

Enacting and Experiencing Martyrdom in 4Maccabees

Silvia Castelli | ORCID: 0000-0002-4039-9939

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands

s.castelliz@vu.nl

Received 3 August 2023 | Revised 16 April 2024 | Accepted 17 April 2024 |

Published online 23 December 2024

Abstract

Building on second-generation cognitive criticism, notably enactivism, on studies of phonetic iconicity, especially on the use of prosodic and phonological effects to convey meaning, as well as on ancient reflections on *enargeia*, this article investigates the narrative and linguistic strategies used by 4Maccabees to create *enargeia*/immersion in the scene of Eleazar's martyrdom—one of 4Maccabees' most immersive scenes and one of the peaks of the story. Through a close reading focused on verbal forms (tenses and voices), prefixes, adverbial expressions, space markers, bodily movements, phonetic mimesis, prose rhythm, and metaphoric language, it argues that in this scene *enargeia* is achieved by a narrative carefully constructed through enactive style and linguistic strategies close to the audience's non-mediated way of perception, highly effective in engaging the audience into an embodied experience of martyrdom.

Keywords

4Maccabees – narratology – *enargeia* – enactivism – experience – martyrdom

1 Introduction¹

“[M]artyrdom ... in its very nature ... demands a public, a response, and a record.”² Accordingly, narrators of martyrdom accounts aim at involving the audience and evoking their emotions.³ One of the most effective ways to achieve this purpose is by *enargeia*. The central idea of ancient *enargeia*—called “immersion” in contemporary narrative terminology—is that the story world appears so clearly to the audience that they experience the illusion of being present at the events reported in the narrative.⁴ According to some of the most concise ancient definitions, *enargeia* is a “speech which brings the subject matter before the eyes” or “attempts to turn readers into spectators.”⁵ These minimal definitions point to the pictorialist, visual account of *enargeia*, that is the idea that readers are prompted to visualize the story world in the form of mental images seen with the mind’s eye.⁶ However—as rightly contended by Luuk Huitink—a closer investigation of more extensive ancient references show that this virtual spectatorship was conceived “as a pretty intense affair,” more similar to “emotionally involved audiences of sports competitions than of passive viewers of art displayed in a gallery.”⁷ That is surely the case for the audience of 4Maccabees: the audience in this text undergoes an empathic, emotional experience, initially experiencing the pain of the martyrs, yet ultimately their emotional power via emotional contagion, as aptly argued by Ari Mermelstein.⁸

But *how* does the text of 4Maccabees achieve *enargeia* in practice? Mermelstein indicates authorial interventions, the audience’s experience of games, and especially the detailed description of both instruments and procedure

1 The core research for this article has been made possible thanks to a Johanna van Nijland research grant from Leiden University. Earlier versions of this text have been delivered at the 12th congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies in Frankfurt and at the Katwijk conference for Latin and Greek linguistics 2023. I thank the audiences of those conferences as well as the anonymous reviewer of the *Journal for the Study of Judaism* for their helpful comments and insights.

2 Rajak, “Dying for Law,” 100.

3 So argues van Henten, “Characters, Emotions,” 513, on 2Maccabees.

4 Allan et al., “Enargeia to Immersion,” 36.

5 Huitink, “Enargeia and Bodily Mimesis,” 188, with references.

6 An extensive discussion on the pictorialist account of *enargeia* and its shortcomings in Huitink, 169–176.

7 Huitink, 188.

8 Mermelstein, *Power and Emotion*, 23–61. An emotional involvement of the audience is also implied by the term ψυχγγωγία in 2Macc 2:25, as pointed out by van Henten, “Characters, Emotions,” 509.

of torture as mechanisms for facilitating empathy and emotional contagion.⁹ Still, *how* does a detailed description convey *enargeia*? In this article, I will try to answer this question by using the scene of Eleazar's martyrdom in 4 Macc 6 as a case study. First of all, one should be clear about what is meant with "description." Recent studies in classics have shown that the ancient concept of *ekphrasis* does not simply point to what contemporary criticism would identify as "description," but encompasses narrative as well.¹⁰ Moreover, second-generation cognitive criticism applied to narratology has demonstrated that *enargeia* as the result of a detailed, pictorialist description is cognitively not realistic.¹¹ By "second-generation cognitive criticism" I indicate the "e-approaches" to cognition, where

the e's stand for theories bringing to the fore the enactive, embedded, embodied, and extended 4 qualities of the mind. To this list we may add "experiential" and "emotional," since this new paradigm gives experience and emotional responses a much more important role in cognition than first-wave, computational cognitivism.¹²

In this article I will focus in particular on enactivism and how enactivism is connected to experience. Perception is conceived by enactivists as a skillful activity: the world as experienced emerges from action, specifically from actual and potential bodily movements, and objects are described in their affordances, that is in the qualities relevant to potential and actual ways of interacting with them.¹³ In a groundbreaking article on Homer's *enargeia*, inspired by the enac-

9 Mermelstein, 52–59. On "detailed, vivid description," see also Rajak, "Dying for Law," 100; de Silva, *Introduction and Commentary*, 141, and "Author of 4 Maccabees," 208–212; Dijkhuizen, "Pain, Endurance," 62. The Greek term *ekphrasis* and its Latin equivalent *descriptio* maintain however a highly visual connotation in contemporary criticism; see Webb, *Ekphrasis*, 5–7; James and Webb, "Ekphrasis and Art," 4–5; Whitaker, *Ekphrasis, Vision*.

10 See in particular Koopman, *Ancient Greek Ekphrasis*. Koopman highlights that his five cases studies, among which is the shield of Achilles of *Il.* 18.478–608, are situated in various ways between description and narration and their textual organization has both narrative and descriptive properties (261).

11 See Grethlein and Huitink, "Homer's Vividness," 69–73, based among others on Noë, *Action in Perception*, and on several studies by Marco Caracciolo. See notes 12–13 below.

12 Kukkonen and Caracciolo, *Cognitive Literary Study*, 268. On experience and embodied cognition, see more recently Caracciolo and Kukkonen, *With Bodies*. On the significance of cognitive studies for the Humanities, notably for classics, see Budelman, "Introduction."

13 On enactivism, see Caracciolo, "Blind Reading" and *Experientiality*, notably 93–105. Affordances are defined by Donald Norman as "the perceived and actual properties of the thing,

tivist theory of cognition, Jonas Grethlein and Luuk Huitink have shown that Homer's vividness as appears in the famous chariot race of *Il.* 23, is achieved, in spite of the paucity of a detailed, pictorialist description, by focusing on simple bodily actions—in what the two authors call an “enactive style.”¹⁴ In other words, the listeners/readers would be most effectively “drawn in” to the scene *not* by a detailed description but through movement and action, which are closer to their mechanisms of perception.

Indeed, ancient authors were already aware of the efficacy of narrative and linguistic strategies to create *enargeia*, including the specification of movement in the space and the potential of sound and rhythm, aspects which will be considered in this article.¹⁵ For example, in his treatise *De elocutione* (*On Style*),¹⁶ the rhetorician Pseudo-Demetrius cites among his examples of *enargeia* the fight between Diomedes and Eumelos in Homer's chariot race of *Il.* 23 (vv. 377–381; *Eloc.* 210–211). In this scene, Pseudo-Demetrius is struck by the fact that Diomedes' horses seem forever on the point of mounting his chariot and that Eumelos is said to feel the breath of the horses on his back. As pointed out by Grethlein and Huitink, Pseudo-Demetrius' sensitivity is elicited not by a detailed description of the race but by the “enactivist and embodied account of the narrative,” achieved, among others, by prepositions and prefixes (ἐπί, ἐπι-, κατα-) that “specify the movements spatially and make the pursuit tangible to the listener/reader.”¹⁷

In the same scene, the phonetic mimesis and harsh sound of the Greek θρυλίχθη “was lacerated” (*Il.* 23.396) is highlighted by an ancient commentator as a way to express the trouble (ταραχή) of the character: *scholion* Σ bT 23.396 in fact observes that “the onomatopoeia of θρυλίχθη expresses the trouble of the shattered protagonist.”¹⁸ It is again Pseudo-Demetrius who openly maintains that onomatopoeia contributes to *enargeia* (*Eloc.* 219–220). He takes as an exam-

primary those fundamental properties that determine just how the thing could possibly be used”; see Norman, *Psychology*, 9; more recently on affordances and ancient literature, Grethlein, “Author and Characters,” 226.

14 Grethlein and Huitink, “Homer's Vividness;” the argument is further developed in Huitink, “Enargeia, Enactivism;” “Enargeia and Bodily Mimesis.”

15 For ancient poetry, several examples are collected by Manieri, *L'immagine poetica*, 79–192; Otto, *Enargeia*, 67–134; and Meijering, *Literary Theories*, 39–44.

16 The dating of Pseudo-Demetrius is controversial; see Chiron, *Démétrios*, XIII–XL. Paffenroth, “A Note,” and Marini, *Demetrio*, place the work in the first century CE, with Marini setting the end of the first century as *terminus post quem*.

17 For an analysis of this scene and its relevance for the ancient concept of *enargeia*, see Grethlein and Huitink, “Homer's Vividness,” 76–78.

18 Text and translation of the *scholion* in Grethlein and Huitink, 78. More examples on embodied aspects of *enargeia*, in Huitink, “Enargeia and Bodily Mimesis,” 198–208.

ple the word λάπτοντες “lapping with the tongue,” used because of its mimetic effect rather than the simple πίνοντες “drinking.” The rhetorician explains that “had (the author) used πίνοντες, he would not have imitated dogs that drink, nor would have created *enargeia*.”¹⁹ “For, every imitation,” stresses Pseudo-Demetrius, “has something vivid (ἐναργές τι),” even ill-sounding imitation: “in fact, with cacophony (the author) imitates anomaly.”²⁰ Ancient rhetoricians were also aware of prose’s rhythm and its potential. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1408b7) argues that authors should use paeanic rhythms (— or —) at the beginning and at the end of their periods, and he recommends using three light syllables closed by a heavy syllable (—) at the end of the period to mark the close.²¹ In conclusion of the same section (*Rhet.* 1409a) Aristotle maintains that “it has now been shown that the style (λέξις) should be rhythmical (εὐρυθρον) and not unrhythmical (ἄρρυθρον).”²² Chapter 18 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *De compositione verborum* provides several examples of beautiful rhythmic prose.²³ Most notably, in chapter 20 Dionysius praises Homer’s description of Sisyphus pushing a stone up a hill in the underworld, for the way he seems to mimic the effort made by Sisyphus through the slowness of the composition, achieved through clashes of vowels and the use of heavy syllables.²⁴ In sum, some of the ancient rhetoricians, philosophers, scholiasts, and commentators appear to have been aware of the relevance of movement in the space and the potential of what is called in linguistic terms “language iconicity”²⁵ in generating or enhancing *enargeia*.

19 Pseudo-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 220: εἰ δὲ πίνοντες εἶπεν, οὐτ’ ἐμιμείτο πίνοντας τοὺς κύνας, οὔτε ἐνάργεια ἂν τις ἐγίνετο. Pseudo-Demetrius refers to *Il.* 16.161–162, where λάπτοντες is used in a simile comparing the Myrmidons to mountain wolves.

20 Pseudo-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 219: μεμίμηται γὰρ τῇ κακοφωνίᾳ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν· πᾶσα δὲ μίμησις ἐναργές τι ἔχει.

21 Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1408b7: “But (the period) should be broken off (ἀποκόπτεσθαι) by a long syllable (τῇ μακρᾷ) and the end should be evident (δῆλῃν) not because of the scribe (μὴ διὰ τὸν γραφέα) or because of the punctuation mark (παραγραφὴν), but because of the rhythm (ῥυθμόν).”

22 A discussion of this passage by Aristotle in Nijk, “Looking for Iconicity,” 118–120. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1408b3) likewise points out that prose should be rhythmical, yet not metrical, and that the rhythm should not be rigorously carried out, but only up to some extent.

23 Those include Thucydides’ funeral speech of *Hist.* 2.35, Plato’s *Menex.* 236d4–5, the incipit of Demosthenes’ *De corona*, and Homer’s *Il.* 22.395–411.

24 On this last example of Dionysius, see de Jonge, *Grammar and Rhetoric*, 70–77; Purves, “Rough Reading”; Nijk, “Looking for Iconicity,” 113–114, 124–125. The other examples are mentioned by Vatri, “Attic Prose Rhythm,” 468–471.

25 Language is *iconic* “when the communicated content is somehow mirrored by the formal features of the linguistic code.” See Nijk, 113. For a discussion on language iconicity, see Nijk, 113–118. A book series *Iconicity in Language and Literature* (Olga Fischer and

Building on second-generation cognitive criticism, notably enactivism, on studies of phonetic iconicity, especially on the use of prosodic and phonological effects to convey meaning, as well as on the ancient awareness, this article investigates the narrative and linguistic strategies used by 4 Maccabees to create *enargeia*/immersion through a close reading of the martyrdom of Eleazar in 4 Macc 6—one of 4 Maccabees' most immersive scenes and one of the peaks of the story. It will argue that the audience's engagement, and thus their experience of martyrdom, is achieved by a narrative combining "enactive style" and linguistic strategies close to the audience's way of perception.²⁶

2 Enacting Agency (4 Macc 6:1–4)

In a long speech before Antiochus (4 Macc 5:16–38) the old Eleazar provides his reasons for refusing to comply with the tyrant's orders. During the speech, the narrator is covert and gives the floor to his character.²⁷ As soon as the speech ends, the narrator takes the lead again to enact the scene of the martyrdom. What is striking at the outset is the number of verbs and adverbs used in this scene, which become the linguistic tools for enacting the scene. Let us focus on the first lines (4 Macc 6:1–4).

1 Τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀντιρρητορεύσαντα ταῖς τοῦ τυράννου παρηγορίαις παραστάντες οἱ δορυφόροι πικρῶς ἔσυραν ἐπὶ τὰ βασανιστήρια τὸν Ελεάζαρν.

Christina Ljungberg, eds.) is published by John Benjamins (<https://doi.org/10.1075/ill>). On the iconicity of *asyndeton* and its cognitive and psycholinguistic effects, see Vatri, "Asyndeton."

- 26 Dijkhuizen, "Pain, Endurance," discusses the function of torture in 4 Maccabees and provides some sensory depiction of it (p. 64), yet does not consider the audience's experience; likewise, Von Gemünden, "Affekt der ἐπιθυμία," does pay attention to the affective component of the text, but without focusing on the audience's experience. Van Henten, "Characters, Emotions," and "Space, Body," aptly discusses several narrative strategies used by 2 Maccabees (but not by 4 Maccabees), based on contemporary narratological insights; a decisive relevance to visualization is still granted by van Henten ("Characters, Emotions," 513), although nuanced compared to previous scholarship (see especially *ibid.*, n. 26 and 30). De Silva, "Author of 4 Maccabees," 210, considers the martyrdom of Eleazar as an example of *ekphrasis* and points to the wider space devoted to the torments in this text compared to 2 Maccabees, yet does not analyze the narrative and linguistic strategies adopted by 4 Maccabees.
- 27 Direct speech is one of the most effective strategies of immersion. See Allan et al., "Enargeia to Immersion," 44–46. On the narratological theory on speech, see de Bakker, "Narratological Theory." The analysis of speeches in 4 Maccabees as a way to enhance *enargeia* would require a separate investigation.

2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περιέδυσαν τὸν γέραιον ἐγκοσμούμενον τῇ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν εὐσχημοσύνῃ· 3 ἔπειτα περιαγκωνίσαντες ἑκατέρωθεν μάστιξιν κατήκτιζον, 4 Πείσθητι ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολαῖς, ἐτέρωθεν κήρυκος ἐπιβοῶντος.

1 When Eleazar in this manner had eloquently countered the exhortations of the tyrant, the bodyguards who were standing by dragged him brutally to the instruments of torture. 2 First, they stripped the old man, who remained adorned, though, with the dignity that encompasses piety. 3 Then they tied his hands behind him and kept scourging him with whips on either side, 4 while a herald on the opposite side cried out: “Obey the king’s commands!”²⁸

These paragraphs feature the bodyguards as agents and are constructed through actions. Actions are clearly defined through verbs, all in the active voice except for the participle referring to Eleazar, who is “adorned with dignity” (ἐγκοσμούμενον τῇ ... εὐσχημοσύνῃ).²⁹ The bodyguards (1) drag (ἔσυραν) Eleazar towards the instruments of torture (6:1); (2) they strip³⁰ the old man (περιέδυσαν τὸν γέραιον, 6:2); (3) they keep scourging (κατήκτιζον) him after tying his hands behind (περιαγκωνίσαντες) (6:3). The use of the active voice mirrors the enactment of the scene. If the verbal voice is mostly active, the verbal tense is mostly aorist. As the default tense of the narrative, the aorist is unmarked:³¹ the author aims here at representing a quick series of actions. The action proceeds in fact with speed: sentences are short, verbs mostly transitive and with their object expressed (ἔσυραν ... τὸν Ελεάζαρον, περιέδυσαν τὸν γέραιον). Temporal adverbs likewise stress the rapid progression of time: first (πρῶτον μὲν) the bodyguards strip Eleazar, then (ἔπειτα) they tie him (with an aorist participle). The progression of time, however, stops during the action of scourging, expressed with the imperfect κατήκτιζον. The use of the imperfect is marked in this context and should therefore be highlighted—here as a repetitive action

28 This and the following Greek texts follow the edition of Rahlfs. An edition of 4 Maccabees for the Göttingen Septuagint (vol. 1X.4) is being prepared by Robert Hiebert; see Hiebert, “4 Maccabees.” This and the following translations are by Stephen Westerholm for NETS, slightly modified.

29 On the image of virtue covering as a garment, see Plato, *Resp.* v 457a: Ἀποδυτέον δὴ ταῖς τῶν φυλάκων γυναιξίν, ἐπεὶ περ ἀρετὴν ἀντὶ ἱματίων ἀμφιέσονται. “The women of the guardians, then, must strip, since they will be clothed with virtue as a garment.” I thank Frederik Bakker (Radboud University) for this reference.

30 περιδύω “strip off” is likewise found in a scene leading to scourging in Philo, *Flacc.* 75; see also Josephus, *B.J.* 1.531; *A.J.* 6.223, 7.4, 9.259, 12.250, 14.106.

31 On the notions of markedness, see Andrews, *Markedness Theory*, 1.

(“kept scourging”). In fact, in using the imperfect, the author reinforces the tangibility of the account through a temporal perspective which sees the action as still in progress rather than as something that has already come to an end, enhancing *enargeia*/immersion. This ability is praised in the ancient world by an author approximately contemporary of 4 Maccabees:³² Plutarch admires Xenophon’s account of the Battle of Cunaxa, because the historian presents the action “as if it has not been concluded, but is still going on” (ὥς οὐ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις. *Art.* 8.1). Section 4 below will show that one of the most prominent actions eliciting the audience’s hearing in this scene is that of scourging.

3 Enacting Space

Even more telling for the audience engagement in the martyrdom of Eleazar is the representation of space. While in a narrative a narrator speaks to the narratee about a past world located at a distance from the *hic et nunc* of the storytelling, in a spatio-temporal “immersion” this temporal and spatial distance is reduced to zero.³³ To achieve that, the text should provide the listener/reader with enough spatial and perceptual clues about the space. But there are different ways to achieve that, and the most stimulating one is achieved by providing space references bound to actions. As convincingly argued by Grethlein and Huitink,

this kind of spatial referencing, which is bound to action, stimulates the reader’s imagination far more than the graphic description of places. It is cognitively more realistic in that it corresponds to our perception.³⁴

In Eleazar’s martyrdom, the space is clearly defined from the outset, yet not by means of a detailed description of the place. We do not know where the instruments of torture are located. We do not know how far from the previous scene the place of torture is. All that is irrelevant, as it does not add to the *enargeia* of

32 I date 4 Maccabees to the (early) second century CE, according to the dating proposed by van Henten “Datierung,” against Bickerman; see also van Henten, “4 Maccabees,” 201; and Rajak, “Paideia,” 70–71. I do not find convincing Schwemer’s claim for a dating around 30 CE on the basis of the positive use of the term ζῆλωτής for Phineas (4 Macc 8:12); see Schwemer, “Entstehungszeit.”

33 So Allan et al., “Enargeia to Immersion,” 38–39.

34 Grethlein and Huitink, “Homer’s Vividness,” 77. On enacting narrative space, see also Caracciolo, *Experientiality*, 100–103.

the martyrdom. Instead, verbs are modified by prefixes that specify the movements spatially. For example, the guards are standing by the hero (παραστάντες); they tie his hands behind him (περιαγκωνίσαντες).³⁵ Prefixes are here not simply added to meet a trend of imperial Greek, but have a precise function: they make the pursuit of the movement tangible to the audience.³⁶

Action-related adverbs are likewise used to build the space, creating a high degree of motor resonance.³⁷ The guards flog Eleazar “on either side” (ἐκατέρωθεν);³⁸ the herald who shouts the command to obey the king’s orders does so “on the opposite side” (ἐτέρωθεν). It is noteworthy that there are no adjectives in these opening lines: even the cruelty of the guards is expressed by the modal adverb πικρῶς (“brutally, harshly, vindictively”) to indicate the way the bodyguards drag Eleazar. It is *action*, expressed by the guards’ bodily movements, that sketches the space, and it is through action and specific clues connected to action that the audience is called to respond to the space by enacting the sensorimotor pattern familiar to them through perception. The scene’s space has thus acquired an “experiential feel.”³⁹

35 Περιαγκωνίζω finds 36 occurrences in Greek literature, of which only two before or around the time of 4 Maccabees: Aesop’s *Fable* 216 (“The thief and his mother”, where a thief has been caught) and Dio Chrysostom’s *Or.* 32.90. Although Dio’s text is corrupt in the passage where the verb occurs and is thus reconstructed conjecturally, it is interesting first because Dio’s oration 32, delivered to the people of Alexandria, is usually dated to the time of Trajan and thus could be approximately contemporary to 4 Maccabees. Second, for its striking appeal to body and violent seizure, like in 4 Macc 6, and to the idea of captivity “not by pirates only or other persons, but also by a courtesan or gluttony or by any other low desire,” which reminds of 4 Maccabees’ first chapter. The passage goes as follows: “the man who has experienced such a capture might well be said to have been taken by storm (ἐαλωμέναι) and manacled to boot (περιγγκωνίσθαι). For if when a man’s body has been overpowered and confined by chains or guards, we consider that these disagreeable happenings constitute captivity and slavery and violent seizure, when the soul has been taken captive and ruined, we should not dissimulate or underrate it” (*Or.* 32.90, trans. Cohoon and Lamar Crosby for LCL, p. 259).

36 On prefixes in post-Classical Greek and 4 Maccabees, see Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen*, 181–183.

37 On motor resonance, see Kuzmičová, “Presence.” Kuzmičová argues that presence arises from a first-person, enactive process of sensorimotor simulation/resonance.

38 The same adverb is used for the martyrdom of the first brother in 4 Macc 9:11. I find de Silva’s interpretation of ἐκατέρωθεν convincing (de Silva, *Introduction*, 143): based on the parallelism with the phrase beginning with ἐτέρωθεν (4 Macc 6:4), it is probable that ἐκατέρωθεν indicates that Eleazar was being whipped from both sides.

39 I borrow this expression from Caracciolo, *Experientiality*, 101.

4 Enacting, Embodying, and Phonetic Iconicity (4Macc 6:5–6)

The following lines (6:5–11) shift the focal point from the guards to Eleazar. I shall focus on 4Macc 6:5–6.

5 ὁ δὲ μεγάλῳφρων καὶ εὐγενὴς ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἐλεάζαρος ὥσπερ ἐν ὀνείρῳ βασανιζόμενος κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον μετετρέπετο, 6 ἀλλὰ ὑψηλοὺς ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπεξάινετο ταῖς μᾶστιξιν τὰς σάρκας ὁ γέρων καὶ κατερρεῖτο τῷ αἵματι καὶ τὰ πλευρὰ κατετιτρώσκετο.

5 But the lofty-minded and noble man, as truly Eleazar, as though being tortured in a dream, was in no way swayed; 6 yet, while he raised his eyes aloft towards heaven, the old man was being torn in his flesh by whips, he was dripping his blood, and was lacerated in his sides.

The first is a long period (ὁ δὲ ... κατετιτρώσκετο), yet constructed through parataxis, with a triple coordination (ἀλλά, καί, καί).⁴⁰ Noteworthy is the repeated use of ὡς, ὥσπερ (“like, as though”), which both function as anchors to a “common ground” with the audience,⁴¹ that is to the shared knowledge of narrator and audience in terms of the meaning of Eleazar, “God helps,” and the oniric experience.⁴² In contrast with what we have noticed in the first three paragraphs describing the guards, in 4Macc 6:5–6 the action is here mostly expressed with the passive voice: Eleazar “was swayed” (μετετρέπετο), “was being torn,” (ἀπεξάινετο), “was dripping blood” (κατερρεῖτο), “was lacerated” (κατετιτρώσκετο). While in general the passive voice may be less conducive to generating resonance in the listeners/readers,⁴³ in this case the *cumulatio* of passive voices mirrors the subjugation of the hero to the tortures of his abusers, who are the implicit agents: the passive voice thus becomes in this passage an intended strategy of enactive style.⁴⁴ As I have noticed about space, here likewise the four verbs are all modified by prefixes (μετετρέπετο, ἀπεξάινετο, κατερρεῖτο, κατετιτρώσκετο) which specify the movement spatially, notably the

40 On the use of καί in 4Maccabees, see Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen*, 85, 87, 89–90.

41 On the concept of “anchoring,” see Sluiter, “Anchoring Innovation.” On “common ground,” Allan and van Gils, “Anchoring New Ideas.”

42 I interpret ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἐλεάζαρος with “as truly Eleazar” like de Silva, *Introduction*, 143, to indicate that the martyr experiences “truly” what his name means, that is God’s help in enduring and resisting tortures. See also Scarpat, *Quarto libro*, 214.

43 Grethlein and Huitink, “Homer’s Vividness,” 77.

44 An analogous use of the passive is found in the scene of Eumelos’s crash in Homer, *Il.* 23. 292–297. See Grethlein and Huitink, 77.

movement “down” by the use of *κατα*-. The imperfect likewise acquires a key role in creating *enargeia*/immersion, as it presents the scene from an internal viewpoint, instead of a retrospective viewpoint: the events are sketched as they are unfolding, without reaching an endpoint. Through the use of the imperfect, therefore, the narrator moves his gaze through the scene, necessarily aligning narrated and narrating time to enhance *enargeia*/immersion.⁴⁵

Bodily and empirical references are central in this representation. First, there is an appeal to the martyr’s bodily position and movement: the hero is so far clearly still standing, swayed “in no way” (*κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον*). But he is not only steadfast: he performs an upwards movement—that is, once again a bodily *action*—by raising (*ἀνατείνας*) his eyes aloft (*ὑψηλούς*) towards heaven (*εἰς οὐρανόν*). The preverb *ἀνα*- “up” clearly specifies the movement spatially, contrasting sharply with the repeated use of the prefix *κατα*- in *κατερρεῖτο* and *κατετιτρώσκετο*, which indicates a downwards movement. This contrast of *ἀνα*- and *κατα*- linguistically embodies the active resistance of the hero.⁴⁶

Second, the action of scourging is represented through a familiar metaphoric domain. The author coins a compound verb by adding the prefix *ἀπο*- to the more common verb *ξαίνω*, “to comb, card (the wool)”:⁴⁷ the verb is physically highly connoted, with its implied reference to the familiar semantic domain of carding the wool, and thus contributes to making the action of scourging more tangible to the listener/reader. Moreover, the scourging, metaphorically expressed as “combing/carding,” is openly performed all around the body of the hero, to his flesh, expressed in the plural *τάς σάρκας*.

Third—and I find this the most compelling point in this passage—in the second part of the sentence the author makes use of language iconicity, specifically of phonetic iconicity, to appeal to the hearing sense of the audience. Alliteration, the marked repetition of one type of consonant in a short stretch of discourse, is often considered to convey a certain kind of emphasis.⁴⁸ While the first words of 4 Macc 6:6 (*ἀλλὰ ὑψηλούς ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*) features an alliteration of the sibilant (*ψ, σ, ς*), not uncommon in Greek, the second part (*ἀπεξαίνετο ταῖς μάστιξιν τὰς σάρκας*) reproduces mimetically

45 So notes Allan, “Narrative Immersion,” 22–23.

46 On *ὑπομονή* as “active resistance,” see below, section 5, with references at note 53. On the repeated opposition of *ἀνα*- and *κατα*-, see also section 6 below.

47 The verb *ἀποξάινωμαι* is used here for the first time in Greek; see Scarpat, *Quarto libro*, 215. The metaphoric use of *ξαίνω*, however, is attested earlier (with *μάστιξιν*), for example in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 3.30. On the *hapax legomena* of 4 Maccabees, see Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen*, 28.

48 In these terms, Nijk, “Looking for Iconicity,” 131, with references.

the sounds of the action described: the repetition of the fricative sibilants—notably the ξ—and the combination of χ and σ/ς (ἀπεξαινετο ταῖς μάστιξιν τὰς σάρκας) reproduce the acoustic effect of the whips on the flesh of the old man. The last two verbs of 4Macc 6:6 add to the dominance of bodily sensations and to the appeal to the audience's acoustic perception: the man's blood is dripping in a continuous flow (κατερρέιτο) and the laceration of his sides is mimetically represented by the acoustic effect created by the repetition of ρ, χ, τ in τὰ πλευρὰ κατετιτρώσκετο. Κατετιτρώσκετο, itself a rhythmic word (~~~ --~~), is placed in a marked position at the end of the first part of this scene.⁴⁹ In κατερρέιτο and κατετιτρώσκετο the prefix κατα- is used not only to specify the downwards movement, but to further highlight the alliteration of χ and τ, contributing to phonetic iconicity. It is hard to imagine that the appeal to phonetic mimesis in 4Macc 6:6 is not intentional. In fact, in 4Macc 14:9 the intended audience is openly identified with the listeners (ἀκούοντες), for whom phonetic iconicity and prose rhythm would be most impacting in eliciting embodied reactions such as shuddering: “Now, as we hear (νῦν ἡμεῖς ἀκούοντες) of those young men's affliction, we *shudder* (φρίττομεν).”⁵⁰

5 Enacted Simile (4Macc 6:7–10)

7 And although he fell to the ground because his body could not bear the agonies, he kept his reason upright and unswerving. 8 One of the brutal bodyguards leaped on him and repeatedly kicked him in the sides with his foot so that he would get up again after he fell. 9 But he endured the pain, scorned the torture, and persevered through the abuses. 10 Like a noble athlete the old man, while being beaten, won over his torturers; 11 in fact, as his face was sweating and he was gasping heavily for breath (ἰδρῶν γέ τοι τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐπασθμαίνων σφοδρῶς), he was admired by his torturers themselves for his courageous spirit.

49 On onomatopoeia as a tool contributing to *enargeia*, see Pseudo-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 219–220, discussed in section 1 above. Vatri, “Attic Prose Rhythm,” 483, argues that the modern critic can “reconstruct a range of possible realizations and ... assess to a good extent the potential rhythmicity of a stretch of prose.”

50 Scarpat, *Quarto libro*, 351, points to Aeschylus, *Prom.* 540 and Sophocles, *Trach.* 1044 for the use of φρίσσω/φρίττω with participle in direct addresses to the listeners. For “identification” with the character as another strategy of immersion, see Allan et al., “Enargeia to Immersion,” 42.

In paragraph 7 the body of Eleazar, who has been standing so far, falls to the ground (πίπτων εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος). The hero's falling is marked by the iteration of the participle πίπτων, which opens 4 Macc 6:7 (καὶ πίπτων) and closes 6:8 (πίπτων), both in a marked position. Yet, even if the body falls, the hero's reason (λογισμός) remains "upright and unswerving" (ὀρθός καὶ ἀκλινής), contrasting the bodily movement. The unswerving, steadfast reason of the hero, expressed by the adjective ἀκλινής—itself indicating absence of bending⁵¹—is the ground of his ὑπομονή. In fact, in spite of the repeated kicks⁵² by one of the "brutal" guards—πικρῶν, echoing the adverb πικρῶς of 4 Macc 6:1—the hero "endures the pain" (ὑπέμενε τοὺς πόνους) and "perseveres through the abuses" (διεκαρτέρει τοὺς αἰχισμούς). Eleazar's ὑπομονή, that in 4 Maccabees indicates not only "endurance, perseverance," but also, more actively, "emotional and physical resistance,"⁵³ brings the old man to triumph (the verb is νικάω) over his torturers "like a noble athlete" (καθάπερ γενναῖος ἀθλητής).⁵⁴ Metaphoric language is a powerful tool to enact a given experience, as pointed out by enactivists,⁵⁵ and our author once again displays his mastery in the use of similes. But not only is the victory comparable to that of an athlete: his race to the victory is what produces admiration in the bystanders—and ultimately in 4 Maccabees' audience. Like the face of a noble athlete, the face of the old hero is sweating

51 The adjective is used also by Philo, referred for example to the attitude of Abraham before the sacrifice of Isaac (*Abr.* 170), and to God (*Conf.* 96; *Mutat.* 176). See Scarpat, *Quarto libro*, 216.

52 As in 4 Macc 6:3, the function of the imperfect ἔτυπτεν should be stressed; I did so here by adding a repetitive nuance which indicates an action in progress.

53 On ὑπομονή as "emotional and physical resistance," see Meyers, "Hypomone"; Mermelstein, *Power and Emotion*, 23–61; and Castelli, "Heroes of *Patientia*." Pace Zurawski, *Jewish Paideia*, 419, n. 77 according to whom "ὑπομονή/ὑπομένω and related terminology nearly always refer to the martyrs' ability to *endure* their suffering" (italics mine).

54 On the numerous athletic metaphors in 4 Maccabees (also in 9:8, 23–24; 11:20–23; 12:14; 13:13, 15; 16:14), see Cook, "Metaphors." On 4 Maccabees' athletic vocabulary, Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen*, 188. An athletic simile (ὡς ἀθλητής) is also found in T. Job 4.8 and 16; 18.23. Athletic metaphors are used also in Heb 10:32, 12:1–12 and will be likewise employed for Christian martyrs: e.g., Ign. *Polyc.* 1.3; 1 Clem. 5.1; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.19; 6.1.1; 8.7.2. The athletic imagery employed by 4 Maccabees is closely related to the discourse on ἀνδρεία and masculinity. Van Nijf ("Athletics, Andreia") argues that athletic excellence was a defining element of male identity among the elites of the Roman East. On ἀνδρεία, see Rosen and Sluiter, *Andreia*. On the athletic imagery connected to *paideia*, see Zurawski, *Jewish Paideia*, 280–286.

55 Caracciolo, *Experientiality*, 106: "narrative and literature have a special tool for showing readers how to enact a given experience: metaphorical language ... Literary texts can convey a sense of what it is like to have a given experience by metaphorically associating another experience with it."

(ἰδρῶν), and he is panting heavily (ἐπασθμαίνων σφοδρῶς) for breath like an athlete who is about to win.⁵⁶ According to the enacting strategy pointed out in the section on the bodyguards, neither nouns nor adjectives are used in the athletic simile, but two participles (ἰδρῶν, ἐπασθμαίνων) and an adverb bound to action (σφοδρῶς). While similes can be used as textual strategies to vary the pace of the narrative, especially when developed over several verses/lines,⁵⁷ here the athletic simile is mainly employed to enhance *enargeia*/immersion and engage the audience in experiencing the scene: the athlete is alive (and is not, say, a statue), he is moving, and performing.

The verb ἐπασθμαίνω “to pant, gasp” is another new formation of 4 Maccabees, probably modeled on the Homeric ἀσθμαίνω “breathe hard,” used for panting athletes, for example when Diomedes and Odysseus reach Dolon in book 10 of the *Iliad* (10.376), but especially for dying heroes, gasping for breath.⁵⁸ The fact that in 4 Macc 6:1 and 3 the prefixes are used to specify the space and create sensorimotor resonance in the audience makes it plausible that in 6:11 the author intentionally coins the compound ἐπ-ασθμαίνων to once again appeal to the audience’s immediate perception: the prefix ἐπι- adds to the alliteration of the labial consonants π/φ, which, in combination with the sibilant σ, may contribute to the mimetic effect of panting: ἰδρῶν γέ τοι τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐπασθμαίνων σφοδρῶς. Moreover, the prefix lengthens the verb: the lengthening of the word, together with the *cumulatio* of particles (γέ τοι ... καί), slows down the rhythm, representing the idea of effort.⁵⁹ I have noted in the introduction that Dionysius of Halicarnassus praised Homer’s description of Sisyphus for reproducing Sisyphus’ effort through the slowness of the composition,

56 De Silva, *4 Maccabees* (1998), 67, aptly points to Philo, *Prob.* 26–27 and Seneca, *Const. sap.* 9.4, who employ the analogy of boxers; see also de Silva, *Introduction*, 144.

57 See Harrison, “Force, Frequency.”

58 E.g., Homer, *Il.* 5.585, 10.376, 10.496, 13.399, 16.826; 21.182. The verb is also attested, with a combination of sweating and panting as here in 4 Maccabees, in a context of war in Plutarch’s *Life of Marius*, where the barbarians who “sweated profusely” and “breathed with difficulty” (ἰδρῶτά τε μετ’ ἀσθματος πολλὸν ἐκ τῶν σωματῶν ἀφιέντες) are contrasted to the Romans: “not a Roman was observed to sweat or pant” (ὥς μήθ’ ἰδρῶντά τινα μήτ’ ἀσθμαίνοντα Πωμαίων ὁφθῆναι, *Mar.* 26). The word is used as a medical term by Hippocrates, the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, and Galen, and is known to Jewish-Greek literature: Sir 31:19 uses it for the moderate person who “does not breathe heavily when in bed,” and Josephus (*AJ.* 6.218) where Michal saves David by pretending that he is seriously sick in bed.

59 γέ τοι is attested seven times in 4 Maccabees, of which twice in the scene of Eleazar’s martyrdom. The fact that γέ τοι is not used in the Septuagint outside 4 Maccabees speaks for its intentional use by 4 Maccabees. γέ τοι, however, is largely attested in Philo (*Leg.* 2.10, 2.74, 3.180, 3.183, 3.221, 3.228, 3.230, 3.246; *Sacr.* 81; *Deus* 163; *Agr.* 153; *Plant.* 163; *Mut.* 19; *Somn.* 2.223; *Mos.* 2.227; *Spec.* 3.6; *QE* 2.49b).

achieved through clashes of vowels and the use of heavy syllables. This combination of linguistic strategies in the simile appeals to the audience's immediate perception and is meant to involve the audience in experiencing the scene.

The behavior of the Jewish hero cannot but trigger the admiration of his abusers, who try to convince him to desist from his foolish action. But that elicits the opposite effect. The hero engages at this point of the narration in another direct speech (4 Macc 6:17–23), ending with an apostrophe to the seven young boys, who are called to a noble death—thus preparing the audience for the follow-up to the story—as well as to the guards: “And you, bodyguards to the tyrant, why do you delay?” The hero is ready to die.

6 Enacting Disgust (4 Macc 6:24–25)

24 When they saw that he displayed such loftiness of mind in the face of the tortures and that he remained unmoved by their pity, they brought him to the fire. 25 They burned him with maliciously contrived instruments, threw him down and poured stinking liquids into his nostrils. 26 When he was now burned to his very bones and about to lose consciousness, he lifted up his eyes to God.

At 4 Macc 6:24 the focus shifts back to the guards, who at 6:25 proceed to perform the last stage of the torture: they burn (καταφλέγοντες) the old man, throw him down (ὑπερρίπτουσιν), and pour stinking liquids (δυσώδεις χυλούς ... κατέχουσιν) into his nostrils. Verbs are here again active and transitive, the action proceeds quickly, and the period is short, according to the “enactive style” pointed out in section 2 concerning the bodyguards. Yet, while the guards are the grammatical subject, the verb ὑπερρίπτουσιν—constructed with the preverb ὑπο—points once again to the hero's active resistance through his body: the fact that the guards “threw him down” implies that the old man was still standing during the scene of the speech (4 Macc 6:17–23). Moreover, despite being physically on the ground and “burned to his bones and about to lose consciousness,” the hero can still perform a physical movement, lifting his eyes (ἀνέτεινε τὰ ὄμματα) to God (6:26), as he did at the beginning of his torture (6:6). Standing and performing an upwards movement of the eyes are bodily *actions* of resistance to the abuse.⁶⁰ The abusers repeatedly perform actions constructed through the

60 An analogous microphysical resistance is pointed out by Shaw, “Body, Power,” 270, for Achilles Tatius' Leucippe.

prefixes *κατα-* and *ὑπο-*, which point to “down, below” (*καταφλέγοντες, ὑπερρίπτοσαν, κατέχρον*), while the martyr’s active resistance is expressed with the prefix *ἀνα-*, “up,” as pointed out in section 4 above.

At this point, the guards pour stinking liquids into the hero’s nostrils (6:25). If for the scourging of the old man 4 Maccabees appealed to the hearing of his audience through phonetic mimesis, here the author triggers another of their senses, that of smell. The liquids are openly defined as “stinking, ill-smelling” (*δυσώδεις*). Fourth Maccabees does not add further qualities of the smell, and that could make the perception of smelling more challenging for the audience compared to the more immediate perception of hearing triggered by the phonetic mimesis considered above.⁶¹ However, adjectives are rare in this scene and their sparse use, as *δυσώδης* here, makes the few stand out. Moreover, *δυσώδης* has an empirical connotation, as apparent from its large attestation in medical writings, notably in Hippocrates, the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, Galen, and later medical commentaries, and in passages that are empirical in nature.⁶² In describing the symptoms of the plague in Athens, Thucydides (*Hist.* 2.49) writes that throats and tongues grew bloody and “breath became unnatural and foul” (*πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσώδες*) and to mention but one example from medical writings, Hippocrates’ *Prognosticon* 7 uses *δυσώδης* to indicate the “extremely smelly discharge” of a sore (*ὡς ἥκιστα δυσώδες*). In a setting of performance such as Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*, the foul smell of the protagonist is a key element of generating disgust (vv. 869–876, 882–909, 1032).⁶³ To turn to Jewish literature, Philo (*Mos.* 1.204) uses the adjective, among others, for the leftovers of the manna, connecting it to putrescence: “anything they left for the day after, they ... found it changed and stinking (*μεταβεβληκότα καὶ δυσώδη*) and full of such life as is regularly bred in putrescence” (*κατὰ σήψιν*). The connection with the matter coming from the foul-smelling sore of Hippocrates and the disgust evoked by that seem in order in this context. Finally, Josephus (*A.J.* 2.297) uses

61 I thank the anonymous reviewer of the *Journal for the Study of Judaism* for raising this point.

62 A lemma search of *δυσώδης, -ες* in the TLG shows 147 occurrences in Galen, 43 in Hippocrates and *Corpus Hippocraticum*, 72 in the fourth-century work by Oribasius medicus. In total the word counts 1,693 occurrences in Greek literature. Herodotus (*Hist.* 2.94) employs it to indicate the bad smell produced by the fruit of the tree that the Egyptians call *kiki*, that is the *Ricinus communis*: according to the historian, the liquid obtained from that fruit is no less suitable than olive oil for lamps, but it has a “heavy/strong smell” (*ὀδμὴν βαρέαν*). Likewise referring to the same Egyptian tree, Pliny (*Nat.* 15.7.1) says that the oil obtained from it is “disgusting” (*foedum*) with food and thin for burning in lamps.

63 On the correlation of smell and disgust in this tragedy, see Allen-Hornblower, “Moral Disgust.”

the adjective to characterize the “dreadful, foul stench” (ὀσμή τε ζαλεπή ἦν καὶ δυσώδης) of frogs living, dying, and dead in every corner of the land during the plague of frogs in Egypt. This series of more or less repulsive scenes renders it plausible to suggest that this empirically connoted adjective often connected to disgusting scenes in its literary attestations will have contributed to evoke a sense of disgust in 4 Maccabees’ audience. But the adjective δυσώδης alone would not achieve the goal: the experience of disgust is generated through the combined use of this empirically connoted adjective with the reference to a specific part of the body, namely the nostrils (τοὺς μυκτήρας αὐτοῦ), and the action of pouring the liquids (the verb is καταχέω) precisely into (εἰς) that bodily part. In other words, in this passage embodiment, enactment, and appealing to smell are used together as *combined strategies* to evoke the audience’s disgust.

Appealing to the audience’s smell, referring to the body, and evoking disgust is not unknown to the book of 2 Maccabees, on which 4 Maccabees depends:⁶⁴ in 2 Macc 9:9–10 the whole Seleucid camp is suffering from the decay of Antiochus’ body devoured by worms, which nobody can carry because of the unbearable weight of the stench (διὰ τὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς ἀφόρητον βάρος)—a stench repulsive to Antiochus himself.⁶⁵ However, the intended appeal to the audience’s hearing through phonetic iconicity (4 Macc 6:6, 10), as well as the reference to the stinking liquids poured in Eleazar’s nostrils (4 Macc 6:25) are innovations of 4 Maccabees.⁶⁶ As for the function of disgust, evoking this feeling does not lead to the audience’s distance, but rather the opposite: as aptly argued by Rebecca Moorman on Mitridates’ scaphism in Plutarch’s *Life of Artaxerxes*, the very engagement of the audience in experiencing disgust presents an opportunity for moral education.⁶⁷

Eleazar dies, yet his reason (λογισμός) steered the ship of *pietas* (εὐσέβεια) in the sea of the passions like a skillful pilot (ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης, 4 Macc 7:1). The philosophical idea of the ability of reason to steer the passions is made tangible by the use of another simile, derived from the platonic metaphor of the pilot, which was well known by the time of 4 Maccabees in Jewish-Greek literature.⁶⁸

64 On the undisputed dependence of 4 Maccabees on 2 Maccabees, “or just possibly on the source of that book,” see Rajak, “Torah and Hybridity,” 136.

65 On this passage, van Henten, *Books of Maccabees*, 12.

66 On other senses, notably on eliciting the audience’s haptic engagement in Homeric poetry, see Purves, “Rough Reading.”

67 Moorman, “Feeling Scaphism,” esp. 67–69.

68 E.g., Philo, *Leg.* 148–149; on this Philonian passage, see Hartog, “Ship of State.”

7 Conclusions

A close reading of the scene of Eleazar's martyrdom in 4 Maccabees 6, focused on verbal forms (tenses and voices), prefixes, adverbial expressions, space markers, bodily movements, phonetic mimesis, prose rhythm, and metaphoric language, has shown that *enargeia*/immersion is achieved by a narrative carefully constructed through enactive style and linguistic strategies close to the audience's non-mediated way of perception. What is usually defined in simple terms as "detailed description" is, in light of second-generation cognitive criticism and studies of phonetic iconicity, a *narrative* aimed at enacting the sensorimotor patterns familiar to the audience through *action* and *immediate perception*, both highly effective in engaging the audience in an embodied experience of the scene. As this is the first of a series of martyrdom's scenes in 4 Maccabees, it is crucial in initiating an embodied experience of martyrdom, which is ultimately an experience of empowerment and of heroic resistance to whatever kind of passions and emotions, in line with the educational purpose of the work.⁶⁹ Eleazar's martyrdom has been used in this article as a case study, but second-generation cognitive criticism, notably enactivism, could be productively extended to the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother in the follow-up of the story. Moreover, delving into the ways 4 Maccabees achieves *enargeia*/immersion gives us further clues about the skills of the author: the intentional use of a multifarious range of strategies to engage brain-body-world—of the hero and even more so of the audience—into an embodied, multi-perceptual experience of martyrdom matches with an author who is largely acknowledged as being imbued in the rhetorical context of the so-called Second Sophistic.⁷⁰

69 On the empathic, emotional experience of the audience, supported by studies from neuroscience, and its function, see Mermelstein, section 1 above, with reference at notes 8 and 9; on the crucial role of *paideia* in 4 Maccabees, see de Silva, "Author of 4 Maccabees," 205; Rajak, "Torah and Hybridity," 141; and especially Zurawski, *Jewish Paideia*, 261–280; on the purpose of the work in particular, Zurawski, 261–269.

70 This aspect is recognized, among others, by de Silva, "Author of 4 Maccabees"; Rajak, "Paideia," and "Torah and Hybridity"; both authors stress the importance of the literary context of the Second Sophistic for 4 Maccabees. On the Second Sophistic, see Richter and Johnson, *The Oxford Handbook to the Second Sophistic*, and in particular the chapter by Tim Whitmarsh, "Greece," which interprets Second Sophistic also as a phenomenon that ripples across time and space, and includes Jewish literature. Further references on 4 Maccabees' rhetorical skills in Zurawski, 423, n. 95. On the complex literary form of 4 Maccabees, see van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs*, 60–70; de Silva, *4 Maccabees* (1998), 51–126; van Henten, "4 Maccabees," 202.

Bibliography

- Allan, Rutger J. "Narrative Immersion: Some Linguistic and Narratological Aspects." In *Experience, Narrative, and Criticism in Ancient Greece: Under the Spell of Stories*, ed. Jonas Grethlein, Luuk Huitink, and Aldo Tagliabue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 15–35.
- Allan, Rutger J., and Lidewij W. van Gils. "Anchoring New Ideas in Common Ground: A Linguistic Approach." Online publication retrieved on 1 August 2023 from <https://research.vu.nl/en/publications/anchoring-new-ideas-in-common-ground-a-linguistic-approach>
- Allan, Rutger J., Irene J.F. de Jong, and Casper C. de Jonge. "From Enargeia to Immersion: The Ancient Roots of a Modern Concept." *Style* 51 (2017), 34–51.
- Allen-Hornblower, Emily. "Moral Disgust in Sophocles' Philoctetes." In *The Ancient Emotion of Disgust*, ed. Donald Lateiner and Dimos Spatharas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 69–86.
- Andrews, Edna. *Markedness Theory: The Union of Asymmetry and Semiosis in Language* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).
- Bakker, Mathieu de, and Irene J.F. de Jong. "Narratological Theory on Speech." In *Speech in Ancient Greek Literature*, ed. Mathieu de Bakker and Irene J.F. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 1–30.
- Breitenstein, Urs. *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des Vierten Makkabäerbuchs* (Basel: Schwabe, 1978).
- Budelman, Felix. "Introduction." In *Minds on Stage: Greek Tragedy and Cognition*, ed. Felix Budelman and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 1–22.
- Caracciolo, Marco. "Blind Reading: Towards an Enactivist Theory of the Reader's Imagination." In *Stories and Minds: Cognitive Approaches to Literary Narrative*, ed. Lars Bernaerts, Dirk de Geest, Luc Herman, and Bart Vervaeck (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 81–105.
- Caracciolo, Marco. *The Experientiality of Narrative: An Enactive Approach* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).
- Caracciolo, Marco, and Katrin Kukkonen. *With Bodies: Narrative Theory and Embodied Cognition* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2021).
- Castelli, Silvia. "Heroes of *patientia*: representing ὑπομονή in 4 Maccabees." In *Tyrants, Heroes, Prophets, and Martyrs: Shifting Images from the Past to the Present*, ed. Jacqueline Borsje and Caroline Vander Stichele (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).
- Chiron, Pierre. *Démétrios: Du Style* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993).
- Comer, Christopher, and Ashley Taggard. *Brain, Mind, and the Narrative Imagination* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021).
- Cook, Johann. "Metaphors in 4 Maccabees." In *The Metaphorical Use of Language in*

- Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, ed. Markus Witte and Sven Behnke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 279–298.
- Dijkhuizen, Petra. “Pain, Endurance, and Gender in 4 Maccabees.” *Journal for Semitics* 17 (2008), 57–76.
- Dio Chrysostom. *Discourses* 31–36, trans. James Wilfred Cohoon and Henry Lamar Crosby (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940).
- Grethlein, Jonas, and Luuk Huitink. “Homer’s Vividness: An Enactive Approach.” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 137 (2017), 67–91.
- Grethlein, Jonas. “Author and Characters: Ancient, Narratological, and Cognitive Views on a Tricky Relationship.” *Classical Philology* 116 (2021), 208–230.
- Harrison, Stephen. “Force, Frequency and Focalisation: The Function of Similes in the Battle-Narrative of Vergil, Aeneid 10.” In *Textual Strategies in Ancient War Narrative: Thermopylae, Cannae and Beyond*, ed. Lidewij W. van Gils, Irene J.F. de Jong, and Caroline H.M. Kroon (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 359–375.
- Hartog, Barry. “The Ship of State: Metaphor and Intertextuality in Philo of Alexandria.” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 32 (2022), 187–204.
- Henten, Jan Willem van. “Datierung und Herkunft des Vierten Makkabäerbuches.” In *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram*, ed. Jan Willem van Henten (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 136–149.
- Henten, Jan Willem van. “A Jewish Epitaph in a Literary Context: 4 Macc. 17: 8–10.” In *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, ed. Pieter W. van der Horst and Jan Willem van Henten (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 44–69.
- Henten, Jan Willem van. *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).
- Henten, Jan Willem van. “Space, Body, and Meaning in 2 Maccabees.” *Biblische Notizen* 168 (2016), 65–88.
- Henten, Jan Willem van. “4 Maccabees.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Apocrypha*, ed. Gerbern S. Oegema (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 200–216.
- Henten, Jan Willem van. “Characters, Emotions, and Enargeia in Second Maccabees.” In *Emotions and Narrative in Ancient Literature and Beyond: Studies in Honor of Irene de Jong*, ed. Mathieu de Bakker, Baukje van den Berg, and Jacqueline Klooster (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 508–519.
- Henten, Jan Willem van, ed. *The Books of the Maccabees: Literary, Historical, and Religious Perspectives* (Leuven: Peeters, 2023).
- Hiebert, Robert J.V. “4 Maccabees.” In *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 306–317.
- Huitink, Luuk. “Enargeia, Enactivism and the Ancient Readerly Imagination.” In *Distributed Cognition in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Miranda Anderson, Douglas Cairns, and Mark Sprevak (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 169–189.

- Huitink, Luuk. "Enargeia and Bodily Mimesis." In *Experience, Narrative, and Criticism in Ancient Greece: Under the Spell of Stories*, ed. Jonas Grethlein, Luuk Huitink, and Aldo Tagliabue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 188–209.
- James, Liz, and Ruth Webb. "‘To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places’: Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium." *Art History* 14 (1991), 1–17.
- Jonge, Casper C. de. *Between Grammar and Rhetoric: Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language, Linguistics, and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- Koopman, Niels. *Ancient Greek Ekphrasis: Between Description and Narration. Five Linguistic and Narratological Case Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
- Kukkonen, Katrin, and Marco Caracciolo. *Cognitive Literary Study: Second-Generation Approaches*. Special Issue of *Style* 48 (2014).
- Kuzmičová, Anežka. "Presence in the Reading of Literary Narrative: A Case for Motor Enactment." *Semiotica* 189 (2012), 23–48.
- Lateiner, Donald, and Dimos Spatharas, eds. *The Ancient Emotion of Disgust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Manieri, Alessandra. *L'immagine poetica nella teoria degli antichi: Phantasia ed enargeia* (Pisa: Istituti poligrafici internazionali, 1998).
- Marini, Nicoletta. *Demetrio: Lo stile* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007).
- Meijering, Roos. *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia* (Groningen: Forsten, 1987).
- Mermelstein, Ari. *Power and Emotion in Ancient Judaism: Community and Identity in Formation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- Meyers, Jeffrey D. "Hypomone as 'Enduring Resistance': Finding Non-violence in the Book of Revelation." *The Bible Translator* 69 (2018), 40–55.
- Mirguet, Françoise. "The Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 50 (2019), 557–603.
- Moorman, Rebecca. "Feeling Scaphism: Enargeia and Assimilation in the Artaxerses." In *Plutarch: Cultural Practices in a Connected World*, ed. Chandra Giroux. Teiresias Supplements Online, vol. 3 (2022), 56–71.
- Nijf, Onno van. "Athletics, Andreia and the Askêsis-Culture in the Roman East." In *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Ralf Rosen and Ineke Sluiter (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 264–286.
- Nijk, Arjan. "Looking for Iconicity in Attic Oratory: Four Quantitative Case Studies." *Rhetorica* 41 (2023), 113–136.
- Noë, Alva. *Action in Perception* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004).
- Otto, Nina. *Enargeia: Untersuchung zur Charakteristik alexandrinischer Dichtung* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009).
- Paffenroth, Kim. "A Note on the Dating of Demetrius' *On Style*." *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994), 280–281.
- Purves, Alex. "Rough Reading: Tangible Language in Dionysius's Criticism of Homer."

- In *Experience, Narrative, and Criticism in Ancient Greece: Under the Spell of Stories*, ed. Jonas Grethlein, Luuk Huitink, and Aldo Tagliabue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 172–187.
- Rajak, Tessa. “Dying for the Law: The Martyr’s Portrait in Jewish-Greek Literature.” In Tessa Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 99–133.
- Rajak, Tessa. “Paideia in the Fourth Book of Maccabees.” In *Jewish Education from Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Philip S. Alexander*, ed. George J. Brooke and Renate Smithuis (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 63–84.
- Rajak, Tessa. “Torah and Hybridity in the Framing of the Fourth Book of Maccabees.” In *The Books of the Maccabees: Literary, Historical, and Religious Perspectives*, ed. Jan Willem van Henten (Leuven: Peeters, 2023), 133–152.
- Richter, Daniel S., and William A. Johnson. *The Oxford Handbook to the Second Sophistic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Rosen, Ralf, and Ineke Sluiter, eds. *Andreia: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
- Scarpato, Giuseppe. *Quarto libro dei Maccabei: Testo, traduzione, introduzione e commento* (Brescia: Paideia, 2006).
- Schwemer, Anna Maria. “Zu Entstehungszeit und -ort des 4. Makkabäerbuchs.” In *Die Makkabäer*, ed. Friedrich Avemarie, Predrag Bukovec, Stefan Krauter, and Michael Tilly (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 245–274.
- Shaw, Brent D. “Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996), 269–312.
- Silva, David A. de. *4 Maccabees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).
- Silva, David A. de. *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Text in Codex Sinaiticus* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
- Silva, David A. de. “The Author of 4 Maccabees and Greek Paideia: Facets of the Formation of a Hellenistic Jewish Rhetor.” In *Second Temple Jewish Paideia in Context*, ed. Jason Zurawski and Gabriele Boccaccini (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 205–238.
- Sluiter, Ineke. “Anchoring Innovation: A Classical Research Agenda.” *European Review* 25 (2017), 20–38.
- Vatri, Alessandro. “Asyndeton, Immersion, and *Hypokrisis* in Ancient Greek Rhetoric.” In *Experience, Narrative, and Criticism in Ancient Greece: Under the Spell of Stories*, ed. Jonas Grethlein, Luuk Huitink, and Aldo Tagliabue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 210–232.
- Vatri, Alessandro. “The Nature and Perception of Attic Prose Rhythm.” *Classical Philology* 115 (2020), 467–485.
- Von Gemünden, Petra. “Der Affekt der ἐπιθυμία und der νόμος.” In *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift für Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 1–12.

- burtstag*, ed. Dieter Sanger and Matthias Konradt (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 55–74.
- Webb, Ruth. *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham: Routledge, 2009).
- Westerholm, Stephen. “4 Maccabees.” In *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 530–541.
- Whitaker, Robyn J. *Ekphrasis, Vision, and Persuasion in the Book of Revelation* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).
- Whitmarsh, Tim. “Greece: Hellenistic and Early Imperial Continuities.” In *The Oxford Handbook to the Second Sophistic*, ed. Daniel S. Richter and William A. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 11–24.
- Zurawski, Jason M. *Jewish Paideia. Education and Identity in the Jewish Diaspora* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2023).