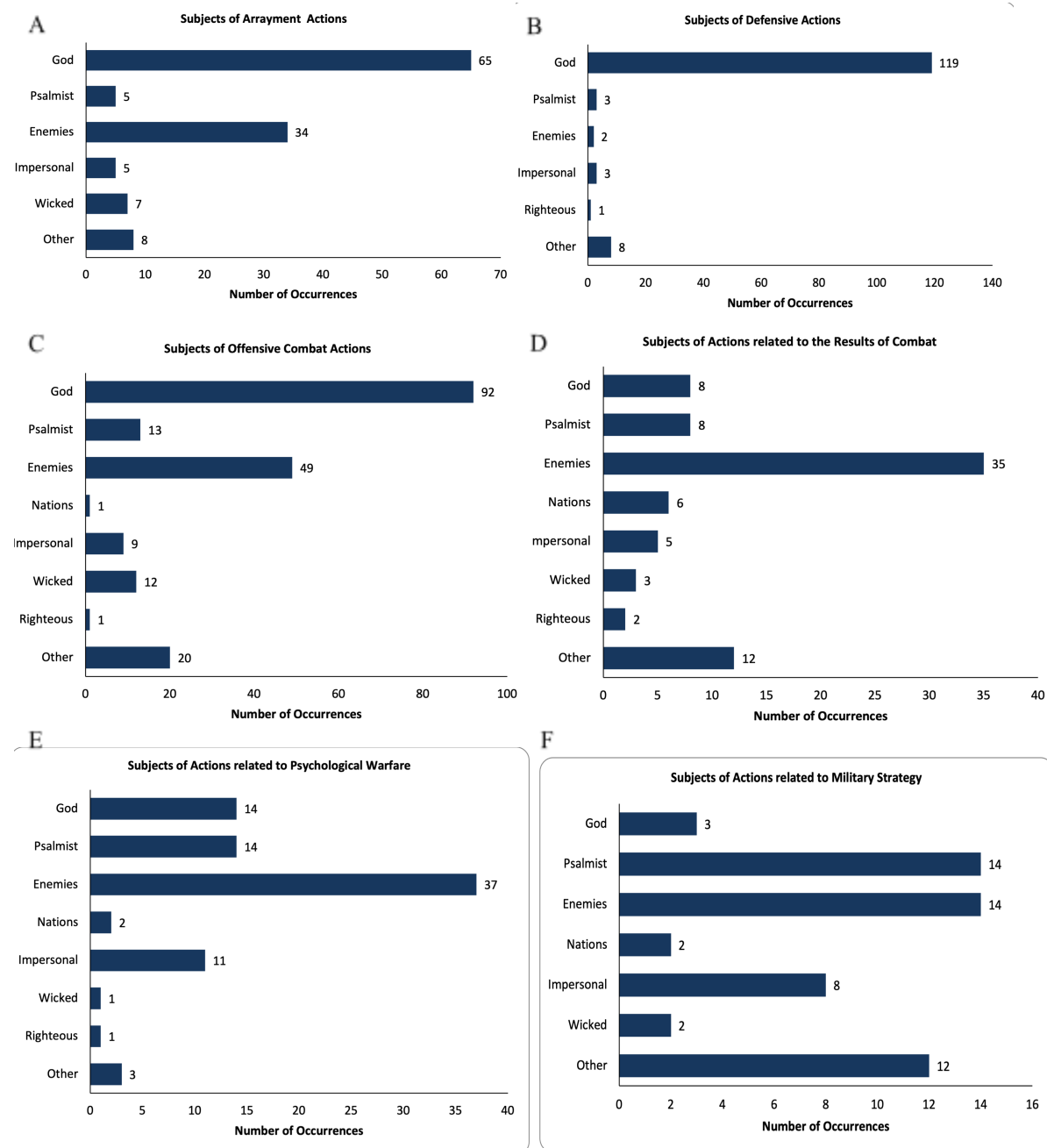
|            |                                                       |             |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| רכב        | I. Chariot<br>II. Ride                                | 3<br>5      |
| רבס        | Conspiracy                                            | 3           |
| רמה        | Shoot                                                 | 1           |
| רמס        | Trample                                               | 1           |
| רעד        | Tremble                                               | 2           |
| רעע        | Break                                                 | 1           |
| רצח        | Slaughter                                             | 2           |
| רצץ        | Crush                                                 | 1           |
| רשף        | Dart                                                  | 1           |
| שאג        | Roar                                                  | 1           |
| שאון       | Uproar                                                | 1           |
| שאף        | Trample                                               | 3           |
| שבות       | Captivity                                             | 3           |
| שבט        | Rod (as weapon)                                       | 2           |
| שבר        | Break                                                 | 11          |
| שבת        | Carry off                                             | 2           |
| שגב        | Defend                                                | 2           |
| שדד        | Despoil                                               | 2           |
| שוא        | Ruin                                                  | 2           |
| שוב        | I. Payback<br>II. Turn back<br>II. Restore (to Power) | 2<br>8<br>3 |
| שולם       | Ally                                                  | 2           |
| שופר       | Trumpet                                               | 1           |
| שור        | Wall                                                  | 1           |
| שחק        | Pulverize                                             | 1           |
| שחת        | Destroy                                               | 6           |
| שים        | Set up banner                                         | 1           |
| שית        | I. Set against<br>I. Set fear in                      | 3<br>3      |
| שלום       | Peace                                                 | 6           |
| שלח        | Send forth                                            | 10          |
| שלח באש    | Set fire                                              | 1           |
| שלך        | Cast off                                              | 1           |
| שלך נעל על | Hurl sandal at (idiom)                                | 1           |
| שלל        | Plunder                                               | 11          |
| שמד        | Be Destroyed                                          | 2           |
| שמה        | Desolation                                            | 1           |
| שמם        | I. Devastate<br>II. Be Devastated                     | 1<br>2      |
| שמר        | I. Watch (enemy)<br>II. Protect                       | 2<br>10     |
| שנאן       | Thousands                                             | 1           |
| שנן        | Sharpen (sword)                                       | 4           |
| שסה        | Despoil                                               | 1           |

## Maguire Affects of War

|        |                     |   |
|--------|---------------------|---|
| שסס    | Plunder             | 1 |
| שפך דם | Shed blood          | 2 |
| שרף    | Burn                | 3 |
| שרר    | Enemy               | 5 |
| שרש    | Uproot              | 1 |
| תמם    | Be Destroyed        | 1 |
| תעצמה  | Power               | 1 |
| תער    | Knife               | 1 |
| תפש    | Capture             | 2 |
| תשועה  | Victory/deliverance | 8 |

## Appendix 2

Figure 1: Subjects of Verbs related to Combat, Panels A-H



## Maguire Affects of War

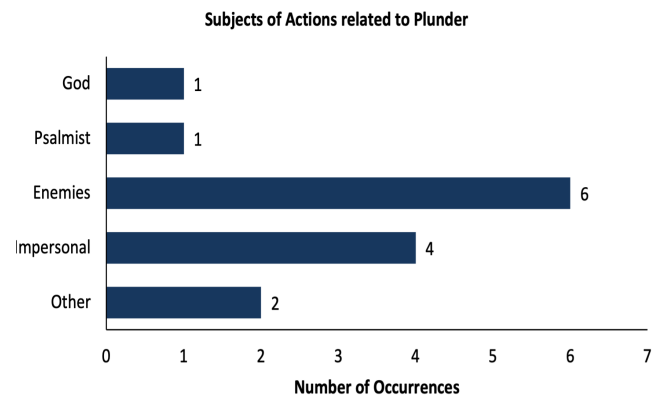
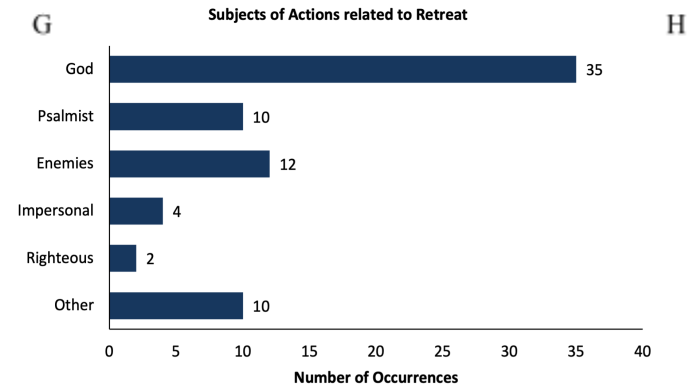
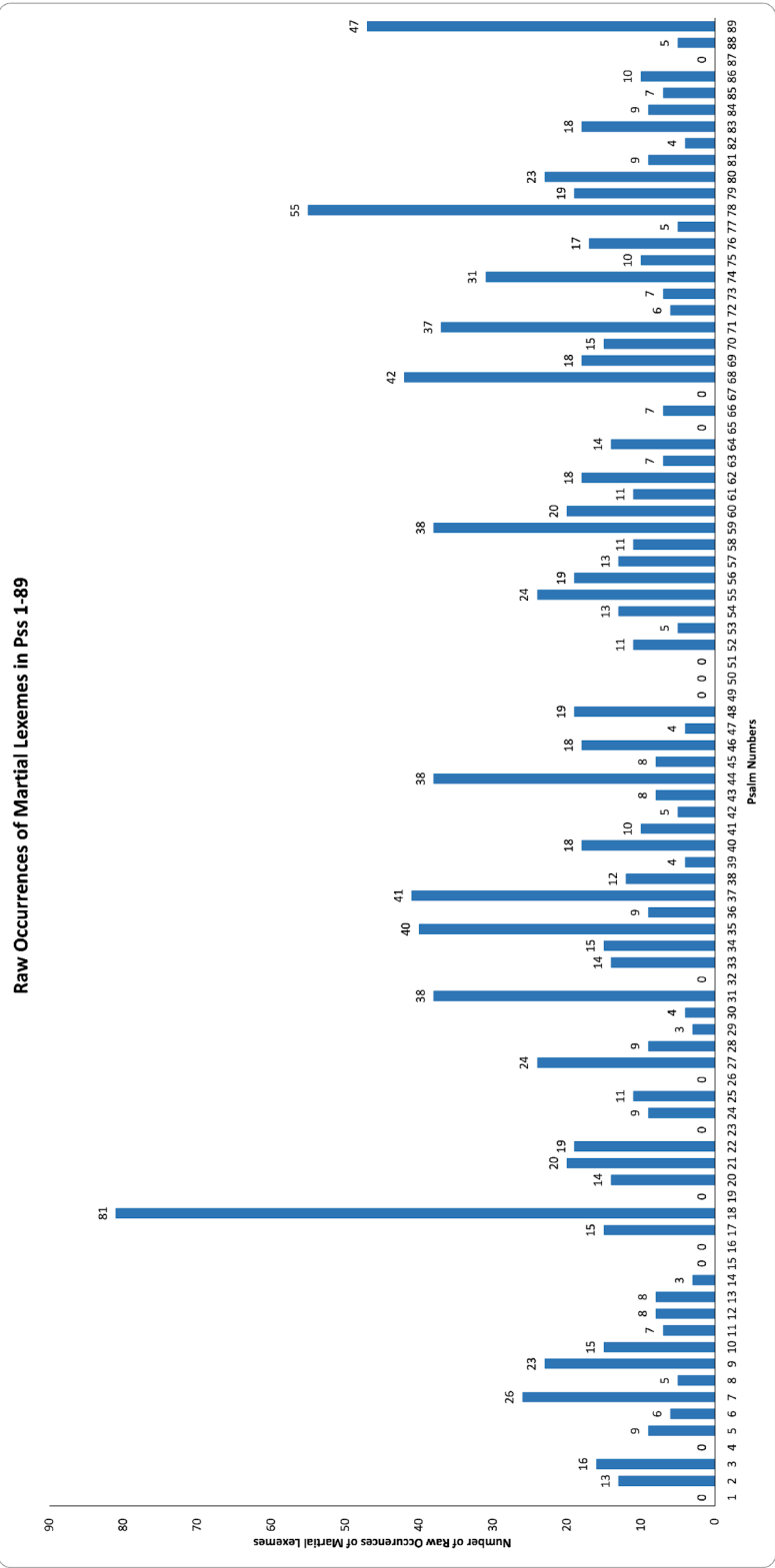


Figure 2: Raw Occurrences of Martial Lexemes, Pss 1-89



*Figure 3: Unique Martial Lexemes, Pss 1-89*

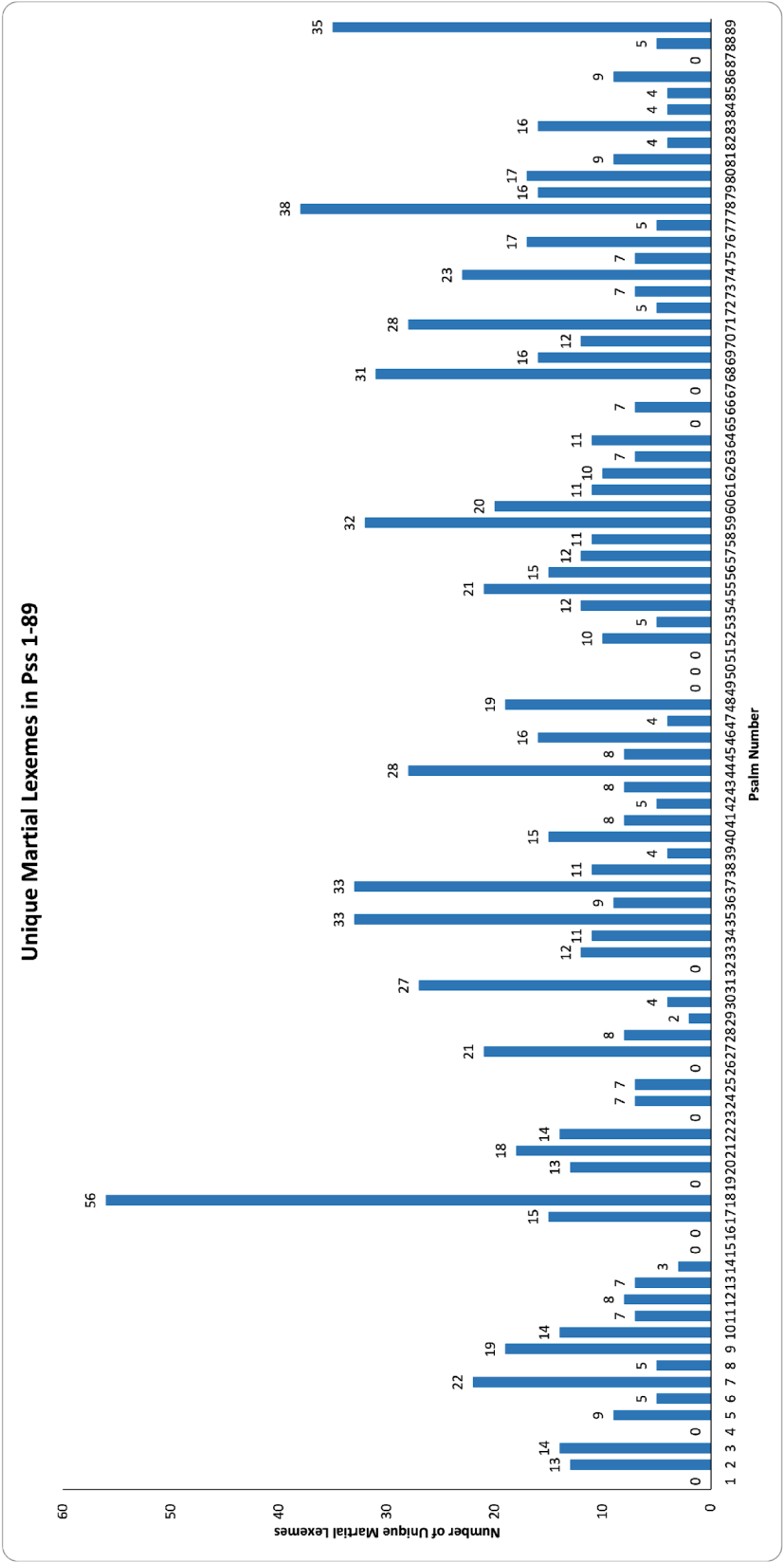
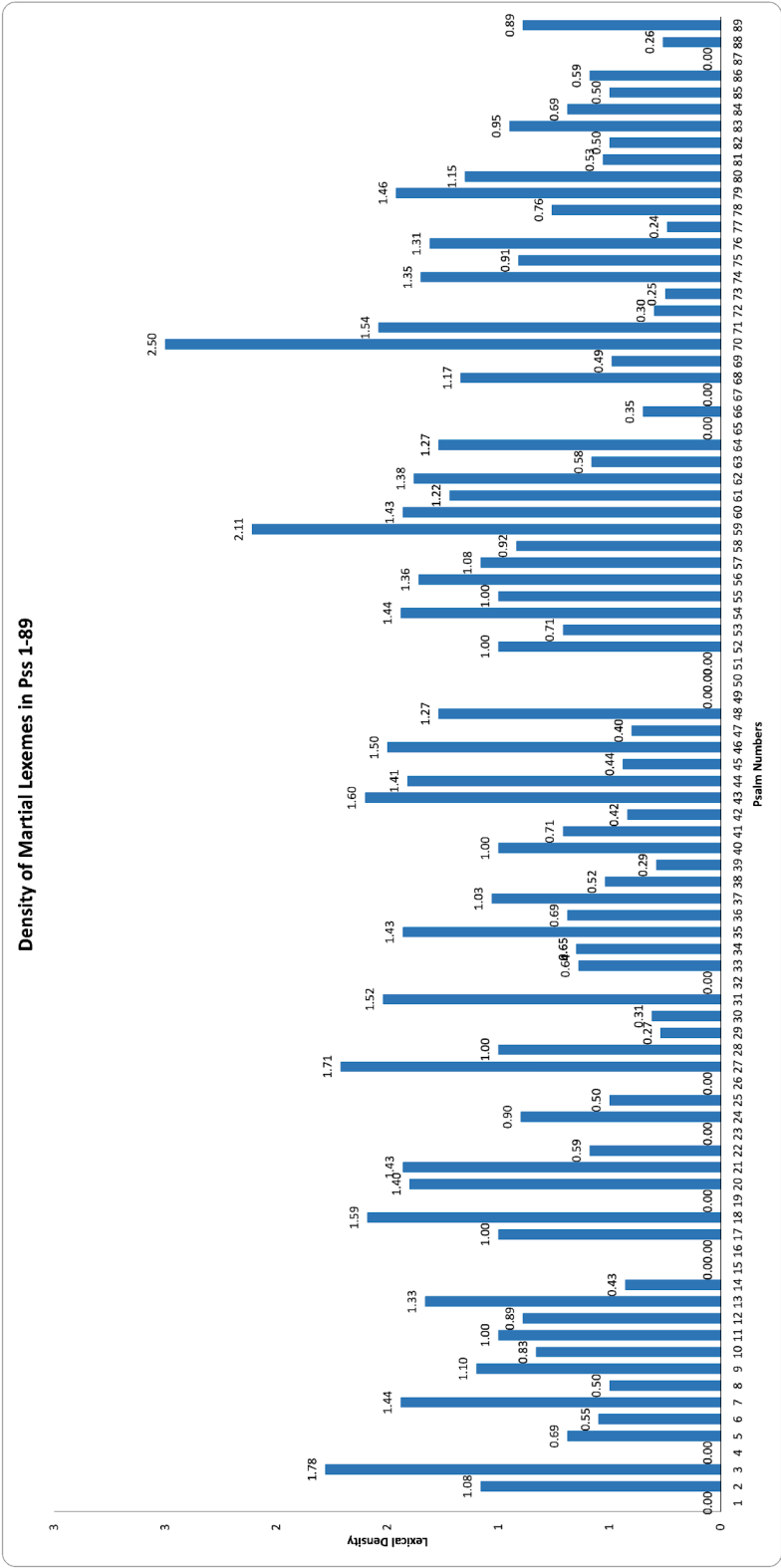


Figure 4: Density of Martial Lexemes, Pss 1-89



Lexical density is calculated by dividing the total number of raw occurrences by the total number of verses in a given psalm.

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