

Weeping and Tears in Luke's Gospel Narratives: Between Ancient and Modern Commentators

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MAK Sue Ann
Mansfield College
University of Oxford
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Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ii
<i>Abstracts</i>	vi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Research on Emotions, Weeping, and the New Testament: A Survey	3
The Focus and Boundaries of this Study of Weeping and Tears	9
Definitions and Lexical Terms	9
Six Lukan Weeping Narratives	13
Methodological Approach	15
Ancient Christian Writers and Early Reception	16
Modern Lukan Commentators	21
Luke's Gospel and Its Ancient-Modern Receptions	23
Relationship between Stoicism and Early Christianity	26
Outline of Study	29
Contribution of Study	31
<i>PART I—HUMAN WEeping: REPENTANCE</i>	
CHAPTER 2 WEeping AND TEARS OF THE ANOINTING WOMAN	33
Luke 7:38, 44	34
Terms and Definitions	37
Ancient Interpretations of the Woman's Tears	40
Weeping as Repentance	40
Circumstantial Influences in Penitential Weeping	55
"Non-Penitential" Weeping	59
Re-evaluating Repentance-Related Terms and Definitions	62
Weeping and Repentance and the Role of Faith	65
A Summary of Ancient Views	68
Modern Interpretations of Luke 7:38, 44: Gratitude and Joy	69
Repentance or Gratitude: Reasons for the Contradiction	76
Re-reading Luke 7:36-50: Ancient versus Modern, Clash or Complement?	81
Conclusion	85
CHAPTER 3 THE BITTER WEeping OF PETER	87
Luke 22:62	88
Early Interpretations of Peter's Tears: Repentance and Beyond	91
A Summary of the Ancient Views	111
Contemporary Comments on Peter's Weeping	111
Peter's Weeping as Contrition or Repentance	115
Weeping as Washing Away Sin	121
The Sinful Woman and the Apostle Peter	123
Tears and Repentance: An Observed Correlation	130
Rethinking Peter's Bitter Tears	131
Conclusion	133

PART II—HUMAN WEeping: GRIEF

CHAPTER 4 DEATH AND GRIEF: “DO NOT WEEP”	134
Luke 7:13 and 8:52	135
Early Interpretations of Luke 7:13 and 8:52	138
Analysing the Early Comments on Luke 7:13 and 8:52	145
Mortality in Antiquity and Stoic Philosophy	147
The Hope of Resurrection	157
Revisiting the Latin Authors	162
Modern Interpretations of Luke 7:13 and 8:52	171
Ancient Versus Modern Views: Appreciating “Do Not Weep”	178
Conclusion	182

PART III—DIVINE WEeping AND JERUSALEM

CHAPTER 5 THE TEARS OF JESUS AND THE DAUGHTERS OF JERUSALEM	183
Luke 19:41 and 23:28	184
The Weeping of Jesus: Divine or Human	186
God or Man: Between Ancients and Moderns	192
To Weep or Not to Weep: When and Why	196
Jesus’ Weeping and Emotional Display	196
Modern Opinions on Emotions and Weeping	203
Weeping for the Sin, Unrepentance, and Unbelief of Jerusalem	205
Contemporary Views on Ignorance Versus Ancient Views on Repentance	216
Why Repentance?	217
Tears as Washing Away Sins	218
Weeping and Its Literary Connections	220
Modern Scholarship and Mutual Acknowledgment	223
Reasons Behind “Do Not Weep” in Luke 23:28	226
Resurrection as Reason	226
Modern Authors and Additional Emotions on Luke 23:28	231
The Weeping Verbs: κλαίω or δακρύω	233
The Significance of κλαίω within Luke’s Christological Portrayal	238
Re-Reading the Tears of Jesus and the Women	243
Conclusion	248
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION	249
Chapter Summaries	250
Final Observations and Reflections	252
Future Research Possibilities	257
APPENDIX	260
Appendix A: Ancient References in Chapter 2	261
Appendix B: Ancient References in Chapter 3	265
Appendix C: Ancient References in Chapter 4	269
Appendix D: Ancient References in Chapter 5	272
Appendix E: Early Christian Art of Peter and the Cock	278

BIBLIOGRAPHY	283
Primary Sources	283
Reference Works	293
Secondary Sources	295

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Short Abstract

Within the Synoptic Gospels, Luke's Jesus is known to be the most self-restrained. However, Luke's is the only Gospel that describes Jesus with the verb κλαίω (it is δακρύω in John 11:35) when he weeps over Jerusalem (Luke 19:41). The Third Gospel also accounts for the greatest number of references to weeping in the NT—11 out of 40. Apart from Jesus' weeping, there are five stories with weeping narrative characters—the widow at Nain (7:13); the anointing woman (7:38, 44); Jairus (8:52); Peter (22:62); and the daughters of Jerusalem (23:28). Luke's is also the only Gospel to use the word 'tear' (δάκρυον, 7:38, 44). Luke seems to display a special interest in weeping and tears—a topic seldom discussed in Lukan studies.

In this study I seek to understand how we might interpret the Lukan motif of weeping through an analysis of the six weeping narratives (7:11-17; 7:36-50; 8:40-56; 19:41-44; 22:54-62; 23:27-31). I employ a reception historical approach to observe how early Christian authors read these weeping passages in Luke, to gain an understanding of what ancient interpreters thought about the significance of crying. Thereafter, I turn to modern Lukan scholars and their views on the same passages. I argue that by placing ancient comments in active dialogue with current interpretations, we broaden our appreciation for the range of reference and resonance in these Lukan weeping narratives, discovering fresh and different ways to interpret these texts.

The questions that guide this project are: What is the significance of the slippage between what the ancients thought and how the moderns perceive these texts? How could an ancient reading enrich, contribute to, and offer insights to modern views, and vice versa? This study fills a scholarly lacuna, contributes to issues in Lukan studies, and, ultimately, offers insights with pastoral significance.

Long Abstract

It is widely acknowledged that among the Synoptic Gospels, Luke's Jesus is known to be the most self-restrained, even un-emotional. Luke portrays Jesus as determined and in control throughout his Passion journey. Despite portraying the least emotional Jesus, Luke's is the only Gospel that describes Jesus with the verb κλαίω (it is δακρύω in John 11:35) when Jesus weeps over Jerusalem (Luke 19:41), which is striking because the Lukan Jesus is often viewed by scholars as more Stoic and thus less emotional. It is further intriguing that the Third Gospel accounts for the greatest number of references to weeping (κλαίω) in the NT—11 out of 40. Apart from Jesus' weeping, there are five more stories in Luke with weeping narrative characters—the widow at Nain (7:13); the anointing woman (7:38, 44); Jairus and those mourning (8:52); the apostle Peter (22:62); and the daughters of Jerusalem (23:28). Luke's is also the only gospel to use the word δάκρυον (7:38, 44).

Given his surprising use of κλαίω for Jesus and the relatively high number of occurrences of the verb, Luke seems to display a special interest in weeping and tears—a topic seldom discussed in Lukan studies. This project aims to understand how we might interpret the Lukan motif of weeping through a close analysis of the six weeping narratives (7:11-17; 7:36-50; 8:40-56; 19:41-44; 22:54-62; 23:27-31).

The method of interpretation in this project is a diachronically comparative one between ancient and modern commentators. I employ a reception historical approach to observe how the early writers read weeping passages in Luke, and where relevant, other related weeping passages in the NT. Thereafter, I turn to modern Lukan commentators for their thoughts on the same weeping narratives. I argue that this comparative analysis yields an increased appreciation for i) the place of weeping in Luke's Gospel; ii) Luke's nuance and complexity in presenting emotions; and iii) the range of reference and resonance in Luke's weeping texts. The intention of bringing early and current views into dialogue is not to pit one view against the other but to enlarge hermeneutical possibilities and discover critically synthetic, even unprecedented, readings of a text. For focus and clear comparability, this study is primarily concerned with the eight mentions of κλαίω, spread across the six Lukan passages, where weeping and tears serve as a narrative feature.

Owing to space limitations, the early writings consulted in this project include only Greek and Latin references from the first five centuries until the works of Augustine.¹ I have identified the following authors who comment on the above Lukan weeping narratives (with an indication of the chapters in which I discuss their writings):

1. Clement (Chapter 2),
2. Tertullian (Chapter 2),
3. Pseudo-Hippolytus (Chapter 5),
4. Origen (Chapters 2, 3, 5),

¹ Admittedly, this excludes the valuable views of Ephrem and others. Nonetheless, a preliminary reading of Ephrem on weeping suggests that his views are not divergent from the general ancient interpretative tendencies. The inclusion of Syriac, Coptic, and other languages await a future project.

5. Pseudo-Cyprian (Chapter 2),
6. Eusebius (Chapters 3, 5),
7. Pseudo-Clementine Homilies (Chapter 5),
8. Asterius (Chapter 3),
9. Athanasius (Chapters 3, 5),
10. Hilary of Poitiers (Chapters 3, 5),
11. Cyril of Jerusalem (Chapter 3),
12. Epiphanius (Chapters 3, 5),
13. Basil of Caesarea (Chapters 4, 5),
14. Gregory of Nazianzus (Chapters 2, 3, 4),
15. Gregory of Nyssa (Chapter 4),
16. Amphilochius (Chapter 2),
17. Ambrose (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5),
18. Ambrosiaster (Chapter 3),
19. John Chrysostom (Chapter 2, 3, 4, 5),
20. Jerome (Chapter 3, 5)
21. Augustine (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5).

For modern works, I curate a representative selection of major commentaries on Luke from the last few decades, guided by their scholarly reviews and worldwide library presence. This preference may appear somewhat subjective since the metric of a work's quality and significance is inherently difficult to measure; however, the prevalence of the following commentaries in their widespread availability and scholarly acknowledgement serve as tangible markers of their academic impact.²

1. Howard Marshall 1978 (NIGTC),
2. John Nolland 1989-1993 (WBC),
3. Joseph Fitzmyer 1981-1985 (AYB),
4. Luke Timothy Johnson 1991 (SacPag),
5. Robert Stein 1992 (NAC),
6. Darrell Bock 1994-1996 (BECNT),
7. Joel Green 1997 (NICNT),
8. François Bovon 2002-2013 (Hermeneia),
9. Hans Klein 2006 (MeyerK),
10. John Carroll 2012 (NTL),
11. David Lyle Jeffrey 2012 (BTCB),
12. Michael Wolter 2016-2017 (BMSEC).

This study is organised textually, that is, according to the six weeping narratives. I have deliberately ordered the four main chapters to progress from the weeping of human characters (Parts I and II) to the weeping of Jesus (Part III), and from weeping over sin (Part I) and death (Part II) to weeping over Jerusalem (Part III). Based on the collated exegetical views on each text, the chapters are organised according to overarching themes like repentance, grief, and Jerusalem, to better highlight the recurring topics and patterns, but

² According to the data available in www.worldcat.org there is an average of 642 copies per commentary in libraries worldwide. The number of copies range from 199 (Klein 2006) to 1407 (Fitzmyer 1981) copies.

without discarding the pertinent exceptions and nuances. At the end of every chapter, I show how each weeping narrative gains in colour and definition through the comparative analysis of early and modern views.

Part I of the thesis embarks on a discussion of the anointing woman (Luke 7:36-50) in Chapter 2 and Peter's weeping (22:62) in Chapter 3. These narratives are chronologically distant in Luke's Gospel yet are placed one after another, as the theme of repentance is found in relation to both the weeping of the woman and Peter.

In Chapter 2, we find that the ancients quite consistently perceive the woman's weeping as repentance (~82% majority), but the moderns interpret her tears as gratitude for forgiveness already received. Attention is nevertheless still given to the non-penitential ancient sources (by Pseudo-Cyprian, Origen, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory of Nazianzus) for a comprehensive view. Likewise, modern voices that depart from the near-unanimous view of tears of gratitude are also acknowledged (e.g., Wolter, who against the majority modern view, argues the woman was only forgiven at Luke 7:48 because of the great love she displayed, and Applegate who insists the woman was a prostitute weeping in repentance). Despite the apparent divergence in ancient and modern opinions, I argue for a mediating position (like Cosgrove) in which the woman's reality of repentance coincides with her gratitude for forgiveness (mentioned, but not elaborated upon, in Marshall, Nolland, Carroll, Jeffrey). Finally, I show how Luke 7:36-50 can be read in fresh ways by engaging in a symbiotic juxtaposition of early and modern interpretations.

In Chapter 3, a trend is also observed for Peter's bitter weeping: while the moderns almost unanimously read Peter's tears as repentance, only some early writers view the apostle's tears in penitential terms. Relatedly, there are fewer mentions of *μετάνοια* (and *paenitentia*) and *ἁμαρτία* (and *peccatum*) in early references to Peter's tears as compared to the frequent early comments on the sinful woman. Certain attributions of titles to Peter and use of content in the works of Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine raise the question of whether they ascribed favourable treatment to Peter the apostle, a discretion not extended to the sinful woman. On the theme of repentance, some ancients refer to Peter's weeping as exemplifying contrition (sorrow for sin) as opposed to the modern assumption that repentance encompasses the entire arc from sin to forgiveness and transformation (except Bockmuehl who notes the distinction in Luke 22). I conclude, based on my reading of 22:54-62, that Luke positions contrition as an inescapable interpretation but offers no evidence that Peter should be regarded as less sinful than the woman. I also contend that Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate how an author's circumstance, theological predisposition, and exegetical approach could lead to views disparate from another's.

Moving on from weeping in relation to repentance (Part I) to weeping that revolves around death and grief (Part II), Chapter 4 discusses Luke 7:13 and 8:52 together because they are semantically and thematically linked. The topic of mortality in antiquity and Stoic philosophy are significant because Stoicism was an influential factor for the early writers. Also deliberated on is the Roman struggle between private and public displays of mourning, and philosophical versus poetic genres of writing about grief. The Latin authors, Ambrose and Augustine, depart from the other ancients in their openness to emotions—Ambrose transforms grief in the present into a longing for the deceased (congruent with Stoicism)

because of the Christian hope of resurrection while Augustine contests the Stoic notion of *apatheia* to adopt a more open stance towards grief and weeping. Though more amenable to emotional displays, the Latin commentators are still a distance away from the openness and ease with which the moderns write about grief and weeping in Luke 7:13 and 8:52. In short, there is a need to identify “cultural scripts” or “regimes” that govern one’s tears of mourning according to each era. Simply put, tears of grief are culturally specific.

In Part III of this thesis, discussions transition from non-divine weeping characters to the weeping of Jesus, and from weeping over sin and death to weeping over Jerusalem. Chapter 5, the final major chapter, covers two weeping events related to Jerusalem—Jesus weeping at the sight of Jerusalem (19:41) and his instruction for the women of Jerusalem to weep for themselves and for their children (23:28). Ancient interpretations of Luke 19:41 typically assert that weeping is attributable solely to the human nature of Jesus, whereas modern scholarship often bypasses the theological discourse on the dual natures of Christ, or even challenge the notion that God cannot weep. If, as I argue, there is exegetical basis for [the Son of] God to weep and grieve (e.g., Bosworth, Eklund, Basser, etc.), then Jesus’ divine weeping over Jerusalem elevates Jerusalem’s prominence and role in Luke’s Gospel. The analyses of the final two weeping texts demonstrate how attentiveness to the motif of weeping not only better informs Luke’s presentation of Jesus but also accentuates the centrality of Jerusalem for Luke. As for interpretations on 23:28, the ancient writers (except Ambrose and Augustine) generally believe Jesus’ directive to cease weeping was predicated on his resurrection, whereas modern scholars insist that the cessation is warranted because the weeping was misdirected. A section of Chapter 5 also cautions against over-emphasising the lexical differences between κλαίω (Luke 19:41) and δακρύω (John 11:35), particularly after discussing the use of these words in Eusebius’ and Chrysostom’s writings.

A general observation emerges suggesting that the ancients, likely shaped by Stoic ideals, tended to limit and discourage emotional expressions, whereas modern scholars, immersed in popular psychology and an increased discourse of mental-emotional health, demonstrate greater openness to the inclusion of emotions within interpretative methods. In discerning consistent patterns (e.g., the ancients almost always connect penitence to weeping no matter the text; the moderns are more open in permitting emotions), it would be remiss to ignore the nuances and distinctions (e.g., the non-penitential ancient remarks on the sinful woman and the contrition-only comments on Peter’s weeping; the deviation of Ambrose and Augustine from the other early authors; the reality that not all moderns are vocal about emotions). Though I claim that modern scholars accentuate emotions involved in the narratives, it is specifically only Bovon’s three-volume Luke commentary that quite consistently and overtly includes comments embedded with layers of emotions and aspects from modern psychology. I appreciate and agree with, and hope to build on, the importance that Bovon has placed on the function of emotions.

In the concluding chapter, we summarise the key discussions and findings to provide final synthetic analyses and comparative remarks. Each chapter—with its mix of converging and conflicting interpretations—builds up towards a wider appreciation of weeping as encompassing a range of explanations and implications. The examination of ancient views as compared to current sources also leads to discussions of Lukan Christology, the theme of repentance, the function of emotions, the topic of death and grief, the influence of Stoicism

in Luke, and the role of Jerusalem. Through this structured descriptive and analytical dialogue between the two eras, readers are invited to re-evaluate claims that Luke's Jesus is un-emotional. Rather, Luke may be employing a more sophisticated depiction of emotion in his Gospel narratives.

Admittedly, this remains a limited endeavour that could benefit from future research that includes Syriac and Coptic sources, a comparison with the rich Jewish works on weeping and lament or with Luke's non-narrative weeping records, and even investigations into the gender dynamics and expectations associated to weeping. As it stands, this thesis fills the scholarly lacuna in Lukan studies that has neglected the motif of weeping. I have extended my exploration beyond solely considering Jesus' tears (common in existing scholarship) and have provided a renewed approach to reading Luke's weeping narratives when considering the function of emotions. Ultimately, these findings lead to pastoral implications for how one responds to and interprets the spectrum of life events that involve emotion and tears.

Abbreviations

Most abbreviations in the thesis follow those in the 2014 *SBL Handbook of Style* 2nd ed. and the 2012 *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. The following abbreviations are not used in standard references and are uniquely constructed by the author for this thesis:

ANEG	<i>Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels</i> . Edited by H. D. Smith. 6 vols. London: SPCK, 1925-1929.
BrillDAG-O	<i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek Online</i> . Montanari, Franco. Edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
BEEC-O	<i>Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online</i> . Edited by David Hunter et al. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
DECL	<i>Dictionary of Early Christian Literature</i> . Edited by Döpp, Siegmund and Wilhelm Geerlings. Translated by Matthew O'Connell. New York: Crossroad, 2000.
EAC	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity</i> . Edited by Angelo Di Berardino. 3 vols. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014.
LD-O	<i>A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary (online)</i> . Edited by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short. Oxford: Clarendon, 1890.
NDT	<i>New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic</i> . Edited by Martin Davie et al. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016.
NHMS	<i>Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies</i> . Edited by Jason D. Beduhn et al. 106 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1993—.
WSA	<i>Works of Saint Augustine (4th Release). Electronic Edition</i> . Edited by Boniface Ramsey. 50 vols. New York: New City Press, 1990—.

Individual Authors and Works

<i>Cat. Matt.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaeum</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Ep. ext.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Epistulae extra collectionem traditae</i>
<i>Quaestio.</i>	Ambrosiaster, <i>Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>Mulier.</i>	Amphilochius, <i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem</i>
<i>Comm. Ps.</i>	Asterius, <i>Commentarii in Psalmos</i>
<i>Gord.</i>	Basil of Caesarea, <i>In Gordium martyrem</i>
<i>Grat.</i>	Basil of Caesarea, <i>De gratiarum actione</i>
<i>Julit.</i>	Basil of Caesarea, <i>In martyrem Julittam</i>
<i>Reg. mor.</i>	Basil of Caesarea, <i>Regulae morales</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	Clement of Rome, <i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Instruc.</i>	Commodian, <i>Instructionum libri ii</i>
<i>Nov.</i>	Cyprian-Ps., <i>Ad Novatianum</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	Cyprian-Ps., <i>De singularitate clericorum</i>
<i>Tur.</i>	Cyprian-Ps., <i>Ad Turasium</i>

<i>Cath. Illum.</i>	Cyril of Jerusalem, <i>Cathecheses ad illuminandos</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	Dio Cassius, <i>Roman History</i>
<i>Disc.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Discourses</i>
<i>Ancor.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Ancoratus</i>
<i>Pan. Chr.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion Christentum</i>
<i>Chr. Pat.</i>	Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>Christus Patiens</i>
<i>Gorg. (Or.)</i>	Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>In laudem sororis Gorgoniae (Orat.)</i>
<i>Or.</i>	Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>Orationes</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium</i>
<i>Con. Eun.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Contra Eunomium</i>
<i>Infant.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>De infantibus praemature abreptis</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>De Opificio hominis</i>
<i>Pulch. Or.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>In Funere Pulcheriae Oratio</i>
<i>Ref. Eun.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</i>
<i>Vit. Mac.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Vita sanctae Macrinae</i>
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	Hilary of Poitiers, <i>Commentarius in Matthaeum</i>
<i>Tract. Ps.</i>	Hilary of Poitiers, <i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	Hilary of Poitiers, <i>De Trinitate</i>
<i>Comm. Jo. Laz.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Aus Dem Kommentar zu Evangelium des Johannes und der Auferweckung des Lazarus</i>
<i>Pent.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Arabische Fragmente zum Pentateuch</i>
<i>C. Jo.</i>	Jerome, <i>contra Johannem</i>
<i>Bea. Phil.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>De beato Philogonia</i>
<i>Fil. vid.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>In filium viduae</i>
<i>Pat. (spurious)</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>De patientia sermo (spurious)</i>
<i>Res.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>On the Resurrection</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	Livy, <i>History of Rome</i>
<i>Cat. Ezech.</i>	Origen, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Ezechielem</i>
<i>Cat. Jo</i>	Origen, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Joannem</i>
<i>Cat. Lam.</i>	Origen, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Lamentationes</i>
<i>Cat. Luc.</i>	Origen, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Lucam</i>
<i>Cat. Matt.</i>	Origen, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaeum</i>
<i>Cat. Prov.</i>	Origen, <i>Fragmenta e catenis in Proverbia</i>
<i>Scho. Luc.</i>	Origen, <i>Scholia in Lucam</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Polybius, <i>The Histories</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, <i>Homiliae</i>

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that among the Synoptic Gospels, Luke's Jesus is known to be the most self-restrained, even un-emotional. Where Mark attributes certain emotions to Jesus, Matthew mutes some—Luke, however, omits most of them.¹ Luke characterises Jesus as determined and in control throughout his Passion journey, expressing less emotion than in the other gospels.² Despite portraying the least emotional Jesus, Luke's is the only Gospel that describes Jesus with the verb κλαίω (it is δακρύω in John 11:35). The Lukan Jesus who is unbowed, determined, and tear-less in the Passion narrative weeps at the sight of Jerusalem (Luke 19:41), which is striking because the Lukan Jesus is often viewed by scholars as more Stoic and thus less emotional.³

It is further intriguing that the Third Gospel accounts for the greatest number of references to weeping (κλαίω) in the New Testament—11 out of 40. This is followed by eight mentions in John, four in Mark, and two in Matthew. Apart from Jesus' weeping (19:41), there are five stories in Luke with weeping narrative characters—the widow at Nain (7:13); the anointing woman (7:38,44); Jairus and his household (8:52); the apostle Peter (22:62); and the daughters of Jerusalem (23:28). Luke is also the only gospel to use the noun δάκρυον.⁴ Given his surprising use of κλαίω for Jesus and the relatively high number of

¹ E.g. Luke omits Jesus' amazement at unbelief (Luke 4:30; cf. Mark 6:6), pity (Luke 5:13; cf. Mark 1:41), anger and grief (Luke 6:10; cf. Mark 3:5), compassion (Luke 9:11; cf. Mark 6:34), indignance (Luke 18:16; cf. Mark 10:14), and love (Luke 18:22; cf. Mark 10:21). Even when emotional words are not explicit, Jesus' behaviour at the cleansing of the temple in Mark 11:15-18 and Matt 21:12-16 is much more emotional than in Luke 19:45-46 (Asikainen 2018, 147-53). George 2009, 166-250 lists Luke's emotional (positive and negative) omissions.

² For Jesus' emotional control and other omissions in Luke's Passion narrative, see below Chapter 5, p.240.

³ The relationship between Stoicism and the NT is discussed on p.26 below.

⁴ Luke 7:38, 44. The other eight occurrences of δάκρυον in the NT are spread across Acts (2), 2 Corinthians (1), 2 Timothy (1), Hebrews (2), Revelation (2). The verb δακρύω is treated below on p.9 and in Chapter 5, p.235.

occurrences of the verb, Luke seems to display a special interest in weeping and tears—a topic little discussed in Lukan studies. In this project, I hope to understand how we might interpret the Lukan motif of weeping through a close analysis of these six narratives.

I propose a method of inquiry that involves consulting different writers interpreting these narratives at different historical periods, to generate wide-ranging and markedly distinct views on Luke's weeping narratives. We will discuss the methodology below, but as a general observation, contemporary Lukan commentators can differ quite drastically in their handling of emotions from the early Christian writers; early interpreters tend to write about prohibiting and restraining emotions whilst modern scholars more freely discuss pain, grief, and weeping in Luke's characters. These differences, though potentially exaggerated and caricatured, highlight evident discrepancies between ancient and modern perceptions. One of the central aims of this project is to explore these departures, which could prove multi-faceted, rich, and fruitful in ways that modern historical, redaction, and narrative critical approaches alone may not offer. I argue that an ancient-modern comparison yields an increased appreciation for: i) the place of weeping in Luke; ii) nuances and complexities in presenting emotions; and iii) the range of reference and resonance in the weeping texts.

The questions that guide this project are: How did the early Christian readers make sense of Luke's weeping texts? What is the significance of the slippage between what the ancients thought and how the moderns perceive these texts? How could an ancient reading enrich, contribute to, and offer insights to contemporary views, and vice versa? Before explicating on how we approach these driving questions, we must first discuss the present state of research on emotions since weeping rightly belongs to this larger field of study.

Research on Emotions, Weeping, and the New Testament: A Survey

In the last few decades, the study of emotions has been a burgeoning area of research in both the sciences⁵ and humanities. The recent Covid-19 crisis also contributed to a heightened awareness of grief, loss, and emotional health. For example, at the height of the pandemic, a collection of essays on the psychology, philosophy, phenomenology, and theology of death and grief was collated and published.⁶ As for weeping and tears, there has been research in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries on why humans weep from psychological, anthropological, historical, physiological, and socio-cultural perspectives.⁷ One consistent finding from these studies is the observation that crying—especially adult crying—remains a mysterious and relatively unexplored area of study. Even in the field of classics⁸ that has done more research on weeping than in biblical studies, there is “no systematic treatment of crying that covers the period from the eighth century BC to the fifth century AD.”⁹

Ad Vingerhoets, a behavioural scientist, conducted a multi-disciplinary study to explore the unique human capacity for tears, distinguishing *homo sapiens* from all other animals. He found crying to be a complex biopsychosocial phenomenon governed by

⁵ The modern interest in emotions was already evident in Darwin’s 1872 work (as part of his evolutionary theory) on emotions in man and animals that analyses emotional behaviour from physical and biological aspects, Chapter 6 of Darwin’s work is entitled “Expression of Suffering: Weeping.”

⁶ Sławkowski-Rode 2023.

⁷ Lund 1930 offers an earlier psychological perspective; Lutz 1999, who traces the history of tears, thinks tears are mysterious and “the most enigmatic proof of our emotional lives” (29); Grossman 2009 studies crying in relation to attachment theory; Kappas 2009 discusses crying from a social neuroscience perspective; Fögen 2009 is a collection of essays related to tears in ancient Greek and Roman culture as well as in modern science.

⁸ Some works on emotions in antiquity include discussions on sorrow (Barton 1993); jealousy and rivalry (Konstan and Rutter 2003); anger (Braund and Most 2003; Harris 2001); positive emotional states (Caston and Kaster 2016); laughter (Kazantzidis and Tsoumpra 2018; Alexiou and Cairns 2017); and a gamut of other emotions (Kaster 2005; Konstan 2006). There is also a volume devoted to tracing and comparing ancient and Byzantine Greek emotionology (Cairns et al. 2022).

⁹ Fögen 2009, 2. Van Wees 1998, 18 agrees that the literary evidence for understanding the shift in attitudes towards weeping in archaic Greece (between Homer and the fifth century BC) is thin.

neurophysiological processes as well as by cultural forces.¹⁰ Vingerhoets' finding on the influence of cultural forces is especially pertinent for this project as it deters us from placing weeping in antiquity on the same phenomenological level as weeping in modernity.¹¹ Whilst there is a degree of universality to weeping,¹² attitudes towards tears are inevitably shaped socio-culturally. The influential philosopher Martha Nussbaum also recognises that societal differences give rise to diverse emotional repertoires,¹³ and historians confirm that expressions and attitudes toward emotions are imparted and defined by the society to which one belongs; i.e., they are socially determined.¹⁴

Entering into the realm of biblical studies, we also notice a relatively recent growth in the study of emotions.¹⁵ In 2016, Françoise Mirguet and Dominika Kurek-Chomycz introduced their article on emotions with the opening sentence: "emotions are in full bloom in biblical scholarship."¹⁶ I have reservations about the description "full bloom" but there are certainly noticeable signs of interest. In 2012, the Society of Biblical Literature formed the "Bible and Emotion Group," and in 2017 a collection of essays (on major emotions in the

¹⁰ Vingerhoets 2013, 11-12. Vingerhoets et al. 2009 highlights that crying in adults remains largely unexplored because most studies are on infant crying. Also Kappas 2009, 422-3.

¹¹ Mirguet and Kurek-Chomycz 2016, 439-41 show that while modern methodologies help us understand ancient texts, they also reveal anachronistic tendencies and gaps in conceptions of emotions. Roberts 2010, 15-19 explain the dangers of re-inscribing modern concepts of emotions into the gospel passages and how ancient terms for emotions do not match modern ones.

¹² This does not assume that emotions are trans- or precultural. See Dinkler 2017, 267.

¹³ Nussbaum 2001, 141. For Wierzbicka 1999, 241 "cultural scripts" are closely related to "emotional scripts," i.e., emotional lives are shaped by culture. Riis and Woodhead 2010, 10-12 propose the concept of "emotional regime" to characterise emotions in terms of social and cultural factors. Lutz 1999 confirms that emotion is cultural after conducting fieldwork among the Ifaluk people, as based on the Euramerican construction of emotion, esp. 53-80. For a comprehensive six-volume work on the cultural history of emotions from antiquity, through the medieval ages, and into the modern era, see Broomhall et al. 2019.

¹⁴ Rosenwein 2006, 15; Stearns and Stearns 1985.

¹⁵ More broadly in religious studies, Riis and Woodhead 2010 deliberately pay attention to the emotional dimension of religion in academic work.

¹⁶ Mirguet and Kurek-Chomycz 2016, 435.

Bible using cross-disciplinary approaches) arising from the SBL discussions was published.¹⁷

In 2022, *Emotionen in der Bibel und ihrer Welt* was produced.¹⁸ The European Association of Biblical Studies has also established a unit called “Emotions and the Biblical World.” One EABS seminar session in 2024 is dedicated solely to presentations by contributors to the forthcoming T&T Clark Handbook of Bible and Emotion.¹⁹

Whilst there is an undeniable development in emotions-related research in biblical studies, I have found more studies on weeping in OT, ancient Jewish, and Second Temple Literature than I have in the NT area. Already in the early 1970s we locate articles on the physiology of tears in the OT²⁰ and lament literature from Qumran.²¹ Recent years have seen publications ranging from laments and weeping in Jewish texts and the apocrypha²² to maternal grief and the weeping of David, Rachel, and others in the Hebrew Bible.²³ David Bosworth, in particular, has studied weeping through modern scientific approaches, like attachment theory, and through comparing OT texts with Ancient Near Eastern and ancient Greek literature.²⁴ These examples illustrate that what was once deemed weak and womanly—thus seen as incompatible to the analytical, objective, and rational discipline of biblical studies—is garnering scholarly interest and gaining traction.

¹⁷ Spencer 2017 covers the emotions of love, hate, fear, jealousy, disgust, grief, pride, happiness, joy, and anger based on texts from Genesis to 1 Peter. There is a chapter on Jesus’ weeping in John and a chapter on joy in Luke’s narrative, but none on the emotional expression of weeping in Luke.

¹⁸ Neumann and Kassner 2022 discuss emotions in 1 Samuel, the Book of Jubilees, Mark, Matthew, and Acts.

¹⁹ https://eabs.net/EABS/EABS/Research-Units/Research_Units/EABS_Research_Units/Emotions_and_the_Biblical_World.aspx

²⁰ Collins 1971, Part 1 & 2.

²¹ Horgan 1973. Berlin 2003, 1-17 has also written on Qumran laments.

²² See Bassler 2018 for an investigation of tears from first-century to early modern Jewish literature; Ferber and Schwebel 2014 for how to approach laments in Jewish thought; Frey-Anthes 2009 for lament in Tobit.

²³ Kozlova 2017 and Kalmanofsky 2011 focus on bereaved mothers. For discussions of weeping in different texts, see Zimran 2018 (David’s weeping); Doane 2017 and Doane and Mastnjak 2019 (Rachel’s weeping); Baruchi-Unna 2015 (congregational weeping).

²⁴ Bosworth 2019; 2013, 217-37; 2015, 619-39.

The paucity of studies on emotions in the NT field may stem from the intrinsic scarcity of emotional descriptions and small number of attestations of weeping in the NT compared to the OT and other Jewish texts.²⁵ In NT studies, Matthew Elliot offers a rather comprehensive overview of emotions in the NT, and posits, following the example of Jesus, that human emotions should not be repressed.²⁶ There are other studies focused only on one emotion, like anger in Matthew,²⁷ fear in Mark,²⁸ or grief and consolation.²⁹ There has also been growing interest in the topic of emotions within Pauline studies—Eve-Marie Becker studies Paul’s use of emotions in his epistles through *Die Tränen des Paulus* (2 Cor 2:4; Phil 3:18);³⁰ Channing Crisler explores Paul’s use of lament in Romans;³¹ and Ian Jew argues that emotions are crucial for Paul in the formation of Christian identity for believers in Philippians and 1 Thessalonians.³² Beyond Paul’s letters, Katherine Hockey has brought to light the role of emotions in 1 Peter (and the conspicuously absent emotion of anger).³³

²⁵ The verb κλαίω is found 40 times in the NT while the בכה root for weeping is mentioned 146 times in the OT, which is fairly proportionate to the lengths of each Testament, but the occurrences of weeping are small and scattered in the NT amidst narrative, didactic, epistolary, and apocalyptic writings—Matthew (2); Mark (4); Luke (11); John (8); Acts (2); Romans (2); 1 Corinthians (2); Philippians (1) James (2); Revelation (6)—so they do not catch the reader’s attention as a significant motif. Beyond weeping, it is widely recognised in scholarship that the OT consists of more lament and mourning generally, like in the Psalms and Jeremiah. A search through the English translation of Rabbinic texts of the Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash (www.sefaria.org/texts) yields 514 mentions of weep[ing] and 447 records of tears. The two-volume OT Pseudepigraph (Charlesworth, 1983; 1985), aware that some are Christian works, shows large records of words like weep/tears (331) and mourn/lament/grief (352). The four volumes of narrative texts in the Legends of the Jews (Ginzberg, 1909-1938) also reveal many words like weep/tears (267) and mourn/lament/grief (232). That the Ninth of Av is still observed annually today speaks to the importance of mourning and lament in Jewish thought. Though these observations are cursory and require more thorough investigation, the NT appears to have relatively fewer records of emotions when compared to Jewish and pseudepigraphic texts.

²⁶ Elliot 2005.

²⁷ Roberts 2010.

²⁸ Vegge 2017, 243-63.

²⁹ Trotter 2023 discusses grief and consolation in Hellenistic Judaism, while Muir 2022 compares consolation writings of Paul and Seneca.

³⁰ Becker 2020; 2012.

³¹ Crisler 2016.

³² Jew 2022.

³³ Hockey 2019; 2017, 331-53.

While the emergence of these recent publications in various NT sub-fields looks promising, the bulk of inquiry has predominantly centred around the person of Jesus. The twentieth century marked the beginning of burgeoning enthusiasm for experimenting with and reconstructing the psychological profile of the historical Jesus,³⁴ which focused more on Jesus' mental health than his displayed emotions. In the past twenty years, there has been increased interest in researching Jesus' emotions: Stephen Voorwinde's first monograph studies the emotions of John's Jesus, delving into questions of humanity and divinity; he performs a similar quest in his second monograph with the Synoptic Gospels; Scott Spencer surveys the emotional life of Jesus in the gospels; Rebekah Eklund analyses the significance of Jesus' laments in the NT; Crisler examines the Lukan Jesus who both utters and answers laments; he then extends the study to the Synoptic writers; Susanna Asikainen argues that Luke's Jesus is the closest to the ancient Greco-Roman ideal of self-controlled masculinity; and Rumar Thorsteinsson includes the topic of emotions when arguing for Jesus as philosopher in Luke's Gospel.³⁵ Whilst these works do refer to weeping, none are singularly committed to understanding the implications of Jesus' tears. There is, however, Angela Standhartinger's recent article that discusses Jesus' tears from an emotional-historical perspective³⁶ (some of her observations are discussed below in Chapter 5).

³⁴ Bundy 1922 and Schweitzer 1948 argue that Jesus was not mentally ill; Warfield 1950, 93-145 presents a variety of Jesus' emotions; Miller 1997 imagines Jesus' family dynamics; Capps 2000 presents Jesus' psyche using psychobiography and psychohistory (his 2008 monograph claims that Jesus is a healer of psychosomatic illnesses).

³⁵ Voorwinde 2005; 2011; Spencer 2021; Eklund 2015; Crisler 2020; 2023; Asikainen 2018, 134-55; Thorsteinsson 2018, 165-77. Also, Segalla 2007 presents "*Il mondo affettivo di Gesù e la sua identità personale*" in the four gospels. To add, some contend that the Gospel writers present Jesus as un-emotional (Hicks 2021) or deliberately remove Jesus' emotions to meet Stoic ideals (Neyrey 1980; Pope 2019).

³⁶ Standhartinger 2023. Moore 2017 also wrote on Jesus crying in John 11.

I am keen to examine not only Jesus' weeping but the tears of other characters in Luke. However, scholarly research has predominantly celebrated themes of joy over sorrow in Luke;³⁷ discussions dedicated to tears are mostly brief chapter treatments on select Lukan texts.³⁸ Perhaps the closest attempt to appreciate weeping in Luke is Sung Min Hong's published PhD dissertation.³⁹ Hong's study of Luke's weeping texts appear as adjacent to our project's locus of research, but he situates his thesis exclusively on reversals based on Luke 6:21, 25. At times the exegesis seems contrived to neatly fit into the overarching scheme of reversal. Whilst the weeping of the widow at Nain (7:13), the sinful woman (7:38, 44), Jairus (8:52), and Peter (22:62) can be said to embody the reversal and eschatology of 6:21 ("blessed are you who weep now, for you will laugh"), less convincing are the uses of the weeping of Jesus (19:41) and the daughters of Jerusalem (23:28) as cases for applying 6:25b ("woe to you who are laughing now, for you will mourn and weep"). Hong stretches the instance of Jesus' weeping to equate Jerusalem to "those who laugh now;"⁴⁰ the ignorant and misdirected weeping of the women is also labelled as "those who laugh now."⁴¹ This neat bipolarity between weeping and laughter appears belaboured, and it is odd to frame the characters in 19:41 and 23:28 who are weeping in the present through the lens of 6:25b that predicts future sorrow. Contra Hong, I argue that no reversal occurs in this juxtaposition. Nevertheless, Hong's effort to foreground the under-examined weeping

³⁷ Inselmann 2012 integrates psychological theory with exegesis to arrive at *Die Freude im Lukasevangelium*; Newberry 2022 investigates the relationship between Lukan joy and discipleship; Dinkler 2017 is interested in how Lukan narratives shape joy. Theobald 2007 has studied even humour and laughter in Luke.

³⁸ Fisk 2008 analyses tears and lament for Jerusalem in Luke 13:31-35 and 19:41-44; Matthews 2013 focuses on the gender roles in the weeping (Luke 19:41; 23:28).

³⁹ Hong 2018.

⁴⁰ Hong 2018, 121.

⁴¹ Hong 2018, 135.

theme in Luke is commendable. This thesis builds on and, I hope, bolsters and broadens the foundations laid down by the above scholars in regard to the motif of weeping and tears.

The Focus and Boundaries of this Study of Weeping and Tears

Having surveyed existing literature, it becomes imperative to set out the foci and distinguishing elements of this project. First, I will singularly spotlight the overlooked human phenomenon of tears and weeping (beyond the theme of reversals in Hong), and only take into ancillary consideration other emotions (of secondary significance) insofar as they help illuminate the weeping accounts. This clear research object is elucidated below through lexical terms and definitions. Second, this dissertation studies only narratives where weeping and tears occur, which we will also delineate in the following sub-section. Finally, the method of study employed is a distinct feature that I will expound on in detail.

Definitions and Lexical Terms

The Bible quiz question “What is the shortest verse in the Bible?” usually elicits the swift answer: “Jesus wept” (John 11:35, NIV).⁴² This popular verse also invariably surfaces whenever people learn of the topic of my doctoral dissertation, but the *hapax legomenon* ἐδάκρυσεν (John 11:35) is not the key verb of interest to this project. The weeping verb recorded 11 times in Luke’s Gospel is κλαίω; therefore, κλαίω and its cognates and derivatives warrant serious attention. In the *LSJ*, κλαίω is described as “cry, lament, any loud expression of pain or sorrow, weep aloud” and in the *BDAG* as “weep, cry.”⁴³ The other related word that appears twice in Luke but only in the noun form is δάκρυον (tears). Luke is

⁴² The NRSV translates it as “Jesus began to weep,” based on the Greek aorist tense. English scripture texts used in this thesis are quoted from the NRSV unless otherwise stated.

⁴³ *LSJ*-O “κλαίω”; *BDAG* “κλαίω,” 545.

the only gospel to use the noun δάκρυον (7:38, 44), while the verb δακρύω is recorded in John 11:35⁴⁴ (a more nuanced comparison of κλαίω and δακρύω is presented in Chapter 5).

Exploring the etymology of κλαίω in the classical and Greco-Roman world can offer worthwhile insights, since this context would have informed the meaning of the verb for the evangelists and early church thinkers. Granted, κλαίω does not technically mean to have physical tears flow out, but rather to lament or cry when in agony and desperation (like looking “toward heaven,” κλαίεσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν; Homer, *Il.* 8.364), or to signify a distinct wailing sound or shrill of joy (κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως; *Od.* 16.216). However, in situations of mourning, loss, and grief, κλαίω is almost invariably associated with tears, as evidenced in multiple Homeric texts (e.g., *Il.* 1.362; 7.427; 22.90; 24.4, 511, 712, 746; *Od.* 4.196; 11.390; etc.). Moreover, δάκρυ⁴⁵ often appears alongside κλαίω in these texts, which reinforces the connotation of tearful weeping.⁴⁶ Moving on to the Roman world, the Latin vocabulary that accounts for most occurrences of weeping and tears are *flere* (“to weep, cry”), *lacrima* (“a tear”), and *lacrimare* (“to shed tears”), and less frequently the verb *plorare* (“to weep aloud, wail”).⁴⁷ These Latin terms are common in the ancient Christian manuscripts used in this project. Vekselius’ research on tears in Roman culture during the Republic and Early Empire era suggests that “terms for weeping and tears are often used interchangeably by ancient authors for stylistic variation,” precluding straightforward differentiation.⁴⁸ Mindful of a language’s fluidity and dynamism, we will be attentive to the semantic diversities when examining Greek and Latin terms in the upcoming chapters.

⁴⁴ I am not suggesting any distinctions between a noun and verb that are the same word and strongly related.

⁴⁵ *LSJ-O* “δάκρυ” explains that the word is used by Poets, *metri gratia* for δάκρυον.

⁴⁶ For a breakdown of occasions for weeping in archaic Greek poetry, consult Föllinger 2009, 17-36.

⁴⁷ Glare “*lacrima*,” 2:1094; “*ploro*,” 2:1531. See also Vekselius 2018, 13.

⁴⁸ Vekselius 2018, 14.

With a preliminary understanding of key terms established, it is imperative to note that meanings are most accurately determined within specific contexts. For this we return to the Lukan corpus where we recognise that the action of crying in Luke is not limited to the verb κλαίω. There are related words like ἀναβοάω/βοάω (9:38; 18:7, 38), κράζω (4:33, 41; 8:28; 9:39; 18:39; 19:40; 23:18), and φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (23:46). However, while these words broadly convey the meaning of one crying or calling out loudly, they may or may not involve tears.⁴⁹ Incorporating the verbs βοάω and κράζω is also complex because the subjects who cry out include non-human agents—a demon-possessed man (4:33), demons (4:41), the Gerasene demoniac (8:28), a demon-possessed boy (9:38, 39), and stones (19:40)—that present a challenge in relating them to κλαίω, which consistently applies to human characters. Moreover, κλαίω occupies a special place in Luke that is observed starting from the Sermon on the Plain—the Lukan Beatitudes (6:20-23) and Woes (6:24-26) depart from Matt 5:4 with the repeated mention of κλαίω (6:21b; 6:25b), suggesting Luke’s particular interest in weeping.⁵⁰

Another striking sign of Luke’s characteristic interest in κλαίω is observed in the way Jesus is portrayed, a depiction that some scholars align closely with the ideals of Stoicism. They explain Luke’s Passion narrative style through the lens of Socrates’ noble death and/or Graeco-Roman and Jewish martyrological tradition (expanded in Chapter 5).⁵¹ Voorwinde

⁴⁹ *LSJ-O* “βοάω,” *BDAG* “βοάω,” 180; *LSJ-O* “κράζω,” *BDAG* “κράζω,” 563 convey loud crying sounds rather than weeping in tears. Moreover, the context of the verses where βοάω and κράζω appear are not mourning or lament situations that suggest the loud crying is accompanied by tears.

⁵⁰ Hong 2018, 60 goes as far as to argue that 6:21b and 6:25b “provide the frame on which subsequent appearances of the theme [of weeping] are hung” and they form “the programmatic statement for reversal of weeping.” He argues Luke uses κλαίω (6:21, 25) rather than, say, πενθέω or other similar words because the reversal of weeping is “a distinctly Lukan interest” (xv). I suspect Hong bases this assertion on the distinction between οἱ πενθοῦντες (Matt 5:4) and οἱ κλαίοντες (Luke 6:21).

⁵¹ Within these worldviews, grief could be interpreted as punishment or guilt; fear and avoidance of combat could be interpreted as weakness (Senior 1989, 86). This could explain Luke’s Jesus’ lack of emotion. Sterling

provides statistical analysis on the frequency of emotional expressions attributed to Jesus—Matthew (10x), Mark (16x), Luke (5x), John (28x).⁵² In Luke, the five emotions attributed to Jesus are ἀγαλλιάω (10:21), θαυμάζω (7:9), κλαίω (19:41), σπλαγχνίζομαι (7:13), and συνέχω (12:50).⁵³ In my view, of the five, the verb κλαίω is a very evocative display of emotions and stands out as the most striking, presenting an apparent contradiction to Stoic ideals—where from Socrates and Plato to Seneca and Cicero, grief and weeping were typically viewed in the Greco-Roman world as signs of weakness or effeminacy.⁵⁴

A study of κλαίω naturally calls to mind pertinent emotions like λύπη (Luke 22:45), θρηνέω (7:32; 23:27), κόπτω (8:52; 23:27), πενθέω (6:25), among others.⁵⁵ Determining the presence of grief and mourning often hinges on the appearance of κλαίω or δάκρυον.⁵⁶ The word λύπη appears only once (without κλαίω) to explain why the disciples were sleeping while Jesus was praying, while the other three words occur in the verses featuring κλαίω. Thus, θρηνέω, κόπτω, and πενθέω will be mentioned in our study as 8:52 and 23:27 are already part of our passages under scrutiny, and with reference to 6:25 because “the woe” sheds light on and provides valuable context for understanding κλαίω. While an exhaustive exploration of all emotions related to crying exceeds the scope of this analysis, I contend that κλαίω emerges as significant and representative for a study on emotional expressions

2001 sees Luke as using Socratic traditions to portray Jesus’ death. Fitzmyer 1981, 1:95 thinks Jesus’ poised, resolved, and unbending traits in Luke is to guard the divinity of Jesus against an overly human Markan Jesus.

⁵² For a summary of data on Jesus’ emotions in the NT, see Voorwinde 2005, 284-98. Voorwinde, however, makes clear it is not that Luke is disinterested in emotions; Luke mentions the emotions of other characters more frequently than the other three evangelists (119).

⁵³ Voorwinde 2005, 295-8. ἀγωνία (Luke 22:44) is acknowledged (284) but not included. Metzger 1994, 151, based on the absence of Luke 22:43-44 in ancient witnesses, also argues for its omission.

⁵⁴ Plato, *Phaed.* 117c-d; *Resp.* 605d-e; Cicero, *Fin.* 2.94-5; *Tusc.* 3.71; Seneca, *Cons. ad Pol.* 6.2; *Ep.* 99.17. See also Dover 1974, 101; van Wees 1998, 14-19; Williams 1999, 138.

⁵⁵ These terms do not explicitly mean that tears were involved, though tears could be implied.

⁵⁶ The nominal form is used here because Luke does not use the verb.

within Luke, since Luke has the most references to κλαίω in the NT, uses the verb to describe Jesus, and establishes the prominence of κλαίω in the Sermon of the Plain.

Six Lukan Weeping Narratives

The verb κλαίω occurs 11 times in Luke, alongside a single instance of the noun κλαυθμός. These 12 mentions are distributed across eight instances within six narrative accounts (7:13; 7:38, 44; 8:52 (x2); 19:41; 22:62; 23:28) and four didactic sections—the Sermon on the Plain (6:21, 25); a response about John the Baptist (7:32); and an explanation on salvation (κλαυθμός, 13:28). For focus and clear comparability, I will only analyse the narratives to emphasise the psychological and emotional dimensions of tears, given how a “narrative is intimately bound up with emotion.”⁵⁷ While didactic texts offer pedagogical aspects and theoretical insights into weeping, they are secondary to our primary research interest.⁵⁸ “Non-narrative” texts are considered, where applicable, but do not constitute the key research passages.

We saw above that recent scholarship has mostly been interested in the emotions of Jesus (though only five emotions are identified in Luke). Luke in fact attributes a wider range of emotions to other people, surpassing descriptions found in the other gospels—apart from Jesus, there are more emotional descriptions for narrative characters in Luke (86) than in Matthew (47), Mark (51), and John (62).⁵⁹ In other words, though Luke has few mentions of

⁵⁷ Hogan 2003, 5.

⁵⁸ This is not to say that the weeping employed for didactic reasons is void of the human psychological and emotional elements, but the literary use of weeping in these parts of Luke’s Gospel is primarily for the Lukan Jesus to emphasise a teaching point.

⁵⁹ See summary tables in Voorwinde 2005, 287-303.

Jesus' emotions, "*it does not necessarily follow* that Luke's Gospel is less emotional."⁶⁰ This is true in the case of weeping: five of the six stories feature other characters as crying—the widow at Nain (7:13); the anointing woman (7:38, 44); Jairus and those mourning (8:52); the apostle Peter (22:62); and the daughters of Jerusalem (23:28). This broader examination, including but not limited to Jesus' weeping (19:41), enriches our understanding of its thematic significance in Luke. Thus, a study of all six narratives should prove fruitful in appreciating the role and meaning of weeping in Luke, which cannot be said to lack emotional depth. Apart from Luke 22:62 (cf. Matt 26:75; Mark 14:72), all other narrative instances of κλαίω are distinctively Lukan—either the pericope is unique or, if the story has a Synoptic parallel, the mention of weeping is a Lukan addition.

Our earlier discussion on the etymology of κλαίω shows that the verb could refer to loud crying without tears, except in contexts marked by grief, loss, and great adversity. The weeping scenes are thick with heavy emotion, hence, likely filled with tears: the widow at Nain (7:11-17) and Jairus (8:40-56) each mourn the loss of their only child; the sinful woman (7:36-50) is burdened by her sin and societal rejection; Peter is overwhelmed by guilt and shock over his denial of Jesus (22:54-62); the women of Jerusalem (23:17-31) lament the impending crucifixion; and Jesus himself grieves over Jerusalem (19:41-44). These six poignant—and tearful—passages are strategic windows into the motif of weeping; the first five stories showcase interactions of narrative characters with Jesus before, while, and/or after they weep.

⁶⁰ Iverson 2015, 146 n.60 (*italics original*).

In essence, based on the meaning of κλαίω and the narrative situations in which κλαίω appears in Luke's Gospel, we understand weeping as the action of crying that likely includes accompanying tears, as caused by emotional processing, and as tears themselves (the only bodily fluid that does not arouse disgust in others).⁶¹ Having delineated these lexical terms and the project's narrative scope, alongside an unambiguous commitment to explore the thematic presence of weeping in Luke, we now advance to the methodology.

Methodological Approach

In this study, I adopt a diachronically comparative method between early Christian authors and modern Lukan commentators, leveraging a reception historical framework. I examine ancient interpretations of Luke's weeping texts (and, where relevant, comments on other NT passages),⁶² then contrast these with contemporary scholars' perspectives.

Having meticulously catalogued each ancient reference, followed by a synthesis of modern views, I discovered that, whilst impressive in volume and comprehensiveness, such a presentation of early sources inadvertently reduces accessibility, much like inviting the reader into a dense forest of early Greek and Latin works. To enhance clarity and avoid obscuring key points, I have instead produced a landscaped garden with clearly defined weeping-related themes that spotlight contributions across timeframes. After amassing and deliberating on the relevant content, I make the executive decision to focally discuss salient remarks that show agreement and contrast, resonance and divergence between the two

⁶¹ Vekselius 2018, 13, studying weeping and tears from a Roman view, uses a similar definition.

⁶² There is a large corpus of ancient literature on weeping and tears, but for clarity and focus this thesis only consults comments on weeping texts in Luke (and on other related passages). The remaining early references certainly invite future and further research.

eras. I elevate the key voices without neglecting minor writers.⁶³ Given space constraints, the selection prioritises a broader array of ancient literature with a more representative choice of modern works.

The intention of bringing early and current views into dialogue is not to pit one view against the other but to enlarge hermeneutical possibilities and discover critically synthetic and unprecedented readings of a text. When there are points of continuity and deviation, I seek to understand the wider cultural and intellectual milieu influencing these perspectives, offering some contextually derived reasons for why the moderns and ancients might think a certain way given the trends and transitions related to the issue at hand.

Ancient Christian Writers and Early Reception⁶⁴

The early writings considered will include only Greek and Latin references from the first five centuries until the works of Augustine.⁶⁵ These ancient comments will be organised thematically and include some critical comments where relevant. I am interested in whether what an author says about weeping could be conditioned by a certain prejudice, polemical response, spiritual experience, or cultural, geographical, political, socio-economic setting.⁶⁶ When an early work is cited, I provide the author, name of work, and critical edition (and

⁶³ By “minor writers” I mean authors with fewer writings.

⁶⁴ I have chosen to use the term “Ancient Christian Writers” instead of “Church Fathers” to avoid feminist criticisms and, more importantly, because some writings may be attributed to early authors on the margins who may not be officially included in the list of “early church fathers.”

⁶⁵ Admittedly, this excludes the valuable views of Ephrem and others. Nonetheless, a preliminary reading of Ephrem on weeping suggests that his views are not divergent from the general ancient interpretative tendencies. The inclusion of Syriac, Coptic, and other languages will have to wait for a future project. I have also not included anonymous ancient references because it is challenging to determine their contexts.

⁶⁶ Hockey 2017, 334 notes that when we engage an ancient text on emotions that is culturally and historically distant or odd, we must learn about it on its own terms. Allison 2006, 6-7 also reminds us that “ideas are never disembodied or disinterested things,” so we should locate the environmental factors that influence them.

translation, if available) for ease of reference. To prevent the de-historicising of authors and their works, when an ancient writer is introduced for the first time in the thesis, I attempt to offer some background information and context, like dating and provenance. With the help of *Biblia Patristica*, *Bibindex*, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts*, and other sources and databases, I have identified the following ancient writers who comment on Luke's weeping narratives (with an indication of the chapters in which I discuss their writings):

1. Clement (Chapter 2),
2. Tertullian (Chapter 2),
3. Hippolytus (Chapter 5),⁶⁷
4. Origen (Chapters 2, 3, 5),
5. Pseudo-Cyprian (Chapter 2),⁶⁸
6. Eusebius (Chapters 3, 5),
7. Pseudo-Clementine Homilies (Chapter 5),
8. Asterius (Chapter 3),
9. Athanasius (Chapters 3, 5),
10. Hilary of Poitiers (Chapters 3, 5),
11. Cyril of Jerusalem (Chapter 3),
12. Epiphanius (Chapters 3, 5),
13. Basil of Caesarea (Chapters 4, 5),
14. Gregory of Nazianzus (Chapters 2, 3, 4),

⁶⁷ Hippolytus' provenance and identity are uncertain; equally controversial are Hippolytus' corpus and its dating. In this thesis, I place Hippolytus in the second–third century, whilst aware that his works could have been written by several different authors a few centuries later.

⁶⁸ Works wrongly attributed to Cyprian of Carthage will be classified as Pseudo-Cyprian's writings. I do not claim certainty in matters of dating these works; their chronological place in this thesis is not definitive.

15. Gregory of Nyssa (Chapter 4),
16. Amphilochius (Chapter 2),
17. Ambrose (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5),
18. Ambrosiaster (Chapter 3),
19. John Chrysostom (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5),
20. Jerome (Chapters 3, 5),
21. Augustine (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5).⁶⁹

I have chosen a reception historical approach partly because of the elusiveness of discerning Luke's original authorial intent for his unique weeping narratives. As Markus Bockmuehl notes, "if Luke here implicitly invites his readers to draw certain conclusions, one of our best available exegetical guides is to ask what those earliest readers themselves concluded,"⁷⁰ so this approach shifts the focus to reception by Luke's earliest audience. The concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte*,⁷¹ which Bockmuehl favours to mean "the history of the text's effects" rather than merely reception history,⁷² highlights the dynamic interaction between scripture and its interpreters; not only do readers interpret scripture, but scripture also draws out meaning from the interpreter's life.⁷³ However, the approach adopted in this study is only marginally *Wirkungsgeschichte*, it is more precisely limited to a history of exegesis. A recent article by Hoegen-Rohls highlights the distinction between the history of interpretation (*Auslegungsgeschichte*) and the history of reception (*Rezeptionsgeschichte*)

⁶⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, a contemporary of Augustine, wrote a complete commentary on Luke, which is useful for our purposes. Unfortunately, only Greek fragments of the commentary survived. The important 1859 English translation is based on a very literal Syriac translation discovered in 1842. Therefore, I will interact less with Cyril as compared to the other ancients and will rely on Payne's English translation when needed.

⁷⁰ Bockmuehl 2012, 158.

⁷¹ The term was introduced by Gadamer 2004, 299-306.

⁷² Bockmuehl 2007, 343. Evans 2014, 8 highlights that for Gadamer, the German philosopher who was key to shaping this approach, *Wirkungsgeschichte* is not a history, method, or type of reception but a principle—"that we are already affected by history."

⁷³ See Eklund 2021 "Beatitudes," 2-5 for a succinct introduction to reception history as methodology.

whereby the authenticity of the NT text is preserved in its literary form for the former while the latter includes non-textual interpretations;⁷⁴ *Auslegungsgeschichte* well describes the reception historical approach of this project.

Faithful engagement with the history of interpretation is also a matter of historically contextual interpretation—commentators think and write from within their socio-historical situations. Therefore, I will highlight instances where an exegete’s interpretation serves as a window into the personal, intellectual, and social world of the exegete.⁷⁵ Essentially, this project is engaged with the history of exegesis, in an eclectic manner, whilst emphasising that interpretations are inevitably influenced by their particular historical setting. Rather than only delving “behind” Luke’s narratives for authorial intent that could be challenging to identify or locating Luke’s intended meaning from “within” its literary context and canonical story, this study traverses “in front” of them, charting their reception by and influence on early Christian thinkers, all the while cognisant that the interpretations, early and modern, are invariably coloured by specific contexts.⁷⁶

One of the key benefits of taking an interest in the “afterlife” of Luke’s Gospel is the potential to discover different ways of reading Luke’s weeping narratives. The survey of ancient sources in this thesis is not only limited to traditional commentaries from authors of

⁷⁴ Hoegen-Rohls 2023, 264; see full essay for a discussion of the various perspectives and terminology related to reception history.

⁷⁵ The consciousness that interpretations are dictated by the exegete’s context finds resemblance in the idea of *wirkungsgeschichtliche Bewußtsein* or “historically effected consciousness” (Gadamer 2004, 301); but the awareness of historical situations in this thesis is only a matter of historically contextual interpretation which does not include a study of how subsequent understanding is shaped by the history of existing, earlier interpretations.

⁷⁶ I agree with Steinmetz 1980, 28 who thinks it is “demonstrably false” that “the most primitive meaning of the text is its only valid meaning.” Gadamer 2004, 296 argues that “the real meaning of a text... does not depend on the contingencies of the author and his original audience.” Also, Bockmuehl 2006, 65.

the first five centuries, but includes references made within liturgical settings, for apologetic arguments, and as part of poetry. Instead of searching for the “original meaning” of the weeping texts, canvassing the array of early readings should add breadth and depth to how we think about texts, and uncover new layers of meaning that might otherwise remain unknown. Incorporating views from antiquity as a valid voice of exegesis could also i) correct potential misconceptions that assume the ancients read biblical texts in the same way that we read them today; ii) challenge some modern hermeneutical assumptions; and iii) expose certain modern cultural and confessional biases.⁷⁷ Alister McGrath astutely notes that we function within an inherited context that limits our theological formulations—because of inattentiveness and/or prejudice—and for that reason we should appreciate the gift of seeing the gospel through the eyes of others to enrich and extend our theological vision.⁷⁸

This project’s study of ancient works is performed precisely in the hopes of avoiding potential blind spots and biases that arise as a result of adopting only historical-critical methods and consulting only modern sources. Nevertheless, I am aware of the constraints of the kind of reception history attempted here. First, there is little art reception,⁷⁹ save a few references to early Christian art on Peter and the rooster (Chapter 3). There is also very limited engagement with Jewish literature, despite the undeniably rich Jewish tradition of lament and mourning, because of the limited space of this thesis. Thus, our early reception is confined to Greek and Latin comments on Luke’s weeping texts.

⁷⁷ Gillingham 2018, 1-15 and Punt 2000, 207-24 discuss the challenges and strengths of reception history.

⁷⁸ McGrath 2021, 42-48.

⁷⁹ This would fall under the category of *Rezeptionsgeschichte* for Hoegen-Rohls 2023, 265.

Whilst surveying the history of exegesis, I interrogate early interpretations regarding the acceptability of weeping, aiming to uncover underlying attitudes towards emotions. I also scrutinise the choice between Greek and Latin terminology and its effect on describing the weeping phenomena. Additionally, how the specific context of each text shapes the author's view on tears is considered. Lastly, I critically evaluate any discernible potential weaknesses in these ancient hermeneutical approaches to Luke's narratives.

Modern Lukan Commentators

For modern works, I have curated a representative selection of major commentaries on Luke from the last few decades, guided by their scholarly reviews and worldwide library presence. This preference may appear somewhat subjective since the metric of a work's quality and significance is inherently difficult to measure; however, the prevalence of these commentaries in their widespread availability and scholarly acknowledgement serve as tangible markers of their academic impact. This approach mirrors the selection of extant ancient works discussed in this project, likely to be amongst the more renowned works that were widely circulated in antiquity.

Notwithstanding this, we recognise that these interpreters who are centuries apart did not write in the same genre nor with same emotional register. Unlike the moderns, early commentators did not differentiate between scholarly and academic categories and homiletical and confessional ones. However, even among the ancients one could identify close readers of the text who provide exegetical and critical readings, like Origen, who offers a critical, albeit less systematised, approach comparable to modern scholarship. Ancients have contributed intellectual and theological substance just as moderns recognise the texts'

homiletical and pastoral applicability in their commentaries, underscoring the value and generative potential of placing the two in dialogue.

The modern reception of Lukan weeping texts will be based chiefly on the following twelve authors and their commentaries,⁸⁰ listed according to their year of publication:

1. Howard Marshall 1978 (NIGTC),
2. John Nolland 1989-1993 (WBC),
3. Joseph Fitzmyer 1981-1985 (AYB),
4. Luke Timothy Johnson 1991 (SacPag),
5. Robert Stein 1992 (NAC),
6. Darrell Bock 1994-1996 (BECNT),
7. Joel Green 1997 (NICNT),
8. François Bovon 2002-2013 (Hermeneia),
9. Hans Klein 2006 (MeyerK),
10. John Carroll 2012 (NTL),
11. David Lyle Jeffrey 2012 (BTCB),
12. Michael Wolter 2016-2017 (BMSEC).

The representative choice of modern literature strives for diversity by encompassing Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars as well as non-anglophone works (Bovon, Klein, Wolter). This far-from-straightforward shortlist has shortfalls—like the absence of Eastern Christian, majority world, postcolonial, postmodernist, and feminist readings. Realistically, however, such works are less widely circulated and are often not complete commentaries that discuss

⁸⁰ According to the data available in www.worldcat.org there is an average of 642 copies per commentary in libraries worldwide. The number of copies range from 199 (Klein 2006) to 1407 (Fitzmyer 1981) copies.

every Lukan passage.⁸¹ Though these twelve commentaries feature most prominently because of their broad influence, they will be complemented by monographs and journal articles pertinent to the discussion, fostering broader dialogue with the early interpreters.

Luke's Gospel and Its Ancient-Modern Receptions

Having introduced the two sets of interlocutors, our focus can shift to how they interact with the Lukan text. Luke's narratives set the parameters for the inclusion of only references that illuminate our understanding of weeping. Each chapter revolves around a particular Lukan text(s); anchored in that text, we juxtapose a close comparison of early and modern comments, then reapply these insights into the weeping narratives to assess their compatibility with Luke's context and purpose as well as their contributions to a richer, fresher reading on the narrative.

This engagement with the history of interpretation, though not an exhaustive combing of sources, facilitates an appreciation for and a synthetic interpretation of the weeping motif in Luke. It also serves as a defence against claims that the reception historical approach is merely a cataloguing of various interpretative views. Modern scholars have expended enormous amounts of energy, time, and ink exegeting Luke's Gospel but have

⁸¹ Works on Luke's Gospel that represent Eastern Orthodox perspectives found in the SBL Unit on Eastern Orthodox Exegesis (<https://orthodoxbiblical.org/gospel-of-luke/>) discuss only a particular aspect or passage (Bilby 2013; Despotis 2009; Papademetriou 2016; Tsalampouni 2012). Postcolonial readings tend to combine Luke-Acts in a book chapter (Burrus 2007; Staley 2004) or only analyse Acts (Muñoz-Larrondo 2012). A book about an ecological feminist reading of Luke's Gospel is found in 112 libraries according to www.worldcat.org (Elvey 2005) but feminist views range from those that are programmatically positive about Luke to those who see women as silenced and subservient (see Seim 2010). These contradictory views are hardly fairly represented by one work. In this thesis, I include articles that offer feminist readings on specific weeping texts (e.g., Applegate 1999 in Chapter 2, p.74; Matthews 2013 in Chapter 5, pp.233, 241).

overlooked germane readings from the past, which underscores the rich soil to be tilled—there is an untapped interpretative potential at the juncture of ancient and modern.⁸²

I take a literary-theological approach in my reading of each passage within the overall Lukan narrative and in relation to its Synoptic comparisons.⁸³ The literary-theological orientation I employ follows Joel Green's discourse analysis of social and linguistic webs which he categorises as "co-text," "intertext," and "context."⁸⁴ I briefly show how this is adapted to Luke 7:36-50, our inaugural weeping narrative (Chapter 2). "Co-text" delineates the interconnectedness of the text, such as "the relationship of, say, a sentence to a paragraph, a pericope to the larger Lukan narrative, and so on."⁸⁵ Using the concept of "co-text" helps us discern theological themes in 7:36-50 like sin, forgiveness, faith, and salvation in line with Luke's larger Gospel exposition.⁸⁶ Next, the concept of "intertext" aids investigation of Luke's reliance on the OT through allusions or linguistic resonances; it is "interested in how Luke's narrative draws and/or builds on the LXX."⁸⁷ Luke's dependence on the OT elucidates distinctive emphases on Jesus' feet (7:38, 44-46) and the unparalleled

⁸² Krokus 2008, 675-96 exhibits the fruitfulness of placing the medieval scholastic approach in conversation with modern Catholic exegesis. Burnet 2023, 277-90 highlights the importance of recognising that texts are always understood within a certain historical situation and social position; even if interpreters from different eras argue the same thing, their historical situations are not the same and their statements do not have the same meaning (290). For examples of engagement with the history of interpretation, see the *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* and series like Blackwell's *Through the Centuries*, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Church's Bible Commentary, etc.

⁸³ By literary-theological I mean that apart from observing the literary form and structure of Luke's passages, I assume that there is theological meaning and purpose in each passage, and that Luke's weeping narratives are presented to communicate theological concepts like sin, repentance, Christology, etc.

⁸⁴ Green 1997, 13.

⁸⁵ Green 1997, 13. Also Green 2010, 184 writes, "words, sentences, and entire discourse units are shaped in their significance by the larger co-texts in which they appear; previous definitions, previous meaning systems can be nuanced, renewed, and even destroyed in new co-texts. Particularly in NT texts, where reading and rereading are not only possible but encouraged by those faith communities in which they are regarded as Scripture, expectations are constantly being recast as readers related and re-relate a text to its co-text."

⁸⁶ I make occasional references to Acts assuming Luke-Acts to be a two-volume narrative.

⁸⁷ Green 1997, 13-14.

addition of a parable to the narrative (7:41-42).⁸⁸ Lastly, “context” encompasses “the socio-historical realities of the Lukan text” situated within both the Palestinian and wider Graeco-Roman worlds of the first century.⁸⁹ “Context” is vital to our appreciation of the nuanced notions of sin, debt, and forgiveness in Luke’s anointing story.

Utilising these heuristic tools, we recognise each weeping text as i) positioned in relation to the rest of Luke’s Gospel, ii) linked to OT traditions, and iii) embedded within its early Palestinian and Graeco-Roman milieu. This approach highlights Luke’s theological agenda behind each text and sheds light on his redactional choices in comparison to Mark.⁹⁰ I also do not negate nor overlook the significance of socio-historical and source criticisms; these methodologies are integrated to enrich the interpretative process. In this thesis, when I refer to Luke and his audience, it is the implied author and implied audience to whom I direct attention.⁹¹ Finally, I operate under the premise that Luke is a Hellenistic Jewish author, who not only reveals his Jewish heritage (through his attention to Jerusalem, discussed more in Chapter 5) but also integrates wider cultural and philosophical concepts from the surrounding Greco-Roman world into his narrative.

The allocation of substantial discussion to both early and contemporary commentary may lead some readers to question the Third Gospel’s centrality and function in this study. To dispel any ambiguity regarding the primacy of texts, it is essential for me to articulate

⁸⁸ E.g., 2 Kgs 4:1-37; Isa 52:7.

⁸⁹ Green 1997, 13-14.

⁹⁰ Green’s 2020 publication, *Luke as Narrative Theologian*, also demonstrates what a narrative logical approach means, which is relevant and useful for the methodology of this project.

⁹¹ That we are employing a reception historical approach suggests it is difficult to know Luke’s authorial intent. Equally, we turn to early hearers/readers like the ancient authors for a closer picture of the real audience but without attempting to identify them exactly.

that the foremost objective of this project is to explore the intents and possibilities inherent to Luke's narratives of weeping, particularly in relation to the divergent handling of these texts by ancient and modern exegetes. The ancient-modern comparative analysis is pursued to glean exegetical and hermeneutical payoffs. Luke's Gospel remains the foundational text; it underpins the conceptual framework and delimits the scope of this investigation. The overarching aim of this research is to uncover the untapped potential of Luke's weeping texts through a more well-rounded engagement with their interpretative history.

Relationship between Stoicism and Early Christianity

Given this project's early reception method and our acknowledgment of the inherent specificity of emotions across cultural, linguistic, and historical dimensions, we ought to engage with the scholarly debate on the dynamic relationship between Stoic philosophy and early Christian theology.⁹² As twenty-first century readers, we exercise caution against anachronistic importation and projection of modern notions of emotions into early works.⁹³ The degree of Stoic influence on the NT is a complex and contentious issue. NT writers, like Luke and Paul, show hints of Stoic philosophy in their writing, and early Christian authors are also seen to appropriate and adapt Stoic ideals into Christian teaching, though they also resist Stoic ideas when these are deemed antithetical to Christian doctrine.⁹⁴ Over the

⁹² I focus on Stoicism because it was the most dominant philosophy in the era we are studying. Stoicism has long been established as a fruitful conversation partner for early Christianity and has a robust view of how to manage emotions, including weeping. Against views that think Stoicism means a total absence of emotions, and, hence, incompatible with the study of emotions, Graver 2009, 1-6 argues that not all emotions are *pathe* or bad for Hellenistic Stoics.

⁹³ Roberts 2010, 13-16 highlights the dangers of studying emotions in the NT when it is not placed within its contemporary intellectual context, i.e., when it fails to consider cross-cultural and trans-historical factors.

⁹⁴ Eklund 2015, 15-16. Colish 1985, 2:5 recognises that there is "no single or univocal answer to... the relationship between Stoicism and Christianity" and that diverse approaches to Stoicism are found even within the work of the same early author.

subsequent chapters, and most notably in Chapter 4, this study provides some illumination on the extent of Stoic influence over the NT and early Christian literature.

At this stage, we first acknowledge a spectrum of scholarly opinions concerning the relationship between early Christian thought and Stoic philosophy. They range from scholars who posit that early Christian ideas are profoundly enmeshed within and most cogently understood through a Stoic framework to those who think Stoicism stands in opposition to Christianity. A notable figure in this discourse is Troels Engberg-Pedersen, who advocates for Stoicism as the most coherent philosophy with which to make sense of Paul's⁹⁵ and John's writings.⁹⁶ Similarly, Stanley Stowers identifies Matthew's Gospel as an example of how Stoic thought is found in its portrayal of Jesus.⁹⁷ Gitte Buch-Hansen sees the portrayal of Jesus' emotions in John as resting firmly on Stoic ground⁹⁸ whereas Harold Attridge presents a more nuanced view, suggesting that while some aspects of the Johannine Jesus echo "the ideal Stoic sage," other depictions of Jesus' emotions are less compatible with Stoic ideas.⁹⁹ On the opposite end of the spectrum is Kavin Rowe who argues that the Stoics and early Christians belong to rival traditions.¹⁰⁰ Rowe dismisses the possibility of meaningful dialogue between the two because they are founded on distinct belief systems, embody competing views of life, and utilise linguistic terms that defy accurate translations across traditions.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Engberg-Pedersen 2010, 19. Elsewhere, Engberg-Pedersen 2000, 4 writes "...what appeared problematic and incoherent in Paul's letters falls into place and makes coherent sense once it is seen in the light of certain central ideas in Stoic ethics." Contra Betz 1991, 343 who believes Paul did not borrow from Stoic sources.

⁹⁶ Engberg-Pedersen 2016, 29-43.

⁹⁷ Stowers 2010, 59-76.

⁹⁸ Buch-Hansen 2010, 93-114.

⁹⁹ Attridge 2010, 77-92.

¹⁰⁰ Rowe 2016, 199 claims that "the most constructive way to conceive their relation is to think them in direct narrative juxtaposition, face to face."

¹⁰¹ Rowe 2016, 224-35.

Which stance will this thesis adopt? While Rowe's argument is valuable as a critical caution against simplistic analogies in the comparative study of traditions, his emphasis on the stark incommensurability of the two systems may be an overstatement. The early church flourished within an immediate context permeated by Stoicism—early Christian authors engaged with the Stoics,¹⁰² and it is improbable that Stoic ideas and early Christian thought were as distinct and mutually exclusive as Rowe asserts. Colish invites us to observe how the early Christian intellectuals operated around Stoicism and the Bible, beyond modern debates alone: some Latin Christian authors regarded Stoicism as “an authentic source of wisdom” because both Stoicism and Christianity were compatible; others saw Stoicism as “fundamentally antithetical to Christian theology;” while still others relied on Stoic principles to “Christianize them... for the formulation and defence of Christian doctrine.”¹⁰³ The range of responses to Stoicism suggests that even ancients who opposed and resisted Stoicism interacted with it; they were influenced by Stoicism “substantively, formally, terminologically, or all three.”¹⁰⁴

Regarding the influence of Stoicism on the NT, I argue that its imprints within the NT world may explain the scarcity of emotional records found in NT texts when contrasted with ancient Jewish literature.¹⁰⁵ While it remains an enigma as to what the evangelists had in mind, there are sufficient clues in Luke's portrayal of Jesus to warrant interpretations from within the Stoic philosophical milieu of the first few centuries. The Stoic framing lends some

¹⁰² Below in Chapter 4, I demonstrate how Ambrose and Augustine engaged with Stoicism.

¹⁰³ Colish 1985, 2:4-5

¹⁰⁴ Colish 1985, 2:4

¹⁰⁵ One key characteristic of Stoicism is the removal of emotions. Nussbaum 1994, 359-401 details how Stoics are to be free from passion (*apatheia*)—the extirpation of the passions.

credence to arguments for Luke's Jesus as embodying Greco-Roman masculinity¹⁰⁶ and as the most "philosophical" of the gospels.¹⁰⁷ These discussions are revisited in Chapter 5 when examining Jesus' weeping in relation to the noble death tradition. At this juncture, scholarly imperative leads us to acknowledge Stoicism as the prevailing moral and intellectual current in antiquity and, hence, will be discussed, where relevant, in this present research.

Outline of Study

This study is structured textually, that is, according to the six weeping narratives. Whilst organising each passage according to Luke's narrative sequence—beginning with Luke 7:13 and ending at 23:28—would seem *prima facie* more natural, I have deliberately ordered the four main chapters to progress from the weeping of human characters (Parts I and II) to the weeping of Jesus (Part III), and from weeping over sin (Part I) and death (Part II) to weeping over Jerusalem (Part III). Based on the collated exegetical views on each text, the chapters are organised according to overarching themes like repentance (Part I), grief (Part II), and Jerusalem (Part III), to better highlight the recurring topics and patterns, but without discarding the pertinent exceptions and nuances. At the end of every chapter, I show how each weeping narrative gains in colour and definition through the symbiotic juxtaposition of early and modern views.

¹⁰⁶ In studying the question of masculinity in the Synoptic Gospels, Asikainen 2018, 3 concludes that Matthew and Mark portray Jesus and his disciples as more "voluntarily marginalized masculinity" whereas Luke "is the closest to the ancient Greco-Roman ideal of self-controlled masculinity," and one of the factors determining masculine ideals was "self-control, including control over emotions" (134). Asikainen repeatedly demonstrates how Luke is closest to presenting Jesus as the ideal of self-control and Stoicism (142-53). Neumann 2023, 162 argues that Luke steers away from the feminine concept of *πλαγχνίζομαι* to align Jesus with the Hellenistic ideal of masculinity („um Jesus dem hellenistischen Männlichkeitsideal anzugleichen"). See Wilson 2016, 190-242 for a different perspective; she argues instead that the Lukan Jesus is not as emotionally restrained and is even "unmanly" according to Roman ideals, but her arguments are based only on the Passion narrative.

¹⁰⁷ Thorsteinsson 2018, 165-77 includes the topic of emotions when arguing for Luke's Jesus as philosopher. Luke's Jesus is "the philosophical sage par excellence in terms of expressed emotions" (165) while Mark and Matthew include "unphilosophical" emotions of Jesus (177).

Part I of the thesis embarks on a discussion of the anointing woman (Luke 7:36-50) in Chapter 2 and Peter's weeping (22:62) in Chapter 3. These narratives are chronologically distant in Luke's Gospel yet are placed one after another, as the theme of repentance is found in relation to both the weeping of the woman and Peter. In Chapter 2, a divergence in views clearly emerges: the ancients consistently perceive the sinful woman's weeping as repentance while the moderns understand her tears as gratitude for forgiveness already received. In Chapter 3, a trend is also observed: while the moderns almost unanimously read Peter's tears as repentance, only some early writers view the apostle's tears in penitential terms. Relatedly, there are fewer mentions of *μετάνοια* (and *paenitentia*) and *ἁμαρτία* (and *peccatum*) in early references to Peter's tears as compared to the frequent early comments on the sinful woman. These intriguing observations on tears and penitence are examined in Part I. Throughout the thesis, I question whether there are biographical, political, doctrinal, or ecclesiastical factors that affect one's perception of weeping.

In Part II of this thesis, the theme shifts from repentance to weeping that revolves around death and grief. Chapter 4 focuses on the widow at Nain (7:13) and Jairus and his household (8:52) because both passages are semantically and thematically similar. There is a need to interrogate the discourse on mortality in the ancient world and Stoic influences on early intellectual thought, to appreciate the level of receptiveness, or lack thereof, in the early Christian works regarding emotional expressions. The modern reception of weeping in bereavement and grief appears rather different from that of the ancients, raising the need to compare and evaluate the divergent views. This exercise underscores the imperative to identify cultural "scripts" or "regimes" that govern tears of mourning in each era.

Part III covers the final two weeping events (19:41; 23:28) in Chapter 5—both Jesus' and the women's weeping are connected to Jerusalem. Ancient interpreters typically assert that weeping is attributable solely to the human nature of Jesus, whereas contemporary scholars often bypass the theological discourse on the dual natures of Christ, which raises the issue of divine weeping. This chapter shows that attentiveness to the theme of weeping not only better informs Luke's presentation of Jesus, but it also highlights the centrality of Jerusalem for Luke. In the concluding chapter, I summarise key discussions and findings from each chapter to offer final synthetic analyses and comparative remarks. Through this structured descriptive and analytical dialogue between the two eras, readers are invited to re-evaluate claims that Luke's Jesus is un-emotional. Rather, Luke may be employing a more sophisticated depiction of emotion in his Gospel narratives.

Contribution of Study

To the best of my knowledge, an expansive and thorough survey of weeping and tears in Luke's Gospel has not been undertaken. As previously indicated, the current literature on emotions and weeping in the NT are predominantly centred on emotive expressions associated with Jesus and Christology; whilst including the record of Jesus' weeping, this project hopes to broaden academic inquiry by illuminating aspects of weeping that encompass other human characters and explore the broader function and significance of weeping in Luke. In comparing and synthesizing the interpretations of weeping across historical epochs, we might derive a conceptual framework that one might tentatively term a theology of tears. While eschewing a rigidly systematic approach, we could surmise ways in which Luke allows us to contemplate weeping in relation to the divine, individuals, the world, and events that occasion the precipitation of tears. In light of the limited scholarly

attention to the theme of weeping in the NT, I hope to offer a comprehensive examination of weeping and tears in Luke's Gospel narratives as a contribution to the emerging field of study concerning emotions in biblical literature.

Furthermore, I contend that by initiating interchange between the two sets of interlocutors, we not only augment our comprehension of the significance of weeping, but also engage more deeply with issues intrinsic to Luke's Gospel—Lukan Christology, the theme of repentance, the function of emotions, the topic of death and grief, the pivotal role of Jerusalem, and more. These themes are already present in Luke, but by looking at them through the lens of tears, we may invigorate them with new perspectives. In short, an investigation into the semantic complex of weeping and tears in Luke—through the eyes of the ancients and moderns—holds the promise of addressing a scholarly lacuna, contributing to discourse in Lukan studies, and, ultimately, offering insights with pastoral significance.¹⁰⁸

Now that we have canvassed the primary motivations and purpose for this project, elaborated on the chosen methodology, clarified some throat-clearing qualifications, and confirmed the overall direction, we are prepared to embark on a close reading of the six Lukan weeping narratives.

¹⁰⁸ Roberts 2010, 8-13 observes that most studies dealing with emotions congregate around practical theology, doctrinal theology (especially Christology), psychobiography, and literary analysis. I intend to focus on literary analysis, doctrinal theology, and some practical applications—in this order or priority; I will not indulge in psychobiography (i.e., some twentieth-century scholars argued the historical Jesus suffered from neurosis).

CHAPTER 2

WEeping AND TEARS OF THE ANOINTING WOMAN

The exploration of the motif of weeping and tears in Luke's Gospel begins with the episode of the anointing woman who enters the house of Simon the Pharisee and proceeds to bathe Jesus' feet with her tears (Luke 7:36-50). A comprehensive survey of early and contemporary sources reveals a stark divergence in interpretations: ancient authors view the woman as weeping tears of repentance, whereas modern scholars lean toward seeing her as weeping in gratitude.

This chapter, therefore, is structured around the pivotal question of whether the woman's tears were shed in repentance or gratitude. The longest section of this chapter is devoted to discussing ancient views on the woman's tears, followed by a shorter segment that analyses contemporary scholarship on the same text. In comparing perspectives from the first five centuries with those of the recent few decades, I will propose some underlying factors that might have shaped ancient interpretations, but that do not appear to hold sway over modern authors. Finally, our investigation culminates in a re-reading of Luke's anointing account based on the dynamic interplay between historical and contemporary viewpoints.

Luke 7:36-50 is a robust starting point for this study, not least because it is the only passage that contains both the lexical terms "weeping" and "tears." Moreover, the themes of sin and repentance consistently emerge in the early comments on the woman's tears, which is significant for Part I of this thesis as well as the overarching inquiry of this project that sees a connection between tears and repentance. In the NT, the words "weeping" (κλαίω) and "repentance" (μετάνοια) occur most frequently in Luke. This compelling

correlation invites further examination of the relationship between the two words. Thus, the outcomes of this chapter lay the groundwork and serve as pivotal reference points for subsequent discussions on weeping, sin, and repentance.

Luke 7:38, 44

The Lukan anointing is known to be drastically different from its Synoptic parallels, and, to some extent, the Johannine anointing. Luke places the story early in his chronology (Luke 7:36-50) whereas the other evangelists record it just before the Passover (Matt 26:2; Mark 14:1; John 12:1); Luke changes the geographical setting to Simon the Pharisee's house in an uncertain location whereas the others are situated in Bethany (Matt 26:6; Mark 14:3; John 12:1-3); the Lukan characters are Simon the Pharisee and "a woman in the city, who was a sinner" (γυνή ἣτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀμαρτωλός, Luke 7:36-37) while the characters in the other accounts are Simon the Leper and simply "a woman" (γυνή, Matt 26:6-7; Mark 14:3), or Lazarus, Martha, and Mary (Μαριάμ) who performs the anointing (John 12:1-3). Some scholars accept the anointing narrative in the four Gospels as the same event (Matt 26:1-16; Mark 14:1-11; Luke 7:36-50; John 12:1-7), but others argue these events originate from at least two separate incidents because of the stark differences in Luke.¹⁰⁹ Assuming Markan priority and Synoptic dependence, I argue that Luke refers to the same event as there are sufficient similarities shared between the accounts;¹¹⁰ the departures are best explained as Luke's modifications according to his redactional and theological decisions.

¹⁰⁹ Those who argue for one incident are Bovon 2002, 1:291; Holst 1976, 436; Van Til 2006, 74; Wagner 1997, 437-46; Resseguie 1991, 138; Elliott 1974, 105-7. Those who think they are separate incidents are Bock 1994, 1:691; Johnson 1991, 128-9; Stein 1992, 235; Hendriksen 1983, 404; Legault 1954, 143; Beasley-Murray 1987, 206; Witherington 1984, 110.

¹¹⁰ To have identical key words repeated in both Mark 14:1-11 and Luke 7:36-50—οἰκία/οἶκος (house), γυνή (woman), ἀλάβαστρος μύρου (alabaster jar of ointment), Σίμων (Simon), δηνάριον (denarii), ἀφήμι (to let/to forgive)—as well as an identical basic structure make it highly unlikely that these are two different events. An

A verse that is of great difference and significance to this study is Luke 7:38: “She stood behind him at his feet, weeping (κλαίουσα), and began to bathe his feet with her tears (τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ).” The anointing action is different—Luke’s sinner anoints Jesus’ feet (πόδας) while the Matthean and Markan woman anoints Jesus’ head (κεφαλῆς, Matt 26:7; Mark 14:3). The depiction of the woman is also unique—only the Lukan woman weeps. The participle κλαίουσα suggests a continuing weeping as she stood behind Jesus’ feet, another uniquely Lukan description. Mark and Matthew do not portray the woman as shedding any tears. John’s account agrees with Luke in the anointing of Jesus’ feet (John 12:3) but there is no mention of tears either.

Luke’s distinctive reference to tears is repeated when Jesus compares the woman’s extravagance to Simon’s judgmental and miserly treatment: “you gave me no water for my feet, but she has bathed my feet with her tears” (αὕτη δὲ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξέν μου τοὺς πόδας, Luke 7:44). Here both terms are encountered, κλαίω (v.38) and δάκρυον (vv.38, 44), neither of which occur in the parallel accounts. There are only two instances of the noun δάκρυον in all four Gospels, and both are found in this Lukan narrative. To further dramatise the woman’s tears, Luke pairs δάκρυον in both v.38 and v.44 with the verb βρέχω, which is translated as bathing or wetting Jesus’ feet. However, βρέχω also connotes a more intensive meaning of raining and sending rain.¹¹¹ The sinful woman cries out tears that are like rain pouring down on Jesus’ feet, which metaphorically heightens the impact and creates an

analogy may support this argument: “The offspring may be a very independent individual, and very different from the parent in many ways... yet she is composed, among other things, of what may be called a complex reworking of her father” (Brodie 1983, 480). Brodie originally used this analogy from Seneca (*Ep. Mor.* 84.8 [Gummere, *LCL* 76, 280]) to support Luke’s use of the OT). We cannot merely emphasise the many differences; there are sufficient resemblances.

¹¹¹ *BDAG* “βρέχω,” 184. For Jeffrey 2012, 204, βρέχω “suggests sobbing, almost uncontrollably.”

image of a large quantity of falling tears. Luke's special records of κλαίω and δάκρυον offer a promising window to kickstart the main subject of our research.

This unique and vivid presentation of crying and tears is closely connected with sin and repentance because Luke introduces the woman as a sinner (ἁμαρτωλός, v.37) and confirms her sinful portrayal in Simon's monologue (v.39). The woman is unnamed in Mark 14:3 and Matt 26:7, and called Mary in John 12:3, but is known as ἁμαρτωλός in Luke. Jesus then declares that "her sins, which were many, have been forgiven" (ἀφέωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλάι, Luke 7:47). In Matt 26:12; Mark 14:8; John 12:7, Jesus' response to the anointing emphasises the preparation for his burial, but Luke underscores the forgiveness of sins.¹¹² The expression "forgiveness of sins" is not found in the NT with high frequency, but of the eleven occurrences, eight are found in Luke-Acts and they are pivotally placed.¹¹³ In Luke, the forgiveness of monetary debt in the "parable of the two debtors" (7:41-42) that parallels the forgiveness of sins (7:47) harkens back to Jesus' earlier Jubilee speech that declares "the year of the Lord's favour" (4:18-21) in which debts would be pardoned, people would return to their property, and slaves freed (Lev 25:8-55). In Jesus' programmatic declaration of Luke 4:18 and in Jesus' declaration to the woman in 7:47, the same word ἄφεσις (twice in 4:18) is used—in the former to mean release and in the latter to mean forgiveness.¹¹⁴ Thus, it is in line with Luke to represent the forgiveness of sins in terms of

¹¹² Origen, *Cant.* 1.4 (GCS 33, 33) highlights that the woman who poured perfume on Jesus' feet is a sinner while the one who poured it on his head is not. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.14 (SC 45, 233) notes a similar distinction between Matthew's woman and Luke's sinful woman at Jesus' feet.

¹¹³ Gaffin 1992, 112.

¹¹⁴ Tannehill 1991, 1:65-66 & 103-9 expounds on the significance ἄφεσις as well as demonstrates its connection with the release of sins by connecting various stories in Luke.

debt release.¹¹⁵ Given the context in Luke 7:36-50, it is sensible to ask whether Luke's unique portrayal of weeping is owing to the sinful state of the woman and her desire for pardon.

Terms and Definitions

Before surveying the early reception of Luke 7:38, 44, it is beneficial to spell out key Greek and Latin theological terms related to sin and repentance that are encountered in the writings below. The semantic meaning of these key terms should be informed by its related ancient contexts,¹¹⁶ rather than by theological dictionaries and lexicons alone.

First, the Greek word ἁμαρτία is commonly translated as sin. In classical Greek and Hellenistic thought, sin refers to a general missing of the mark by error or guilt, a failure to do that which is right, but in the LXX and NT, sin takes on the meaning of moral guilt and a "conscious opposition to God."¹¹⁷ Likewise, though the Latin *peccatum* (sin) conveys a general idea of committing crime, when used biblically, it is in relation to God's mark.¹¹⁸ In the early works below, ἁμαρτία and *peccatum* and their cognates quite consistently refer to sin in direct relation to God's standard, followed by repentance¹¹⁹—one would feel sorrow for sin when guilty before God.

¹¹⁵ We also get the idea from Luke's Lord's Prayer that sin and debt are parallels, "forgive us our sins (ἁμαρτίας), for we ourselves forgive everyone indebted (ὀφείλοντι) to us," (Luke 11:4; cf. Matt 6:12). For more on the theology of debt as sin, consult Anderson 2009, 3-39, Giambrone 2017, 69; Eubank 2013.

¹¹⁶ Following James Barr's critiques on Kittel's dictionary, I am mindful to situate key words in ancient works within their context because the same word may not convey the same concept every time; the semantic value of a word is derived from its context. For full argument, see Barr 1961, Chapter 8.

¹¹⁷ Grundmann, "ἁμαρτία," *TDNT* 7:48. It is consistent with *LSJ-O* "ἁμαρτία;" Montanari, "ἁμαρτία," *BrillDAG-O*. Lampe ἁμαρτία," 81-84 who defines ἁμαρτία more broadly as error or failure also states that its religious (Jewish and Christians) meaning refers to guilt or sin.

¹¹⁸ Bretzke, "*peccatum & peccata*," 229. *LD-O* "*peccatum*;" Glare "*peccatum*," 2:1448 translate the term into words ranging from error and mistake to sin and transgression.

¹¹⁹ This idea is in line with Grundmann, "ἁμαρτία," *TDNT* 7:49 who notes that ἁμαρτία in the Synoptics is defined as guilt and offence toward God and that it demands repentance. I have not drawn more content from *TDNT*'s article because Grundmann's background as a Protestant scholar and antisemitic Nazi and Stasi may affect his stance and definition of sin (Deines et al. 2007; Heschel 1994, 587-605; Heschel 2008, 175-200).

As for μετάνοια and its corresponding Latin *paenitentia*¹²⁰, they are employed almost consistently by the early Christian authors to refer to repentance. A quick glance at several leading Greek and Latin dictionaries will provide two rather unanimous definitions: i) change of mind and ii) regret or remorse.¹²¹ The German *Buße* (repentance) and *Reue* (contrition)¹²² both have a similar emphasis on the action of change.¹²³ The need for change follows from the realisation that sin has been committed and needs to be corrected by the sinner.¹²⁴ The challenging task, however, is to find an appropriate English definition since μετάνοια and *paenitentia* can mean repentance, contrition, penance, penitence, and even conversion.¹²⁵ Contrition is more specifically distinguished as “interior repentance,”¹²⁶ while mere attrition connotes an imperfect form of sorrow for sin proceeding from fear of punishment rather

Moreover, C.H. Dodd 1933, 283 has critiqued the entry for ἁμαρτία as providing too much theological information while leaving readers unsure of the detailed usage and meaning of the word ἁμαρτία. Similarly, Barr 1961, 228-30 refers to the *TDNT* ἁμαρτία article to substantiate the problem between “word” and “concept,” a concept for a word does not fit all contexts.

¹²⁰ It is also spelled *poenitentia* as the Latin is inconsistent; I use both spellings, depending on the original text.

¹²¹ See *BDAG* “μετάνοια,” 640; *LSJ-O* “μετάνοια;” Behm and Würthwein, “Μετάνοια,” *TDNT* 7:978; Lampe “μετάνοια,” 855; Montanari, “μετανοέω,” & “μετάνοια,” *BrillDAG-O* includes ‘conversion’ as a definition. For Glare “*poenitentia*,” 2:1411 also means regret for one’s action and change of mind or attitude.

¹²² Huxel, “Penitence,” *RPP-O* uses the word *Reue* in brackets in relation to contrition. *Reue* is often used in connection with the verb *zeigen*, which suggests showing fruits of change (or repentance)

¹²³ Jeremias, “*Reue*,” *TRE*, 29:99 defines *Reue* as a change of will and intention that leads to change, it is future-oriented (*ungleich häufiger einen Willens Und Absichtswandel, der zur Veränderung einer Tat oder eines Planes führt, also zukunftsgerichtet ist*). Emonds and Poschmann, “*Buße*” *RAC*, 2:805 convey the meanings of conversion (*Bekehrung*) as well as a turning away from sin and a turn towards a new, godly life (*Abkehr von der Sünde u. Hinwendung zu einem neuen, gottgefälligen Leben*). Wißmann, “*Buße*” *TRE*, 7:431 notes that *Buße* is shaped by the Christian tradition of sin and is the reversal of the state of sin. Based on parables in Matthew, Dannenmann 2019, 251-2 explains that *Buße* emphasises active reparation (*aktive Wiedergutmachung*) and *Reue* is ethically-pragmatic (*ethisch-pragmatisch*).

¹²⁴ Healey, “Repentance,” *ABD* 5:671. Nave 2002, Chapter 3 presents an extensive examination of μετάνοια from secular Greek usage in Hellenistic literature to Hellenistic Jewish literature, the NT, and Early Christian literature. Nave concludes from his broad literary survey that μετάνοια essentially means a change in thought and behaviour and ultimately a change in way of life.

¹²⁵ Lugioyo, “Penance,” *NDT* 659. See also Montanari, “μετανοέω,” & “μετάνοια,” *BrillDAG-O*.

¹²⁶ Morgan, “Contrition,” *ODCC* 4, 1:475.

than one's love for God.¹²⁷ As for μετάνοια, it emphasises the purpose of amendment,¹²⁸ and the Latin *paenitentia* assumes that the act of confessing sins is involved.¹²⁹

In nuce, the process of repentance might be considered as beginning with contrition, before the later stages of confession, repentance, and moral transformation. It is unwise to demarcate penance and penitence from repentance without consulting the wider context of the work. Mindful of the relative linguistic challenges, the following may serve as a working guide when reading the early sources: sin is an offence against God, causing a sinner who loves God to begin the process of repentance. It starts with regret and remorse within one's interior (contrition), followed by the confession of sin and guilt, then the intentional decision to change, turn away from sin and towards God (repentance).¹³⁰ These stages cohere with the progression found in the ancient writings below, but it is unknown whether they occur at the same time, in slow consecutive stages, or become discontinuous. I translate *paenitentia* as penance or penitence and μετάνοια as repentance, but whether it means sorrow for sin, confession of guilt, intentional amendment, or all three, depends on their context.

¹²⁷ Campbell, "Attrition," *ODCC* 4, 1:147. Also, see Stotts 2016, 134-49 for a comparison between contrition and attrition that combines theological and psychological dimensions.

¹²⁸ Morgan, "Repentance," *ODCC* 4, 2:1638.

¹²⁹ I based this on Tertullian, *Paen.* 9, (*CSEL* 76, 162-3; *ANF* 3, 664) where the Greek ἐξομολόγησις is explained as the act of confessing (*confitemur*) our sins to the Lord; and of confession repentance is born (*confessione paenitentia nascitur*), and by repentance God is appeased (*paenitentia deus mitigator*). Tertullian is known as "the father of Latin Christianity" and was widely read by the Latin authors, thus, it is likely that other Latin writers hold a similar understanding of the term *paenitentia*.

¹³⁰ The semantic meaning of "turning" finds its roots in the Hebrew word שׁוּב (to go back or to return) in the OT, specifically referring to a turn/return to Yahweh. The action of turning (ἐπιστρέφω) is also noteworthy in Luke's Gospel—Jesus turns (στρέφω, 22:61) to look at Peter immediately after Peter denies him and before weeping; Luke's Jesus uses ἐπιστρέψας (22:32) to refer to Peter's turning back when predicting Peter's denial.

Ancient Interpretations of the Woman's Tears

Now that the groundwork has been laid for examining Luke 7:36-50 and meanings tentatively assigned to specific key terms, the survey proper may commence. The following early writings from Clement and Tertullian to Augustine will flesh out a variety of views on the woman's weeping.

Weeping as Repentance

Most ancient authors, either directly or indirectly, refer to the woman's weeping in relation to her sin, confession, repentance, and/or forgiveness. But nuances and exceptions are found in references that are non-penitential, discussed in the following subsection.

Clement and Tertullian

The analysis begins with two pertinent references in Clement of Alexandria's¹³¹ *Paedagogus*. First, Clement emphasises that the woman who came to Jesus in Luke 7 was still a sinner (ἔτι γὰρ ἦν ἁμαρτωλός); she poured out tears of repentance on the Lord (ἐπισπένδουσα τῷ κυρίῳ μετανοίας δάκρυα), therefore her sins were forgiven (διὰ τοῦτο ἀφέωνται αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι).¹³² Clement emphasises the woman's continuing state of sinfulness by adding the word ἔτι that is actually not in the Greek text of Luke 7:37 (it is only ἦν... ἁμαρτωλός, which could arguably mean her sinfulness belongs to a past state). Perhaps Clement needs to establish her sinfulness to highlight the need for her tears of repentance. Then he repeats that tears are repentance (δάκρυα δὲ ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστι) and that the old has

¹³¹ Clement (AD 150-215) lived and wrote in the late second century to early third century (Mees, "Clement of Alexandria," *EAC* 1:546).

¹³² Clement, *Paed.* 2.61.1 (SC 108, 124).

been done away because of new faith.¹³³ Clement uses μετάνοια to describe δάκρυον both attributively (μετανοίας δάκρυα) and predicatively (δάκρυα δὲ ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστι), leaving readers certain that the woman's tears can be equated with μετάνοια that brings pardon.

Paedagogus (c. AD 202/3)¹³⁴ is often referred to as the second book in what is known as Clement's great trilogy (between *Protrepticus* and *Stromata*) that aims to demonstrate how Christians can move towards perfection.¹³⁵ As the title of the book suggests, it teaches practical Christian ethics for discipleship,¹³⁶ and here Clement is not so much a polemicist but a tutor, educator, and guide for a moral and pious life.¹³⁷ Jane Heath shows that the *Paedagogus* is interested in inward formation and outward manifestation of the believer's social life; Books 2 (above) and 3 demonstrate the "interlocking social, psychological and devotional dimensions."¹³⁸ Following Heath's argument, I appreciate the woman's tears as an outward manifestation of a believer's inward repentance. The woman's tears illustrate Heath's interlocking social, psychological, and devotional dimensions: i) the social aspect of weeping is an action borne out of her repentant heart; ii) there is the psychological need to

¹³³ Clement, *Paed.* 2.62.2 (SC 108, 126). A few sentences later, Clement claims that the woman's actions are prophetic of John 13, where Jesus himself washes his disciples' feet and dispatches them to do good deeds (ANF 2, 254). This suggests that, for Clement, the woman's penitential weeping is a worthy example because it points to Christ's action of love and humble service, and his instruction to his disciples to do the same.

¹³⁴ Pujiula 2006, 20 discusses the dating but clarifies that 202/3 is not necessarily the latest date of writing: „sollte das Jahr 202/203 nicht als terminus ante quem für die Abfassung des *Paidagogos* angesehen werden“.

¹³⁵ Ashwin-Siejkowski 2008 describes Clement's theology as a project of Christian perfection; "fundamental to [Clement's] theology [is] the Christian potential to achieve 'perfection' (τελείωσις)" (2).

¹³⁶ Pujiula 2006, 337 describes Clement's *Paedagogus* as giving detailed instructions for behaviour in daily life: „Vielmehr ist sein *Paidagogos* ein Erzieher im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes: Er transportiert grundlegende Normen und Wertmaßstäbe, gerade indem detaillierte Anweisungen für das Verhalten im täglichen Leben gegeben werden“.

¹³⁷ Chadwick 1984, 31 introduces *Paedagogus* as "a fascinating document of social history intended to provide catechumens and young Christians with instruction in Christian morality and etiquette," and from it we can form a portrait of Clement's moral and spiritual ideals.

¹³⁸ Heath 2020, 290, 3.

ease her guilt, and iii) the devotional desire to express her repentance before the Lord. For Clement, the journey towards perfection requires repentance from sin and one's old ways.

Tertullian, who wrote around the same time as Clement (but in Latin), also sheds light on the discussion,¹³⁹ surmising that the Lukan woman's actions deserve forgiveness:

The behaviour of the woman who was a sinner (*peccatricis feminae*), when she covered the Lord's feet with her kisses, bathed them with her tears (*lacrimis inundaret*), wiped them with the hairs of her head, anointed them with ointment... her repentance as a sinner deserved forgiveness according to the mind of the Creator (*et ut peccatricis paenitentia secundum creatorem meruerit ueniam*), who is accustomed to prefer mercy to sacrifice.¹⁴⁰

Describing the same sinful woman and her actions in *De pudicitia*, Tertullian also implies she was granted pardon by the Lord.¹⁴¹ *De pudicitia* was written against a certain bishop who, in Tertullian's perspective, was willing to forgive almost any sin instead of practicing a strict stance on sin and repentance,¹⁴² so, Tertullian challenges the authority of the lax bishop to pardon sins.¹⁴³ While Tertullian admits that the church can forgive sins, he questions the definition of the church and the kinds of sins that can be absolved. Within this context, it seems that Tertullian could be thinking about the repentance of the sinful woman in Luke 7, though the term "penitence" is not used. Tertullian adds that grave sins are to be forgiven by the Lord himself, not by the bishop. The woman's tears wash the feet of the one who has all

¹³⁹ Dates for Tertullian's birth and death remain uncertain but scholars are confident his literary activities were between the end of the second century and early decades of the third (Siniscalco, "Tertullian," *EAC* 3:716).

¹⁴⁰ Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.18.9 (*CCSL* 1, 591; *ANF* 3, 376). In the fourth of his five Books against Marcion, Tertullian argues from the Gospel of Luke (including Luke 7) that Jesus is the Christ of the Creator; Luke was the only historical book of the NT that Marcion accepted. It is widely agreed that Books 4 and 5 were written only for the final version of the work. Lieu 2015, 52-53 thinks that Book 1 may be written from AD 207/8, therefore, Book 4 would have been written quite a bit later.

¹⁴¹ Tertullian, *Pud.* 11.1 (*CCSL* 2, 1301). It was written during Tertullian's Montanist period, allowing us to date this work c. AD 200-25. Given Montanism's ecstatic experiences by the paraclete, denial of ecclesial authority, and strict ethic, it is unsurprising that Tertullian uses the example of a sinful woman in need of God's pardon.

¹⁴² Siniscalco, "Tertullian," *EAC* 3:719.

¹⁴³ Wilhite 2009, 1-26 discusses whether the bishop in question is the Bishop of Carthage or Rome.

authority to forgive. Thus, given Tertullian's discontent with the bishop, this reference could suggest repentance. Furthermore, *Marc.* 4.18.9 (above) refers to the same story that links sinfulness with tears and repentance before forgiveness.¹⁴⁴ For these reasons, the notion of repentance could be implicit in *De pudicitia*.

Although we attempted to define and differentiate the terms used for repentance, there does not appear to be a clear distinction in the Greek *μετάνοια* (by Clement) and Latin *paenitentia* (by Tertullian); both imply the whole process of the woman's repentance—from the recognition of sin to her turning to Jesus and followed by the forgiveness granted to her. It should be acknowledged that these references were written from within a certain context and motivation—to instruct new believers in faith (*Paedagogus*), refute the Gnostics or Marcion (*Adversus Marcionem*), challenge the lax bishop (*De pudicitia*)—so the authors probably did not consider weeping or repentance as their key interest. Nonetheless, this permits a possible theology of tears for Clement and Tertullian, who appreciate the woman's weeping as repentance and a turning to God that is followed by forgiveness.

Origen

Progressing to the third century, attention is directed to the contributions of Origen (c. AD 185-254), a disciple of Clement who started writing at age 30 and is often considered the most prolific writer (whether pagan and Christian) in antiquity.¹⁴⁵ Regrettably, many of his works from early to mid-third century have perished or only survive in fragments and

¹⁴⁴ Tertullian, *Paen.* 9 lists weeping (*lacrimari*) as one of the many expressions of confession that can enhance repentance.

¹⁴⁵ Crouzel and Prinzivalli, "Origen," *EAC* 2:977-8. See Trigg 1998, 3-10 for Origen's early life and Clement's influence on him.

Latin translations, largely because his teachings were later condemned and destroyed during the persecution.¹⁴⁶ Opinions on the merit of Rufinus' Latin translations have long differed widely, but John Behr has notably drawn attention to Rufinus' precision rather than the liberties he took.¹⁴⁷ For this thesis, the Latin translations for Origen's work are regarded as reliable sources; below are some references that attach the woman's weeping with her sin and repentance.¹⁴⁸

Origen's *Comm. Matt. 77* is devoted to discussing and contrasting the women in the four Gospels who anoint Jesus. He argues there were three different women who anointed Jesus—one in Matthew and Mark, one in Luke, and Mary in John:

who in Luke is recorded to have been the sinner in the city (*quae apud Lucam scribitur fuisse in civitate peccatrix*)... weeping and washing Jesus' feet with tears (*plorans lacrimis lavabat pedes eius*). For it is not credible for Mary, whom Jesus loved, the sister of Martha, and who chose the better part... to have been a sinner in the city... she who is said to have been a sinner according to Luke had not dared come to Christ's head but washed his feet with tears as if scarcely even worthy of his very feet, and by her sorrow produces repentance steadfast for salvation (*prae tristitia "paenitentiam in salutem stabilem" operante*). She who is mentioned in Luke weeps and weeps a lot (*plorat et multum lacrimat*) as she washes Jesus' feet with tears but the Mary according to John is introduced neither as a sinner nor as weeping.¹⁴⁹

Origen emphasises the Lukan woman's sinful state to separate her from the "un-sinful" Mary in John.¹⁵⁰ Though not in Luke's record, Origen exaggerates her weeping (*plorat et multum*

¹⁴⁶ Behr, "Origen," *ODCC* 4, 1:1405. For the "Origenist Controversies," see Trigg 1998, 65-66.

¹⁴⁷ For more on Rufinus as translator, see Behr 2017, 1:xxi-xxiv. Also discussed below in Chapter 3, p.116.

¹⁴⁸ Origen has four other references that are discussed in the "non-penitential" section below to show that the connection between tears and repentance cannot be carelessly assumed.

¹⁴⁹ Origen, *Comm. Matt. 77* (*GCS* 38, 179; Heine 2018, 2:678-9). I am curious whether Origen's *prae tristitia paenitentiam* clarifies the Latin idea of contrition before repentance. The sinner feels sorrow for her sins (contrition) which leads to and completes the process of repentance by returning to God. But we cannot be sure since the Latin is a later translation of Origen's original Greek. It would be safer to surmise that Origen's concept of repentance includes both sorrow for sin and a turning back to God.

¹⁵⁰ Origen even states that Luke's sinner was not yet worthy to be in Bethany, though she was doing penance, as Bethany is a house of obedience (*domus oboedientiae*); *Comm. Matt. 77* (*GCS* 38, 182; Heine 2018, 2:681).

lacrimat) and claims she is unworthy to anoint Jesus' head (unlike the woman in Matt 26:7 and Mark 14:3). He concludes that her sorrow (over sins) produces salvation (forgiveness, Luke 7:47). Origen sees the woman's tears as a sinner's tears with a penitential attitude.

Earlier in the same commentary, Origen labels the Lukan sinner a prostitute through an intertextual and typological connection with Rahab.¹⁵¹ He combines and conflates the two women to describe one woman's journey of repentance:

Rahab the harlot (ἡ Ῥαάβ ἡ πόρνη) who received the spies of Joshua (τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) and was saved with her whole household, and afterwards was no longer a harlot (μηκέτι πορνεύουσα) came to Jesus' feet (τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πόδας) and washed his feet with tears of repentance (βρέχουσα αὐτοὺς τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας δάκρυσι).¹⁵²

Here Origen is making the allegorical analogy of Zion committing adultery because they reject Jesus. He asserts that those who formerly were faithful had become fornicators, but that they, like Rahab and the Lukan sinner, have come to Jesus in repentance. The Greek form of the Hebrew name Joshua is Ἰησοῦς, so Origen conveniently combines Rahab and Joshua with the Lukan sinner and Jesus. When considered within Origen's broader argument, the words τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας δάκρυσι suggest that those who have rejected Jesus can return if they cry tears of repentance before the Lord.¹⁵³

In Origen's John commentary, Jesus offers his own feet for the tears of a repentant sinner (παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόδας τοῖς δακρύοις τῆς μετανοήσεως ἁμαρτωλοῦ).¹⁵⁴ The

¹⁵¹ Also in Augustine, *Serm.* 10.8; 99.13. The assumption that the woman was a prostitute has been challenged in modern scholarship, see p.74-5 below (Applegate, Klein, Green, Jeffrey).

¹⁵² Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 12.4 (GCS 40, 75; Heine 2018, 1:93).

¹⁵³ Also in *Comm. Matt.* 114 (GCS 38, 214) where Origen compares the woman's weeping in Luke 7:38 with Peter's bitter weeping in Luke 22:62 (more below in Chapter 3, p.93). Of interest to us now is that Origen is convinced the woman's penitence (*paenitens*) and weeping (*flevit*) are considered one connected act.

¹⁵⁴ Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.294 (GCS 10, 166). Though Origen does not cite the scripture text, it must refer to Luke 7:36-50; no other record consists of Jesus' feet, a sinner, and the sinner's tears.

double genitive phrase τῆς μετανουούσης ἁμαρτωλοῦ attached to τοῖς δακρύοις shows that Origen considers the woman's tears as tears shed by a sinner out of μετάνοια. Elsewhere, after mentioning a woman at the feet of God, Origen turns the description into a first-person rhetoric (common Greek rhetoric, especially in homilies), which invites the reader to self-examination:

We are near her, for we have not turned from our sins. Where are our tears? (ποῦ ἡμῶν τὰ δάκρυα) Where is our weeping (ποῦ ὁ κλαυθμός), so that we can approach at least Jesus' feet?... After our sins, it is enough to be able to bring the good odour of repentance (φέρειν μετανοίας εὐωδίαν), so that we can be the second one, the woman who anoints the feet, but not the head...¹⁵⁵

The anointing woman's example calls for personal introspection. Origen asks for readers to locate their tears and weeping when approaching the feet of Jesus. The image of the good odour of repentance (μετανοίας εὐωδίαν) might refer to the alabaster jar of ointment in Luke 7 or to the tears that have just been emphasised in the previous two sentences. Origen accentuates the humility that accompanies these acts of repentance by reminding readers that the penitent approaches the feet, not the head (as in Matthew and Mark) of Jesus.

I temporarily part company with Origen to draw attention to a reference by Ambrose that is like Origen's comment. Though a discussion of Ambrose follows next, it is more effective to place the two excerpts one after another to enhance their resemblances.

we discover that this woman is very like ourselves; for neither have we, as yet, renounced all our sins. Where, I ask you, are our tears? (*Ubi sunt nostrae lacrimae*) Where are our sobs? Where are our deep groans? (*ubi gemitus, ubi fletus*). Come, let us adore, let us fall down before God, and weep (*ploremus*) ... In this way we shall reach the feet, at least, of Jesus... Let the sinner fall at His feet, and the innocent approach His head.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Origen, *Cat. Luc.* 113 (GCS 35, 273; FC 94, 173).

¹⁵⁶ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.16 (SC 45, 233; Ní Riain 2001, 161).

Like Origen, Ambrose uses a homiletical tone to call for self-reflection in our sinful lives, to ask about the whereabouts of our tears, and assume that anointing the feet corresponds to the lowliness of a sinner. In these two short paragraphs—by Origen in Greek and Ambrose in Latin—tears and weeping are expressions of a sinner who desires to humbly come before the Lord at his feet.¹⁵⁷

Overall, the survey of Origen shows there are repeated i) emphases on the sinfulness of the woman; ii) uses of the phrase “tears of repentance;” and iii) direct associations between tears and repentance, to demonstrate that Origen understood the Lukan sinner’s weeping as repentance.¹⁵⁸ These findings are in line with Ramelli’s who argues persuasively that Origen condemns tears caused by πάθος but views tears in a positive light when they are an expression of repentance.¹⁵⁹

Ambrose

After the brief comparison with Origen, attention returns to Ambrose (AD 339-397), one of the most influential figures and writers of the fourth century. The Bishop of Milan offers the most references to Luke’s weeping woman in relation to sin and repentance. We

¹⁵⁷ See also *Hom. Lev. 2.4.5* (GCS 29, 295-6; FC 83, 47-48), Origen’s sixth and final work where weeping and repentance are linked. Out of the seven ways that the remission of sins takes place, the sixth is through the abundance of love (he quotes from Luke 7:47) and the seventh is through penance. That Origen had just quoted from Luke 7:47 suggests he assumes that tears are an outward expression of penance.

¹⁵⁸ Origen’s Matthew commentary was produced in the final years of his life, so they provide some of Origen’s most mature thoughts (Heine 2018, Preface). Three of our six references are from the Matthew commentary, which suggests the connection between weeping, sin, and repentance belong to Origen’s mature perspective.

¹⁵⁹ Ramelli 2009, 367-79. It is borne out of Origen’s commitment to the ethical tenet of ἀπάθεια. Ramelli demonstrates that for Origen, “God listens to the weeping of those who repent...tears are a symbol of repentance leading to salvation thanks to Christ” (371-2). One might wonder if tears of repentance and the inner compunction of repentance can be extracted and separated from πάθος. I think Ramelli here is referring to πάθος as feelings of pleasure, pain, desire, fear, etc., which, unlike repentance, do not lead to salvation.

commence with the paragraph from Ambrose's Luke commentary that was discussed above in Origen's section.¹⁶⁰ Before the excerpt, Ambrose compares Luke's anointing with the Matthean account, and specifies that Luke's woman is a sinner.¹⁶¹ He goes on to instruct his readers to admit faults with tears (*lacrimis confitere delicta*) with a quotation from Luke 7:44.¹⁶² On top of confessing with tears, Ambrose includes other reasons to cry:

Perhaps Christ did not wash His feet, because He wanted us to wash them with our tears (*ut eos lacrimis nos lauemus*). These are good tears (*bonae lacrimae*). Not only do they wash away our sins, but they refresh the feet of the heavenly Word... Yes, they are good tears (*bonae lacrimae*). In them we find not only the redemption of sinners, but the nourishment of the just.¹⁶³

Ambrose repeats the phrase *bonae lacrimae*, emphasising the benefits of one's tears that not only redeem the sinner and wash away her sins but even refresh the feet of the Lord. In analysing his "doctrine" of tears, anti-Jewish undercurrents are noticeable, a characteristic of Ambrose's work that is widely acknowledged by scholars.¹⁶⁴ Ambrose's complex relationship with Judaism is evidenced in the next paragraphs of his Luke commentary where the church takes on the good and noble example of the Lukan sinner (6.21) while the Law and the Jews equal the unjustified Pharisee (6.23).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ See Doerfler 2011, 756-60 for an introduction to the compilation, publication, background, and context of Ambrose's Luke commentary; Doerfler dates its publication around AD 389-91. Ambrose compiled "over a decade's worth of homilies and extraneous writings" (760).

¹⁶¹ *nam peccatrix secundum Lucan supra Christi pedes effudit unguentum*; Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.14 (SC 45, 233; Ní Riain 2001, 161).

¹⁶² Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.17 (SC 45, 234; Ní Riain 2001, 162).

¹⁶³ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.18 (SC 45, 234; Ní Riain 2001, 162).

¹⁶⁴ Doerfler 2011, 749-72 argues from *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* that Ambrose treats Jews and Judaism as a literary foil against the true Christian faith and equates Jews with heretics as the same kind of opponents. Ambrose uses passages unrelated to Jews as anti-Jewish polemic. Elliot 2019, 27-33 discusses "the venom with which Ambrose speaks of the Jews" (27) and more broadly Ambrose's relationship to Judaism.

¹⁶⁵ The two characters contrast each other like the Christian church against the Jews, which is congruent with the argument that the faith of the church is to be contrasted and protected from Jewish unbelief and heresy (Doerfler 2011, 767).

In a letter from Ambrose to his sister, Marcellina (*Frater Sorori*, AD 388), he writes about a sermon he had preached before the Emperor Theodosius. One of his sermon points was on the Lukan woman washing the Lord's feet with her tears when sins are forgiven of the lowest people, faults are washed away, and pardon is granted (*hos lacrymis suis irrigat; quando infimis peccatum remittitur, culpa lavatur, donatur indulgentia*).¹⁶⁶ Earlier in the letter, Ambrose uses the term "tears of penitence" (*lacrimas poenitentiae*) to contrast it with Simon the Pharisee's lack of tears and penance.¹⁶⁷ Like in his Luke commentary, the example of the Pharisee who has no tears and no penance (*Quomodo enim haberet lacrimas qui poenitentiam non gerebat*) is positioned antithetically to the church who has both the water of baptism and the tears of penitence (*aquam baptismatis, lacrimas poenitentiae*).¹⁶⁸ The context of this letter confirms his anti-Jewish sentiments. In AD 388, some Christians led by their bishop burned down a synagogue in Callinicum. The Emperor ordered the bishop to rebuild the synagogue with his own money.¹⁶⁹ Ambrose vehemently disapproved of the decree and wrote to Theodosius to revoke the penalty, but to no avail.¹⁷⁰ The sequel of the entreaty is the sermon that became this letter to Marcellina. In his endeavour to favour the Christians over the Jews, Ambrose uses the motif of tears with the comparison between the woman and Simon as his sermonic tactic.

¹⁶⁶ Ambrose, *Ep.* 41.23 (*PL* 16, 1119; *Members of the English Church* 1881, 277).

¹⁶⁷ Ambrose, *Ep.* 41.12 (*PL* 16, 1116; *Members of the English Church* 1881, 273-4).

¹⁶⁸ Ambrose, *Ep.* 41.12 (*PL* 16, 1116; *Members of the English Church* 1881, 273-4). In this thesis, we will find the idea of being baptised in tears common in ancient views. Baptism as change/penance helps us understand the link between μετάνοια and tears, but we cannot comprehensively discuss them given space constraints.

¹⁶⁹ For more of the background situation in *Ep.* 41, consult Lee 2013, 54-55; Elliot 2019, 27-29; Parkes 1961, 166-8; Marcus 1938, 120-3.

¹⁷⁰ Ambrose, *Ep.* 40 (*PL* 16, 1101-13)

A careful reading of Ambrose' Luke commentary and Letter 41 necessitates weighing Ambrose's polemic against the Jews before making conclusions. Whilst his agendas and pressing situations of his time may not invalidate his views of weeping in relation to sin, confession, and pardon, it is essential to recognise that his praise for tears may not be driven only by pastoral and doctrinal convictions.¹⁷¹

Most of Ambrose's remaining thoughts on weeping and repentance are found in his two books, *De paenitentia*, that were written against the Novatians who thought the lapsed should not be pardoned. Ambrose argues that Christ has empowered the Church to forgive sins when a sinner confesses and repents. In Book 1, Ambrose not only discusses the need for the guilty to weep but includes the community of faith:

any one, having committed hidden sins, shall nonetheless diligently do penance... the guilty man should hope for pardon, should seek it with tears (*petat eam lacrimis*) and groans... with the aid of the tears of all the people (*populi totius fletibus*), should implore forgiveness... he must increase his tears... clasp the feet of the faithful with his arms, kiss them, wash them with tears (*lavet fletibus nec dimittat*)... so that the Lord Jesus may say of him too: "His sins which are many are forgiven, for he loved much."¹⁷²

It is intriguing to see the role of tears being extended to the communion of the Church even though guilt is associated to the individual person. The process of being forgiven includes the penitent's restoration into the communion of faith by tears and by washing the feet of the faithful.¹⁷³ The declaration of forgiveness to the sinner still lies with Jesus (Luke 7:47),

¹⁷¹ We see the relationship between weeping and sins being washed away in less polemical circumstances too. Writing within a context of God's grace and sins being washed away in *Exp. Ps. 118*, 17.33 (CSEL 62, 393; Ní Riain 1998, 252), Ambrose points to the example of the woman who in the Gospel bathed the Lord's feet with her tears (*quae lacrimis inrigavit in evangelio domini pedes*). Also, in *Jos. 3.14* (CSEL 32/2, 81-2), after Ambrose lists the woman's actions of weeping at and wiping Jesus' feet, he quotes Luke 7:47 to say that her actions brought about her forgiveness. *De Ioseph* focuses on the topic of chastity and uses the example of Joseph to model Christian salvation in Christ; see Nauroy 2007.

¹⁷² Ambrose, *Paen.* 1.16.90 (SC 179, 125-6; NPNF 2:10, 343).

¹⁷³ The idea of weeping and bowing before the feet of the members of the church as part of repentance is also found earlier in Tertullian, *Paen.* 9 (CSEL 76, 163)—*presbyteris advolvi, [et] aris dei adgeniculari*.

but the church is now included in the crying and the restoration of the sinner. Ambrose adds that he has known penitents whose countenance was furrowed with tears (*in paenitentia sulcasse vultum lacrimis*), their cheeks worn with constant weeping (*exarasse continuis fletibus genas*).¹⁷⁴

In Book 2, Ambrose continues to use the example of the sinful woman but this time to argue that one's tears can remove the scars of sin (*absterge lacrimis cicatrices tuas*); the woman wiped out the stench of her sin (*sic peccatum mulier illa in Evangelio faetoremque sui erroris abstersit*) and washed away her fault when washing the feet of Jesus with her tears (*sic culpam diluit, dum lesu pedes lacrimis lavat*).¹⁷⁵ Ambrose continues this train of thought by applying the advice to himself:

If I have no water I have tears, and whilst with them I wash Thy feet I trust to cleanse myself (*si aquam non habeo, habeo lacrimas, quibus dum pedes tuos lavo, utinam me ipsum diluam*). Whence is it that Thou should say to me: "His sins which are many are forgiven, because he loved much"? I confess... more has been forgiven me who has been called to the priesthood...¹⁷⁶

Set within familiar verses from Luke 7:36-50, the bishop shows that he is not excused from the need for forgiveness. Ambrose too uses his tears to wash the feet of the Lord to cleanse himself from sins. Then, he returns to the woman who was preferred to Simon the Pharisee because she gave everyone a lesson on how to gain forgiveness.¹⁷⁷ Finally, still referring to the sinful woman, Ambrose turns the lesson into a directive for his readers to implore pardon, throw themselves on the earth with tears (*ut ad terram flens te ipse prosternas*), and prostrate on the ground.¹⁷⁸ The woman is used to illustrate sincere repentance that

¹⁷⁴ Ambrose, *Paen.* 1.16.91 (SC 179, 126; NPNF 2:10, 344).

¹⁷⁵ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.8.66 (SC 179, 175-6; NPNF 2:10, 353-4).

¹⁷⁶ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.8.67 (SC 179, 176; NPNF 2:10, 354).

¹⁷⁷ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.8.68 (SC 179, 176; NPNF 2:10, 354).

¹⁷⁸ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.8.69 (SC 179, 176; NPNF 2:10, 354).

leads to forgiveness from the Lord. This is then applied to penitents and the *lapsi* who can also attain pardon from the Church when they repent in tears.

Although Ambrose provides us with the most references, he does not write explicitly or definitively about tears as repentance; he does not use the phrase *lacrimas paenitentiae* frequently. Ambrose, however, does emphasise the sinful state of the woman, her lowly posture of weeping, and the conviction that one's tears can wash away one's sins and bring about pardon. The latter half of the references we discussed are from *De paenitentia*, so it would be theologically odd if he was not thinking of repentance in the above texts. I argue that even if Ambrose's anti-Jewish and anti-Novatianist polemics might have caused him to overstate his claims about weeping, his opinions on the woman's tears as reflecting her state of sin and need for confession, repentance, and forgiveness are reasonable and justifiable.

Amphilochius and John Chrysostom

Before concluding our survey of ancient writings that view the woman's weeping as repentance, it is worth briefly touching on two more authors who also sing the same tune—one who enacts an adapted version of the story and another who uses homiletical skills to interpret Luke 7, but both who nonetheless convey a message of repentance.

The analysis first looks to Amphilochius, who became Bishop of Iconium in AD 373/4.¹⁷⁹ His longest extant Greek homily *Oratio in mulierem peccatricem*¹⁸⁰ is about Luke's

¹⁷⁹ According to Voicu, "Amphilochius of Iconium," *EAC* 1:106, Amphilochius was born in AD 340/5 and died in 398/404, but Zachhuber, "Amphilochius, St," *ODCC* 4, 1:63 estimates his birth in 340 and death in 395. The exact dates for Amphilochius should not affect our reading his work.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix A for a summary of ten weeping-related references by Amphilochius.

sinner with some alterations in location and characterisation, but the overall story follows that of Luke 7:36-50.¹⁸¹ The homily describes the sinful woman's past and her repentance and return to the Lord.¹⁸² Of the many vivid and exaggerated depictions, Amphilochius writes that the woman's tears were falling for herself as a bath of repentance (αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ λοῦτρον μετανοίας προβαλλομένη τὰ δάκρυα) because she provided tears like water and received forgiveness from Christ invisibly (τὴν δὲ ἄφεςιν ἀοράτως παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποδέχετο).¹⁸³ In the final paragraph of the homily, Amphilochius concludes with praising the woman for her act of repentance as her tears have conquered the lament that would have resulted from judgment (τὴν δάκρυσιν νικήσασαν τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ὀδυρμόν).¹⁸⁴

An integrative examination of the entire homily reveals a clear link between the woman's tears, her desire to repent, and the gracious pardon of Jesus in response to her behaviour and attitude. Amphilochius' depiction is notably more dramatic and amplified than what is presented in Luke's Gospel, employing language reminiscent of Homeric rather than NT Greek. These stylistic choices that are part of Amphilochius' homiletical genre and strategy may not appeal to modern readers as a valid standard of exegesis in the strict sense, but the homily undeniably invites readers into the thought-world of its original audience. The style of the homily highlights the emotional depth involved in the act of repentance as symbolised by the woman's tears, which Amphilochius commends is accepted by the Lord.

¹⁸¹ For the full homily/oration, see CCSG 3, 107-26.

¹⁸² See Barkhuizen 2010 for more detailed introduction and overview of *Oratio in mulierem peccatricem*.

¹⁸³ Amphilochius, *Mulier*. 6 (CCSG 3, 115; Barkhuizen 2010, 66-67).

¹⁸⁴ Amphilochius, *Mulier*. 12 (CCSG 3, 125; Barkhuizen 2010, 69).

Finally, the study arrives at John Chrysostom (AD 349-407),¹⁸⁵ known as the most illustrious thinker and writer of the Antiochene school, and who has his exegesis grounded on the minute explanation of the texts.¹⁸⁶ In his *De paenitentia* homily,¹⁸⁷ he introduces the Lukan sinner as that sinful woman who has confessed to have committed every sin and lawlessness (ἡ ἀμαρτωλὸς ἐκείνη γυνὴ ἡ μεμαρτυρημένη ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ), guilty of so many sins, and detained in so many wicked works, and who was thirsting for salvation out of repentance (διψήσασα τὴν ἐκ μετανοίας σωτηρίαν).¹⁸⁸ Chrysostom calls her the prostitute (ἡ πόρνη)¹⁸⁹ who came to Christ in a brief critical moment and washed away all her offences (τὰ ὀνειδῆ πάντα ἀπενίψατο).¹⁹⁰ She came to Jesus' feet with an ardent mind, a burning soul, and a fervent faith when she let tears flood from her eyes (πηγὰς δακρύων ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφεῖσα), and poured out her perfume like preparing drugs of repentance (τὰ φάρμακα τῆς μετανοίας).¹⁹¹ I highlight these references to show "The Golden-mouth" Chrysostom effectively using the story of the Lukan woman to illustrate how tears are part and parcel of a sinner's process of repentance and washing away of sins.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ Malingrey and Zincone, "John Chrysostom," *EAC* 2:429 explain that historians propose birth years of either AD 345, 349, or 354, but current preference leans towards 349.

¹⁸⁶ Malingrey and Zincone, "John Chrysostom," *EAC* 2:429.

¹⁸⁷ *De paenitentia* is a compilation of nine homilies on repentance and one on almsgiving that were preached in Antioch of Syria around AD 386/7 (*FC* 96, xv).

¹⁸⁸ John Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7.2.6 (*PG* 49, 325-6; *FC* 96, 90). The meaning of σωτηρίαν should include her forgiveness. ἐκ μετανοίας is translated in *PG* 49 as *ex poenitentia*, thus, the two should be identical and not easily distinguishable. So, the complete process of repentance is presented: the woman confesses her sin, realises she is guilty, and salvation/forgiveness flows from repentance. Also, as part of Chrysostom's larger appeal of repentance to Theodore to renounce the world and return to the ascetic brotherhood, the woman is used as an example of repentance and forgiveness; see *Theod. laps.* 1.17 (*SC* 117, 184).

¹⁸⁹ Chrysostom also refers to her as ἡ πόρνη who anointed the feet of Christ in *Hom. Matt.* 73.3 (*PG* 58, 676); *Hom. Jo.* 85 (*PG* 59, 466); *Eutrop.* (*PG* 52, 394). Another example: "Even with regard to a harlot (πόρνην γυναῖκα)... permitted her to kiss his feet... with her tears (βρέξαι τοῖς δάκρυσι)... heal wickedness of the soul.... Forgive sins;" *Hom. Matt.* 30.1 (*PG* 57, 363).

¹⁹⁰ Chrysostom, *Bea. Phil.* (*PG* 48, 754; Mayer and Allen 2000, 192).

¹⁹¹ Chrysostom, *Bea. Phil.* (*PG* 48, 754; Mayer and Allen 2000, 192). Also, in *Hom. Matt.* 6.8 (*PG* 57, 69; *NPNF* 1:10, 40-41) the woman is said to be thoroughly warmed by repentance (γὰρ διεθερμάνθη τῇ μετανοίᾳ), when seized by such godly tears of repentance even ἡ πόρνη becomes more honourable than virgins.

¹⁹² Before we turn to the "non-penitential" references, I should add that Cyril of Alexandria in *Serm.* 40 (Payne, 1859, 161) also uses the example of a woman "who was guilty of many impurities, and deserving of blame for

Circumstantial Influences in Penitential Weeping

On the topic of penitence, I contend that the tears serve a different function and purpose when written under different contexts, displaying the textured and layered deliberations that influenced early Christian thought on tears of repentance.¹⁹³ Some of the following texts have been analysed earlier, but the aim of this section is to focus on their diverse circumstances.

I begin with a work by Pseudo-Cyprian that has not yet been introduced to illustrate how weeping can be viewed differently according to context. The author of *Ad Novatianum* is anonymous and debated but commonly ascribed to Cyprian. It is a letter written as a treatise concerning the Decian and Valerian persecutions (*Novat.* 5-6), against Novatian who thinks the *lapsi* should not be pardoned.¹⁹⁴ The letter asserts that forgiveness should not be denied to those who had apostatised, and in this context, the sinful woman in Luke 7 (*mulierem peccatricem*) is introduced as a penitent (*paenitentem*), weeping (*flentem*), praying, and receiving remission for her sins (*et remissam peccatorum accipientem*).¹⁹⁵ Like many other writings that link tears and repentance, it is unsurprising to find the woman with the descriptions *paenitentem* and *flentem*, followed by her pardon. This work is distinct as it was written in response to the persecution, like Ambrose's *De paenitentia* against the Novatianists.¹⁹⁶ When these works argue that the lapsed who repent should be forgiven, the

most disgraceful deeds" to call us to "shed the tears of repentance... for the tears of him that repenteth are a sweet savour to God."

¹⁹³ Context is more easily determined in early writings than in modern works because ancients often explained the reason for their writing while moderns are determined to produce as objective a commentary as possible.

¹⁹⁴ Though uncertain, it is reasonable to date *Ad Novatianum* around AD 250-60 because of the persecution and active of years of Novatian. Saxer, "Novatianum, Ad," *EAC* 2:935 thinks that *Ad Novatianum* was composed in the wake of the Council of Carthage where Cyprian presided (after AD 251). Its style and theological interests make North Africa its likely provenance. See Ciccolini 2020, 153; Safranski, "Ad Novatianum," *BEEC-O*.

¹⁹⁵ Pseudo-Cyprian, *Nov.* 11.4 (CCSL 4, 145; ANF 5, 660).

¹⁹⁶ See above Ambrose, *Paen.* 1.16.90-91; 2.8.66-69.

woman's tears are used to convey a sense of consolation and encouragement that second chances should be granted to apostates.

Penitential weeping in other writings carry a tone of exhortation and admonishment for Christian living instead. Recall Origen (*Cat. Luc.* 113) and Ambrose (*Exp. Luc.* 6.16), who confronted believers living in sin and who challenge readers to self-introspection on their sin and need for repentance. The whole of Amphilochius' *Oratio* aims to compel hearers into being more proactive when guilty in sin. Therefore, I argue that the motif of penitential tears can both comfort and confront—it comforts the *lapsi* who think they had committed an unforgivable sin during persecution yet confronts believers who continue living in sin.

As observed earlier, the woman's weeping is used to instruct new believers on their road of discipleship against the Gnostics (Clement, *Paed.* 2.61.1-2); to oppose Marcion (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.18.9); and to challenge a lax bishop (Tertullian, *Pud.* 11.1). The same author, Tertullian, also tries to amplify pardon as generously granted by Jesus to prove that Jesus has the authority to forgive (*Adversus Marcionem*) but also warns against forgiveness generously granted by an overly lenient bishop (*De pudicitia*). Tertullian claims that though Jesus grants pardon, sinners should not take it for granted; believers should treat penance and forgiveness strictly and seriously. The woman's tears in some writings are seen as a challenge and requirement toward greater faithfulness to Jesus whereas in others (esp., *Ad Novatianum* and *De paenitentia*) they are read as comfort and assurance for the apostates. Each author appeals to the same story, the same woman's tears, and the same notion of weeping as repentance, but the different contexts produce nuanced views.

Finally, I show that differences are also noticed within Augustine's works, because he wrote them for specific reasons. The Bishop of Hippo (AD 354-430) was Manichean when he was 18 years old but discovered problems in Manicheanism and became sceptical about issues of spirituality, but Ambrose's preaching overcame Augustine's scepticism and brought him back to the Christian faith and Scriptures.¹⁹⁷ Against this backdrop, Augustine wrote a Psalm exposition in opposition to the Manichean elect.¹⁹⁸ He claims the woman showed love by confessing and weeping (*quia confessa est, quia flevit*) and not letting her heart seek excuses in her sins.¹⁹⁹ The Manicheans divide the sect into those who are of highest holiness (elect) and the rest who belong to a lower level of sanctity (hearers). In this piece, Augustine commends the sinful woman for not identifying herself as an elect to defend or dismiss her sinfulness; instead she confesses and weeps for her sins.²⁰⁰

In the next two works, Augustine is seen refuting the Donatists. In one of his sermons, he says:

she knew, after all, what a serious disease she was suffering from, and she knew that the one she had come to was quite capable of curing it. So she came up, not to the Lord's head but his feet... First she shed tears (*Prius fudit lacrymas*), the heart's blood (*sanguinem cordis*), and washed the Lord's feet with the ministration of her confession (*et lavit domini pedes obsequio confessionis*).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ In AD 386/7, Augustine was baptised by Ambrose on Holy Saturday night (Trapè, Augustine of Hippo," *EAC* 1:292-3). Harrison and Draghici, "Augustine, St. of Hippo," *ODCC* 4, 1:149 record the baptism year as AD 387.

¹⁹⁸ *Enarrat. Ps.* 140.10-12 is the only place in this compilation which Augustine devotes to the Manicheans (WSA Psalms III/20, 309 n.17).

¹⁹⁹ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 140.8 (CCSL 40, 2032; WSA Psalms III/20, 309).

²⁰⁰ Augustine could also be challenging the Manichean dualistic cosmology that describes the struggle between Darkness and Good/Light. The woman took ownership of her sin, suggesting that sin was her own doing and not the evil product of Darkness. Augustine's refutation of the cosmological-moral argument is common in his other anti-Manichaeon works, like *De Natura Boni contra Manichaeos* and *De Moribus Manichaeorum*.

²⁰¹ Augustine, *Serm.* 99.1 (PL 38, 595-6; WSA Sermon III/4, 51). The heading of this Sermon in the WSA reads "On the Forgiveness of Sins, Against the Donatists."

In another homily that also responds to Donatism,²⁰² Augustine again refers to the woman as sick but eager to be healed from the sickness as she approaches the Lord's feet (not his head) to wash them with her tears; she made peace as a sinner with the very sole of the Lord's feet (*pacem fecit cum vestigiis Domini peccatrix*).²⁰³ In these passages, notice the vivid imagery, like sin as sickness and disease, and the woman's tears as blood, as though pouring out painful confession and sin from deep within her. Her tears are defined as her confession that is being used to wash the Lord's feet. The Donatist heresy diminished the importance of Jesus in favour of their own Donatist ministers, thus Augustine saw the need to return the emphasis to Jesus Christ, the only one who can reconcile God and man. In these sermons, Augustine wishes to return the focus to Jesus—the only one who can cure the woman's disease (sin)—and his feet is the place at which the sinner can find peace (reconciliation).²⁰⁴

It is interesting that against the Donatists Augustine emphasises the woman's tears and confession to point to the worthiness and centrality of Jesus in granting peace, but against the Manichean elect he uses her tears to exemplify the necessary humble attitude of confession and weeping. Though Augustine employs the same example in different ways to refute different groups, I think it does not detract from his conviction that one may confess with tears when sin has occurred, in order to be reconciled to God. In sum, acknowledging the above "heresies"²⁰⁵ as potentially influential circumstances help us to consider how

²⁰² The first sixteen homilies of John's Gospel show Augustine's special interest in responding to Donatism. More on Donatism in *WSA John III/12*, 23-24.

²⁰³ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo* 7.19 (CCSL 36, 78; *WSA John III/12*, 162).

²⁰⁴ We find the definiteness of her sinfulness in other works. In *Serm.* 99.13 (*PL* 38, 602; *WSA Sermon III/4*, 51), Augustine explicitly calls the sinner a prostitute (*prostitutione*) who sheds tears and confesses. There is also an unfortunate conflation of Mary, Lazarus' sister (John 11) with the Lukan woman who is a notorious sinner (*famosa peccatrix*) in *Tract. Ev. Jo* 49.3 (CCSL 36, 421; *NPNF* 1:7, 271).

²⁰⁵ Heresies are not universally agreed.

these ancient interpretations vary according to context even if they all eventually point to weeping as related to sin and repentance.

“Non-Penitential” Weeping

Although weeping was predominantly understood as related to penitence in the early church, some nuances and complexities are discoverable within the prevailing perception. It is crucial for us to hear irregular—even opposing—voices to arrive at a more holistic picture of weeping in antiquity. Below are several comments that challenge a one-sided, repentance-only view of weeping.

Pseudo-Cyprian, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory of Nazianzus

Pseudo-Cyprian mentions the Lukan woman twice in a polemic against cohabitation for clerics. First, she is used as an example of a woman who was close to Jesus; but Pseudo-Cyprian reckons that clerics do not have the same strength as holy men, like Jesus, to fight temptation.²⁰⁶ Later she is mentioned again to contrast the kind of banquet clerics attend—banquets with laughter, jokes, and singing-girls—which heightens the risk of celibate men being attached to women.²⁰⁷ Leaving aside the task of assessing Pseudo-Cyprian’s argument, we recognise that the woman weeping at Jesus’ feet conveys intimacy. That the weeping

²⁰⁶ Pseudo-Cyprian, *Sing.* 20 (CSEL 3/3, 196; Fruchtmann 2007, 20). *De singularitate clericorum* is a Latin treatise that was anonymous until it was attributed to Cyprian in the twelfth century. Koch 1926, 472 thinks it was written in the third century („Verfaßt ist sie wahrscheinlich gegen Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts“). For more on its history and authorship, see von Harnack 1903; Arnold 1904, 822.

²⁰⁷ Pseudo-Cyprian, *Sing.* 26 (CSEL 3/3, 202; Fruchtmann 2007, 25). It might be argued that it was common for banquet hosts to provide women as entertainment, including sexual service, which would make Luke 7:36-50 resemble the clerics’ banquet. However, the woman was likely not provided by Simon given his Pharisaic status. Cosgrove 2005, 688 believes it is “not a morally lax Graeco-Roman banquet” as the woman is weeping.

sinner is used to argue against cohabiting indicates that, while her tears on Jesus' feet were a sign of affection, her weeping is not considered inappropriate carnal behaviour.²⁰⁸

For more specific theological arguments, we turn to Epiphanius' comments about the woman's weeping. When writing against Marcion to prove that Jesus was real in the flesh, Epiphanius appeals to the weeping woman as evidence that she did not wash the feet of a phantom but touched Jesus' real body.²⁰⁹ Then to demonstrate that Jesus' divinity was not affected by contact with other fleshly encounters, he appeals again to the woman and her tears that touched Jesus' feet to show that the fleshly elements did not affect the power of the Godhead.²¹⁰ In another reaction to Marcion, Epiphanius mentions the weeping as part of a longer list of Lukan events to demonstrate the problems of the Marcionite text of Luke.²¹¹ In short, Epiphanius employs the woman's tears to make theological, Christological, and canonical arguments.

Ambrose cites the anointing story in full in a letter, but he provides no additional thoughts on the woman's weeping,²¹² his emphasis was on Jesus' magnanimity and forgiveness. Augustine, like Ambrose, also cites the whole anointing story in his Psalm

²⁰⁸ As a side note, Origen (*Cat. Jo.* (544,28) (545,3); *GCS* 10, 543-4) refers twice to Luke's woman in conjunction with Mary and Martha in Luke 10:38-42 as well as the Johannine anointing account. This is unsurprising for a close reader of the text, like Origen, to include related references, which is not unlike the cross-references found in modern commentaries. Origen also conflates Luke's woman with the Matthean (26:13) and Markan (14:9) woman in *Comm. Jo.* 1.67 (*GCS* 10, 16-17). Also, in *Comm. Matt.* 8 (*GCS* 38, 13), the woman is described as doing penance at the feet of Jesus without mentioning her tears, possibly because the whole segment is about the footstool of God's feet and Christ's feet in contrast to those that have been subjected to God. So, the association between weeping and repentance cannot be assumed, and Origen had other points to make that did not require the portrayal of tears of repentance.

²⁰⁹ Epiphanius, *Pan. Chr.* 42.11.17 (*GCS* 25, 128; *NHMS* 63, 318). Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.18.9 (*CCSL* 1, 591; *ANF* 3:376) makes the same assertion that the woman was not handling an empty phantom.

²¹⁰ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 77.28.1 (*GCS* 37, 441; *NHMS* 79, 605).

²¹¹ Epiphanius *Pan. Chr.* 42.11.6 (*GCS* 25, 109; *NHMS* 63, 304).

²¹² Ambrose, *Ep. ext.* 1.5 (*CSEL* 82/3, 147).

exposition but makes no direct comment on the woman's weeping. Instead, Augustine calls attention to the proud Pharisee and contrasts him with the woman.²¹³ Though not directly about tears, we infer that Augustine sees humility in the woman's weeping as compared to the Pharisee's pride.²¹⁴ I notice that these "non-penitential" views of the woman's weeping often serve the purpose of responding to a polemical issue, arguing for a theological point, or demonstrating a literary comparison.

Finally, there is the unique use of the woman's tears in a funeral oration by Gregory of Nazianzus for his sister Gorgonia. Gregory commends his sister for the faithful ways in which she managed her suffering and sickness. Despite her despair, she rested her head on the altar, and with an abundance of tears (καὶ δάκρυσι τοῦτο πλουσίως), as one who once wet the feet of Christ (τοὺς πόδας Χριστοῦ καταβρέχουσα), she declared she would not loosen her hold until she was made whole.²¹⁵ There is no mention of the woman's sin, repentance, or forgiveness. In this funeral context, Gregory uses the weeping as a model for faithful perseverance—Gorgonia cries until she is restored from her illness.

This concise analysis of the 10 references reveals that ancient views on the woman's weeping were not homogenous. Of all the 57 comments discussed, 47 directly or indirectly connect weeping with sin, confession, repentance, and forgiveness, leaving 10 that do not hint at these themes (see Appendix A). When her weeping is used for "non-penitential"

²¹³ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 100.8 (CCSL 39, 1413; WSA Psalms III/19, 40).

²¹⁴ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 125.5 (CCSL 40, 1848-9; WSA Psalms III/20, 73) compares the two characters—the Pharisee only cared about external purity but the woman desired salvation. Also, in *Serm.* 99.3-6, Augustine first compares the two and claims the woman is free from her conscience because of her confession, then, he adds that Simon thought he had few sins and loved the Lord a little, but the woman was the total opposite. (*PL* 38, 596-8; WSA Sermons III/4, 51)

²¹⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Gorg. (Or.)* 8.19 (*PG* 35, 809; *NPNF* 2:7, 243); dated AD 369-374 (*NPNF* 2:7, 238).

purposes, they emerge as the exception rather than the norm. This constitutes an ~82% majority among early weeping references on Luke 7:36-50 that viewed the woman's tears as related to repentance. This statistic, while not claiming high precision due to the limitations of surviving extant sources, offers a summary of the prevailing views in antiquity.

Re-evaluating Repentance-Related Terms and Definitions

Now that texts related to repentance have been examined, whilst keeping in mind some exceptions, nuances, and contextual factors, we are prepared to re-evaluate several repentance-related terms and definitions. Earlier in this chapter, meanings were assigned to relevant key terms as a working guide,²¹⁶ and it is now useful to ask if the meanings assigned to terms align with the use of these terms within their texts.

The working definition suggested that a complete process of repentance begins with contrition or the remorse for sin, moves towards the confession of sin, then to repentance, that is, the turning away from sin and toward God. One inquiry was whether *paenitentia* is better construed as penance/penitence while *μετάνοια* as repentance to distinguish the terms more discreetly. In our above examination, no categorical differences were found between Clement's Greek *μετάνοια* and Tertullian's Latin *paenitentia*. Both early authors wrote about the recognition of sin, turning to Jesus, and receiving of forgiveness. The interchangeability is also noticed in the edition that translated John Chrysostom's phrase ἐκ μετανοίας into the Latin *ex poenitentia*.²¹⁷ It is, thus, more helpful and realistic to think of

²¹⁶ See above p.37-39.

²¹⁷ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7.2.6 (PG 49, 325-6).

these terms as loosely used to denote actions related to repentance without limiting their function and significance.

A systematic treatment on repentance should not be expected from these authors since the key interest of their works was neither in weeping nor repentance per se. In a sense, our endeavour to dictate specific meanings to terms is a futile one since words are used within context, so, their semantic value is most effectively derived from within their contexts.²¹⁸ For example, when using the word ἁμαρτωλός to refer to the woman as sinful, the lexicon not only offers the meaning of “sinful” as an option but also includes the definition of “irreligious, unobservant people, outsiders.”²¹⁹ The meaning of sinfulness is preferred for these ancient readings because the mention of μετάνοια is often found with or after ἁμαρτωλός (and its cognates).²²⁰ Chrysostom even adds the description “arranged for amnesty” (ἀμνηστίαν ἐκομίσαστο, *Paenit* 7.2.6), which suggests that one has transgressed against God or is guilty before God. Therefore, ἁμαρτωλός is more likely to mean sinner when paired with μετάνοια.

Augustine’s works offer us another relevant example in this conundrum of meanings and translation. Augustine does not use the terms penance or repentance at all in relation to the woman’s tears, but to her confession (*Enarrat. Ps.* 140.8; *Serm.* 99.13).²²¹ Weeping is an authentic gesture when confessing sins. The term confession suggests that Augustine is referring to the idea of confessing sin and guilt, but we are uncertain if confession implies

²¹⁸ Cf. Barr 1961.

²¹⁹ *BDAG* “ἁμαρτωλός,” 51.

²²⁰ Clement, *Paed.* 2.61.1; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 6.294; Amphilochius, *Mulier.* 6; Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7.2.6; etc.

²²¹ Another example of confession: “that this woman might gain confidence from her confession (*confessionis*), and no longer be pricked by the stings of her conscience (*conscientiae*);” Augustine, *Serm.* 99.3 (*PL* 38, 596).

and includes the desire to change, since there is no explicit indication of full repentance. The other Augustinian comments related to the Lukan woman describe the outcome of her actions as “made peace [at] the Lord’s feet” (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 7.19); “delivered from the mighty burden of a sinful character” (49.3); and “[freed from] the stings of her conscience” (*Serm.* 99.3),²²² which suggest forgiveness. Augustine might have assumed the full process of repentance in *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 7.19; 49.3; and *Serm.* 99.3, but only contrition and confession in *Enarrat. Ps.* 140.8 and *Serm.* 99.13.²²³

The only relatively clear reference that could point to contrition is where Origen writes about the woman’s sorrow (*tristitia*) that produces repentance (*Comm. Matt.* 77). But since this is a later Latin translation of Origen’s original Greek, it cannot be determined with certainty whether it is the interior feeling of sorrow for sin as we understand it. Despite the lack of information, it appears reasonable to include contrition (the start and interior form of repentance) when authors write about confession and/or repentance. It would be odd to think that genuine repentance does not begin with feelings of remorse and regret for one’s guilt that compels the sinner to confession. This also suits the meaning of *paenitentia* as it includes sorrow for sin (contrition) and confession of guilt.²²⁴

The exercise of defining and distinguishing between terms in our survey through antiquity shows that one should place some reliance on context, overall message, associated words, and semantic trends to help determine the most likely meaning of a word or phrase;

²²² *Serm.* 99 in the English translation is entitled “On the Forgiveness of Sins” (*WSA Sermon III/4*, 51).

²²³ Confession could imply desire to change, hence, full repentance, but we cannot be certain. The reason for drawing attention to the lack of “penance” or “repentance” terms in Augustine is to notify readers of potential nuances and distinctions within the whole penitential process.

²²⁴ Morgan, “Repentance,” *ODCC* 4, 2:1638.

it is far from straightforward. The earlier working definitions must be redefined to allow for μετάνοια and *paenitentia* (penance or penitence) to both refer to repentance. Sensibly, the journey of repentance, often loaded with emotion and struggle, should not be expected to be mechanically presented in an ordered sequence of contrition-confession-repentance-pardon. The ancient writings demonstrate that perhaps some aspects need to be assumed and inferred when contemplating the profound human-divine engagement of tears, penitence, and forgiveness. Moreover, the elaborate details of the woman's sinful identity, her determination to be at the Lord's feet, and her eventual forgiveness render it difficult to imagine an insincere or incomplete process of repentance. This may have caused the ancients to believe repentance is assumed, hence, the lack of specific terms. A more concentrated discussion on contrition will feature in the next chapter on Peter's tears because the narrative ends abruptly (Luke 22:62).²²⁵

Weeping and Repentance and the Role of Faith

One further aspect of weeping and repentance is the role of faith. The notion of faith in penitential weeping was not an anomaly for the early authors, meriting revisitation of three authors and their writings.

The very first early reference discussed above contains the mention of faith: tears are repentance and the old has been done away because of new faith (διὰ τὴν πίστιν τὴν νέαν).²²⁶ In the earlier examination of Clement's *Paedagogus*, attention was focused on the first half of the sentence about tears and repentance, but this analysis now turns to the

²²⁵ See below Chapter 3, p.115.

²²⁶ Clement, *Paed.* 2.62.2 (SC 108, 126).

second half. Clement includes the element of “new faith,” suggesting that a believer’s faith brings about repentance. The mention of new faith in relation to baptismal candidates and new believers could have been inserted with the Gnostics in mind since they disparage faith in favour of gnosis and spiritual superiority. Clement reminds believers that faith is required in every stage of the process to perfection,²²⁷ including repentance from sin in tears. The inclusion of new faith appears appropriate for a work like *Paedagogus* since he aims to prepare new believers (probably pagans to Christians) for a closer relationship with God.²²⁸

Tertullian also refers to faith immediately after he writes about the woman’s weeping, repentance, and forgiveness: even if the stimulus of her repentance proceeded from her faith, she heard her justification by faith through her repentance (*sed et si paenitentiae stimulus ex fide acciderat, per paenitentiam ex fide iustificata ab eo audit*).²²⁹ The woman’s penitence deserved pardon because of God’s mercy, but Tertullian adds that her justification was received by faith. Given Tertullian’s primary intent to refute Marcion and to prove continuity between the OT and NT, the reference to the weeping woman and her forgiveness is more about Jesus’ forgiveness out of his mercy (a continuation of God’s mercy) than about the woman’s repentance itself. It nonetheless offers evidence that the woman’s tears and her repentance proceed from her faith and are seen as deserving of the Lord’s forgiveness.

²²⁷ Chadwick 1984, 53.

²²⁸ Heath 2020, 377 states that Clement, through *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus*, highlights the transition from pagan to Christian and then prepares the new believers for a more intimate relation with the divine Logos.

²²⁹ Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.18.9 (CCSL 1, 591; ANF 3:376).

After Clement and Tertullian, no other clear statements of faith are found in relation to the woman's tears of repentance until Chrysostom. He describes the woman as coming to Jesus' feet with an ardent mind, a burning soul, and a fervent faith (ὅτι μετὰ θερμῆς διανοίας καὶ πεπυρωμένης ψυχῆς καὶ ζεούσης προσῆλθε πίστεως) when she let tears flood from her eyes in repentance.²³⁰ Earlier we had discussed the second half of the reference to demonstrate the link between tears and repentance. Now with attention placed on the first half of the sentence, Chrysostom is seen to include descriptions of the woman that are not in Luke but rather Chrysostom's own reading of the woman's motivation. His view differs slightly from Clement's and Tertullian's because they both establish her action of repentance first followed by the role that faith in the process. But for Chrysostom, the woman's faith seems to be a prior compelling factor that drove her to Jesus' feet. Nonetheless, it is difficult to ascertain exact or consistent differences in what role faith played in the repentance process as based only on these references.

This analysis suggests that only the earliest authors, namely Clement and Tertullian, integrated the element of faith into the penitential process. The reason for subsequent omission of explicit references to faith in later texts remains speculative; it could be posited that after Christianity had solidified foundations, faith was considered implicitly understood. This omission does not necessitate disagreement by the other authors on the role of faith in penitence and pardon. Instead, the absence of explicit mentions of faith in other ancient comments (or in the case of Chrysostom, where the link between faith and repentance is not as clearly articulated) may well indicate its assumed presence—the necessity of faith is a

²³⁰ Chrysostom, *Bea. Phil.* (PG 48, 754; Mayer and Allen 2000, 192).

given in the conversion process. Also, the more recent scholarly interpretations of faith, as encompassing more than mere mental assent or an internal attitude of trust but a relational, outwardly, active expression,²³¹ supports the notion that Clement and Tertullian (and even Chrysostom) saw the woman's actions—and consequently the new catechumens coming to Jesus and weeping repentantly at his feet—as a manifest, relational expression of faith.

A Summary of Ancient Views

This section on ancient views has examined texts that comment on the woman's tears, considered factors that influenced those views, re-evaluated repentance-related terms, and discussed the role of faith in penitential tears. We conclude that a vast majority of early authors, though writing from different geographical locations, in two languages (Greek and Latin), and across several centuries, present a similar message: Luke's anointing woman was a sinner who came to Jesus' feet weeping tears of repentance and received pardon from the Lord. I have not found any stark differences between the Alexandrian school (e.g., Clement, Origen) that tends to be more allegorical and spiritual and the Antiochene school (e.g., Chrysostom).²³² In efforts to be comprehensive, exceptions and minor aberrations from the majority view were included in the above survey by highlighting references that do not point to repentance. It was observed that within penitential weeping itself, its implications differed slightly depending on a given circumstance or heresy. With a well-rounded and robust view of the woman's tears, the inquiry shifts now to contemporary interpreters, to discover if they too, appreciate her action of weeping as repentance.

²³¹ See Bates 2020, 176; Morgan 2015, 472; Gupta 2020, 143.

²³² It should be remembered that Chrysostom did adopt quite a few elements from the Alexandrian School.

Modern Interpretations of Luke 7:38, 44: Gratitude and Joy

Most modern authors depart from the early writers; for them, the woman's crying, kissing, and wiping are signs of gratitude for forgiveness already received—not repentance. The following arguments contribute towards a reading of tears as gratitude and joy: i) Luke 7:47-48 is interpreted as the woman's act of love as a consequence of her forgiveness; ii) the meaning of the parable (7:41-42) shows forgiveness as preceding her extravagant actions; and iii) the perfect tense ἀφέωνται (7:47) suggests the woman was already forgiven.

Even the woman's identity as a sinner, unanimously assumed by the early writers, has been called into question by the moderns. Luke uses three descriptors in short succession to introduce her: "woman," "in the city," and "sinner" (γυνή ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁματωλός, 7:37). Since the word-order positions ἐν τῇ πόλει between γυνή ἥτις and ἁματωλός, John Kilgallen argues it is the city that considers the woman a sinner as opposed to Luke marking her as such.²³³ It could mean that i) she is not actually a sinner but is only deemed so by the city and Simon, or ii) she used to be a sinner (imperfect verb ἦν) but the city is not aware she has already been forgiven. Once one de-links the woman's identity as a sinner from her behaviour at the dinner table and subscribes to the argument that she has already been forgiven prior to this episode, the woman's tears would no longer be tears of repentance but of gratitude.

²³³ Kilgallen 1998, 106.

Correspondingly, Klein asserts that the woman had already experienced forgiveness before she entered the house, so she is weeping out of gratitude, not remorse.²³⁴ For Jeffrey her actions “expresses extravagantly a profound gratitude and affection” for forgiveness.²³⁵ Fitzmyer thinks the woman comes as a sinner already forgiven by God by interpreting her love (ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολύ, 7:47b) as the consequence of her forgiveness.²³⁶ There has been much debate over the meaning of ὅτι—some exegetes argue that the conjunction ὅτι should not be understood as causal but as evidential; ὅτι would not be translated as “because” but “in recognition that.” Nolland takes ὅτι in the logical sense, meaning the woman’s lavish display is indication of her freedom from her past sins.²³⁷ Bovon and Garland think that ὅτι would depend on λέγω σοι as Jesus is drawing a conclusion.²³⁸ It is a statement of assurance: “Her great love *proves* that her many sins have been forgiven” (NEB). Arthur Just suggests looking at ὅτι as a causal clause in a deductive sense: e.g., in the sentence, “There is fire because there is smoke,” the smoke causes one to deduce that there is fire, but the smoke is the result, not the cause of the fire; thus, in v.47 the woman’s extravagant acts are the “cause or reason for deducing that she must have been forgiven much.”²³⁹ Likewise, Johnson argues it only makes sense to see ὅτι “not as the basis for the forgiveness but as the demonstration of it.”²⁴⁰ Though the evidential and resultative use of ὅτι is unusual and has no obvious counterpart in Luke, examples are found in John 9:16 (“This man is not from

²³⁴ Klein 2006, 294: „Man muß annehmen, daß die Frau von Jesus schon vor ihrem Eintritt in das Haus, also etwa beim vorhergehenden Gottesdienst den Zuspruch der Sünden erfahren hat und jetzt aus Dankbarkeit und nicht aus Reue weint“.

²³⁵ Jeffrey 2012, 204.

²³⁶ Fitzmyer 1981, 1:687.

²³⁷ Nolland 1989, 1:358.

²³⁸ Bovon 2002, 1:297; Garland 2011, 330.

²³⁹ Just 1996, 1:324.

²⁴⁰ Johnson 1991, 128. He adds that the impersonal construction οὗ χάριν points backwards “on the evidence of what she has done.”

God, for [ὅτι] he does not observe the Sabbath”) and 1 Cor 10:17 (“Because [ὅτι] there is one bread, we who are many are one body”).²⁴¹

Stein, who concurs with the above view, acknowledges that it is not known when or how the woman experienced forgiveness but that speculating the prior event would also be futile; he sees the declaration of her forgiveness in 7:47 as her assurance.²⁴² Marshall thinks the woman could have had direct contact with Jesus or was brought to repentance “through some indirect knowledge of Jesus and his message.”²⁴³ Nolland agrees Jesus’ declaration cannot be a fresh forgiveness but suggests that her forgiveness may have been bestowed to her by John the Baptist and she has now come to express gratitude to Jesus.²⁴⁴ He defends his view by citing the OT Pseudepigrapha. Based on *Jos. Asen* 15.11,²⁴⁵ Nolland views the gesture on the feet as thanksgiving more than the actions of a penitent seeker. Jeffrey thinks that Jesus could have forgiven the woman before the meal or that “the transaction has just occurred” during the meal.²⁴⁶

Nolland allows for the possibility that the woman’s weeping was remorseful but qualifies that “the sorrow of regret is suffused with the warmth of grateful affection.”²⁴⁷ Carroll argues for forgiveness as preceding the woman’s actions that can express both “remorse for a sinful life, as well as gratitude for the gift of forgiveness.”²⁴⁸ Jeffrey sees her

²⁴¹ Culy et al. 2010, 251.

²⁴² Stein 1992, 238.

²⁴³ Marshall 1978, 314.

²⁴⁴ Nolland 1989, 1:354 describes the crying as “the accidental fall of tears on feet,” suggesting a spontaneous emotional expression out of a heart of gratitude.

²⁴⁵ Charlesworth 1985, 2:227: “Aseneth rejoiced exceedingly with great joy about all these words and fell down at his feet and prostrated himself face down to the ground before him” (cited in Nolland 1989, 1:354).

²⁴⁶ Jeffrey 2012, 207-8.

²⁴⁷ Nolland 1989, 1:354.

²⁴⁸ Carroll 2012, 166.

as “a dramatic representative of the grief for sin and the enraptured sense of forgiveness.”²⁴⁹

Marshall also reckons there could be both repentance and joy, but definitely more joy.²⁵⁰

Amy-Jill Levine and Ben Witherington comment on the woman’s repentance, her gratitude for forgiveness received, and how love and forgiveness prompt each other,²⁵¹ which suggest that repentance, acts of love, and forgiveness all occur in the scene.

When Fitzmyer integrates the parable with the narrative, he has further reason to think that the parable communicates forgiveness that precedes the woman’s extravagance of love.²⁵² Johnson contends that for the parable to work, the love displayed by the woman must be “a demonstration of how she must have been forgiven.”²⁵³ I think the parable offers an inescapable conclusion that presupposes forgiveness, as the creditor cancelled the debts before asking the question of which debtor will love the creditor more—with ἀγαπήσει in the future tense (7:42). The phrase “but the one to whom little is forgiven, loves little” (v.47c) also suggests forgiveness preceding love.²⁵⁴ In light of the parable, Carroll rephrases v.47: “I am able to tell you this—that her sins have been forgiven—because, as we can all plainly see, she has (like the forgiven debtor) loved much.”²⁵⁵ The parable demonstrates that forgiveness precedes love and that pardon is to all. Moreover, the perfect tense of the verb ἀφέωνται suggests that the woman has *already* been forgiven at a prior point and that forgiveness is still effective in the present.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁹ Jeffrey 2012, 208.

²⁵⁰ Marshall 1978, 308-9.

²⁵¹ Levine and Witherington 2018, 209-15.

²⁵² Fitzmyer 1981, 1:687.

²⁵³ Johnson 1991, 127.

²⁵⁴ Fitzmyer 1981, 1:685-7.

²⁵⁵ Carroll 2012, 180.

²⁵⁶ Bock 1994, 1:703, 705; Stein 1992, 238; Carroll 2012, 180; Jeffrey 2012, 207.

Against the majority consensus, Wolter thinks it is “not the forgiveness of sins that motivates love, but *because* the woman has loved, her sins are forgiven.”²⁵⁷ He defends his position by arguing that the woman cannot have been forgiven prior to Luke 7 because she only knows she is forgiven in v.48. Wolter concedes that there is a contradiction between the parable’s intention and v.47a, he solves the tension by suggesting that Luke integrated them from different existing traditions.²⁵⁸ Whilst I disagree with this reading for reasons stated earlier, it is important to highlight that Wolter sidesteps all discussions regarding sorrow for sin and repentance, emphasising only the woman’s great love that led to her forgiveness. One could say, for Wolter, it is neither tears of penitence nor gratitude, but tears of love.

There are still others who think that Luke may not have even considered the issue of the sequence of repentance that the moderns are asking, making it an inappropriate query. For Bovon, Luke is not posing the theological question of the *initium fidei* as both God and humans are active in reconciliation: “the woman’s actions are simultaneously indications of and reasons for her forgiveness.”²⁵⁹ It is like the parables in Luke 15 that include both the initiative of the repentant sinner and the graciousness of a reconciling God.²⁶⁰

There is an essay entitled “Tears of Repentance or Tears of Gratitude?” (precisely the question in discussion) that parallels P.Oxy. 4009 (Gospel of Peter) with the Western Text of Luke 7:45-49.²⁶¹ Matti Myllykoski highlights that P.Oxy. 4009 omits 7:47b-48 so the original

²⁵⁷ Wolter 2016, 1:325 (italics original).

²⁵⁸ Wolter 2016, 1:325.

²⁵⁹ Bovon 2002, 1:297. Scholars insist the unnamed woman did not “buy” forgiveness with her extravagant acts to maintain the role of the atoning death of Christ and grace of God in salvation.

²⁶⁰ Pesonen 2000, 98.

²⁶¹ Myllykoski 2009, 380-9; a reconstruction of P.Oxy. 4009 side-by-side Luke 7:45-50 is on pp.380-1.

Lukan reading likely did not have vv.47b-48, which appears to be a non sequitur. He argues that once vv.47b-48 are removed “the actions of the woman must be seen as a sign of love and gratitude, not repentance.”²⁶² While Myllykoski’s approach supports the majority modern view, scholars have contested the relationship between P.Oxy. 4009 and the Gospel of Peter.²⁶³ Also, it is not certain that the author of P.Oxy. 4009 actually had the Western text before him—the sentence structures, word sequence, and verb tenses barely coincide.²⁶⁴

Another opinion that challenges the majority modern view is from Judith Applegate, a feminist writer, who asserts the woman was a prostitute and was weeping tears of sorrow and repentance rather than gratitude.²⁶⁵ The penitent was weeping over her sins because the Lukan Jesus—a male authority figure in a patriarchal system—perpetuates the oppressive structure by affirming the woman’s moral deficiency. I find Applegate’s handling of the Lukan texts unconvincing, not least because she does not offer any response to the contradicting views from major commentators (above) to defend her case. It is likely that her feminist disposition and presentation of Jesus as the male figure in authority have influenced her inclination to introduce the woman as a helpless penitent weeping at the feet of the powerful male figure. Applegate, and others like Klein, Green, and Jeffrey,²⁶⁶ share with the ancients the opinion that the woman was a prostitute.²⁶⁷ But this is an assertion that has

²⁶² Myllykoski 2009, 386.

²⁶³ Foster 2010, 69-78 looks at the manuscript evidence and questions whether P.Oxy. 4009 is a valid second-century witness to the Gospel of Peter. Foster provides a detailed critique of Myllykoski’s reconstruction of P.Oxy. 4009 (74-78). For more on P.Oxy. 4009, see Lührmann 1993.

²⁶⁴ Furthermore, the conjunction ὅτι is still found in P.Oxy. 4009 (ὅτι ἀφε(ι)ωνται αὐτῇ πολλὰ ἁμαρτίαι); we can read ὅτι as forgiveness granted because of her penitential actions.

²⁶⁵ Applegate 1999, 75-76.

²⁶⁶ Klein 2016, 295-6: „denn die Frau ist eine in der Stadt lebende ‚Sünderin‘, eine Hure;“ Green 1997, 309 thinks Luke “marks her as a prostitute by vocation, a whore by social status” but he does not offer evidence. Jeffrey 2012, 203 claims she is a “public woman” or prostitute, and that her alabaster jar indicates her trade.

²⁶⁷ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 77; Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 30.1; 73.3; *Hom. Jo.* 85; *Eutrop.*; *Bea. Phil.*; Augustine, *Serm.* 99.13.

been widely contested by contemporaries since Luke's text does not report her kind of sins.²⁶⁸ Though Green is convinced that the woman was a prostitute, he admits there is no straightforward explanation for the cause of her tears and thinks one should assume some prior encounter in which the prostitute had received forgiveness.²⁶⁹ Thus, I find Applegate's argument for tears of repentance unpersuasive and her certainty that the woman was a harlot questionable.

In between the two positions—tears of gratitude and of repentance—stands Charles Cosgrove's seminal work on the social meaning of the woman's unbound hair in the Greco-Roman world.²⁷⁰ He is aware that the woman's actions allow for at least two interpretations. In his essay, Cosgrove provides ancient examples that describe the woman's actions as grief over her sin but also as gratitude for her forgiveness; both situations are plausible and he confirms that the social symbolism of unbound hair fits either interpretation.²⁷¹ Cosgrove's allowance and openness to both views offers a mediating position not only between the two views in this modern section but also between the "ancient-repentance" and "modern-gratitude" interpretations of the woman's tears.

The possibility of holding both views together is favourable to the larger aim of this project, which is to present ancient and modern views of weeping side by side, to enrich our theology of tears and not to pit one view against the other. It is reasonable to ask whether

²⁶⁸ Cosgrove 2005, 687; Reid 2002, 112-3; Spencer 2004, 111; Mullen 2004, 112; Fitzmyer 1981, 1:689; Bock 1994, 1:695; Levine and Witherington 2018, 210-1; etc. For Wolter 2016, 1:319, "what makes her a 'sinner'... is left to the readers' imagination."

²⁶⁹ Green 1997, 313-4.

²⁷⁰ Cosgrove 2005.

²⁷¹ Cosgrove 2005, 691.

either the ancient or modern view has the clear advantage, or whether both can be held in tension. This potential integrated approach is reviewed at the end of the chapter when discussing new ways to re-read the woman's tears. Before finding ways to combine the views, a consideration of some possible reasons for the ancient-modern clash is necessary.

Repentance or Gratitude: Reasons for the Contradiction

This comprehensive survey of the ancients followed by a representative sketch of the moderns has resulted in a split outcome. Some modern scholars are open to the reading of tears as either repentance or gratitude, but the majority argue for tears of gratitude. This does not suggest that the ancients never saw weeping as an act of thanksgiving, because they certainly did;²⁷² however, based on early comments surrounding Luke 7:36-50, it seems that the ancients quite consistently emphasised weeping as penance. Here I offer possible reasons for the distinct difference in opinion.

First, the vastly different outcomes arise out of the different ways in which the two sets of commentators approach the text. Contemporary authors often concentrate on studying the text closely, examining Greek grammar and tenses, and engaging in textual criticism. The ancients also paid attention to textual criticism and grammatical differences, but they focused more on the essence of the message, especially in homiletic and catechetic contexts. In other words, both modern and ancient commentators attend closely to the text, but what they pay attention to and highlight in their writings can be rather different.

²⁷² E.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 40.31, in his Oration on baptism, refers to tears as expressing thanksgiving for everything, including all that has been forgiven; the ancients did appreciate tears of gratitude as important.

The ancients had a better sense of the Greek language and rhetorical range of reference in Luke, but they are also found over-emphasising aspects of the story that are not recorded in the Greek text of Luke 7:36-50—Clement, *Paed.* 2.61.1 adds ἔτι to accentuate the ongoing state of the woman’s sinfulness; Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 77 overstates the weeping with *plorat et multum lacrimat*; Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7.2.6 exaggerates that she committed every sin and iniquity (πάσῃ ἀμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ). In contrast, the moderns tread carefully where the text is silent, in this case, the missing mention of μετάνοια. Repentance is more important for Luke than anywhere else in the NT²⁷³ but μετάνοια does not make an appearance in 7:36-50. The parable (7:41-43) that emphasises forgiveness does not hint at repentance and the Lukan Jesus does not say, “Go and sin no more” (cf. Jn 8:11).²⁷⁴ This is contrasted with the younger son (Luke 15:11-32), Zacchaeus (19:1-10), and the man crucified with Jesus (23:39-43), who express a recognition of sin and a desire for change. Given the absence of μετάνοια in Luke’s anointing, the moderns have rightly challenged the early writers’ unanimous assumption, since repentance is at best implied in this pericope.

The respective critical methods used in the task of interpretation could also explain the different views: the ancients wrote in a more literal²⁷⁵, moral, mystical, and allegorical fashion while modern academics utilise broader hermeneutical and philosophical tools like

²⁷³ Tannehill 2005, 84-101 argues that repentance as a Lukan theme is an integral part of the good news of salvation that is central to Luke-Acts. Half of the NT occurrences of μετάνοια are in Luke-Acts (Luke 3:3, 8; 5:32; 15:7; 24:47; Acts 5:31; 11:18; 13:24; 19:4; 20:21; 26:20); the verb μετανοέω is found seven times in Matthew and Mark combined, but nine times in Luke, and five times in Acts (Luke 10:13; 11:32; 13:3, 5; 15:7, 10; 16:30; 17:3, 4; Acts 2:38; 3:19; 8:22; 17:30; 26:20). In many of these verses, repentance is connected to the forgiveness of sins. Nave 2002, 3 adds that there is a combined total of four occurrences of μετάνοια and μετανοέω in the entire Pauline corpus (Rom 2:4; 2 Cor 7:9, 10; 12:21), so, repentance is hardly a keynote message of the NT but, it is central in Luke-Acts. Nave argues repentance is part of God’s plan, which is the authorial intent of Luke-Acts (11-38).

²⁷⁴ Powell, “Table Fellowship,” *DJG* 1238. The tax collector in Luke 18:9-14 also received no remarks about his repentance or amendment of life.

²⁷⁵ By literal I mean a historical reading of the text, as conveyed in the salvation story.

socio-historical, redaction and form, narrative and rhetorical, even liberationist and feminist criticisms.²⁷⁶ These post-Enlightenment and postmodern techniques were not yet available in antiquity and likely unhelpful for ancients who often wrote for specific doctrinal circumstances within the early church setting.²⁷⁷

These general observations require some disclaimers. While it is less common for ancient writers to engage with text critical questions, there are those like Origen (seen in his compilation of the Hexapla) who did. Though not fully identical to the modern Western approach, Origen the philologist also engaged in exegesis and text criticism—for him, in as much as it was an intellectual exercise, it was a spiritual exercise.²⁷⁸ He was *grammateus*, a teacher of Greek literature, who had his method of approaching a literary text and who believed the study of Scripture drew him and others closer to God.²⁷⁹

Even when modern scholars employ their more cautious social scientific exegetical methods, their comments do not automatically become neutral and impartial. For instance, some moderns might resist a penitential reading of tears because this interpretation could undermine the Protestant view of justification *sola fide*. All kinds of righteousness by works,

²⁷⁶ Watson 1997, 65-80 points out that contemporary biblical scholarship is “anxious to supplement the biblical texts with information about their broader linguistic, social and cultural environment” (77). Such an approach is relatively rare in early writings because it would be unnecessary for the ancients, especially pre-Constantine, whose readers still breathed a relatively similar linguistic, social, and cultural milieu as the NT writings.

²⁷⁷ In contrast, modern commentaries, particularly those chosen as representatives in this study, are largely directed at the academic circle and detached from current issues pertinent to church life. Hiestand 2008; McGrath 2003; Pillay and Womack 2018 lament the divide between academic theology and the local church; they trace the history of the bifurcation. There have been efforts to re-unite the ecclesial and theological (e.g., Hiestand and Wilson 2015; Vanhoozer and Strachan 2015) but with little success.

²⁷⁸ For observations on Origen’s exegetical and scholarly approaches see Martens 2012; Law 2008; Pack 1960; Karakolis 2014. Dively Lauro 2005 and Edwards 2003 have further broken-down Origen’s exegesis into three levels/senses—somatic, psychic, and pneumatic/spiritual.

²⁷⁹ Triggs 1998, 5 & 62.

like the “work” of repentance “through tears,” are avoided. There is a preference instead to emphasise the grace, inclusion, and forgiveness of Jesus²⁸⁰—hence, tears of gratitude.²⁸¹ It is a framework designed to be therapeutic and affirming for the person, and that appears to go over and against the demands of confession, repentance, and continual transformation.²⁸² Thus, the differences between the ancient and modern mind are not unequivocal, given the undertow of theological preferences.

Apart from the different interpretative methods and theological agendas of each era, the narrative style of the Lukan anointing also lends itself to undefined gaps.²⁸³ Since Luke only offers necessary and decisive points to complete the story, interpreters—ancient and modern—can fill the silence with their own hermeneutical lens, situational needs, and socio-

²⁸⁰ The propensity to only emphasise God’s grace and forgiveness is counterbalanced by the following modern scholars who include the importance of human action. Bovon 2002, 1:297: “Even if God’s love remains the centre of Luke’s message, he repeatedly pushes human responsibility into the foreground... the woman’s actions are simultaneously indications of and reasons for her forgiveness.” Bovon, however, does not explicitly say “tears of repentance” nor state his view on the woman’s tears. Downs 2016 demonstrates by examples in ancient Christianity that the atoning work of Christ and the deeds performed by Christians were not mutually exclusive. Barclay 2015, 492: “The incongruous and unconditioned gift in Christ is not also unconditional, in the sense of expecting no alteration in the recipients of the gift.” These views do not directly translate into reading the woman’s tears as repentance; rather, they allow us to understand the woman’s forgiveness as granted through the atoning work of Jesus and the grace of God, but which also expects a response from her.

²⁸¹ There is a growing body of literature that examines gratitude from aspects of Christian theology, emotion theory, anthropology, biology, social cognition, etc. (e.g., Roberts and Telech 2019; Emmons and McCullough 2004; Watkins 2014; Emmons and Kneezee 2005). There is a positive correlation between gratitude and Christian spirituality, which unsurprisingly makes the view of tears of gratitude attractive to modern scholars influenced by popular psychology.

²⁸² Sheila Bayne’s research into tears and weeping in French literature has shown that starting from the mid-seventeenth century, tears of love and sentimental weeping started to become more acceptable, which also coincided with a reaction against neo-Stoicism. See Bayne 1981, chapters 3, 4, 5, and conclusion (especially 79-82). Though her research is limited to French literature, her observations could help explain the broader cultural and philosophical framework for modern biblical scholarship, including moderns who conceive of weeping beyond a solely “repentant-seeking lens,” and being more inclined to endorse cathartic expressions like weeping out of a grateful and joyful heart.

²⁸³ This observation is influenced by Auerbach’s astute presentation of the differences in style between the ancient texts of Homer’s *Odyssey* and the story of Abraham sacrificing Isaac in Genesis 22. The ancient Greek poem provides complete and definite details of time, place, thoughts, and feelings surrounding the characters and events, but the Hebrew narrative leaves these pieces of information obscure and undefined. The anointing narrative in Luke 7:36-50 seems to resemble the OT style of emphasising necessary information while leaving specificities of time, place, and emotions unexpressed. See Auerbach 2003, 3-16.

historical contexts. The most consequential narrative gaps for this project are the silences regarding the woman's emotions and tears. Interestingly, although the gap allows for diverse readings, the ancients, despite their contextual differences, quite consistently interpreted the woman's tears in relation to repentance; they do not mention gratitude or joy or as a possible interpretation. In contrast, the narrative gaps provide space for modern scholars to hold varied views—some argue for tears of gratitude (a few allow for both gratitude and repentance, or even tears of love) whilst others consider any divisions inappropriate because Luke did not intend present a sequence of penance and thanksgiving.

I also recognise that key terms used in modern commentaries were not re-evaluated, like they were for the ancient sources, primarily because most Lukan scholars argue the woman was weeping tears of joy and gratitude. There is little discussion on repentance, much less the specific stages, because the woman's forgiveness is a matter of the past that took place before Luke 7:36. There is no further unpacking of joy and gratitude either—whether as an emotion or as a factor that enhances happiness, well-being, and human flourishing—to match our earlier discussion on sin, contrition, confession, and repentance. Perhaps modern authors find it irrelevant to expound on information not found in Luke 7 and are satisfied with debating the Greek grammar and syntax (e.g., ἥν, ὅτι, ἀφέωνται) that determine whether the woman wept in repentance or gratitude.

Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge the diverse socio-cultural contexts within which the ancients and moderns wrote. Stoicism would inevitably have shaped the early

writers;²⁸⁴ the Stoics believed the good life required a balance and control of passions and emotions.²⁸⁵ It is, thus, reasonable for the ancients to emphasise the morally persuasive, theological, and Christological connections to weeping to contain the emotional expression within rational thought. Meanwhile, current scholars are influenced by popular psychology and the weight of emotions, which may lead to more anthropological expressions like weeping out of a grateful and joyful heart. This is not to say that the ancients were not informed by the psychological aspect of weeping—Augustine is often labelled the “first Christian/Western psychologist” and displayed keen interest in the topic.²⁸⁶ The purpose of this paragraph is to present the potential cultural and intellectual influences that shape how authors view weeping.

Re-reading Luke 7:36-50: Ancient versus Modern, Clash or Complement?

Broadly speaking, three major sections have been covered in this chapter: i) ancient writings, ii) modern works, and iii) an attempt to explain their disagreements. As all the resulting discussions and deliberations are drawn together, it is time to consider how these findings contribute to a different way of reading the Lukan anointing story. Does weeping in repentance and/or gratitude shed new light on this familiar passage?

To begin, I propose a conjunctive reading that involves both perspectives, that is, the woman was exhibiting repentance *and* gratitude in Luke 7:36-50. I alluded to and explained

²⁸⁴ See above Chapter 1, p.26 for the relationship between Stoicism and the NT.

²⁸⁵ On Stoics and the extirpation of the passions, see Nussbaum 1994, 359-401; Sorabji 2000, 181-93 argues it is not the full eradication but the re-evaluation of emotions. These Stoic ideals cohere with Ramelli 2009, 367-79 who claims that Origen condemns tears caused by πάθος but positively views tears of repentance.

²⁸⁶ Titles attributed to Augustine include “first Western psychologist” (van Reyn 2014, 300); “father of Christian psychology” (Charry 2006); “first Catholic psychologist” (Donley 1937). Augustine’s contributions to psychology have been a recent topic of interest, see Couenhoven 2017; Dixon et al. 2013; Leidenhag 2018; Torchia 2013.

this preferred symbiotic reading when introducing Cosgrove's work above.²⁸⁷ If his research on the social meaning of the woman's unbound hair in the Greco-Roman world allows for both interpretations, it should also be possible to hold both views in reading Luke 7:36-50. Moreover, the narrative gaps in the anointing, as pointed out earlier, provides space to admit repentance and gratitude as simultaneously taking place in the same scene.

This means that the woman does not meet Jesus at an earlier unrecorded encounter (as the moderns argue) but repents at Jesus' feet—as her outward, relational act of faith—and is pardoned by him (following the early views), which then gives rise to her deep joy and gratitude for the forgiveness received (this modern argument is almost completely absent in ancient works). The text neither hints nor insists the woman's forgiveness or encounter with Jesus had taken place in a separate event, so it is unnecessary to sequence her repentance and forgiveness as prior to her entry into Simon's house.²⁸⁸ In other words, I argue it is at the point of proving her repentance through weeping that she gains forgiveness and therefore expresses her deep gratitude in tears too.²⁸⁹ This is similar to Nolland, Carroll, Jeffrey, and Marshall who think it is possible that the woman's tears are tears of both remorse and gratitude,²⁹⁰ but who do not parse out how this might have occurred.

There is also positive exegetical evidence in support of a "hybrid" interpretation. I showed in the "modern section" how the passage supports a reading of tears of gratitude, now I extend the exposition to argue it does not preclude an interpretation of repentance.

²⁸⁷ Cosgrove 2005.

²⁸⁸ Jeffrey 2012, 207-8 thinks it is possible that forgiveness has just occurred at the meal itself.

²⁸⁹ Instead of interpreting the present tense ἀφίησιν (Luke 7:49) as part of the dinner guests' question, the present tense could also suggest that Jesus has just forgiven her.

²⁹⁰ See above, p.71.

First, Luke's unique presentation of calling the woman ἁματωλός (7:37) and then having Jesus declare ἀφέωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι (v.47) clearly suggest the need to pay attention to the woman's sinful state and the need for pardon. The narrative begins with a sinful character (v.37) and closes with a declaration and discussion on forgiveness (vv.47-49), which causes one to wonder what changed in between. I argue that repentance took place in that space. We recognised that μετάνοια is not recorded in Luke 7:36-50; however, repeated references to John the Baptist (7:18-35) immediately precedes the Lukan anointing—he is the one who proclaimed a baptism of repentance (βάπτισμα μετανοίας) for the forgiveness of sins (3:3).

Repentance is not explicitly stated but implied in the anointing story. The perfect tense ἀφέωνται can refer to the pardon offered to the woman at Simon's house in response to her repentance. Her extravagant acts of love—including her tears—are both the cause and the result of Jesus' forgiveness. This means the conjunction ὅτι (7:47b) can convey both meanings regarding her sins—that they have been forgiven “because of her great love” and also “as evidenced by her great love.” Lastly, since the participle κλαίουσα (v.38) connotes continual weeping, I propose that the woman's tears begin as penitential tears but swiftly take on feelings of gratitude and joy when Jesus pronounces his forgiveness on her.

If both situations are concurrently plausible—weeping out of grief over sin and in gratitude for forgiveness²⁹¹—it is worth asking then, if the woman's gratitude gains in significance and dynamism when it occurs in the presence of repentance. I contend that the impact of relief from sin and the assurance of forgiveness, as coinciding and coexisting

²⁹¹ The implied weeping in love by Wolter 2016, 1:325 can be comfortably included here too.

realities, enhances the depth and gravity of gratitude felt by the reader of Luke 7:36-50. An added sense of power and profundity is felt when the reader imagines a woman burdened by sin entering courageously into an unwelcomed space to show her sincere repentance and receives pardon (even protection against negative perceptions of the other diners) from the Lord. When met with such gracious and compassionate treatment, it is difficult to exclude the accompanying feelings of great joy and gratitude that she must have felt. This is perhaps why Marshall thinks the woman felt more joy than repentance: “it is the forgiven sinner who knows the true meaning of sorrow for sin.”²⁹² The inclusion of repentance and forgiveness (the ancient emphasis) almost warrants the necessary response of gratitude and escalates the feelings of joy (the modern view). When the two views are permitted to interact, they each augment the merit and value of the other, as both sides observe aspects of the passage that are anthropologically, psychologically, and exegetically present.

Besides providing readers with a more stirring and compelling involvement in the story, a “mediating” position allows the anointing passage to correspond more closely to several larger Lukan themes. First, the inclusion of repentance as implied in the passage fits well with the requirement for repentance that is characteristic of Luke-Acts. Second, recognising forgiveness as also occurring at that time, and not at an earlier encounter, serves as an example of the Lukan Jesus’ programmatic interest in freedom and liberation of people (cf. ἄφεσις in Luke 4:18 and 7:47). Third, the humble posture of the woman receiving the gracious offer of forgiveness and responding in gratitude and joy presents the woman as positively regarded, cohering with Luke’s favourable treatment of women.

²⁹² Marshall 1978, 309.

On the one hand, the ancients overemphasised the moral and theological aspects of weeping without considering the anthropological and psychological elements. The moderns, on the other hand, being keener on the emotional features, tend to neglect the majority view of the early church. Since both sets of commentators have credibly produced persuasive points but also overlooked pertinent elements, their claims are amalgamated as evidence of the potential fertility of Luke 7:36-50, as I have argued.

Conclusion

The early and modern receptions of the anointing woman's tears demonstrate that penitential weeping was the dominant consensus (~82% majority) in antiquity, contrasting with modern scholarly inclination for viewing these tears as expressions of gratitude. Within the overarching consensus, however, we recognised some ancient comments that are non-penitential and discussed specific circumstances (persecution and the lapsed, reaction to the Gnostics, Marcion, Manicheans, Donatists) that influence the way the woman's weeping was interpreted. Similarly, though modern scholars insist that the anointing woman was weeping tears of joy and gratitude, some think it may include repentance. Various reasons have been advanced to explain the discrepancy between the ancient and modern view—hermeneutical approaches, cultural and intellectual forces, specific historical contexts, narrative ambiguities in Luke 7:36-50, etc. This chapter contends against a reductive dichotomy of weeping as “repentance in antiquity” versus “gratitude in modernity.” Viewing the woman's gratitude for forgiveness as coinciding with the reality of her repentance offers more holistic, nuanced, dynamic readings of the Lukan anointing. Our attempt to juxtapose early and modern views

on weeping has produced an enriched appreciation for Luke 7:36-50, paving the way for examining subsequent weeping passages with the same anticipation for fruitful exploration.

CHAPTER 3 THE BITTER WEeping OF PETER

Having considered the ancient and modern interpretations of the anointing woman's tears, we now conduct a similar study on Peter's bitter weeping in Luke 22:62, because Part I of this thesis focuses on the theme of repentance. The two passages are not chronologically close in Luke's narrative sequence, but they are analysed one after another because of their potential associations with repentance.²⁹³ In this chapter, besides comparing perspectives on Peter's tears, we are interested to know whether the apostle's weeping is also seen as an expression of penitence.²⁹⁴ If so, what are the trends and departures between Peter's bitter weeping and the sinful woman's tears?

The chapter begins by surveying and comparing ancient and modern receptions of Peter's tears, constituting a major part of this chapter. Our analysis includes discussions of the notion of contrition (versus repentance) and the concept of weeping as cleansing sin. The collated views on Peter's weeping are then placed next to our findings on the woman's weeping from Chapter 2 to observe if the two events are treated the same. Based on the data amassed from these two Lukan passages, we discuss the broader topic of weeping in relation to repentance. Finally, we ask whether our investigation contributes to new ways of comprehending Luke 22:62. Before initiating these explorations, we familiarise ourselves with the weeping text in question.

²⁹³ The rationale for the sequence of chapters was explained earlier in Chapter 1, p.30.

²⁹⁴ The meanings of key words from Chapter 2, p.37 (sin, contrition, penance, repentance) apply here.

Luke 22:62

The well-known incident of Peter denying Jesus is recorded in all four Gospels with some differences (Matt 26:57-68; Mark 14:53-65; Luke 22:54-62; John 18:12-27), but the plot of the story is rather unanimous—on the night Jesus is betrayed, under pressured questioning by those around him, Peter denies the Lord in the courtyard of the high priest, and a cock crows immediately after the denials. Peter has broken his bold confession that Jesus is the Messiah of God (Luke 9:19) and severed his allegiance to be with the Lord “to prison and to death” (22:33), fulfilling Jesus’ prediction that Peter will deny him (22:34).

Despite agreement in the general progression of Peter’s denial, Creed presents what he considers to be the five major departures in Luke’s record vis-à-vis Mark’s in a succinct, numbered list—i) two Sanhedrin meetings in Mark (14:51-15:1) are merged into one in Luke (22:66-71); ii) Luke omits the accusation that Jesus threatened to destroy the temple (Mark 15:29);²⁹⁵ iii) Luke avoids the Sanhedrin condemning Jesus to death (Mark 14:64); iv) Peter’s denials precede the trial in Luke; and v) the mocking that was after the trial (Mark 15:65) takes place at the high priest’s house (Luke 22:63-65).²⁹⁶ Building on Creed’s list, Bock adds a sixth difference—vi) the enslaved girls play a more prominent role in Peter’s denials in Mark (14:66, 69) than in Luke 22:56.²⁹⁷ These and other minor discrepancies like word order and verbal forms are valid Lukan distinctions,²⁹⁸ but it is puzzling that Creed and Bock do not

²⁹⁵ This, however, resurfaces in Acts 6:14.

²⁹⁶ Creed 1930, 276.

²⁹⁷ Bock 1996, 2:1776.

²⁹⁸ The differences in Luke could be owing to Luke’s use of transmitted oral tradition, a special source, or his own redaction. For a redaction-critical approach to Luke’s Passion narrative, see Neyrey 1980. For details and explanations on the differences in the four accounts, which are beyond the scope of this project, see Bovon 2012, 3:225-7; Bock 1996, 2:1779-89; Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1453-7; Nolland 1993, 3:1092-6.

consider the uniquely Lukan addition of the Lord's turning and looking at Peter (καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ κύριος ἐνέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ, Luke 22:61)²⁹⁹ as significant enough to be added to their lists.

Jesus' turning and looking triggers a series of events—Peter remembers the Lord's prediction, leaves the courtyard, and weeps bitterly. Each time Jesus turns (στρέφω) in the Third Gospel (7:9, 7:44; 9:55; 10:23; 14:25; 22:61; 23:28), he is about to communicate something important,³⁰⁰ which, in this case, is to admonish Peter over his denials. The choice of ἐνέβλεψεν to describe Jesus' glance may be used to contrast the stare (ἀτενίσασα, 22:56)³⁰¹ by the enslaved girl and the more general seeing (ιδὼν, v.58) by another man—the earlier looks (ἀτενίσασα and ιδὼν) provoked Peter to deny the Lord but the Lord's look (ἐνέβλεψεν) compelled him to tears.³⁰² Peter does not come to himself at the crow of the rooster (22:60) but wakes up to his mistake because of the Lord's gaze.³⁰³ The importance of Jesus' convicting turn and look are highlighted by the frequent theologising and interpreting of this verse in the ancient sources, where v.61 and v.62 are sometimes discussed together because the turning and looking by Jesus (v.61) directly explain the ensuing response of Peter's weeping (v.62).³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Nolland 1993, 3:1096 thinks Luke 22:61 is best explained as Lukan redaction and reckons Jesus' intentional look is one of reproach, whereas Bovon 2012, 3:323-33 asserts that "the evangelist does not describe this look" but "merely shows the effect the look produces." I believe the epiphanic implications of κύριος turning has implications of converting Peter in this fashion.

³⁰⁰ Green 1997 observes that Luke writes about Jesus' "turning" when adding emphasis to Jesus' statement (288) or when "Jesus chides or admonishes his audience" (788).

³⁰¹ ἀτενίσασα means is to look intently/stare at and gaze earnestly (*BDAG* "ἀτενίζω," 148; *LSJ-O* "ἀτενίζω") where as ἐνέβλεψεν can mean to look at directly and intently (*BDAG* "ἐμβλέπω," 321) or simply to look in the face (*LSJ-O* "ἐμβλέπω"). It is uncertain if the words are meant to convey a different sense of looking but they certainly led to different responses in Peter.

³⁰² Nolland 1993, 3:1095 evaluates ἀτενίσασα and ἐνέβλεψεν as Peter seeking to "hide from the exposure implicit in the former, but he has no weapons against the exposure implicit in the latter."

³⁰³ Wolter 2017, 2:494 thinks Peter realises his mistake "not only by the cock but also by Jesus," but I consider Jesus' glance to be more crucial than the cock because v.61a is Luke's unique insertion.

³⁰⁴ The meaning of Jesus' turning appears to be convicting, but we will see below that it is also considered a "compassionate" look (Ambrose, p.102) and a "merciful" look (Augustine, p.108). I think it is possible for Jesus' stare to be convicting, compassionate, and merciful at the same time.

It is also significant that Luke refers to Jesus as “the Lord” (ὁ κύριος) who turned and looked at Peter, and that Peter was brought to remembrance of the word of “the Lord” (τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου). “The Lord” (Luke 22:61) is contrasted with Matt 26:75 (τοῦ ῥήματος Ἰησοῦ) and Mark 14:72 (τὸ ῥῆμα... ὁ Ἰησοῦς) where it is the word of “Jesus.” It is specifically ὁ κύριος in Luke, and not simply the man Ἰησοῦς who prompts Peter’s reactions.³⁰⁵ Thus, given Luke’s distinctive addition of 22:61, his intentional use of κύριος, and the close connection between Jesus’ actions and Peter’s reactions, this chapter will also consider the relationship between v.61 and v.62 where relevant.

While Luke 22:61 is unique to the Third Gospel, the record of Peter weeping in v.62 (καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς) is somewhat similar to Mark 14:72 where Peter breaks down and weeps (καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν) and it matches verbatim with Matt 26:75.³⁰⁶ The originality of Luke 22:62 has been questioned by some because it is omitted in the uncial Fragment 0171³⁰⁷ and other Old Latin versions (a, b, e, ff², i, 1*, r¹). Despite it being missing in several witnesses, the UBS Committee supports the inclusion of v.62 with an “A” decision; Metzger thinks it is more likely that the verse was accidentally omitted than added without substantial variation.³⁰⁸ The sentence fits comfortably in Luke as every word used, except πικρῶς, is well attested in Lukan vocabulary,³⁰⁹ and κλαίω is found in ten other instances.³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ Rowe 2006, 178 argues that the two uses of κύριος in 22:61 form an *inclusio* with the κύριος in 22:32-33 to bring a close to the episode of Jesus’ prediction and fulfilment.

³⁰⁶ The use of the imperfect ἔκλαιεν as opposed to the aorist ἔκλαυσεν is unlikely to indicate a major difference in meaning; the exact wordings shared between Matthew and Luke has sparked more scholarly interest. The verbatim agreement could be because Matthew and Luke follow an oral tradition (Brown 1994, 1:607) and/or they prefer the oral/traditional material over Mark (Bovon 2012, 3:227; Stein 1992, 565).

³⁰⁷ Bovon 2012, 3:227 n.22 remarks that that we “cannot be absolutely certain that v.62 is missing” from Fragment 0171 because this old fragment is difficult to read.

³⁰⁸ Metzger 1994, 151.

³⁰⁹ Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1457.

³¹⁰ Nolland 1993, 3:1092 makes a similar observation though he notes only nine other occasions of κλαίειν; he thinks “this clause offers such a forceful conclusion to the episode.” Marshall 1978, 845 argues that “internal

Perhaps Luke inherited this sentence based on oral or other traditional material. Though some do not regard v.62 as original,³¹¹ I find strong internal and external evidence to include it in Luke's Passion narrative. With these introductory discussions laid out, we now turn to early interpreters, who did not seem to question the originality of this Lukan verse.

Early Interpretations of Peter's Tears: Repentance and Beyond

Based on available extant sources, the earliest references on Peter's denial and weeping are found in the third century writings of Origen.³¹² I have also observed that not all early comments on the denial include Peter's tears, which means we cannot assume his denial was always entwined with his weeping.³¹³ Nonetheless, there are sufficient weeping references from Origen to Augustine (see Appendix B for full table) for a fruitful analysis. We will find a wide range of ancient perspectives related to Peter's bitter weeping—i) sin, repentance, and forgiveness; ii) apology for the truth of the gospel; iii) God's mercy; iv) illustration of how one should weep; v) in comparison with Judas; and vi) cleansing guilt.

Origen

Origen, the author with the earliest comments on Peter's weeping, offers a variety of interpretations. For one, when commenting on the phrase "yet a little while I am with you" (John 16:16-19), Origen describes what the disciples had to do after Jesus was no longer

evidence favours omission, while the weight of external evidence strongly supports inclusion" because the language of the verse sounds Matthean, but he is also aware that the sentence is too short to be certain.

³¹¹ Bock, 1996, 2:1805 provides examples of earlier twentieth-century scholars who hold this view—Creed 1930, 277; Grundmann 1963, 417; Ernst 1977, 615; Catchpole 1971, 169.

³¹² Unlike comments by Clement and Tertullian on Luke 7:36-50, I have not identified earlier ones for 22:62.

³¹³ E.g., Origen mentions Peter's denial as i) a passing comment (*?Cat. Ps.* 1413); ii) defending the historical truth of the record (*Cels.* 2.15); iii) a mistake caused by Peter's rashness (*Comm. Jo.* 32.62; *Comm. Matt.* 88), the spirit of deceit (*Comm. Jo.* 32.257), or the devil's work (*Comm. Matt.* 12.40); and iv) an illustration of the motif of darkness (*Comm. Jo.* 32.315; *Comm. Matt.* 87). It is even compared with the struggle of Mary (*Hom. Luc.* 17). It could be that the seriousness of the denial called for explanations from multiple perspectives.

with them: “they were destined to seek Jesus nonetheless just as Peter, I think, wept bitterly seeking Jesus after he denied him (ὥς ὁ Πέτρος μετὰ τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι πικρῶς ἔκλαιεν, οἶμαι, ζητῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν).”³¹⁴ Origen uses Peter’s tears from the Synoptic accounts as an analogy for the Johannine interpretation of seeking Jesus after he is gone. Later, on John 16:20, the idea of seeking Jesus is repeated with the additional encouragement that they would weep and lament but have joy when they see Jesus.³¹⁵ The latter reference elucidates the point that weeping plays the literary role of seeking Jesus and grieving the loss of Jesus’ presence.

Elsewhere, Origen accentuates the fact that it is the Lord’s look upon Peter that compelled him to tears. He highlights Jesus’ look via his comments on the verse “I shall look upon you and increase you” (Lev 26:9); Origen believes Jesus’ look is a divine one—it was God who looked at Peter. Having been looked at by God, Peter recovered his place by weeping which he had lost by denying (*atque ita respectus a Deo locum suum flendo recepit, quem negando perdiderat*).³¹⁶ There is a redeeming value to weeping—it regains Peter’s lost place—but the primary agent of restoration and focus is on the power of the Lord’s look.

Next is a comment that not only explicitly links tears with repentance but also brings together the woman in Luke 7 and Peter in Luke 22. Origen discusses Matt 26:69-75 and concludes: “in Luke’s Gospel the sinful woman repents and weeps at the Lord’s feet (*peccatrix mulier iuxta domini pedes paenitens flevit*) and here Peter departs from the courtyard of the chief priest and weeps for the severity of his sin, making his tears bitter in

³¹⁴ Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 32.383 (GCS 10, 478; FC 89, 413-4). Book 32 was written c. AD 241-2 (see FC 89, 4-19 for dating), which means we meet Origen here as a mature theologian.

³¹⁵ Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 32.385 (GCS 10, 478; FC 89, 414).

³¹⁶ Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 16.7.3 (GCS 29, 505; FC 83, 276).

repentance (*plorat ex amaritudine peccati, examaricans in paenitentia fletum suum*).³¹⁷

Origen's comparison is especially apt since this thesis discusses weeping in Luke 7:36-50 and 22:62 (Chapters 2 and 3) and is interested in the link between weeping and repentance.

Further confirmation that Peter weeps out of repentance is found in a Greek fragment on the same commentary: "in these [words] Peter departs from those who caused him to deny and makes his weeping bitter with repentance because of his bitterness in having sinned (ἐν τούτοις ὁ Πέτρος ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρνεῖσθαι ποιοούντων αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἡμαρτηκέναι πικρότητος πικροποιὸν ἐποίησατο ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ τὸν κλαυθμόν)."³¹⁸

Based on these writings of Origen, we observe that Peter's weeping was not only thought of as penitential, like for the sinful woman. Weeping also represents Peter's desire to seek Jesus and his bitter tears were the consequence of God's compelling look.

Eusebius

Eusebius (c. AD 265-339) wrote widely across several fields and is deemed to be doctrinally as profound as Origen though "inferior to Origen as a thinker and writer."³¹⁹ Eusebius shows us yet another way to think of Luke 22:62—he uses Peter's denial and tears as his apologetic strategy in *Demonstratio evangelica*.³²⁰ He highlights that Mark made known to all people Peter's denial and how he wept about it bitterly (ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ'

³¹⁷ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 114 (GCS 38, 241; Heine 2018, 2:723). Origen also thought that Peter was not in the courtyard of the chief priest, but outside, when he remembered the word of Christ. This suggests Peter had to step away from "negative influences" before he could come to his senses and weep in repentance.

³¹⁸ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 114 (GCS 38, 241; Heine 2018, 2:723 n.376).

³¹⁹ Curti, "Eusebius of Caesarea (Palestine)," *EAC* 1:873.

³²⁰ Also known as *The Proof of the Gospel* (c. AD 312-20), *Demonstratio evangelica* is one of Eusebius' most important apologetic writings. It is written for pagans and Jews, and responds to Porphyry's *Against the Christians*; Curti, "Eusebius of Caesarea (Palestine)," *EAC* 1:874-5.

αὐτῆς πικρῶς).³²¹ The ensuing paragraphs drive home the point that since Peter, through Mark, would record a denial defamatory of himself, that would have otherwise been forgotten through time, his testimony must be true.³²² In other words, these records are deemed trustworthy since Jesus' disciples are willing to place themselves in a bad light.³²³

We find the same argument in Eusebius' *De Theophania*—another apologetic work that emphasises the evangelising of pagans worldwide³²⁴—but it survives only in a few Greek catenae fragments and a translated Syriac version from the fifth century.³²⁵ *De Theophania* was written in the last years of Eusebius' life, which is at least a decade after *Demonstratio evangelica*,³²⁶ but there is substantial content overlap between the two.³²⁷ The surrounding paragraphs and content in *Dem. Ev.* 3.5.92 (above) are almost identical to *Theoph.* 5.40 and convey the same message on Peter's weeping. *De Theophania* reproduces the entire section, including the fact that Mark preached that Peter denied and wept bitterly over it (ܕܡܪܩܠܐ ܕܡܪܩܠܐ ܕܡܪܩܠܐ).³²⁸ For Eusebius, the tears and denial of Peter perform the sole role of defending the reliability of the gospel record and the credibility of the disciple.

³²¹ Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 3.5.92 (GCS 11/2, 127; Ferrar 1920, 139-40).

³²² Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 3.5.95.

³²³ Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 3.5.100.

³²⁴ Simmons 2016, 142-3.

³²⁵ Lee 1843, xi-xii notes that the Syriac manuscript indicates that *De Theophania* was completed in AD 411. Whealey 2015, 18-29 demonstrates that some Greek fragments lack parallels with its Syriac translation and vice versa; many of the Greek fragments were authored by Eusebius of Emesa instead and the Syriac version could have been based on an abbreviated original version.

³²⁶ For the dating debate, see Simmons 2016, 146-50 who argues *De Theophania* was written after AD 337.

³²⁷ Simmons 2016, 142 estimates about 70% of *De Theophania* is an exact reproduction of *Demonstratio evangelica* and *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

³²⁸ Eusebius, *Theoph.* 5.40 (Lee 1842, Book 5 (ܣܚܝܩܐ), section 40 (ܕܪ); Lee 1843, 325). The German translation in GCS 11/2, 247 is based on the Syriac version and Greek fragments. Special thanks to James Walters, David Taylor, and Andrew Hochstedler for their help with the Syriac version.

Cyril of Jerusalem

The next author in chronological sequence is Cyril (c. AD 315-387) who was probably born in Jerusalem³²⁹ and became Bishop of Jerusalem around AD 349.³³⁰ After writing about Nebuchadnezzar who repented and received God's pardon and restoration (Dan 4:34-37), Cyril appeals to the example of Peter, who after denying the Lord thrice, regretted it and wept bitterly (ἀλλὰ μεταμεληθεὶς, ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς), showing repentance of the heart (τὴν μετάνοιαν τὴν ἐγκάρδιον παρίστησιν); because of this Peter received forgiveness and held his apostolic dignity unforfeited.³³¹ This work, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*,³³² was preached during Lent for baptismal candidates,³³³ so Cyril uses Peter to speak of repentance and the remission of sins before baptism. After mentioning Peter's repentance and weeping, Cyril exhorts the baptismal candidates to repent and confess so that they are forgiven of their sins and saved (*Cat.* 2.20). These catechetical lectures are instructions on the fundamentals of the Christian faith and praxis based on scriptural texts and quotations.³³⁴

In this excerpt, we not only find weeping as a clear sign of repentance but also the appearance of μεταμεληθεὶς before μετάνοιαν. It is not straightforward to determine if μεταμέλομαι refers only to feeling remorse or whether it includes a change of mind, like in

³²⁹ Simonetti, "Cyril of Jerusalem," *EAC* 1:654.

³³⁰ Young, "Cyril of Jerusalem, St," *ODCC* 4, 1:512.

³³¹ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cath. Illum.* 2.19 (Resichl 1848 1:62-63; *NPNF* 2:7, 13).

³³² Doval 1997 presents the dating options and argues for AD 351 as more probable.

³³³ Cyril of Jerusalem is known for his 24 catecheses—one introductory *Procatechesis*, 18 lectures (*Catecheses ad illuminandos*) and five *Mystagogiae* lectures (delivered post-baptism during Easter week). Scholars have questioned the date and authentic authorship of *Mystagogiae*. Day 2011 shows that the baptismal liturgy and theology in the *Mystagogical Catecheses* are quite different from and should not be attributed to the author of the *Catechetical Lectures*.

³³⁴ Day 2011, 1183 highlights Cyril's impressive knowledge and use of scripture to explain theological points.

repentance, but the addition of μετάνοια suggests that Cyril was likely referring to both—the apostle wept out of remorse and his tears demonstrate his repentant heart.³³⁵

Epiphanius

Epiphanius (c. AD 315-403) was born in Palestine and became Bishop of Salamis from c. 365.³³⁶ According to Jerome, Epiphanius was so popular that people would flock to him;³³⁷ even the heretics thought it a disgrace to persecute him.³³⁸ However, Epiphanius “was prone to an attitude of self-righteousness, narrowmindedness, and bullying... he meddled in affairs that lay outside of his authority and jurisdiction.”³³⁹ He thought of himself as a defender of orthodoxy and heresy-hunter (*Pan.* 26.17.1–9, 40.1.1–7, 77.20.1–24.5); Epiphanius actively involved himself in the Origenist controversy that condemned Origen (*Pan.* 64).³⁴⁰

On the three denials, Epiphanius writes that Peter is the one who wept at the sound of the rooster, in order that he might truly confess the arrest of the Son of God was not in appearance, but true (ἀλλ’ ἀληθινήν), so that Peter might say Jesus was a true man in his weeping at Jesus’ arrest (ἵνα εἴπῃ αὐτὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ κλαίειν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ συλλήψει).³⁴¹ As a defender of orthodoxy—of Trinitarian and Christological theology³⁴²—it is

³³⁵ In Judas’ betrayal record, Matthew refers to Judas’ repentance as μεταμεληθεῖς (Matt 27:3), which may cause some to differentiate it with μετανόεω. Michel, “Μεταμέλομαι, Ἀμεταμέλητος,” *TDNT* 7:626 claims that μετανόεω and μεταμέλεσθαι are distinct in class; μετανόεω means a change of heart either generally or in respect of a specific sin, whereas μεταμέλεσθαι means to experience remorse. In response, James Barr 1961, 236-7 calls the separation of μεταμέλομαι and μετανόεω “one of the misfortunes” of the *TDNT* and “quite wrong” because they are very close to each other in meaning. *BDAG* “μεταμέλομαι,” 639 and “μετανόεω,” 640 shows both words can have either meaning—to regret something/feel remorse and to change one’s mind.

³³⁶ Riggi, “Epiphanius of Salamis,” *AEC* 1:827; Young, “Epiphanius, St,” *ODCC* 4, 1:641.

³³⁷ Jerome, *C. Jo.* 11 (*CCSL* 79A, 19-20).

³³⁸ Jerome, *C. Jo.* 4 (*CCSL* 79A, 10-11).

³³⁹ *FC* 128, 12.

³⁴⁰ On Epiphanius’ involvement in the Origenist controversy, see Clark 2014; Dechow 1988.

³⁴¹ Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 9.10 (*GCS* 25, 17; *FC* 128, 76). *Ancoratus* was written around AD 373-4; see Kösters 2003, 80-88 for dating.

³⁴² *FC* 128, 45.

reasonable that Epiphanius would use Peter's tears to emphasise the truth of Jesus' bodily presence in the *Ancoratus*.

However, when Peter's denial and weeping are referred to in the *Panarion*, we find the repeated use of the language of repentance instead:

Those who have fallen away through persecution, if they accept full repentance (μετάνοιαν), sitting in sackcloth and ashes and weeping before the Lord (κλαύσαντες ἐνώπιον κυρίου), the Benefactor has the power to show mercy even to them. For no ill can come from repentance (μετανοίας). Therefore, the Lord and his church accept the penitent (δέχεται μὲν οὖν τοὺς μετανοοῦντας)... the one who had denied for a time, Saint Peter, chief of the apostles.³⁴³

This excerpt encapsulates the relationship between weeping and repentance. Following Peter's example, those who have fallen away under the pressure of persecution can be accepted back into the church if they fully repent, which is not unlike the comments we saw in Chapter 2 against Novatianist ideas. For Epiphanius, Peter's weeping is interpreted as repentance (*Panarion*) as well as used as an apology (*Ancoratus*).

Gregory of Nazianzus

Gregory (AD 329/30-398/90)³⁴⁴ is known as one of the Cappadocian Fathers together with Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa. His father was the bishop of Nazianzus and his nephew was Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium (see chapter 2). Gregory was pressured into ordination even though he would have much preferred to lead the monastic life and flee from any form of ecclesiastical responsibility.³⁴⁵ We start with a slightly confusing reference where Gregory writes about a certain Peter who came close to denying him (μικροῦ καὶ

³⁴³ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 59.7.6-7 (GCS 31, 372; NHMS 79, 111).

³⁴⁴ Gribomont, "Gregory of Nazianzus," *EAC* 2:181; Zachhuber, "Gregory of Nazianzus, St," *ODCC* 4, 1:821.

³⁴⁵ Gribomont, "Gregory of Nazianzus," *EAC* 2:181; Zachhuber, "Gregory of Nazianzus, St," *ODCC* 4, 1:821.

Πέτρος ἡρνήσατό με), and perhaps did not even weep bitterly to cure his sin (καὶ τυχὸν οὐδὲ κλαίει πικρῶς, ἵνα θεραπεύσῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν).³⁴⁶ This was written during an unpleasant time when Maximus, a Christian convert from Cynicism, betrayed Gregory's trust by trying to get himself consecrated as bishop.³⁴⁷ Here Gregory is referring to a certain Peter, who was manipulated by Maximus against Gregory himself.³⁴⁸ The use of Πέτρος ἡρνήσατό and κλαίει πικρῶς shows that he cleverly plays with the name Peter, comparing the one in the gospels who wept bitterly to cure his sin with the contemporary Peter, who does not. Through this indirect fashion, we learn that Gregory thought the apostle's bitter weeping can heal the sin of denying Jesus. This could imply repentance, viz. a recognition of sin, followed by weeping and pardon (cure of sin).

In a sermon preached on the Feast of the Epiphany (followed by baptism the next day), Gregory speaks about the baptism of tears.³⁴⁹ This baptism of penance in tears is a pastoral response to those affected by "the mercilessness of the teaching of the followers of Novatian who were still worshipping in Constantinople more than a century after their leaders' death."³⁵⁰ First, Gregory asks some rhetorical questions on repenting and weeping (Οὐ δέχη μετάνοιαν; οὐ δακρύεις δάκρυον;), and says that Peter was accepted by Jesus and that his denial was healed (ἐθεράπευσεν) by the threefold question and confession.³⁵¹ The combination of repenting (μετάνοιαν), shedding tears (δακρύεις δάκρυον), and baptism of

³⁴⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 26.17 (SC 284, 268; FC 107, 175).

³⁴⁷ See FC 107, xvii & 175 n.1.

³⁴⁸ See FC 107, 90 n.78.

³⁴⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39.17. Matz 2012, 39 dates *In sancta lumina Oratio* 39 to AD 381. Moerschini (SC 358, 18) thinks there is no direct evidence to definitively indicate the year.

³⁵⁰ Matz 2012, 54. Also *NPNF* 2:7, 358 n.27. Novatian did not allow the lapsed from during persecution to be readmitted into the church.

³⁵¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39.18 (SC 358 190-2; *NPNF* 2:7, 359).

penance clearly indicates that Gregory thought of Peter's bitter weeping as a fitting example for his argument against the Novatians.³⁵² Peter's repentant tears bringing about healing (ἐθεράπευσεν) to the sinner (or the *lapsi*).

Gregory also refers to Peter in the poetic drama *Christus Patiens* (Suffering Christ), a retelling of the Passion narrative in the style of Euripides' tragedies through the lens of Mary, the God-bearer (θεοτόκος), the protagonist of this Christian tragedy.³⁵³ This work has traditionally been transmitted as written by Gregory of Nazianzus, but questions of date and authorship are far from being resolved.³⁵⁴ We find some valuable perspectives on crying in these relevant excerpts:

ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ

Indeed, here comes the glorious Peter
 Frowning, pitiful, and downcast
 He calls upon God as one who has done great evil (θεοκλυτεῖ τις δ' ὡς κακὸν ῥέξας μέγα)
 Why do you cry, Peter (Τί, Πέτρε, θρηνεῖς)?
 You have done terrible things
 But you can still obtain forgiveness (ἔτ' ἔστι καὶ σοὶ τῶνδε συγγνώμης τυχεῖν)
 O Child, O beloved, O Word of God,
 Forgive him. Men sin, Child (σύγγνωθ' ἰ ἀμαρτεῖν δ' εἰκὸς ἄνθρωπον, Τέκνον),
 And Peter sinned from fear of the mob (καὶ Πέτρος ἐξήμαρτε τοὺς ὄχλους τρέσας)

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

Virgin mother, go away now, strong
 I absolve the sin of Peter as you ask (λύω δὲ Πέτρῳ σφάλμα, χρηζούσης σέθεν)
 ...
 And your tears call up all my grace (ἔλκει δὲ καὶ δάκρυα πολλήν μου χάριν)

³⁵² Ambrosiaster is another author who argued explicitly against Novatian. He says the Saviour did not deny the Apostle Peter who had denied him because in penitence Peter wept bitterly for his mistake, Peter knew he would be pardoned (*quia paenitentia subsequente erratum suum amarissime flevit sciens utique conversis ignosci*), and penitence reformed him; *Quaestio*. 102.4 (CSEL 50, 202). The tears and complaints of repentance bring the sinner forgiveness and change of life (*Quaestio*. 102.5). Ambrosiaster, like other ancients, explicitly connects Peter's weeping to his repentance when opposing Novatianist claims.

³⁵³ Bryant Davies 2017, 188-9 contends that *Christus Patiens* is not a clear-cut example of subjugating pagan sources to the Christian narrative of salvation in Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, but a more complex and systematic reworking of Greek tragedy.

³⁵⁴ The dating of *Christus Patiens* ranges from the fourth/fifth to the eleventh/twelfth centuries AD. For a summary of the dating debate, see Bryant Davies 2017, 192 n.34.

And wash away the bond of all transgressions³⁵⁵

In this part of the Passion play, the Mother of God introduces the character of Peter as one who is downcast because of the evil that has been committed. Mary then tells her son to forgive Peter, which Jesus does out of obedience. The language used in this drama clearly differs from biblical Greek, which is unsurprising since the author is not quoting from the gospels but is reworking stories from the Passion into the style and language of Greek tragedy. Though Peter is depicted as wailing or lamenting (θρηνέω) instead of weeping (κλαίω) and the encouragement to receive forgiveness refers to being excused or pardoned (συγγνώμη) instead of forgiven (ἀφίημι, Luke 7:47-48), it is obvious that this incident refers to Peter weeping after denying Jesus. Since ἀμαρτάνω refers to Peter's wrongdoing, then σφάλμα in Jesus' response most likely refers to the sin of Peter's denial. It is interesting that instead of Peter's tears, it is Mary's tears (δάκρυον) that move Jesus to exhibit his grace and wash away all transgressions. I argue that the presentation of Peter's sin, crying, and pardon in this creative and fresh reading is primarily to highlight the kindness of the Mother of God and the grace of Jesus, not to discuss Peter's reaction.

Gregory of Nazianzus has added extra dimensions to the ancient perception of Peter's tears. He does not only speak of weeping in relation to repentance but of tears as healing and curing the sin of denying Jesus. He also displays the creative use of Peter's tears to draw attention to the θεοτόκος and to Jesus' grace.

³⁵⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Chr. Pat.* (192,813 194,828) (SC 149, 192-4; Fishbone 2002, 50).

Ambrose

We turn now to a major fourth-century writer who provides the most references to Peter's weeping. Ambrose recounts in one of his sermons, that at the cockcrow, Peter, the rock of the Church, washed away his guilt (*ecclesiae petra culpam suam diluit*); he turned aside from the ways of error to those of virtue and wept bitterly, he washed away his faults with his tears (*amarissime flevit ut lacrimis suis lavaret errorem*).³⁵⁶ Ambrose calls on Jesus to help us acknowledge our errors, to efface our faults with a weeping of devotion (*soluamus piis fletibus culpam*), to merit indulgence and forgive our sins, and to grant us the tears of Peter (*Da quaeso lacrimas Petri*).³⁵⁷ Then the bishop invites his listeners to a time of silence and tears,³⁵⁸ which is appropriate for a Holy Thursday sermon.³⁵⁹ These texts inform us that i) Peter's exemplary weeping should be emulated; ii) tears can wash away mistakes; and iii) Peter's turning from "error to virtue" and our weeping as "indulgence for our sins" suggest repentance.

That weeping implies repentance is repeated in Ambrose's other writings. In *De apologia prophetae David*, Ambrose claims that just as Peter was granted pardon by his weeping (*si quia semel flevit Petrus veniam reportavit*), so David who washed his bed every night with tears received favour from God.³⁶⁰ Ambrose believes Jesus had mercy on Peter, and it was his compassionate look at Peter³⁶¹ that compelled Peter to weep bitterly at his

³⁵⁶ Ambrose, *Hex.* 5.24.88 (CSEL 32/1, 201-2; FC 42, 224). *Hexaemeron libri sex* was probably written during Holy Week of AD 387 (FC 42, vi).

³⁵⁷ Ambrose, *Hex.* 5.24.89 (CSEL 32/1, 202; FC 42, 225). Ambrose adds that since Peter wept for his mistake, he deserves to be able to forgive the faults of others.

³⁵⁸ Ambrose, *Hex.* 5.24.90 (CSEL 32/1, 203; FC 42, 225).

³⁵⁹ FC 42, 225 n.15

³⁶⁰ Ambrose, *Apol. Dav.* 6.25 (CSEL 32/2, 315; FC 140, 118).

³⁶¹ This is in line with *Apology of David's* theme of celebrating God's mercy in David's life (Dunkle 2021, 69-78).

third denial.³⁶² Likewise, when exhorting believers to repent, Ambrose says that if we weep bitterly Christ will look at us and our guilt shall leave us (*et tu si amarissime fleas, Christus ad te respiciet, culpa discedet*) just as Jesus forgave Peter because he wept most bitterly.³⁶³ While we consider weeping comments that imply repentance,³⁶⁴ we should also recognise Ambrose's inclusion of Jesus' merciful and compassionate look in the process.

The following references set Peter against Judas. In *De virginitate*, Ambrose writes that Peter wounds and Judas kisses, but the wound inflicted by Peter cured him because he washed away his guilt with his tears (*istius lacrimis culpa lavatur*).³⁶⁵ In *Letter 67*, Ambrose uses night and day to represent Judas and Peter respectively: When the cock crowed, Peter began to weep, in order to mend his wrong (*denique gallus cantavit et flere coepit, ut emendaret errorem*), for now the daylight is approaching.³⁶⁶ Elsewhere, Ambrose says Peter wept bitterly (*Petrum amarissime flentem*) because of his mistake and was corrected by grace (*per gratiam emendavit errorem*) but Judas has fallen from grace to punishment.³⁶⁷

Besides comparing Peter with Judas, Ambrose is sure of the conviction that tears can wipe away faults and guilt, and bring about correction. In a hymn, Ambrose wrote that at the sound of the cock, the rock of the church himself washed away his guilt (*canente culpam diluit*), so, our guilt is also washed away with our weeping (*fletu que culpa soluitur*).³⁶⁸ He

³⁶² Ambrose, *Apol. Dav.* 6.25 (CSEL 32/2, 315). Ambrose adds that Peter cried out once he was "converted" (*conversus*), which, given the context means repented.

³⁶³ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.10.92 (SC 179, 190; NPNF 2:10, 357).

³⁶⁴ When Ambrose uses Peter as an example of sincere weeping that leads to conversion (*conversionem*), he also implies repentance; *Enarrat. Ps.* 37.37 (CSEL 64, 165-6; Ní Riain 2000, 128).

³⁶⁵ Ambrose, *Virginit.* 6.33 (Cazzaniga 1954, 16; Callam 1996, 18).

³⁶⁶ Ambrose, *Ep.* 67.7 (CSEL 82/2, 168; FC 26, 404).

³⁶⁷ Ambrose, *Enarrat. Ps.* 47.9 (CSEL 64, 352-3; Ní Riain 2000, 276).

³⁶⁸ Ambrose, *Hymn. 1* (Fontaine 1992, 149; Springer 2018, 353). Ambrose was likely thinking of Luke's record because only Luke 22:61 records Jesus' glance.

thinks Christ looked at Peter and Peter wept, and by his tears, Peter washed out his offense (*respexit eum Christus et Petrus flevit, quo proprium lavit errorem*).³⁶⁹ Ambrose even refers to Peter's weeping as washing away the straw (*denique flevit et paleas suas lavit*), which refers to the chaff, and that he was changed into good wheat.³⁷⁰

The key ideas of Jesus' look, repentance, pardon, and washing away of guilt are repeated in Ambrose's Luke commentary:

Why did Peter weep? Because guilt took him by surprise... Tears wash away the offense that is shameful to confess aloud (*lavent lacrimae delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri*). Tears show pardon and shame (*et veniae fletus consulunt et verecundiae*). Tears speak of guilt without dread (*lacrimae sine horrore culpam loquuntur*), tears confess crime without the offense of shame (*lacrimae crimen sine offensione verecundiae confitentur*), tears do not demand pardon but they merit it (*lacrimae veniam non postulant et merentur*)...³⁷¹

Good are tears that purge guilt (*bonae lacrimae, quae lavant culpam*). Then, those on whom Jesus looks weep... He denied a third time, Jesus looked at him and he wept bitterly. Look, Lord Jesus, so that we may know how to weep for our sin (*respice, domine Iesu, ut sciamus nostrum deflere peccatum*).³⁷²

Peter... wept so that he could purge his offense with tears (*flevit ut lacrimis suum posset lavare delictum*). If you want to deserve pardon, you should wash away your guilt with tears (*dilue culpam lacrimis tuam*).³⁷³

These lengthy ruminations are part of Ambrose's monologue in which he imagines himself looking for Peter to ask the apostle what he was thinking when he wept and what profit his tears brought (*doce nos quid tibi profuerint lacrimae tuae*).³⁷⁴ Ambrose answers himself by saying that Peter's weeping was profitable—Peter had fallen before he wept, but after he

³⁶⁹ Ambrose, *Enarrat. Ps.* 45.15 (CSEL 64, 340; Ní Riain 2000, 265).

³⁷⁰ Ambrose, *Enarrat. Ps.* 43.41 (CSEL 64, 292; Ní Riain 2000, 228-9).

³⁷¹ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.88 (CCSL 14, 371; Tomkinson 1998, 417).

³⁷² Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.89 (CCSL 14, 371; Tomkinson 1998, 417).

³⁷³ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.90 (CCSL 14, 371; Tomkinson 1998, 417).

³⁷⁴ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.92 (CCSL 14, 372).

wept, he, who had not ruled himself before, was chosen to rule others.³⁷⁵ Ambrose then contrasts Peter with Judas again: Peter had tears which he shed out of the abundance of his love (*habebat ergo lacrimas Petrus, pio quas fundebat affect*), but [Judas] the traitor had no weeping with which to wash away his guilt (*non habebat proditor fletus, quibus culpam ablueret*).³⁷⁶ Ambrose's Luke commentary reiterates our earlier observations that—i) Peter's weeping serves as a literary foil for Judas; ii) tears imply repentance; iii) tears wash away faults; iv) Jesus' look brings about weeping; v) Peter's tears are good, beneficial and praised.

Apart from the above topics, Ambrose has views that are unlike other early writings. For one, Ambrose presents Peter's temptation as part of the Lord's discipline. He claims that Peter was tempted, so that he denied; he denied, so that he wept (*Petrus temptatus est ut negaret, negavit ut fletet*).³⁷⁷ Peter's weeping indicates that he realises he has fallen into temptation, a positive result of the Lord's rebuke. To add, Ambrose uniquely uses the phrase "tears of patience"—Peter's story is encouragement that we might yet overcome the sting of temptation with tears of patience (*temptationis tamen aculeum patientiae lacrimis vinceremus*).³⁷⁸ This suggests that the bitter tears of Peter after his temptation (denial) were *patientiae lacrimis*. Ambrose goes on to establish that holy men, like Peter and others, have suffered much toil and misery in this world (*Exc.* 2.29), which hints that tears of patience are needed in this difficult world.

³⁷⁵ *nam qui lapsus es, antequam fleres, postquam fleuisti, electus es, ut alios regeres, qui te ipse ante non rexeras*; Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.92 (CCSL 14, 372).

³⁷⁶ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.93 (CCSL 14, 371; Tomkinson 1998, 418).

³⁷⁷ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 4.38 (CCSL 14, 119; Tomkinson 1998, 128). This section of *Exp. Luc.* 4 is focused on the good that can come out of temptation and the glory that can be attained after the matter.

³⁷⁸ Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.27 (CSEL 73, 263; NPNF 2.10, 178).

In sum, Ambrose writes about weeping in Luke 22:62 in a wide variety of ways. These comments encompass ideas that are frequently found in other early writings (repentance, pardon, cleansing sin, Jesus' look, comparison with Judas) and some that are uniquely Ambrosian (positive outcome of the Lord's discipline, tears of patience).

John Chrysostom

Chrysostom provides us with several repentance-focused homilies in his work that is unsurprisingly entitled *De paenitentia*. After introducing Peter who denied Christ three times but by shedding tears erased everything (καὶ δακρύσας ἀπῆλειψεν ἅπαντα), Chrysostom encourages repentance by saying that God simply seeks from us one small plea and then grants us the remission of our many sins.³⁷⁹ The sentence progresses from sin to shedding of tears and repentance, and then to the pardon of sins. Chrysostom also imagines a scenario in which had Judas lived, even he could have been saved; Judas shed tears for Jesus but the devil prevented him from completing the repentance process.³⁸⁰

Then Chrysostom presents several roads of repentance, like almsgiving, prayer, going into a church and repenting, and weeping:

Weep for your sins (κλαῦσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ σου) and learn this from the holy Gospels, the example of Peter, the zenith of apostles, the first in the Church, the friend of Christ...He denied the Master Himself... Peter began crying and did not simply cry but wept bitterly. He performed a second baptism with the tears from his eyes (δεύτερον βάπτισμα διὰ τῶν δακρύων ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ποιήσας;). By weeping bitterly, he wiped away his sin (ἀλλὰ κλαύσας οὕτω πικρῶς, ἐξήλειψε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν); thereafter, he was entrusted with the keys of the heavens.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 1.25 (PG 49, 282; FC 96, 11). Besides Peter's denial, Chrysostom mentions Paul as the persecutor and blasphemer who repented.

³⁸⁰ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 1.24 (PG 49, 282; FC 96, 10).

³⁸¹ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 3.20 (PG 49, 298; FC 96, 39-40).

If Peter's weeping wiped out such a great sin, how can you not cancel your sin through tears? (εἰ δὲ Πέτρου κλαυθμὸς τηλικαύτην ἐξήλειψεν ἁμαρτίαν, σὺ ἂν κλαύσης, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπαλείψεις τὴν ἁμαρτίαν) For it was not a small accusation to deny his Master; it was great and severe, and yet the tears utterly removed the sin (ἀλλ' ὅμως τὰ δάκρυα ἐξήλειψε τὸ ἁμάρτημα). Therefore, cry for your sin, do not cry simply or pretentiously, but weep bitterly like Peter... the Master may have pity on you and forgive your trespass... Show tears and He gives you forgiveness; put forward repentance and He grants you forgiveness of sins (πρόβαλε δάκρυα, καὶ αὐτός σοι δίδωσι συγχώρησιν· μετάνοιαν, καὶ αὐτός σοι παρέχει ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν).³⁸²

Let us weep for our sin, let us lament for our lawlessness (κλαύσωμεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, θρηνήσωμεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ).³⁸³

In these excerpts, the significance of one's tears as a road of repentance is coherently demonstrated through the action of Peter and the ability to wipe away sins with tears. The same idea is conveyed in another homily:

Did he require many years to achieve repentance? Not at all; he lapsed and was restored the same night... He cried and lamented bitterly; or better yet, he did not simply cry, but with great pain and eagerness. This is why the evangelist did not say that he simply cried, but he wept bitterly.³⁸⁴

The final excerpt makes it clear that Peter's repentance, as demonstrated through his bitter weeping, brought him immediate restoration on the same night of his denial.

Elsewhere, Peter is presented as one who certainly sinned gravely in denying Christ. But he was quick to remind himself of his sin and before anyone accused him, he told of his error and wept bitterly (καὶ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς).³⁸⁵ Peter so effectively washed away his denial

³⁸² Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 3.21 (PG 49, 298-9; FC 96, 40-41). Though the relatively less familiar words συγχώρησις and συγχώρησιν are used to refer to "forgive," and πλημμέλημα to mean "trespass" in the last sentence, the more typically biblical terms μετάνοιαν, ἄφεσιν, ἁμαρτιῶν are also used, which suggests that all throughout Chrysostom is speaking about repentance, forgiveness, and sins as we understand them.

³⁸³ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 3.23 (PG 49, 300; FC 96, 40-41).

³⁸⁴ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 5.5 (PG 49, 308; FC 96, 59-60). This homily kickstarts Lenten fasting (FC 96, 56 n.1).

³⁸⁵ Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.3.4 (PG 48, 931; FC 68, 214). In *Adversus Iudaeos* (c. AD 386-7), he preached eight vigorous homilies against the Jews. See Maxwell 1967 for an overview and introduction to the Sermons Against the Jews (xxxī–li) and for the sequence and dating of the homilies (lxxxiii–xcii).

that he became the chief of the apostles and the whole world was entrusted to him.³⁸⁶

While μετάνοια is not specifically written, the mention of sin, confession, washing away of error, and reinstitution suggest a complete process of repentance. Harkins notes that Peter found “the remedy of repentance and was rewarded with the keys to the kingdom.”³⁸⁷ The chief apostle is also used as a good example of repentance when compared to Esau (Heb 12:16-17): Peter denied, went out, and wept bitterly, therefore, such a sin was forgiven him, because he repented as he ought (ὅτι μετενόησεν ὃν ἔδει τρόπον), while Esau’s tears were not of repentance (τὰ γὰρ δάκρυα οὐκ ἦν μετανοίας), they were of pride and wrath.³⁸⁸

Up until this point, Chrysostom is the only author who, in all his eight references, consistently views Peter’s denial as sin and his weeping as repentance. Not only is Peter’s weeping clearly connected to repentance, but Peter is also lauded as the ideal example of weeping tears of repentance, possibly because Chrysostom believed the sacrament of repentance is “the unshakable foundation” of the Church and Triune God.³⁸⁹

Augustine

To conclude the analysis of ancient works, Augustine’s ideas are discussed to see if the views discussed thus far are also found in his writings. In *De consensu evangelistarum*,³⁹⁰ Augustine thinks Luke’s unique addition of the Lord’s turning and looking needs more careful

³⁸⁶ Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.3.4 (PG 48, 931; FC 68, 214).

³⁸⁷ Harkins in FC 68, 215 n.20.

³⁸⁸ Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 31.4 (PG 63, 216; NPNF 1:14, 507).

³⁸⁹ FC 96, xvii.

³⁹⁰ Dated AD 400. When there are differences between gospels, like in the record of Peter’s denial, Augustine contends that “there is no contradiction if one omits what the other includes... as long as they both express the truth regarding the subjects and ideas” (WSA Agreement I/15&16, 133).

consideration.³⁹¹ Jesus' merciful look moved Peter to penitence and salutary weeping (*adque ita misericorditer domino respiciente paeniteret eum et salubriter flere*), so it must be a divine and not a bodily glance; in other words Augustine believes it was not a look made by human eye but by the eye of God.³⁹²

The merging of weeping, penitence, and God's merciful glance is found in three other works that were all written against the Pelagians. First, Augustine thinks God's mercy is necessary for us to do penance—the Lord looked at Peter so that he might weep bitterly (*et ut Petrus amare fleret, praemisit evangelista et ait: Respexit eum dominus*).³⁹³ Also, the bishop cites Ambrose's *Exp. Luc.* 10.89 (see above)³⁹⁴ and argues again that Jesus' look is not a bodily one—the Lord's mercy touched Peter's heart, awakened his memory, visited Peter's interior with grace, and stirred up a love in the interior human to the point of exterior tears (*interioris hominis usque ad exteriores lacrimas movit et produxit affectum*).³⁹⁵ Augustine reiterates elsewhere that when the Lord turned his face to Peter, he washed away his guilt with tears (*sed rursus convertit ad eum faciem suam Dominus, et culpam lacrymis diluit*).³⁹⁶

³⁹¹ *Sane in eo quod ait Lucas, quod conuersus dominus respexerit Petrum, quomodo accipiendum sit, diligentius considerandum est*; Augustine, *De cons.* III, 6.26 (CSEL 43, 299).

³⁹² Augustine, *Cons.* III, 6.26 (CSEL 43, 300-1; WSA Agreement I/15&16, 271).

³⁹³ Augustine, *Enchir.* 22.82 (CCSL 46, 95, WSA Belief I/8, 321). This work that was dedicated to someone called Laurence (see 1.4) was also written during an intense period of the Pelagian controversy, which explains Augustine's accentuation on God's grace. The absolutely unmerited character of divine grace is found on almost every page (see WSA Belief I/8, 266). Augustine did not intend to write against heresies, but the Pelagian dispute forced him to think in this way. Based on references that mention a Jerome (23.87) who died in AD 419/20, *Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate* can be dated around AD 421 (WSA Belief I/8, 266), which suggests that Augustine's assertions about God's mercy and penance, including the use of Peter as illustration, belong to a period of Augustine's mature thinking.

³⁹⁴ Augustine, *Grat. Chr.* I, 42.46-44.48 (CSEL 42, 159-160). Pelagius had commended the faith of Ambrose and had himself appealed to Ambrose's Luke commentary. However, Pelagius praises both God as well as human beings for the good will and actions of human beings (6.7).

³⁹⁵ Augustine, *Grat. Chr.* I, 45.49 (CSEL 42, 161; WSA Grace I/23, 427).

³⁹⁶ Augustine, *Corrept.* 9.24 (PL 44, 931; WSA Rebuke I/26, 126). The anti-Pelagian sentiment is also felt in *Retract.* 67 (CCSL 57, 142) that was written to Valentine and the monks at Hadrumetum—someone in the monastery said that those who have not kept God's commandments do not need to be rebuked, they only need to be prayed for.

In essence, when Augustine writes about the Pelagian controversy, Peter's weeping is used to illustrate the need for God's grace and mercy that moves Peter towards penitential tears.

The emphasis on Jesus' turning and sovereign mercy continues to appear in other writings. Augustine preached that because the Redeemer turned around, Peter was washed clean by his own tears (*et ecce lacrymis suis ablutus*).³⁹⁷ In another sermon, Augustine says Peter's weeping wipes away what his fear had smudged him with (*fletus tergit quod timor infecerat*), and if Peter had not been looked round at, he would not have wept (*nisi respectus, non fletet*);³⁹⁸ Peter arrived at his passion having had his denial washed away with his tears (*pervenit Petrus ad passionem, qui lacrymis dileverat negationem*).³⁹⁹ Peter's tears are cleansing and redeeming tears but, more than that, these comments are eager to show the divine glance and mercy. Augustine is convinced that it required God's gaze upon Peter to evoke his weeping (*fletus ille de respectione dei fuit*).⁴⁰⁰ Similarly, Augustine states that Jesus looked round at Peter, and he wept bitterly; by denying he perished, by weeping he rose again (*negando periit, flendo resurrexit*).⁴⁰¹ Augustine appears to highlight the salvific power of the Lord to redeem Peter more than to expound on Peter's weeping.

³⁹⁷ Augustine, *Serm.* 284.6 (PL 38, 1293; WSA Sermon III/8, 93-94). Prior to this, Augustine describes the role of the Holy Spirit as empowering and transforming Peter: "if we look for Peter relying on himself, we find Peter denying Jesus, if we look for God helping him, we find Peter preaching."

³⁹⁸ Augustine, *Serm.* 285.3 (PL 38, 1294; WSA Sermon III/8, 96-97). WSA Sermon III/8, 96-97 dates the *Sermon* 285.3 to AD 397 but others date it between 405 and 416.

³⁹⁹ Augustine, *Serm.* 285.3 (PL 38, 1295; WSA Sermon III/8, 96-97). Peter's passion refers to his martyrdom as the sermon is written on the birthday of the martyrs Castus and Aemilius (285.4). Cyprian, *Laps.* 13 (PL 4, 476) mentions Castus and Aemilius as martyrs who fell away in their first encounter but, pardoned by the Lord, became conquerors in their second battle.

⁴⁰⁰ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 138.21 (CCSL 40, 2005-6; WSA Psalms III/20, 275). The mention of bones in Psalm 139:15 is used to point to the firm, strong bone of Jesus in his suffering, which his disciples, namely Peter, did not yet have.

⁴⁰¹ Augustine, *Serm.* 286.2 (PL 38, 1298; WSA Sermon III/8, 103). This sermon was written on the birthday of the martyrs Protase and Gervase. Peter, though close to Jesus, is introduced as not of equal standing as these martyrs yet. WSA Sermon III/8, 103 dates this sermon to AD 428, so it was written by a mature Augustine.

Besides refuting the Pelagians, the Bishop also writes against the Manicheans, who have an elect group that belongs to the highest holiness and that regard themselves as righteous. Augustine challenges such exclusivity by pointing to Peter who did not excuse his sin but wept for it. Augustine questions rhetorically: “If what Peter did was no sin, why did he weep (*si nihil peccavit, quare flevit*)? We should take Peter’s tears as evidence as we shall find no more reliable witnesses concerning him than his tears—he wept bitterly.”⁴⁰² His tears are the recognition of sin committed and are presented in terms of sadness or sorrow.⁴⁰³ Regarding the disciples scattering at Jesus’ Passion, Peter is described as one worn down with salutary sorrow when he began to weep (*qui tristitia salubri contabescunt sicut idem ipse petrus, cum amare flevit*).⁴⁰⁴ The earliest “Christian psychologist”⁴⁰⁵ displays his attentiveness to the human heart and the emotion of sorrow, but whether this profound sadness includes repentance remains unexpressed.

In sum, we have observed how God’s grace and Jesus’ merciful look are emphasised when writing against the Pelagians and how Peter’s willingness to recognise his sin is used to oppose the Manicheans. It appears that, for Augustine, the story of Peter’s bitter tears spotlights God’s mercy through the act of Jesus’ turning and looking and conveys the idea of weeping as washing away of sin. These points are more consistently featured in his writings than a discussion of the role of weeping as penance.

⁴⁰² Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 140.24 (CCSL 40, 2043; WSA Psalms III/20, 324-5). Augustine explicitly describes the Manicheans in 140.10-12 as sounding like the voice of the elect among them who defend their sins rather than confess them.

⁴⁰³ Augustine imputes sin to the sinner who recognises his own sin, instead of assigning all evil to the power of Darkness, as the Manicheans believe.

⁴⁰⁴ Augustine, *Ep.* 140.14.36 (CSEL 44, 185; WSA Letters II/2, 262). WSA Letters II/2, 242 dates *Ep.* 140 to AD 411/2. Augustine, *Retract.* 36 (CCSL 57, 119-20) introduces the letter as written to Honoratus during a time of intense struggle against the Donatists and Pelagians but the particular reference to Luke 22:62 is not a direct response to either controversy.

⁴⁰⁵ See above p.81.

A Summary of the Ancient Views

Our analysis of the early sources demonstrates that the ancients did not only think of Peter's weeping as a penitential expression. Some references are not related to repentance at all and are mainly interested in the forgiveness and reconciliation Peter received because of the grace of God, as evidenced in the merciful glance of Jesus. Moreover, some writers are more interested in using Peter's tears to i) exhort others to weep, ii) compare him with Judas, or iii) claim that Jesus' glance was not a bodily look but a divine one. Thus, it would be unfounded to claim that the ancients only interpreted Peter's weeping as repentance.

Even when Peter's tears are thought to be penitential, it could be repurposed into an apologetic argument to defend gospel truth.⁴⁰⁶ For an ignoble incident like denying the Lord (and then weeping bitterly) to be recorded—rather than erased—proves, for the ancients, the historical truth of the event for the early church. We will, however, find that modern comments on Peter's denial and bitter weeping are seldom related to apologetical purposes.

Contemporary Comments on Peter's Weeping

While the ancients sometimes had different interpretations and purposes when referring to Peter's tears, most modern scholars quite consistently attach the term "remorse" or "repentance" to the apostle's bitter weeping. Besides Marshall, the selected modern commentators for this discussion remark, at least briefly, on Peter's tears as a consequence of sin and as related to a change of heart.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ In a diachronic analysis of the passage, Bovon 2012, 3:228 also recognises that the early Christians used the record of Peter's denial to their apologetic advantage.

⁴⁰⁷ It is unclear whether the absence of Peter's weeping is related to Marshall's commentary being the most dated (1978) and belonging to an era that did not pay as much attention to emotions.

Hong who writes about the reversal of weeping in Luke's Gospel reckons "the weeping of Peter is clearly that of repentance" and "the adverb πικρῶς emphasizes that Peter's weeping is that of remorse and repentance."⁴⁰⁸ Johnson notes that the phrase "weep bitterly" is found in the Septuagint (Isa 22:4; 33:7; Ezek 27:30) in response to "defeat, failure, ruin, and loss" before stating that Peter's "bitter tears are the start of repentance."⁴⁰⁹ Klein asserts that Peter's tears indicate his repentance, he weeps out of his bitterness.⁴¹⁰ Bovon believes Peter left the courtyard "weeping tears of repentance" and that the cockcrow plus Jesus' look awakened "Peter's memory and repentance."⁴¹¹ Peter's repentance is an inner reversal and conversion defined as μετάνοια, an external indicator of his internal spiritual work, making him a good model for believers.⁴¹² Peter's tears of repentance are πικρῶς because of "the horror of the sin that has just been committed" but Peter is on the right path to forgiveness and new life.⁴¹³ Wolter believes "the narrative already has Peter begin hereby to repent of his behaviour."⁴¹⁴ Green considers Peter's weeping "an acknowledgment of one's own sinfulness" and the beginning of "divine restoration."⁴¹⁵ An essay by Richard Ascough, arguing that Peter's rejection and repentance parallel and anticipate that of the people's, also sees Peter's weeping as the beginning of his repentance that continues to be

⁴⁰⁸ Hong 2018, 107.

⁴⁰⁹ Johnson 1991, 358 & 362; "defeat, failure, ruin, and loss" may have nothing to do with moral repentance.

⁴¹⁰ „Das Weinen des Petrus zeigt seine Reue an. Petrus weint seine Bitternis heraus;" Klein 2006, 690.

⁴¹¹ Bovon 2012, 3:226.

⁴¹² Bovon 2012, 3:233-4. For Bovon, Peter's repentance is disappointing as it only happened after three denials, a cockcrow, and Jesus' glance, but it is also remarkable that he repented before the situation escalated further.

⁴¹³ Bovon 2012, 3:233.

⁴¹⁴ Wolter 2017, 2:494 bases his claim on texts where πικρῶς and κλαίειν are recorded (LXX Isa 22.4; 33.7-8; Jos. Asen. 10.14-15; T. Ab. A 11.11; Gk. Apoc. Ezra 5.8; Ascen. Isa. 1.10), but I think these texts indicate grief for sin more than the complete process of repentance. More on contrition below p.115.

⁴¹⁵ Green 1997, 788-89.

witnessed in Acts.⁴¹⁶ In sum, a sketch of modern views demonstrate that Lukan scholars do not shy away from connecting Peter's bitter weeping with sin, repentance, and forgiveness.

Even when Peter's weeping is not termed as tears of repentance, it is explained in the form of remorse. Jeffrey perceives the scene as "poignant with grief and remorse."⁴¹⁷ Fitzmyer comments that Jesus' glance at Peter the sinner "starts the process of remorse."⁴¹⁸ He adds that whether or not 22:62 is a Lukan composition, "the sentence poignantly depicts Peter abandoning Jesus—with remorse."⁴¹⁹ Nolland begins by asking if Peter's turning point happened in 22:62 "in the form of his bitter tears of remorse," and he proceeds to answer the question by saying that "Peter withdraws and weeps bitter tears of remorse."⁴²⁰ Bock, who thinks κλαίω connotes intense emotion, claims that Peter's "sin of denial crushed his spirit" and that he "felt instant remorse over his denials."⁴²¹ Bockmuehl's monographs on Simon Peter also call Peter's actions "an undeniable act of shame and remorse."⁴²²

Stein adds that on top of Peter's remorse, readers of Luke expect to see the apostle's "turning back" to Jesus, according to the prediction in 22:32 ("when once you have turned back, strengthen your brothers").⁴²³ The idea of Peter's weeping as a "turning back" or "turning point" is well attested in modern works—it is "the beginning of Peter's 'turning,'"⁴²⁴ "the turning point for the reassertion of his loyalty,"⁴²⁵ "the first step in Peter's return, his

⁴¹⁶ Ascough 1993.

⁴¹⁷ Jeffrey 2012, 441.

⁴¹⁸ Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1460-1.

⁴¹⁹ Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1465.

⁴²⁰ Nolland 1993, 3:1096-7.

⁴²¹ Bock 1996, 2:1788.

⁴²² Bockmuehl 2012, 157; also 2010, 193.

⁴²³ Stein 1992, 565.

⁴²⁴ Green 1997, 789.

⁴²⁵ Nolland 1993, 3:1094.

restoration to strengthen the rest of the disciples;”⁴²⁶ an action that “would lead to his turning and strengthening his brothers.”⁴²⁷ Johnson performs a play on words by comparing Jesus’ “turn” towards Peter (22:61) with Peter’s “turn” and restoration (22:32).⁴²⁸ The view that Peter’s weeping fulfils Jesus’ earlier prediction about Peter strengthening his brothers after he turns back is quite widely assumed by modern authors. Klein thinks Peter finds new faith because of his repentance, and even calls it his conversion.⁴²⁹

There is a general agreement amongst modern scholars that Peter wept out of remorse and repentance over his sin of denying Jesus. While remorse coheres more closely to contrition than the full process of repentance,⁴³⁰ the repeated mentions of Peter turning and returning point in the direction of repentance. Nolland and Stein who use the term remorse also write about Peter’s turning point or turning back, which suggests Peter’s full repentance. I should recognise though that Bockmuehl, after referring to Peter’s remorse, clarifies that “nowhere does Luke describe it as repentance or conversion.”⁴³¹ Levine and Witherington also cautiously note that whether Peter’s weeping should be seen as shame, repentance, relief, or fear is left to the readers’ imagination.⁴³² However, most contemporary scholars do not differentiate between remorse and repentance. Owing to the lack of distinction between them yet the many references to the language of “turning,” we form the

⁴²⁶ Carroll 2012, 450.

⁴²⁷ Stein 1992, 565.

⁴²⁸ Johnson 1991, 362.

⁴²⁹ Klein 2006, 690: „*Petrus findet in seinem Versagen den Grund neuen Glaubens aufgrund seiner Reue, seiner Umkehr.*“

⁴³⁰ See terms and definitions above in Chapter 2, p.39.

⁴³¹ Bockmuehl 2012, 157. Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1465 and Bock 1996, 2:1788 also write about Peter as experiencing remorse only.

⁴³² Levine and Witherington 2018, 606.

impression that the moderns view Peter's weeping as the beginning of change—he bounces back from failure to assume the role of strengthening his brothers.

Peter's Weeping as Contrition or Repentance

The majority modern view of Peter's weeping as turning and repenting warrants deeper deliberation into the question of whether our available references—modern and early—do in fact distinguish between contrition and repentance. Are there comments that refer specifically to the sorrow, regret, and remorse within one's interior (contrition)? Do they differ from confession, change and pardon (full process of repentance)? Whilst our survey of modern literature suggests full repentance as the more common view, some of the ancient comments refer to the contrition stage. We discuss the following ancient works that are about contrition before making comparisons between contrition and full repentance.

We begin with Origen and what is perhaps the most important Christian apologetic work of the third century—*Contra Celsum*.⁴³³ Rebutting Celsus' claim, Origen argues it is untrue that the disciples betrayed Jesus without any respect or concern for their master.

How can he say they betrayed and denied him without any concern for him? (αὐτοὶ προέδωκάν τε καὶ ἡρνήσαντο μηδὲν αὐτοῦ φροντίσαντες;)... it is false that he betrayed him without any exhibition of anxiety regarding the teacher... for he went out, after the denial, and wept bitterly (ἐκλαυσε πικρῶς).⁴³⁴

Peter's bitter weeping is used to refute the claim that the disciples had no care or concern (φροντίζω) about betraying Jesus. A few chapters later, Origen writes that Peter perceived the depth of wickedness he had committed (Πέτρος μετὰ τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι συναισθόμενος οἷ

⁴³³ Written c. AD 246-8. Ayres 2021, 36 thinks it is AD 248. For dating debate, see Chadwick 1980, xiv–xv.

⁴³⁴ Origen, *Cels.* 2.18 (SC 132, 334; ANF 4, 439).

γέγονε κακῶν) and he went out and wept bitterly (ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς).⁴³⁵ Peter's anxiety or concern may be understood as the recognition of bad and evil (συναισθόμενος οἱ γέγονε κακῶν), which led to his weeping. When we read the first comment in light of the second, a sense of contrition is felt in Peter's tears when he comprehends his κακῶς.

A similar idea of contrition is conveyed in three other places—i) Origen believes the cock crowing (the time at which Peter began to weep bitterly) led Peter to an awareness of the sins he had just committed;⁴³⁶ ii) Peter denied Christ, so Origen asks why Peter would weep most bitterly if it were another who sinned (*cur autem et Petrus alio peccante ipse flet amarissime*);⁴³⁷ iii) Origen thinks it is through Jesus' turning that Peter was enlightened, recognised his sin, and wept bitterly (*cognovit peccatum suum et amarissime flevit*).⁴³⁸ In these three comments the realisation of sin is consistently coupled with bitter weeping, but with no indication that it would be proceeded with confession or change. Tears of contrition refer to the first step in the process of repentance (recognition of sin), even where there is no mention of μετάνοια.

We now turn to a reference by Asterius. We know very little about Asterius the Sophist except that he was born c. AD 270 in Cappadocia, converted to the Christian faith

⁴³⁵ Origen, *Cels.* 2.39 (SC 132, 376-8; ANF 4, 447).

⁴³⁶ ἄλεκτρονός φωνήσαντος καὶ εἰς αἴσθησιν αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντος λόγου τῶν προημαρτημένων; Origen, *Cat. Prov.* 12 (Richard 1977, 394). We will find highly symbolic motifs of the rooster's crow repeated below, like in early Christian hymnody and early artistic depictions. Bockmuehl 2012, 160; 2010, 199 also discuss Ambrose's and Prudentius' hymns about the rooster.

⁴³⁷ Origen, *Princ.* 1.8.2 (SC 252, 224; Behr 2017, 1:135). *De Principiis* has come down to us chiefly in the Latin translation by Rufinus. Jerome to modern-day scholars thought of it as a liberal and unfaithful translation from the Greek, however Rufinus' precision has been defended in more recent times (Behr 2017, 1:xxiii). Rufinus is discussed above in Chapter 2, p.44; see also FC 71, 30-39; Winkelmann 1970.

⁴³⁸ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 12.22 (GCS 40, 119; Heine 2018, 2:382).

before 303,⁴³⁹ and died after 341 because he is last known to have attended the Council of Antioch in 341.⁴⁴⁰ We are interested in Asterius' Psalm commentary (the original authorship of the work has been contested)⁴⁴¹ that says the following about Peter:

Do you want to see someone right-minded who when he had sinned allowed himself to be disciplined by God's glance? When Peter denied Christ during the Passion, "the Lord turned and looked at Peter." With his eyes he scourged the denier, and his eyes welled up with tears (καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μαστίζας τὸν ἄρνησάμενον, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ δακρύων ἐπλήρωσε). Then Peter went out and wept bitterly (καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ὁ Πέτρος ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς).⁴⁴²

This paragraph is not inappropriately used to illustrate the Lord's gaze in Ps 11:4-5 (LXX Ps 10:4-5) that searches the righteous and wicked. Peter's weeping is the effect of Jesus' glance, the equivalent of God's glance in the Psalm.⁴⁴³ It informs us that Peter was convicted of his sin by the divine look from the Lord; he wept in response to the Lord's discipline and in recognition of sin committed. Therefore, Asterius believed that Jesus' glance convicted Peter of his sin and that Peter's tears can be considered tears of contrition.

Next we consider two writings by Hilary of Poitiers (c. AD 310-67), a bishop and an important Latin theologian known for his opposition to Arianism.⁴⁴⁴ Hilary thinks that Peter was doubtful in the weakness of his flesh, so he wept bitterly (*amarissime flevit*); he could

⁴³⁹ Kinzig, "Asterius the Sophist (of Cappadocia)," *DECL* 54.

⁴⁴⁰ Young, "Asterius" *ODCC* 4, 1:139.

⁴⁴¹ Kinzig 1989, 23 has rightly reopened the inconclusive debate on the authentic authorship of these homilies on the basis that the description of Asterius as an Arian is a later scribal addition to the commentary, and that the so-called commentary may not refer to the same Psalm commentary that Jerome indicated. The 1956 critical edition of the Psalm commentary by Marcel Richard ascribes the 31 homilies to Asterius the Sophist. Kinzig has contested Richard's claim and argues that the homilies could neither have been attributed to Asterius of Amasea nor to Asterius Sophista; he suggests that they were written by a certain Asterius in the late fourth or early fifth century in Palestine or Western Syria; full argument in Kinzig 1989, 15-23. This should not affect our overall interest in the early reception of weeping and tears in Luke 22:62 because even a later Asterius from the fifth century would fall within our scope of early reception.

⁴⁴² Asterius, *Comm. Ps.* 19.30 (Richard 1956, 151; Kinzig 2002, 347).

⁴⁴³ Simonetti, "Asterius the Sophist," *EAC* 1:270 notes that Asterius reads the OT text through a Christological lens, which is seen here, where God's look in the Psalm is interpreted as Jesus' glance.

⁴⁴⁴ Barrett, "Hilary of Poitiers, St," *ODCC* 4, 1:890 dates Hilary's life and death to c. AD 310-67/8. Hilary's commentaries on Matthew and the Psalms are dated c. 353-5 and c. 365 respectively.

not evade the weight of his guilt knowing that he had already been warned (*recolens trepidationis istius culpam se nec admonitum potuisse vitare*).⁴⁴⁵ Hilary makes another similar observation when commenting on Peter who could not remain firm in his response because of the weight of the flesh. Peter is said to express his faith by pouring out tears of sorrow (*lacrimarum dolore fidei suae effudit adfectum*) and that the denial was also a time for tears (*Et ipsum illud fuit demutationis tempus et fletus*).⁴⁴⁶ When we view both of Hilary's comments together, we see that Peter weeps out of his guilt for not taking to heart Jesus' forewarning and it is faith that prompts tears of regret and sorrow. Guilt, regret, and sorrow are signs of self-cognition that may precede moral change, therefore, Peter's tears can be considered tears of contrition.

Finally, we return to a reference that was introduced above. Augustine wrote that the Lord's mercy touched Peter's heart (*cor tetigit*), awakened his memory (*memoriam revocavit*), visited the interior of Peter with his grace (*interiorem gratia sua visitavit Petrum*), and stirred up and produced a love in the interior human being to the point of exterior tears.⁴⁴⁷ The detailed process, from Peter's heart to exterior tears, shows that change begins with the interior self, that is, contrition.

The above comments by Origen, Asterius, Hilary, and Augustine rather clearly point to Peter's weeping at the contrition stage, which differs from many moderns who assume Peter experienced full repentance with his "turning back." This is not to assert that the

⁴⁴⁵ Hilary, *Comm. Matt.* 32.4 (SC 258, 244; FC 125, 284).

⁴⁴⁶ Hilary, *Tract. Ps.* 52.12 (CCSL 61, 120; SC 565, 95). Hilary adds that it was the assured faith that wept over the lack of assurance of the trepidation (*nam mox inconstantiam trepidationis constans fides flevit*).

⁴⁴⁷ Augustine, *Grat. Chr.* I, 45.49 (CSEL 42, 161, WSA Grace I/23, 426).

ancients only wrote about contrition; some comments discussed earlier clearly considered Peter's repentance, forgiveness, and restoration to have taken place at the same time.⁴⁴⁸ However, this section shows there are some comments that pause at a place of contrition—of Peter recognising his fault and feeling sorry for his denial. These early comments portray Peter's reaction as a more preliminary and inchoate reaction, without explicating the complete process of repentance.

Given the observed difference, we ask why some early authors would allude to the idea of contrition while many moderns suppose that Peter's repentance happened in full in Luke 22:62. One likely exegetical explanation is that the ancient authors understood the event of Peter's proper restoration as only happening later in John 21. Another possible explanation is the gradual shift in how repentance was viewed in the medieval period. David Power observes that in the medieval sources, "emphasis was placed more and more on complete confession and purpose of amendment."⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, the idea of subsuming contrition under confession could have continued into the modern period, which became the normative way of viewing repentance. The notion of repentance as consisting of the recognition of sin, confession, pardon, and amendment of life is commonly found in modern theological writings concerning the topic of sin and repentance.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ E.g., Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cath. Illum.* 2.19; Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.87; Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 5.5; etc. I should add to this list Cyril of Alexandria's *Serm.* 149 (Smith 1859, 699-700) that indicates a full process of repentance too: Peter was "condemned by his own conscience... his tears upon his repentance...for a grievous sin," and his sin was forgiven as he did not "defer his repentance" but was quick to weep bitterly. Then in his return he "continued to be what he had been before, a true disciple."

⁴⁴⁹ Power 1995, 216. Power adds that contrition for sin was incorporated into sacramental confession. Stotts 2016, 58 shows from the third century writings of Tertullian that penitential practices involved "interior conversion and *exomologesis*," an outward performance of penitence. The distinction between interior and outward hints at the possibility that interior (contrition) penitence did not equate complete repentance.

⁴⁵⁰ For Zuiddam 2022 repentance is being sorry for sins, receiving God's forgiveness, and changing behaviour. Roberts 1993 uses the term contrition but he includes the full process of repentance in his definition—from acknowledging wrongs to amending life. McFarland 2023, 38 emphasises that while contrition is necessary it is

It is difficult to pinpoint when and why the contrition we see in the ancient writers ceased to be treated independently. Nevertheless, I surmise that the Reformation could be another reason for the further integration of contrition with confession and amendment, a move that was already taking place in the Middle Ages.⁴⁵¹ Given that the Reformers attempted to challenge the sale of indulgences and other exploitative penitential practices, they would likely emphasise that God has already forgiven the sinner and there is no need for additional steps to complete the process of repentance.⁴⁵² In this case repentance is then telescoped into a simple, possibly single, punctiliar event.

If it is true that the complete process of repentance started to become common in the medieval period and more so after the Reformation, then it is probable that modern Lukan commentators continue to propagate the integrated process of repentance as a one-step process where the recognition of sin, confession, forgiveness, and transformation are collapsed into one event. Contemporary commentators think of Peter's tears as repentance, not a part of repentance, because nothing else is possibly needed to complete the process. For them, tears as contrition equal confession and a desire for change which is met with God's forgiveness and reconciliation. Thus, many modern authors believe Peter experienced full repentance and pardon even though only his bitter weeping is mentioned in Luke 22:62.

not the remedy for our sins—a work only Christ can do. These modern essays demonstrate that contrition is seldom considered independently, and even when it is, is insufficient for genuine repentance and pardon.

⁴⁵¹ Based on Power 1995, 216 (above paragraph).

⁴⁵² This remains purely my conjecture based on circumstances during the Reformation, as I have not identified research specifically on contrition, repentance, and the Reformation.

Did the ancients have a fuller and richer conception of repentance by prolonging the process of repentance instead of shortening it into a single, punctiliar encounter? I think the willingness to pause at a place of recognition and sorrow over sin is a realistic articulation of the human experience, as people may not instantly proceed to confess and change their lives after realising their fault. Moreover, weeping in sorrow for sin (contrition) may not lead to genuine and complete repentance if the sinner is not prepared to make amends. Some moderns are quick to decide that repentance, transformation, pardon, and reconciliation all occur in 22:62 when, as Bockmuehl notes, Luke himself does not describe the event as repentance or conversion; it must be inferred from the exegetical footprint⁴⁵³ or from reading John 21. It can be rather impoverishing to assume Peter's immediate full repentance because we miss other potential interpretations that the ancients were aware of.

Weeping as Washing Away Sin

Another common ancient interpretation not found in modern literature is the idea of tears washing away and cleansing one's guilt and sin. This idea was already observed in Chapter 2 on the sinful woman's weeping and in the section on ancient works above. Peter's weeping can heal or cure sin (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 26.17; 39.18); wash away fault and guilt (Ambrose, *Exam.* 5.24.88; Jerome, *Ep.* 122.1; Augustine, *Corrept.* 9.24);⁴⁵⁴ erase and wipe everything (Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 1.25; 3.20; 3.21).⁴⁵⁵ Chrysostom argues that the word for "wash" or "bathe" (λούσω) shows that tears wash and cleanse away sins (ἵνα δείξη ὅτι

⁴⁵³ Bockmuehl 2012, 157.

⁴⁵⁴ Other works discussed above that refer to tears as washing away sin: Ambrose, *Virginit.* 6.33; *Enarrat. Ps.* 43.41; 45.15; *Hymn.* 1; *Exp. Luc.* 10.88; 10.89; 10.90; Augustine, *Serm.* 284.6; 285.3; etc.

⁴⁵⁵ The idea that tears can wash Peter's fault and restore Peter to a place of being entrusted with God's work is also found in Jerome: i) Peter washed out his triple denial with bitter tears (*et petrus trinam negationem amaritudine abluit lacrimarum*); *Epist.* 122.1 (CSEL 56/1, 60; NPNF 2:6, 226); ii) Weeping bitterly, Peter may hear the soothing words: "Feed my sheep;" *Epist.* 38.1 (CSEL 54, 289; NPNF 2:6, 47).

λουτρόν ἐστι καὶ καθάρσιον ἁμαρτημάτων τὰ δάκρυα).⁴⁵⁶ It is not always evident whether the cleansing ability of tears is owing to Peter's repentant attitude, the grace of God, or both, but it is unarguable that tears have such an effect. Since the special cleansing effect of tears was also found in some early comments on Luke 7, we have reason to believe it was a generally accepted notion in antiquity.

A possible reason the Protestant moderns do not consider weeping as washing away guilt could be because of their post-Reformation commitment to *sola gratia* and *sola fide*.⁴⁵⁷ To say that one's tears have the power to wash away sins is to diminish the power of Jesus' work on the cross and the believer's response in faith by grace. Just as the moderns prefer to avoid any "work" of repentance in Luke 7,⁴⁵⁸ so too they resist any "work" of weeping that brings about cleansing. However, unlike for the anointing woman, contemporary writers do not hesitate to label Peter's crying as repentance, because they have linked Luke 22:62 with 22:32—Peter's weeping is the fulfilment of his predicted return and restoration. Hence, one cannot accuse the moderns of inconsistency because Peter's repentance should not be misconstrued as a "work" to gain a benefit nor is it any way attributed to righteousness by works; it is the realisation of the Lord's words. In short, the common ancient notion of weeping as washing away sins seems to have been discontinued in the modern period.

Thus far we have i) discussed the different interpretations of Peter's tears in the ancient writings; ii) noticed the largely repentance-based views in the modern commentaries; iii) discussed the notion of contrition versus repentance; and iv) examined

⁴⁵⁶ Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7.5.17 (PG 49, 331; FC 96, 101).

⁴⁵⁷ Interestingly, I have not found Roman Catholic Lukan Commentators who think of weeping as cleansing sin.

⁴⁵⁸ See above Chapter 2, p.79.

the ancient conception of tears as washing away sin. It is time to discuss our findings from this chapter vis-à-vis comments from Chapter 2 on the sinful woman.

The Sinful Woman and the Apostle Peter

It is clear at the outset that the theme of repentance is much more consistent in the early records of the anointing woman's weeping than in Peter's weeping. While some remarks on Peter's tears unmistakably refer to repentance, others only imply contrition, or are used to make totally different points. There is an evidently wider range of comments on Peter's weeping than on the sinful woman's repentant weeping. Peter's tears are used to highlight God's mercy, compare Peter with Judas, cleanse sin, exemplify how believers should weep, and even defend the gospel as an apologetics strategy.

Relatedly, compared to the early references on Luke 7:36-50, we find fewer remarks on 22:62 that use the words *μετάνοια* and *paenitentia* or *ἁμαρτία* and *peccatum* to describe Peter's weeping. Even when Peter's weeping is directly related to repentance it tends to appear in specific contexts, like arguing against Novatianist ideas for the acceptance and forgiveness of the lapsed who repent (Ambrosiaster, *Quaestio*. 102.4; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39.18; Augustine, *Ep.* 265.2) or as a general response to those who fell away during persecution (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 59.7.6-7). We also find Peter's penitential tears used in baptismal preparation to encourage candidates to emulate Peter's actions for their pardon (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. Lect.* 2.19-20), or unsurprisingly in Chrysostom's *De paenitentia*. Under these special circumstances, Peter's weeping is decidedly penitential and exemplary. Such factors that affect writing scenarios do not affect most modern Lukan scholars because they rarely respond to a pressing heresy or controversy, hence, there is no need for them to

use Peter's weeping in different ways for different purposes. Their hope to provide as close and objective a reading of the text as possible leaves them with the consistent view that Peter denied Jesus, felt remorse, wept bitterly, repented, and turned back.

For Origen, Peter's weeping is explicitly connected to repentance when combined with the tears of the sinful woman. We saw above that Origen's other eight comments on Peter's tears are either unrelated to penance or merely imply it. However, when discussed vis-à-vis the woman's tears, Peter's weeping is described as ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ.⁴⁵⁹ Here Origen finds ways to explain Peter's denial as a mistake that was not solely his fault; Peter failed because he was lacking the Holy Spirit and the blood of Jesus, both of which had not yet been poured out, so, Peter's sin is considered acceptable under the circumstances.⁴⁶⁰ There is, however, no attempt to justify the woman's sin. This poses the question of whether there is some reluctance on the part of the ancients to depict Peter as weeping in repentance.

Similarly, while Hilary acknowledges that Peter denied Jesus, he highlights that Peter was the first to recognise Jesus as the Son of God (*Comm. Matt.* 32.4), potentially to temper the magnitude of the denial towards a more palatable explanation. Hilary differentiates a blasphemous denial of the Son of God with a denial of Jesus as man because of the infirmity of Peter's flesh. Peter's denial of Jesus does not quash his earlier declaration of Jesus as the Son of God, suggesting that Peter's fault is not as serious as one might deem.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 114 (GCS 38, 236-41).

⁴⁶⁰ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 114 (GCS 38, 236-41).

⁴⁶¹ Williams in *FC* 125, 284 n.26 clarifies that "Hilary is not trying to minimize Peter's action" because Hilary's definition of blasphemy is to deny that Jesus is anything less than God. I appreciate Williams' clarification based on Hilary's theology, but I posit that Hilary's deliberate delineation between Jesus as Son of God and as man could be an attempt, even if subconsciously, to defend Peter and his mistake.

Ambrose, too, does not reproach Peter for denying, but praises his weeping (*ita non reprehendo quod negavit, laudo quod flevit*)—one is common to the human condition, the other is peculiar to virtue (*aliud commune condicionis est, aliud speciale virtutis*).⁴⁶² He sees Peter's betrayal of Jesus as committed out of a common human condition, but Peter's tears indicate a sign of virtue. Ambrose adds that Peter did not make excuses—when he thought about the denial, he accused his own sin, wept, and was restored to innocence.⁴⁶³ Ambrose believes Peter is forgiven because he had sinned against the Son of Man, and not against the Holy Spirit.⁴⁶⁴ He also makes a brief note that Peter denied amid the Jews (*Exp. Luc. 10.89*), which, given the widely acknowledged anti-Jewish sentiments by Ambrose, may hint that Peter was pressured by the Jewish leaders into denial. Given Peter's excusable situation, his tears are commendable and beneficial. The only instances where the word *peccatum* is used are when Ambrose explicitly refers to the weeping for sin (*Exp. Luc. 10.89*) and weeping to merit indulgence for our sins (*Hex. 5.24.89*), both of which are general exhortations and not a direct comment on Peter's weeping. Ambrose mainly presents Peter's weeping in terms of shame and guilt for an error, offense, or fault rather than as an explicit repentance over his sin. It could be that Ambrose views all these terms as equally sinful or it might be that he intentionally separates Peter's mistakes into a different category of error.

Augustine, even when establishing Peter's sin, does not view Peter as a penitent like other penitents: "who would tolerate the idea that the first of the apostles should be counted among such penitents (*ut primum apostolorum inter tales paenitentes*

⁴⁶² Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.52 (CCSL 14, 361; Tomkinson 1998, 405).

⁴⁶³ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.87 (CCSL 14, 371).

⁴⁶⁴ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.86 (CCSL 14, 370).

numerandum putemus)? Peter repented over denying Christ, as his tears demonstrate, for scripture says that he wept bitterly.”⁴⁶⁵ Augustine justifies that the first apostles are unlike general penitents because they had not yet been strengthened by the Lord’s resurrection and the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.⁴⁶⁶ Similarly, when Augustine celebrates the apostles Peter and Paul,⁴⁶⁷ Peter represents the church’s strength and courage because he followed the Lord to his Passion, but he also went outside to confess (*exiit foras, hoc est confiteri*) and weep bitterly.⁴⁶⁸ Peter’s confession is couched in terms of his strength and courage. Even when Peter’s weeps tears of repentance, he differs from the regular penitent.

The only reference I have found that has Peter weeping in penitence without a specific controversy, special context, or justification to defend his mistake is in Augustine’s *Cons.* III 6.26. However, even here, Augustine is more focused on Jesus’ glance than on Peter’s repentance. Therefore, based on available sources, we surmise that the earliest reference to Peter weeping as repentance that is independent of the woman in Luke 7 and unaffected by any immediate theological controversy, intentional defence of Peter, or other purposes, is in the early fifth century by the Bishop of Hippo.⁴⁶⁹ This in no way suggests that ancient remarks on Luke’s woman were free of agendas. References to her penitential tears were used in anti-Gnostic, anti-Marcion, anti-Novatianist, anti-Jewish polemics, etc. (Chapter

⁴⁶⁵ Augustine, *Ep.* 265.2 (CSEL 57, 639; WSA Letters II/4, 214-5). This letter was written to a laywoman named Seleuciana, who had asked Augustine for help regarding some Novatianist claims, but Augustine refutes the claim that the lapsed cannot be restored. Augustine argues that those who repent, as exemplified by Peter, should be forgiven.

⁴⁶⁶ Augustine, *Ep.* 265.2-3 (CSEL 57, 639-40).

⁴⁶⁷ WSA Sermon III/8, 198 dates Sermon 295.3 to AD 410 while others argue for 405-11, but the different dates do not directly affect our research question.

⁴⁶⁸ Augustine, *Serm.* 295.3 (CSEL 101, 144; WSA Sermon III/8, 200).

⁴⁶⁹ Dinkler 1939, 75-76 contends that the denial of Peter is cited as an example of sin, repentance, and forgiveness in the fourth century in Ambrose, *Hymn.* 1 (PL 16, 1410). I have not included this reference because it is singing that washes away the guilt (*canente culpam diluit*), not weeping.

2), but there are also many references that were not driven by circumstantial defences. The earliest ones were by Origen in the third century;⁴⁷⁰ it is certainly not the fifth century.

The observation of Peter's repentance in the early fifth century is corroborated by archaeological evidence. Dinkler's study of *Ein Archäologischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Petrusprimates* explains how fourth-century sarcophagi that represent Peter and the cock depict Peter's remorse and repentance, and God's grace. Dinkler argues that this portrayal coheres with the time when the cult of Peter was beginning to develop significantly.⁴⁷¹ Early Christian art that depicts Peter's denial with the rooster is also mostly dated to the fourth and fifth centuries (see Appendix E).⁴⁷² To add, Bockmuehl's work on the early reception of Simon Peter found that the prominence of the rooster symbolized the resurrection of Christ, so, the rooster's crow came to symbolize at the same time Peter's fall, repentance, and renewal.⁴⁷³ Thus, apart from standard ancient comments, Christian images of the fourth and fifth century present Peter with the cock as an example of repentance, forgiveness, and grace.⁴⁷⁴ The inclusion of divine grace is unsurprising given the early authors' accentuation of Jesus' merciful look, especially when responding to Pelagian and Novatianist ideas.

⁴⁷⁰ See Origen section above in Chapter 2, p.43.

⁴⁷¹ Dinkler 1939, 78: „Der große Schritt vorwärts in der Entwicklung des Petruskultes scheint am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts, in der ausgehenden Tetrarchenzeit und frühkonstantinischen Epoche, getan worden zu sein.“

⁴⁷² See Appendix E for images of Peter and the rooster as sarcophagi, paintings in catacombs, etc.—St. Cyriaca Catacomb (second-half of fourth century), Santa Sabina Doors (AD 422-440), Maskell Ivories (AD 420-30), etc. For more images and discussion, see Callisen 1939, 160-78.

⁴⁷³ Bockmuehl 2012, 159-60 presents Christian art in the later third and fourth centuries that have the motif of Peter and Christ accompanied by a rooster. The rooster “may be on the ground or on top of a pillar but always occupies a position of great artistic and symbolic prominence...this bird is displayed far larger than life, almost turkey-sized, and often on top of a pillar or with a finger pointing at it.” Bockmuehl also refers to Post 1984, 24-42, a dissertation that catalogues well over 120 sarcophagi, ivories, and frescoes featuring the cock motif. Also, Bockmuehl 2010, 199.

⁴⁷⁴ There has been ongoing interest in art on Peter and the cock over the last century: Withrow 1874 calls the cock “an emblem or suggestion of the remorse of the apostle for his denial” (240-1) and without the cock “it would sometimes be impossible to discriminate the scene” (332); Callisen 1939 claims the rooster is frequently associated with Peter denying Jesus but Peter is also the ideal penitent (160-1); Dresken-Weilan 2020, 121 thinks the cock indicates Peter's denial but also his restoration by Jesus.

Before concluding our comparison of early interpretations between Luke 7 and 22, we return to Ambrose and Chrysostom to see how Peter and the woman can be presented differently in the same piece of work. Ambrose writes that Jesus forgave Peter because he wept most bitterly (*Paen.* 2.10.92), but that woman in the Gospel wiped out the stench of her sin, washed away her fault when she washed Jesus' feet with her tears (*Paen.* 2.8.66). The sinful woman's predicament is detailed with descriptions that Peter does not receive. For Chrysostom, Peter's weeping is related to his sin (*Paenit.* 3.20-21), while the woman is considered that sinful woman who has confessed to have committed every sin and iniquity, guilty of so many sins, detained in so many wicked works, and thirsting for salvation from repentance (*Paenit.* 7.2.6). Ambrose and Chrysostom exaggerate the woman's sinful state.

The seemingly unfair treatment imposed on the woman by the ancient authors is reversed when we turn to modern comments. While the ancients were keen to allocate repentance to the woman but temper the graveness of Peter's denial, the moderns argue that the anointing woman is not displaying repentance in Luke 7 but are convinced Peter is ostensibly remorseful and repentant in Luke 22. How might we explain this contrast and reversal in interpretation between the ancients and moderns?

The relative reservation by the ancients to portray Peter as sinful or repentant could simply be because the gospel accounts do not record Peter's denial and weeping in terms of sin, repentance, or forgiveness whereas the anointing woman is introduced as a sinner who receives forgiveness. Another reason could be the special care with which the early authors wrote about the rock of the church; they excuse or mitigate the seriousness of Peter's sin

and defend his status as chief apostle who is set apart from the regular penitent. It could be that the ancients were interpreting the gospel writers' accounts as an attempt to spare the leading apostle while at the same time acknowledging historical truth.⁴⁷⁵

There are attempts to defend the leading apostle's status. When Cyril of Jerusalem talks about Peter weeping in repentance and receiving forgiveness, he adds that Peter held his apostolic dignity unforfeited (*Cath. Illum.* 2.19). Chrysostom refers to Peter as "the zenith of the apostles" (ἡ κορυφή τῶν ἀποστόλων), "the first in the Church," who after denying and weeping, was entrusted with not only the keys of the heavens (*Paenit.* 3.20), but the whole world (*Adv. Jud.* 8.3.4). Other similar titles ascribed to Peter include "chief" or "first" of the apostles" (κορυφαίωτος τῶν ἀποστόλων; Eriphanius, *Pan.* 59.7.6-7; πρῶτος γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποστόλων; Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.3.4; *primum apostolorum*; Augustine, *Ep.* 265.2).

On the other hand, the identity of the woman in Luke 7 has unfortunately been conflated with Mary Magdalene (from whom seven demons had gone out, Luke 8:2) since the earliest centuries of Christianity.⁴⁷⁶ Though this is unlikely, because Mary Magdalene is introduced fully in Luke 8:2 without any hint that she is the sinful woman in Luke 7, the majority view in early Christian literature suggests that the perception of the anointing woman could have been tainted by the conflation of identities. These "traditions" about Peter and the woman are unfounded in the Lukan text, demonstrating how scholarship is inevitably shaped by the traditions within which it is written.

⁴⁷⁵ Lagrange 1948, 569: "On voit ici comment le désir d'épargner le chef des Apôtres pouvait se concilier avec le devoir de la stricte vérité."

⁴⁷⁶ For more on the conflation of identities, see Haskins 1993. By the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great (AD 540-604) declared that Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany, and the sinner in Luke were one and the same (16). In 1969, the modern Catholic Church "admitted that it has mistakenly identified the Mary Magdalene as a sex worker" (<https://time.com/5210705/mary-magdalene-controversial/>) and in 2016 she was raised to "Apostle to the Apostles."

I am not arguing that Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Augustine, or others subscribed to a kind of Petrine primacy that set Peter apart from other people; I am, though, drawing attention to Peter's apostolic status that appears to soften his mistake and dilute his sin as compared to the woman whose sinful status is magnified.⁴⁷⁷ On the contrary, Peter's status does not seem to hold the same significance for the modern church today, and even less so for an academic audience. The contemporary commentaries that we have perused do not provide Peter with special treatment or defence. For most modern writers, Peter's sin of denying Jesus is evident in Luke 22 but the woman's sinfulness is not substantiated in Luke 7 and potentially belongs to the past (as argued in Chapter 2). In summary, when we approach Luke 7 and 22 through the motif of weeping, we find intriguing contrasts between how the ancients and moderns view the woman's and Peter's tears.

Tears and Repentance: An Observed Correlation

After observing the weeping interpretations on the woman and Peter that primarily revolve around the theme of repentance, we briefly acknowledge the general relationship between weeping and repentance. A glance at early references, that are beyond comments on Luke, demonstrate a clear link between tears and repentance. It is not uncommon for the ancients to write about the need to weep in response to one's sins as an expression of repentance (e.g., Tertullian, *Pud.* 2; Origen, *Rom. Comm.* 9.15.2; Ambrose, *Paen.* 1.3.10, 2.7.54; *Job* 2.7; Chrysostom, *Paenit.* 7.17, etc.). There appears to be a general consensus

⁴⁷⁷ The ancients might deny that they intentionally defended Peter's special status by explaining that the title "chief/first of the apostles" is a matter of temporal priority and not any exalted status. The early authors could have thought that the woman's sin is more serious than the lapse of Peter because hers are sins of impurity that defile the body (1 Cor 6:18) whereas Peter was quickly restored, hence, portraying her as more sinful.

amongst early writers that weeping and repentance go hand in hand, but for reasons conjectured above it is not always the case for Peter's weeping.

This unmistakable correlation between weeping and repentance is not as evident in modern writings. It is only in this chapter on Peter's denial that modern scholars think of weeping as an expression of repentance. Thus, I contend that the moderns relate tears to repentance only when the narrative unambiguously points to it. The topic of penance and weeping will continue to be broached in the upcoming chapters as we observe how the two are featured in other Lukan passages. We will see in the next chapter that even when weeping is discussed within the context of grief and mourning, and not associated with repentance, the ancients still attach penitence to tears. In sum, our examination of weeping comments in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate that weeping and tears are commonly thought to signify repentance, especially amongst the ancients.

Rethinking Peter's Bitter Tears

We have found interesting departures between ancient and modern perspectives on Luke 22:62 as well as differences between interpretations of the sinful woman's weeping and Peter's bitter tears. The final task of this chapter is to consider if our analyses alter or confirm the reading of Peter's denial and tears.

We have brought together the uncommon pairing of the woman anointing Jesus and Peter's denial because of their common association to the theme of weeping and penitence. We have also surfaced the possibility of a biased reading by some ancients who describe the woman as more sinful than Peter. Lest readers begin to assume the same conviction, I argue

there are no textual grounds to think of Peter as less sinful. A serious study of the two passages will indicate that Peter's mistake of denying Jesus is a far more contemporaneous event than the woman's unclarified past sins. Furthermore, forgiveness is directly declared on the woman, but none is recorded in Peter's denial account. Thus, exegetes of Luke 22:62 should not think of the first apostle as less sinful or more easily excused for his sins.

With the conviction that we should read Peter's tears in relation to his public denial, we rehash the discussion of contrition and repentance from above. As mentioned, it can be impoverishing to only assume that full repentance took place because Peter wept bitterly. I prefer to think of Peter's bitter tears as an outward manifestation of the remorse and guilt that Peter was experiencing when he realised his fault and Jesus' prediction. It is instinctive and reasonable for readers to comprehend Peter's bitter weeping as an immediate response to the earlier dramatic events of a threefold denial, cockcrow, and the sudden awareness of his grave mistake; this is further amplified in Luke by Jesus' turning and looking at Peter. The text makes the reading of contrition an inescapable one. Throughout the ages, interpreters believe it is natural for someone to weep out of remorse, guilt, and sorrow for sin, but the quick jump to suppose a full process of repentance that includes confessing and turning back may oversimplify the complex and potentially discontinuous journey of repentance. I think it is more faithful to the text of Luke 22:62 to pause at Peter's contrition and allow for the apostle's full repentance to unfold over a longer but unrecorded period.

Having established the importance of reading Peter's tears as sorrow and regret, we should more regularly emphasise the ancient focus of the Lord's turning to and looking at Peter that brought about his tears of penitence. While it is vital to present Peter as guilty

and sorrowful, we must not overlook God's mercy through the gaze of Jesus that begins the process of repentance—only in the Third Gospel does the Lord turn to look at Peter. This indicates that one's ability to shed tears of penance is enabled by God's mercy; the kindness of God evokes the sinner's contrition and volition to mourn sins.

Finally, we have observed two kinds of "defences" in the early writings on Peter's tears: i) some authors write a defence for Peter's special status and ii) others utilise Peter's mistake and tears as a defence of the gospel record. However, neither are directly found in Luke's text, they were likely born out of the needs of the early church. Therefore, I argue that readers of Luke should not include these contextually driven views but only maintain that a solemn denial was committed, followed by bitter weeping; discussions related to Peter's bitter weeping should not stray too far away from matters of sin and repentance.

Conclusion

Our survey has shown that ancient views on Peter's weeping are not limited to penitential interpretations, but modern comments often claim that Peter was weeping in repentance. Our analysis not only led us to discuss the distinction between contrition and repentance, but also to compare views on the anointing woman's weeping with Peter's weeping because of their links to sin and repentance. We noticed that some ancients like Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine might have been influenced by certain "traditions" that tended to defend and justify Peter's mistake and/or exaggerate the woman's sin. However, I argue there is no textual basis to see Peter as less sinful. After weighing the different views, I conclude that Luke 22:62 should still primarily revolve around Peter's sin of denial, with tears that should be understood as contrition.

CHAPTER 4

DEATH AND GRIEF: “DO NOT WEEP”

After studying the tears of the anointing woman and Peter as well as how their weeping relates to repentance (Part I), we move on to two occurrences in Luke that describe weeping in contexts of grief (Part II). In both situations, Jesus says “do not weep” to those grieving the death of a child—in the singular form (μὴ κλαῖε) to the widow at Nain (7:13) and in the plural (μὴ κλαίετε) to Jairus’s household (8:52). The account in Nain is found only in Luke while the story of Jairus is also in Mark 5:21-43 and Matt 9:18-26—but only Luke’s Jesus prohibits the weeping in Jairus’ household. The unique Lukan instruction μὴ κλαίετε further confirms Luke’s interest in the weeping motif. “Do not weep” is repeated when Jesus meets the daughters of Jerusalem on the way to his crucifixion (Luke 23:28), but it will be discussed in the next chapter vis-à-vis Jesus weeping over Jerusalem (19:41) for better congruence. The raising of the widow’s son and Jairus’ daughter are placed side by side because of their semantic and thematic similarities. There are only two resuscitations in Luke and both are about a parent losing an only child (μονογενὴς υἱός, 7:12; θυγάτηρ μονογενής, 8:42).⁴⁷⁸ Luke places a mother-son pair before a father-daughter pair to illustrate two similar healing scenarios,⁴⁷⁹ and in deep grief Jesus tells them not to weep.

In this chapter, we ask what the crying in the two accounts conveys and why Jesus instructs the characters to cease weeping. How do ancient and modern interpretations of the prohibition contribute to our understanding of Lukan weeping and mourning? To help us

⁴⁷⁸ The adjective μονογενής (8:42) is a Lukan addition, not recorded in Mark 5:23. The repetition of μονογενής could be a prophecy of Jesus’ own resurrection and identification as the only-begotten Son.

⁴⁷⁹ Bovon 2002, 1:267; Nolland 1989, 1:320; Fitzmyer 1981, 1:744 note Luke’s parent-child combination. Bock 1994, 1:792 adds that this shows Luke’s sense of balance.

more sensitively appreciate the ancient comments, we devote a section in this chapter to discussing Stoic views of death and mourning since Stoicism was the dominant philosophy in the Roman Empire; Seneca's and Cicero's works on weeping and mourning feature most prominently.⁴⁸⁰ We then include modern voices on Luke 7:13 and 8:52 before concluding with comparisons and observations for a fresh reading of "do not weep."

Luke 7:13 and 8:52

While similar on prominent points, each account is an independent event with its own features. That the healing of the widow's son at Nain is unique to Luke suggests it is from Luke's special source.⁴⁸¹ It is widely noted amongst modern commentators that Luke 7:11-17 was written with 1 Kgs 17:17-24 in mind (Elijah raising a widow's son).⁴⁸² Besides considering OT parallels, this passage is also commonly compared with Philostratus' *Vit. Apoll.* 4.45 where Apollonius restores a young bride who dies on her wedding day.⁴⁸³ The origins and parallels of this Lukan pericope are interesting but only secondary to this study.

⁴⁸⁰ Epicureanism was the key competitor philosophical school to Stoicism; however, space does not allow for their views to also be included in our discussions. Both schools of thought were not too different in how they addressed issues of death; they saw death as good and natural and not to be feared. The Epicureans did not eliminate pain and tears entirely, they would recall and preserve memories of the deceased to comfort their grief; see Papazian 2021; Rosenbaum 2020; O'Keefe 2010 on Epicurean death and grief. Stoicism is more compatible with Jewish and Christian thought and there were close ties between Stoics and Christians—e.g., Epictetus and Seneca (both referred to below) had important relationships with Christians, and not forgetting the famous, likely apocryphal, correspondence of Paul and Seneca. In contrast, Luke considered the Epicureans as Atheists (Acts 17), and early Christian writers treated them with hostility; see Ramelli 2020, 582-612.

⁴⁸¹ Bovon 2002, 1:266 thinks it is from Luke's special source because if Matthew had known this story, he would not have omitted it.

⁴⁸² Modern commentaries refer to Brodie's 1986 article "Towards Unravelling Luke's Uses of the Old Testament: Luke 7:11-17 as an *Imitatio* of 1 Kgs 17:17-24" to confirm the intertextuality. It is sometimes suggested that 2 Kgs 4:18-37 parallels Luke 7, but it is less convincing.

⁴⁸³ For a detailed comparison of the two, see Petzke 1973, 371-8; Petzke writes „*Die Expositionen beider Wundererzählungen haben viele typische Züge gemeinsam*“ (374) and „*darüber hinaus sind sie im Aufbau sehr eng miteinander verwandt*“ (371). The resemblance between the two records is also acknowledged in Johnson 1991, 120; Nolland 1989, 1:320; Bovon 2002, 1:269; Marshall 1978, 283-4; Bock 1994, 1:649.

More pertinent to our investigation are the descriptions in the final form of the text that inform us about the funeral situation, relational dynamics, and emotional atmosphere within which the characters interact. Jesus and his disciples had just arrived in Nain when they saw a funeral procession with a large crowd. Jesus reacted with compassion and full attention to the widow, as seen in the three-fold repetition of the pronoun αὐτή (καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτήν ὁ κύριος ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, 7:13).⁴⁸⁴ Jesus does not look at the deceased son; instead, he looks at the widow, has compassion on her, and speaks to her. He says, “Do not weep,” and then raises her son. The miracle is not performed because of the widow’s faith but is motivated by Jesus’ compassion for her. Neumann rightly notes that this is the only time in Luke where Jesus is depicted as feeling compassion (σπλαγχνίζομαι).⁴⁸⁵ Luke’s tendency to omit instances of σπλαγχνίζομαι from Mark,⁴⁸⁶ yet his decision to include σπλαγχνίζομαι in this distinctly Lukan record, suggests that Luke deems the situation dire enough to warrant an unexpected emotional description for Jesus. The manifestation of his power led the crowd to declare Jesus as a great prophet (προφήτης μέγας, v.16). Thus, Jesus’ imperative to stop weeping is framed within a narrative context where he is described as a great prophet who is compassionate and able to perform a miraculous resuscitation.

Unlike the public restoration in Nain, the healing of Jairus’ daughter happens behind closed doors, and unlike Jesus’ proactive approaching of the widow, Jesus is begged by Jairus

⁴⁸⁴ Wolter 2016, 1:298-9 notes how the widow (the centre of the narrative), whose suffering is foregrounded, is mentioned no less than six times in vv.12-13; Jesus’ action is for the widow, not her dead son.

⁴⁸⁵ Neumann 2023, 146-9 notices that σπλαγχνίζομαι occurs only thrice in Luke, but only 7:13 attributes σπλαγχνίζομαι to Jesus; 10:33 describes the good Samaritan and 15:20 characterises God through the father of the prodigal son.

⁴⁸⁶ Luke omits σπλαγχνίζομαι used to describe the Markan Jesus (Mark 1:41, cf. Luke 5.13; Mark 6.34, cf. Luke 9.11; Mark 9.22, Luke 9.42; and Mark 8.2 is removed entirely) (Neumann 2023, 160).

to help.⁴⁸⁷ Further, the declaration that Jesus is a great prophet followed by word about him spreading widely (7:17) is contrasted with Jesus' order to Jairus and his wife to tell no one about the healing (8:56). Also, we had observed the absence of the widow's faith in the healing of her son, but in Jairus' case Jesus commands them to not fear and only believe (μὴ φοβοῦ, μόνον πίστευσον, 8:50). The secrecy motif and questions of human trust, or lack thereof, are beyond the scope of this discussion; of importance is the observation that whether in public or private, self-initiated or desperately invited, with or without human faith, Jesus' actions in situations of mourning are consistent—he instructs the parent(s) to cease weeping and then resuscitates the child.

Considering Luke's redactional decisions, we find that Luke follows Mark very closely while Matthew provides an abridged version of Mark's report. Though Luke retains even Mark's creative intercalation of the two miracles (Jairus' daughter and the haemorrhaging woman) into a 'sandwich' structure, the prohibition to weep is unique to Luke. Luke's μὴ κλαίετε (8:52) sounds stronger than Mark's "why do you make a commotion and weep?" (τί θορυβεῖσθε καὶ κλαίετε, 5:39); Matthew does not contain any mention of weeping. Luke does not use Mark's θόρυβος (5:38)⁴⁸⁸ and θορυβέω (5:39) but describes the people as wailing or beating their chests (ἔκλαιον δὲ πάντες καὶ ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν, Luke 8:52).

Luke specifies that the children in both events are the only child, intensifying the impact of their death. In the social world of antiquity, families valued having multiple

⁴⁸⁷ Wolter 2016, 1:363-4 observes that unlike in 7:13, the "do not weep" in 8:52 provides a justification (μὴ οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει); Wolter distinguishes between "sleep" and "death."

⁴⁸⁸ Mark 5:38 describes the scene as καὶ θεωρεῖ θόρυβον καὶ κλαίοντας καὶ ἀλαλάζοντας πολλά; Luke 8:52 only retains the weeping verb, which suggests Luke's emphasis on the weeping in the scene.

children, unlike small, modern nuclear families. For the widow, a son is her only possession, male protector, and source of viable economic support in her old age.⁴⁸⁹ This childless woman is now an “orphaned parent.”⁴⁹⁰ As for Jairus’ twelve-year-old daughter, who has just become of marriageable and child-bearing age,⁴⁹¹ she lies dead.⁴⁹² The adjective *μονογενής*, hence, amplifies the devastation involved.⁴⁹³ In these helpless situations, Jesus steps in with the imperative to stop weeping and reverses the tragedies.

Owing to their resemblances, I will look at both “do not weep” passages together, in the ancient and modern sections below, before presenting a synthetic analysis of our results from the two eras.

Early Interpretations of Luke 7:13 and 8:52

It should be mentioned upfront that we find substantially fewer ancient comments related to weeping in these texts about death and grief as compared to the large number of early works on the tears of the anointing woman and Peter. Given the nature of the stories, it is unsurprising that an overwhelming majority of comments focus only on Jesus’ power to raise the dead; they almost always combine the raising of the widow’s son, Jairus’ daughter, and Lazarus. This trio of resuscitations proves Jesus’ ability and is evidence of resurrection and hope for believers (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.13.1; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 64.65.1-2; *Ancor.* 100.7).⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁹ The loss of a child as the removal of a parent’s economic security applies in the larger Roman world too (Hope 2009, 137).

⁴⁹⁰ Bock 1994, 1:649.

⁴⁹¹ Bovon 2002, 1:337.

⁴⁹² Based on Roman funerary art, Carroll 2014, 175 concludes that “the death of a young woman in her reproductive years would have been acutely felt in the family.”

⁴⁹³ Crisler 2023, 246 thinks the *μονογενής* descriptor evokes an OT motif of intense grief too.

⁴⁹⁴ Of the early references on the widow at Nain and Jairus that I have identified, about 70% of them are about Jesus’ miracles and resurrection in general.

We also find comments about Jesus' compassion (Origen, *Cels.* 2.48; Gregory of Nyssa, *Opif.* 25.10) and his status as a great prophet in Luke 7 (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.18.3; Origen, *Comm. Matt.* A 76), as well as remarks on the faith of Jairus (Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 179) to symbolise the relationship between the church and the Jews (Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.54, 64).

The question of why there is relative silence on weeping in these early works will be considered afterwards. First, we begin by analysing the available relevant comments, albeit only a handful, for a sense of what the ancients thought.

Ambrose

Ambrose's pastoral and practical inclinations, and his own personal experience of his brother's tragic death may explain his interest to address tears. We begin with his personal yet public and theological writing produced on the death of his brother, Satyrus.

For not without purpose [is]... the crowd in the Gospel, moved by the widow's tears (*mota lacrimis viduae*) and accompanying the funeral of the young man who was to be raised again... Christ is moved to mercy, seeing you weeping (*Christum misericordia motum, cum vos flentes videret*). Though He has not now touched the bier... yet He has by the authority of His divine power delivered my brother's soul from the pains of death and from the attacks of wicked spirits... he has found rest in Christ.⁴⁹⁵

In his funeral sermon, Ambrose includes death events from scripture as he talks about his own brother who dies unexpectedly in AD 379. In this excerpt, Ambrose portrays the tears of mourning as moving people, including Christ. The crowd in Nain is moved by the widow's tears to also weep (though not explicitly stated in Luke's record), and Jesus is moved to mercy when mourners weep over the death of Satyrus. Ambrose,

⁴⁹⁵ Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.29 (CSEL 73, 225; NPNF 2:10, 165-6).

however, needs to reconcile the reality that his people's tears have not moved Christ to raise his brother. Nevertheless, he appreciates Christ's mercy offered in a spiritual manner—rest for his brother's soul.

The funeral oration continues the following week when he preaches again. In the first sermon, we feel Ambrose's intense grief, but the raw emotions are moderated a week later by his theological conviction in the hope of resurrection.⁴⁹⁶ The second book is sometimes referred to as "On Belief in the Resurrection" (*De fide resurrectionis*). In Book 2 are three consecutive verses that mention weeping. First, Ambrose repeats the point that Jesus, moved by the tears of a widowed mother (*fletu viduae matris inflexus*), raises the young man when he came and touched the bier,⁴⁹⁷ confirming the earlier conviction that weeping moves Jesus to action. In the next verse, Ambrose refers to Jairus' daughter but the weeping for her demonstrates that death has really taken place. He speaks of the crowds weeping (*flebant turbae*) and flute-players piping because of the conviction that the girl is dead.⁴⁹⁸ The point is about how she who is confirmed dead, is quickly revived at the word of the Lord. Ambrose then appeals to other miraculous instances by Ezekiel, Elijah, and Peter, and asks: "They purchased the resurrection of another by their tears (*illi resurrectionem alienam suis lacrimis redemerunt*), shall we not believe in the purchase of ours by the Passion of Christ?"⁴⁹⁹ True to its title *De fide resurrectionis*, Book 2 primarily argues for the ability of Christ to raise the dead. The mention of tears informs us that the tears of a believer in Christ has purchasing power to heal another, but the role of tears is secondary to the theme of

⁴⁹⁶ For more on Ambrose's views on death in the two books on the decease of Satyrus, see Jones 2007, 24-36.

⁴⁹⁷ Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.81 (CSEL 73, 294; NPNF 2:10, 187).

⁴⁹⁸ Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.82 (CSEL 73, 294; NPNF 2:10, 187).

⁴⁹⁹ Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.83 (CSEL 73, 294; NPNF 2:10, 187).

resurrection. Weeping is included to explain that tears move Jesus (2.81), confirm death has occurred (2.82), and can purchase the resurrection of the dead (2.83).

We find in Ambrose's commentary on Jairus that weeping is also considered a sign of a lack of faith. Those who do not believe in the resurrection weep since they believe their loved one is dead.⁵⁰⁰ In other words, those who believe contribute towards the miracle, even the "purchase of another's resurrection," but those who do not are weeping over death with no hope for the resurrection. Ambrose, however, does not discuss the exercise of human faith for the widow at Nain, he highlights only Jesus' compassion and pity as he is moved by the woman's tears.

While Ambrose does not make specific comments about the widow's faith, he thinks about her as an illustration of the Mother Church and her tears in relation to the removal of sin and guilt. On Luke 7:12-14, Ambrose thinks the widow is a woman who has by her tears merited the resurrection of her only young son (*quae resurrectionem unici adolescentis filii sui lacrimis meruerit inpetrare*); she is the holy Church and by her tears she calls back to life a younger people—the Gentiles.⁵⁰¹ The widow not only exemplifies the church that redeems Gentiles but is also the church who weeps for sinners. Ambrose informs his readers that if their sins are so heinous that not even their tears can wash them away, they should let the Mother Church weep for them (*etsi grave peccatum est, quod paenitentiae tuae lacrimis*

⁵⁰⁰ *fleant igitur mortuos suos qui putant mortuos, ubi resurrectionis fides est, non mortis species, sed quietis est*; Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 6.62 (SC 45, 195; Ní Riain 2001, 174).

⁵⁰¹ Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 5.89 (SC 45, 164; Tomkinson 1998, 179). Ní Riain 2001, 146 adds the gloss "Gentile" to explain who the younger people refer to. Given its context and Ambrose's general interest in Jew-Gentile relations, the Gentile reference is likely accurate.

ipse lavare non possis, fleat pro te mater ecclesiae) for she intercedes for each of her children, just as a widowed mother would for her only son.⁵⁰²

In his books concerning repentance, he again calls for the Church, our Mother, to weep for sinners and to wash away guilt with her tears (*fleat pro te mater ecclesia et culpam tuam lacrimis lavet*).⁵⁰³ Jesus raised the widow's son because he was moved by her tears and many were weeping for her (*motus viduae lacrimis, quia plurimi pro ea flebant, filium eius resuscitavit*); Jesus forgave Peter because he wept most bitterly after denying him.⁵⁰⁴ The placing together of Peter's tears with the widow's tears neatly combines an observation in this chapter with the previous one, that is, tears have the capacity to redeem one's own self or another. Besides the function of human tears, Ambrose writes about the patience of the Lord, who waits for our tears (*expectat lacrimas nostras*) to restore us from sin, just as he had pity on the tears of the widow and raised her son.⁵⁰⁵ In using the widow's tears as an illustration of forgiveness, Ambrose is not suggesting that the widow or her son sinned; he is using the tears of a mother, and now a widow, to describe the earnestness with which the Mother Church will cry and intercede for sinners, and to accentuate the compassion and grace of the Lord who is moved by her tears.

In sum, the early author who provides the most food for thought on weeping in situations of death in Luke believes that people's tears move Christ to merciful action and that tears have the power to purchase, obtain, and merit the restoration of someone else. In

⁵⁰² Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 5.92 (SC 45, 165; Tomkinson 1998, 180).

⁵⁰³ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.10.92 (CSEL 73, 199; NPNF 2:10, 356-7).

⁵⁰⁴ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.10.92 (CSEL 73, 199; NPNF 2:10, 356-7).

⁵⁰⁵ Ambrose, *Paen.* 1.5.22 (CSEL 73, 130; NPNF 2:10, 333).

times of mourning tears confirm that death has indeed happened, but they also signify one's lack of faith because those who do not believe in the resurrection will continue to weep. Lastly, the motif of the weeping widow is equated with the Mother Church who weeps for sinners and Gentiles, and by her tears forgives and reconciles them. Ambrose's interest in and perspectives on weeping may be the result of his charismatic leadership of the church, rhetorical skills, and interest in the human condition.

Augustine

Augustine's perspectives are like Ambrose's, which is unsurprising given the latter's impact on him. In his *Confessions* (c. AD 397-400), written shortly after he becomes bishop,⁵⁰⁶ we find his mother weeping over him as over a dead man but one who could still be raised to life again (*me tamquam mortuum sed resuscitandum tibi flebat*) because of Augustine's Manichean disposition.⁵⁰⁷ Augustine uses the widow-son pair in Luke 7 to parallel his mother and him: "she offered me to [the Lord] upon the bier of her meditation, begging [the Lord] to say to this widow's son, 'Young man, arise' ... restore him to his mother."⁵⁰⁸ The tears of the widow at Nain have become Augustine's mother's tears of desperate plea. As the Lord had compassion for the widow, so the Lord responded to his mother's tearful imploration—Augustine ceased to be Manichean.

We find Augustine's next mention of tears in Luke 7 and 8 about two decades later when he quotes the verses in a sermon on the raising of the widow's son, Jairus' daughter,

⁵⁰⁶ Chadwick 1992, xxix.

⁵⁰⁷ Augustine, *Conf.* 6.1.1 (CCSL 27, 73; WSA Confessions I/1, 135).

⁵⁰⁸ Augustine, *Conf.* 6.1.1 (CCSL 27, 73; WSA Confessions I/1, 135). More descriptions of Monica's tears are recorded in *Conf.* 3.11.19; 5.8.15; 9.12.33.

and Lazarus.⁵⁰⁹ The whole sermon is on the miracles of Christ and the raising of the dead, with no expositions on the weeping. Augustine quotes from Luke 8:52 to prove that the Lord did indeed wake her up. As for the story in Nain, the Lord is moved with pity because the widow, now deprived of her only son, was weeping and Jesus raised him from the dead.⁵¹⁰

Therefore, we can conclude based on Augustine's two references that the tears of the widow are tears of a desperate mother, which moves the Lord to respond. Furthermore, the weeping portrayed in the event of death is seldom discussed because it is not the end of the story. Weeping ceases because Jesus restores the dead to life, and Augustine is content to highlight that miraculous last word. Finally, we briefly mention Augustine's comment on Mary weeping over the death of her brother, Lazarus (John 11:31), which is comparable to the grief and weeping discussed in this chapter. According to Augustine, the Jews thought that Mary wept at the tomb to seek in her weeping the solace of her grief (*ut doloris sui solatium lacrymis quaerere*).⁵¹¹ This suggests that Augustine may allow room for weeping to find consolation in times of grief, a point to which we return below.

Greek Sources

In attempting to compare the above Latin sources with Greek works, I found a fragment by Origen that quotes Luke 8:52, though it only comments on Jesus' miracle without the weeping.⁵¹² A later writing that is pertinent to our examination, but that is not available in its original Greek, is Cyril of Alexandria's Luke commentary. Nevertheless, I will

⁵⁰⁹ WSA Sermons III/4, 51 dates *Serm.* 98 shortly before AD 418.

⁵¹⁰ Augustine, *Serm.* 98.4 (PL 38, 593; WSA Sermons III/4, 51).

⁵¹¹ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 49.17 (CCSL 36, 428; NPNF 1:7, 276).

⁵¹² Origen, *Scho. Luc.* (PG 17, 337) is almost verbatim to Luke 8:52: ἔκλαιον δὲ πάντες, καὶ ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ εἶπε μὴ κλαίετε οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύδει. καὶ κατεγέλων αὐτοῦ, εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπέθανε.

refer to the English translation to furnish our otherwise completely missing Greek perspective.⁵¹³ On the widow at Nain, Cyril acknowledges the situation as “a pitiable calamity, able to arouse one's lamentation, and make one's tears gush forth,” but he also quickly turns to the reality that they are meeting Jesus, the Life and Resurrection.⁵¹⁴ He goes on to contend that the raising of the dead is a fulfilment of prophecies from Isa 26:19 and 25:8 that speak of the dead coming to life, sorrow and death perishing, and tears ceasing.⁵¹⁵ On Jairus’ story, Cyril also recognises that Jairus is “a man oppressed with the weight of sorrow,” so when Jesus is at Jairus’ home, he “quiets their lamentations” and “stops the tears of the weepers.”⁵¹⁶ Then, it is also soon added that we have “a firm hope of the resurrection of the dead.”⁵¹⁷

Cyril provides us with the only weeping-pertinent expositions from a Greek author. He perceives and openly states the pain and sorrow in the scenes, which was not observed in Ambrose and Augustine. However, like his Latin counterparts, there is ample discussion on the power to reverse death, and even fulfil OT prophecy.

Analysing the Early Comments on Luke 7:13 and 8:52

Based on the above discussions, we observe firstly that the only early authors who directly wrote about weeping in the Lukan resuscitation stories are Ambrose, Augustine, and Cyril of Alexandria, with Ambrose being the earliest to remark on weeping in relation to the

⁵¹³ I explained in Chapter 1, p.18 that Cyril of Alexandria’s Luke commentary is based on the Syriac translation.

⁵¹⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, *Serm.* 36 (Smith 1859, 132).

⁵¹⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *Serm.* 36 (Smith 1859, 133-4).

⁵¹⁶ Cyril of Alexandria, *Serm.* 46 (Smith 1859, 195).

⁵¹⁷ Cyril of Alexandria, *Serm.* 46 (Smith 1859, 196).

death episodes. This means that based on extant sources, we have no written Greek or Latin comments on the weeping in Luke 7:13 and 8:52 that are earlier than the fourth century.

The Latin writers do not seem to acknowledge the emotional turmoil and pain that we find in Cyril of Alexandria. Most of their comments focus solely on Jesus' healing powers. What appears as naturally and obviously tears of grief by mourning parents are positioned as an expression that moves people and Christ, and that purchases redemption. Tears even represent a lack of faith in the resurrection. In Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, there were repeated mentions of "tears of repentance," but we have not found any record of the phrase "tears of grief."⁵¹⁸ Weeping points to guilt, contrition, and commitment to change, but is not found to represent grief or loss. The closest record of intense emotions in the Latin works are descriptions of a desperate mother weeping for her child. There is no mention of the weeping father, Jairus. More generally, why is there a sheer lack of ancient writings on weeping and mourning as compared to literature on tears of repentance?

One reason could be because the plot twists in Luke 7:11-17 and 8:40-56 naturally highlight the miraculous activity of Jesus, which eclipse the weeping of the characters. The positive outcome of the story takes centre stage, leading to the consistent emphasis on the raising of the dead and the believer's resurrection. Moreover, the early church likely needed the assurance of Jesus' deeds and resurrection more than reflections on weeping and death. So, it is sensible for the more pressing Christological issues to dominate early comments. However, the texts' literary nature and theological rationale cannot be the only reasons to

⁵¹⁸ Cyril's comments could imply that weeping refers to grief. But a clear phrase like "tears of grief" does not appear, unlike the words "tears of repentance" used for the anointing woman; Cyril of Alexandria, *Serm.* 40 (Smith 1859, 161).

justify the obvious silence on weeping. Even if the early Christian writers believed that death and mourning are natural and require no commentary, it does not justify its total absence. The death of a child cannot be so trivial a matter as to wholly neglect the emotional reaction of the parent, save a few comments by Cyril. A more integrated explanation for the silence must include the surrounding moral and cultural context of antiquity, which we now discuss.

Mortality in Antiquity and Stoic Philosophy

Mortality rates were high in antiquity, but for reasons of space, we focus primarily on infant mortality for better comparability with the deaths of the widow's son and Jairus' daughter. Infant mortality rates (estimates range from 20% to 50%) were high in antiquity.⁵¹⁹ It is argued that the high mortality rates caused Roman upper-class parents to delegate the basic care of children to their servants⁵²⁰ for some parent-child distance and "emotional cushioning"⁵²¹ in the event of a bereavement. The death of children did not exclude even the greatest aristocrats in Roman society. The Roman Stoic Emperor Marcus Aurelius lost seven of his thirteen children before they reached adulthood.⁵²² Cicero lost his daughter, Tullia, in 45 BC, as a result of complications after giving birth to a baby boy.⁵²³ Seneca lost his son less than twenty days before he was sent into exile himself.⁵²⁴ Seneca does not provide

⁵¹⁹ Using Frier's 1982, 213-51 historical demography for Roman life expectancy, Golden 1988, 155 estimates infant mortality between 30-40% in the first year of life. Parkin 2010, 113; 2013, 49-50 estimate 20% and Hopkins 1983, 225 proposes 28% mortality. Carroll 2014, 160; 2018, 147 states that according to modern estimates 50% of children did not live past ten years; also, Pearce 2001, 125.

⁵²⁰ Bradley 1986, 213-20; 1991, 29; Rawson 2003, 210-68. Carroll 2011, 115 explains that the lower class could not afford wet-nurses and caregivers, but they had the network of an extended Roman *familia* to share child-rearing responsibilities, so the grief of losing a child would also be equally diffused and shared by the larger family; also, Bradley 1991, Chapters 2 & 3; Rawson 2003, Chapter 3. In recent decades, the argument that infant mortality led to parental detachment and emotional avoidance (even the failure to mourn children) has been challenged in classical scholarship.

⁵²¹ Reydams-Schils 2005, 122.

⁵²² Reydams-Schils 2005, 115.

⁵²³ Haskell 1942, 249; Reydams-Schils 2005, 119-20.

⁵²⁴ Seneca, *Helv.* 2.5 [Basore, LCL 254, 423].

any more information about his son or the death;⁵²⁵ we can only be certain that he had experienced the death of his child.

The amalgamated pieces of information demonstrate that the death of a child was not as unexpected as a modern reader might assume and that it was not uncommon for parents to lose their children at infancy or even at childbearing age.⁵²⁶ Thus, the deaths in Luke 7 and 8 were likely not uncommon scenarios for Luke's earliest hearers and readers, including the Greek and Latin writers. The regularity with which children died may have led to fewer ancient remarks regarding the weeping of grieving parents. However, this implies that parents did not care about their children, which is untrue.⁵²⁷ Recent research has countered the belief that Roman parents were indifferent and cold towards their children's death.⁵²⁸ Even the Stoics, criticised for being emotionally detached and severe, saw parental affection and care for their children as natural and good;⁵²⁹ we see below that Cicero grieved deeply at the death of Tullia. Hence, I argue the key question is not about the commonplace

⁵²⁵ More on Seneca as a multiplex and fragmented figure in Braund 2015, 16-28.

⁵²⁶ Finley 1984, 395 writes that "any Greek or Roman who reached the age of marriage could look forward to burying one or more children, often very small ones, and to burying a young wife or rather less young husband and to remarrying with the same unhappy prospects."

⁵²⁷ I echo the sentiments of Finley 1984, 395: "I do not suggest that Greeks and Romans buried their children and spouses without a sense of loss... in a world in which such early deaths and burials were routine, so to speak, the intensity and duration of the emotional responses were unlike modern reactions, though I confess that I know no way to measure or even to identify the differences." (This does not mean we cannot attempt to observe responses to death in ancient writings; it means we cannot objectively measure the emotions involved or identify how they are different from modern responses)

⁵²⁸ Carroll 2011's study on mortuary evidence for infants in Italy from first century BC to AD 300 demonstrates that high infant mortality did not cause the Romans to be immune to grief when their children died (115); also Carroll 2014. Carroll's larger work in 2018 confirms that Roman families were invested in and attached to their children" (177). Hope 2009, 137 notes that the risk of death in children was so great that "it was impractical to weep for every baby," but "there is plenty of evidence that parents often did mourn for their children, including babies, intensely." See also Lindsay 2021; Pearce 2001; King 2000 for similar conclusions.

⁵²⁹ Cicero, *Her.* 2.13.19 [Caplan, *LCL* 403, 92]; Epictetus, *Disc.* 1.11, 1.11.16ff. [Oldfather, *LCL* 131, 76-77, 80-84].

occurrence of death but about *how* people in antiquity responded to their child's death, and Roman responses to death are most prominently seen in Stoic philosophy.⁵³⁰

Although the ancients rooted their theology on Christian scripture and not ancient philosophy, they undoubtedly operated within a moral and cultural atmosphere that saw the topic of managing emotions a popular one. Given the embeddedness of Stoicism in the Greco-Roman world, the rest of this section is devoted to appreciating the Stoic stance on death and mourning to understand how Stoicism shaped early Christian worldviews.⁵³¹ To comprehend Stoic accounts of grief we refer primarily to the works of Cicero and Seneca who have left the most writing on the topic of mourning and weeping. They both lost a child in their lifetime, and we are curious as to what their advice is in the event of a child's death. We do not have information about Seneca's son (except that he died in Seneca's mother, Helvia's, arms) but we know Cicero's daughter had reached childbearing age. This is not too distant from Jairus' twelve-year-old daughter and the widow's son who is a young man.

Born into a wealthy family, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC) was the greatest orator and one of the most prominent politicians in the late Roman republic who contributed to the intellectual and political life of Rome.⁵³² Cicero would not label himself a Stoic, but his

⁵³⁰ To supplement the more elite Stoic ideals, Chapa 1998 analyses some letters of condolence in Greek Papyri between the first/second and sixth/seventh century AD for an idea of the more popular practice of inhabitants in Egypt during the death of loved ones. More letters are found written for the death of a child than an adult; Stoic influences are identified in these letters, including those from within the Christian environment.

⁵³¹ The story of the Maccabean martyrs, especially the reaction of their mother in 4 Maccabees, epitomises how Stoic philosophy exerted great influence on first-century Jewish literature regarding death. See also Eklund 2015, 15-6 on how Stoicism affected attitudes of grief and lament in Judaism and early Christianity.

⁵³² Balsdon and Griffin, "Tullius Cicero, Marcus," *OCD* 4, 1514-6.

writings resonated with Stoicism and were a catalyst for developing later Stoic thought.

Tullia's death was a major blow in Cicero's life; he tells Atticus about it:

It is like you want me to recover from my grief (*Quod me ab hoc maerore recreari vis*), but you are my witness that I have not been remiss on my own behalf. Nothing has been written by any author on the alleviation of grief (*de maerore minuendo*) which I did not read in your house. But my sorrow is stronger than any consolation (*sed omnem consolationem vincit dolor*).⁵³³

...all my conversation is with books, but it is interrupted by fits of weeping (*eum tamen interpellat fletus*), against which I struggle as best I can.⁵³⁴

In another epistle responding to Sulpicius' letter, Cicero admits to being overwhelmed and unable to resist the grief (*sed opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori*)⁵³⁵ to the point where neither public nor private life can any longer comfort the distress (*quod nec eum dolorem quem e re publica capio domus iam consolari potest nec domesticum res publica*).⁵³⁶

When Cicero withdrew from public business, he devoted his time to producing *Tusculanae Disputationes*, a philosophical work related to death, pain, and grief. It is widely agreed that the Disputations were written several months after Tullia's death in the summer or autumn of 45 BC.⁵³⁷ Contrary to the honest grief for his daughter that we see in his letters, Cicero prohibits affection, pain, and sorrow in his philosophical discourse.⁵³⁸ He upholds the strict Stoic stance and maintains that there is no good in giving in to distress (*Tusc.* 4.11-14); fools are subject to distress and distress is a newly formed belief of present evil.⁵³⁹ In Cicero's opinion, if a small child dies, the loss must be borne calmly; if an infant

⁵³³ Cicero, *Att.* 251 (12.14.3) [Bailey, *LCL* 97, 280].

⁵³⁴ Cicero, *Att.* 252 (12.15.1) [Bailey, *LCL* 97, 284].

⁵³⁵ Cicero, *Fam.* 249 (4.6.1) [Bailey, *LCL* 216, 408].

⁵³⁶ Cicero, *Fam.* 249 (4.6.2) [Bailey, *LCL* 216, 410].

⁵³⁷ Gildenhard 2007, 279.

⁵³⁸ For those who read the Tusculan Disputations as Cicero's rejection of unmanly grief, Altman 2009 argues for an aspect of Cicero's writing called "womanly humanism."

⁵³⁹ Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.6.14 [King, *LCL* 141, 342].

dies in the cradle, there must not even be a lament (1.93). He rejects mourning the loss of a child on at least three other occasions (3.63, 4.40, 5.36).

We briefly break chronological order at this point and jump across a century later to the Greek Stoic, Epictetus (AD 50-135),⁵⁴⁰ who appears to hold harsh, even chilling, ideals. His advice when kissing a child, brother, or friend is not to act as though it were one of those things that cannot be taken away, but as though it were something like a jar or a crystal goblet, so that when it breaks you will remember what it was like, and not be troubled.⁵⁴¹ He asks, “What harm is there if you whisper to yourself, at the very moment you are kissing your child, and say, ‘Tomorrow you will die’?”⁵⁴² Epictetus conveys the proposition that while affection is natural (kissing and loving) one should be detached because humans are mortal. To maintain *apatheia*, a Stoic should approach the death of loved ones with indifference.

Returning to Cicero, the dissonance between his personal letters and philosophical works was probably a product of his own internal struggle. In the letter to Atticus, we find Cicero wavering on the question of whether to mourn Tullia’s death: “And I try all I know to bring my face if not my heart back to composure, if I can. While I do this I sometimes feel I am committing a sin (*peccare*), at others that I should be sinning (*peccaturus*) if I failed to do it.”⁵⁴³ The apparent incongruity in emotional allowance suggests that the difference lies in whether what is written is for philosophical *consolationes* or a poetic *consolatio*—the former

⁵⁴⁰ Inwood, “Epictetus,” *OCD* 4, 512 gives a broader dating of mid-first to second century.

⁵⁴¹ Epictetus, *Disc.* 3.24.84-85 [Oldfather, *LCL* 218, 210].

⁵⁴² Epictetus, *Disc.* 3.24.88 [Oldfather, *LCL* 218, 212].

⁵⁴³ Cicero, *Att.* 12.14.3 [Bailey, *LCL* 97, 282].

is reluctant to mourn while the latter allows emotions.⁵⁴⁴ The tension in Cicero's mind and heart was probably not unique to him—it was reflective of the discrepancy between an ideal response and the reality of life within wider Roman society. Valerie Hope observes the impracticality of mourning the death of the child, yet the truth was that Roman parents did nonetheless mourn intensely—"a divide between élite, philosophically driven ideals and the lived realities of the majority of the population."⁵⁴⁵

We move on to the major Stoic author, Seneca (4 BC-AD 65),⁵⁴⁶ who was also born into a wealthy family; many of his works are important sources for understanding Stoicism. Seneca softens the harsh words found in Cicero and Epictetus as he makes room for weeping tears of grief. Seneca maintains some Stoic ideals in the strict sense but relaxes the austerity in the ensuing sections. A work that reflects this softened approach is Seneca's letter to Marullus in which Seneca consoles him for the loss of his son. It begins with rather harsh sounding Stoic-sounding statements: countless cases of men have without tears (*sine lacrimis*) buried sons in the prime of manhood—men who have returned from the funeral pyre to the Senate chamber, or any other official duties, and have straightway busied themselves with work.⁵⁴⁷ The greatest blow to a man is not the death of his son, but a friend.⁵⁴⁸ A dead child is able to leave the potential dangers of this world before he is

⁵⁴⁴ Vekselius 2018, 41; Markus 2004; Gibson 2006, xxxii–xxxiv; Hope 2011, 107-8; McCullough 2011, 186-7; Scourfield 2013. Manning 1981, 42 describes the "different attitudes to grief traditional in philosophic and poetic consolations. For while in the former a public parade of grief is considered a reprehensible sign of weakness, in the poetic consolations it is favourable and treated as evidence of great affection."

⁵⁴⁵ Hope 2009, 137.

⁵⁴⁶ Reynolds, Griffin and Fantham, "Annaeus Seneca, Lucius," *OCD* 4, 92 estimate his birth year as 4 BC-AD 1.

⁵⁴⁷ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.6 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 132].

⁵⁴⁸ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.2-3 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 130]. Graver 2009, 238 explains Seneca's argument as *a fortiori*: one is not to grieve the death of a lifelong friend but to rejoice over the privilege of friendship (99.3); by contrast, a child's death does not deprive one of any positive good at all (the child's character was not even formed yet) so there is no need to rejoice, but to accept the death with equanimity.

wearied out, and his father will have less to worry about.⁵⁴⁹ Moreover, the son was only “a boy who was as yet better known to his nurse than to his father!”⁵⁵⁰

Seneca’s cold timbre, however, is softened immediately after this. First, he clarifies that he is *not* advising the recipient to be hard-hearted (*duritiam*), or to keep his face unmoved at the funeral (*funere ipso rigere vultum volo*); it would mean a lack of feeling rather than virtue if one shows no emotion over the first bereavement in the family.⁵⁵¹

Tears fall, no matter how we try to check them, and by being shed they ease the soul (*excidunt etiam retinentibus lacrimae et animum profusae levant*). What, then, shall we do? Let us allow them to fall, but let us not command them (*permittamus illis cadere, non imperemus*); let us weep accordingly as emotion floods our eyes, but not as much as mere imitation shall demand (*fluat, quantum adfectus eiecerit, non quantum poscet imitatio*). Let us add nothing to natural grief (*nihil vero maerori adiciamus*), nor augment it by following the example of others.⁵⁵²

The above excerpts demonstrate how Seneca continues to advocate the harsh ideals that are analogous to Cicero’s philosophy while at the same acknowledging the need to allow for grief and tears to take their natural course.

The back-and-forth between restraint and allowance continues in the following sentences. Seneca thinks that “nothing is more foolish than to court a reputation for sadness and to sanction tears (*stultius vero nihil est quam famam captare tristitiae et lacrimas adprobare*),”⁵⁵³ but his hostility is tempered when he explains that he allows for two kinds of tears: i) those that naturally fall out at the moment of grief and ii) tears that are shed when

⁵⁴⁹ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.12-3 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 136].

⁵⁵⁰ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.15 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 136].

⁵⁵¹ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.15-16 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 138].

⁵⁵² Seneca, *Ep.* 99.15-16 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 138].

⁵⁵³ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.18 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 140].

reminiscing sweet memories of the deceased.⁵⁵⁴ Weeping should be allowed and done in a proper manner:

You should either check or pour forth your tears; whether restrained or outpoured... Let them flow naturally (*eant sua sponte*). But it is possible for tears to flow from the eyes of those who are quiet and at peace... I have seen men worthy of reverence, during the burial of those near and dear, with countenances upon which love was written clear even after the whole apparatus of mourning was removed, and who showed no other conduct than that which was allowed to genuine emotion (*veris dabatur adfectibus*). There is a comeliness even in grief (*est aliquis et dolendi decor*). This should be cultivated by the wise man; even in tears (*ita etiam in lacrimis aliquid sat est*), just as in other matters also, there is a certain sufficiency; it is with the unwise that sorrows, like joys, gush over.⁵⁵⁵

Departing from Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Seneca recognises that tears of grief are natural, should be permitted, and can be expressed appropriately. Seneca's Stoic version of mourning is one of weeping and grieving in moderation.⁵⁵⁶ Seneca's letter to Marullus is very similar to the consolations written to Marcia, Polybius, and Helvia (*Marc.* 4.1; *Polyb.* 6.4, 18.5; *Helv.* 16.1)⁵⁵⁷—one should strike an appropriate balance between forced, inhuman repression of all emotion and an indulged, uncontrollable expression of weeping and grief.⁵⁵⁸

The crucial issue for Seneca is not whether a Stoic is permitted to mourn but whether the

⁵⁵⁴ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.18-19 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 140].

⁵⁵⁵ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.20-1 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 140-2].

⁵⁵⁶ Seneca, *Ep.* 63.1 [Gummere, *LCL* 75, 428-30] refers to mourning in moderation and a flow of tears that is not excessive.

⁵⁵⁷ For more detailed analyses, see Muir 2022, 43-70 who compares *Ad Marciam*, *Ad Helviam*, and *Ad Polybus* as Seneca's early career consolations, including how Seneca employs Stoic philosophy with political elements.

⁵⁵⁸ We also note the work of Seneca's younger contemporary, Plutarch, *Cons. Apoll.* 1-37 (102A-122A) [Babbitt, *LCL* 222, 109-211]. The Platonist philosopher, who, though criticises Stoicism, shares similar views with Seneca on managing grief. In his letter to Apollonius regarding the death of his son, Plutarch allows Apollonius to feel the pain because grief is natural but calls for moderate indulgence in grief—reason is required to neither be indifferent nor extravagantly affected (*Cons. Apoll.* 1-4, 102A-102E). After naming several men in Greek and Roman history who acted nobly and honourably at the deaths of loved ones, Plutarch encourages Apollonius at the end of the letter to resume his regular, noble life and “put aside [his] present grief” and be “set free from all this wretchedness” (*Cons. Apoll.* 37, 121E-122A). Plutarch's letter of consolation, in addition to those by Seneca, demonstrates the widespread moral and cultural response (Platonic and Stoic) to death and bereavement in antiquity. It also serves as evidence of the common occurrence of infant death in antiquity.

grief is limited and properly controlled.⁵⁵⁹ Seneca welcomes—in moderation—what Cicero believed was inappropriate (but which Cicero himself failed to adhere to).⁵⁶⁰

Though there is a change in tone from Cicero to Seneca, they both (and the wider Greco-Roman world) thought of weeping and mourning as womanish behaviour.⁵⁶¹ Cicero asks: What is more disgraceful for a man than womanish weeping (*quid est enim fletu muliebri viro turpius*)?⁵⁶² Seneca accuses Marullus of behaving like a woman in the way he handles his son's death (*molliter tu fers mortem filii*).⁵⁶³ People call a man who collapses and clings to his dead as womanish and weak (*effeminatum ait et enervem*).⁵⁶⁴ Seneca points to an old enacted tradition where women are limited to mourn for one year but there is no legislation for men because it is not honourable for men to mourn.⁵⁶⁵ Notions of lamenting and mourning as effeminate and weak were already present from the time of Plato and

⁵⁵⁹ See similar conclusions in Vekselius 2018, 44. Reydam-Schils 2005, 141 writes, "Seneca is struggling to find a way compatible with Stoic doctrine to tell Cicero (and indirectly Plato) that even in public and at a burial not only a mother but also any philosophically inclined human being has neither to be stone-faced nor stone-hearted in order to preserve dignity and virtue."

⁵⁶⁰ Trotter 2023, 47-48 refers to Seneca's position as rejecting the Stoic ἀπάθεια and adopting the "Academic-Peripatetic position of moderation of the emotions (μετριοπάθεια)."

⁵⁶¹ Alexiou 2002, 102-30 shows that from antiquity to modernity, Greek mourning and tears were gendered; women were the ones designated to display grief and lament for the dead—loosen their hair, beat their breasts, and wail. Šterbenc 2009 finds that both Cicero and Seneca described mourning practices according to upper-class morality: "female behaviour was downplayed and depreciated as it was diametrically opposite to the expected male performance" (137). The notion of gendered weeping found in Stoic philosophical writings may not apply to an earlier period. Suter 2009 argues that tears in Attic tragedy have "little or nothing to do with gender" (59); Föllinger 2009 finds no difference between the expression of sorrow in men and women and that weeping is not regarded as unmanly in the Homeric poems.

⁵⁶² Cicero, *Tusc.* 2.24.58 [King, *LCL* 141, 212].

⁵⁶³ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.2-3 [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 130].

⁵⁶⁴ Seneca, *Ep.* 99.18. [Gummere, *LCL* 77, 140].

⁵⁶⁵ Seneca, *Ep.* 63.13 [Gummere, *LCL* 75, 434]. According to a decree issued after the death of Augustus, the mourning required by law was observed only for a few days by the men, but for a whole year by the women (Dio Cassius, *Rom.* 56.43.1 [Cary and Foster, *LCL* 175, 98].

Aristotle.⁵⁶⁶ This could explain the missing description of a weeping Jairus versus a publicly weeping widow at Nain.

In studying the Stoic ideals on grief and weeping, we have noticed the incongruity between Cicero's personal letters and his philosophical discourse, the difference between upholding Stoic ideals at the elite ranks and the real lived experience of the Roman majority, the difference between Cicero and Seneca, and the general perception that weeping was considered effeminate. Stoicism's influence on weeping and grief is not straightforward—it emphasises emotional restraint and self-control on the one hand but also permission and appreciation on the other.⁵⁶⁷ To achieve the good life, the Stoic must manage and balance emotions amidst life's challenges. This balancing act may explain the discontinuity in Ambrose's funeral sermons for his brother—he recognises the great grief that one undergoes during bereavement (Book 1) but also argues for reasons to restrict the mourning (Book 2). Stoic influence may also explain Gregory of Nyssa's treatise on infants' early deaths. He explains the premature death of infants as God's way of protecting them from being contaminated by the sin and evil in this world.⁵⁶⁸ Like the Stoic writings, there is a sense of detachment and cognitive justification for infant deaths; Gregory does not address grief or sorrow.

⁵⁶⁶ Plato, *Resp.* 3.395C-E [Emlyn-Jones and Preddy, *LCL* 237, 258-60]; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 9.4 [Rackham, *LCL* 73, 570-1]. Van Wees 1998 demonstrates that the notion of weeping as effeminate only developed after Homer in the seventh century BC and became the dominant view in the fifth century BC.

⁵⁶⁷ Vekselius 2018, 34, who draws on Arnould 1990, 259-69, identifies "two possible paradigms for tears of mourning, one allowing and appreciative of emotions, and the other valuing self-control... two paradigms co-existed in Greek literature: one philosophical, in the Platonic, Stoic, and Epicurean traditions that valued emotional restraint, the other Homeric and tearful, as found in poetry, 'tragic history,' and the novel." Also, ancient depictions of those mourning the dead on tombstones and epitaphs suggest the conflict between philosophical ideas and the real lived experiences of grief; e.g., *Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres (ILCV)* 1549, see below.

⁵⁶⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Infant.* (Hörner 1986, 67-97).

Perhaps the shared conviction between Christians and Stoics was their commitment to not be conquered and defeated by their emotions, whether of grief or joy or desire. If so, was early Christian thought merely a response to or a function of popular Stoic philosophy? Did the inescapable Stoic influence cause the ancient authors to be relatively muted about mourning and weeping?⁵⁶⁹ When faced with the difficulty of losing loved ones, did Christians adopt the most popular non-Christian philosophical response to death? Were Luke's "do not weep" imperatives merely reactions that were Stoicism's lowest common denominator and not a distinctly Christian response? Is there a Christian motivation that supersedes a Stoic-only explanation? To tackle these questions, the Christian view on life and resurrection should be considered. The voluminous writings by the ancients on the hope of resurrection serve as evidence that the Christians did have a powerful argument unique to them.⁵⁷⁰

The Hope of Resurrection

We noted that in Book 2 of Ambrose's funeral oration, the content had shifted to the repeated reminders that the mourners should turn their focus to the resurrection.⁵⁷¹ By the second sermon, appropriately entitled *De fide Resurrectionis*, Ambrose asks: What grief is there which the grace of the Resurrection does not console?⁵⁷² The same conviction is found in Origen's comments on Jairus' daughter. When Jesus said that the girl is not dead (Luke

⁵⁶⁹ Bayer 2001, 289 argues that Stoicism is the reason that lamentation almost disappeared in the early church („Seit den ältesten Zeiten der Kirche ist die Klage im Gottesdienst fast erloschen, im alltäglichen Leben der Christen — dank der Stoa!“) but the reality is probably more nuanced than Bayer claims.

⁵⁷⁰ In the first two centuries, Christian authors wrote about the resurrection from the dead more than any other theological subject and this inevitably modified their attitude towards death and the practice of mourning (Durst 2009, 424). E.g., Justin Martyr, *Res.*; Tertullian, *Res.*; Clement of Rome, *1 Clem.* 24.27.42; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.31.2; amongst many others.

⁵⁷¹ Durst 2009, 433 describes Ambrose's shift as „Die Zeit der Trauer im engeren und eigentlichen Sinn ist vorüber. Jetzt zeigt er in Form einer christlichen consolatio auf, dass der Tod nicht zu beklagen sei.“

⁵⁷² *Quem enim non soletur resurrectionis gratia, quem non excludat maerorem*; Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.3 (CSEL 73, 252; NPNF 2:10, 174).

8:52) even though she already was, Origen understands that to mean those who have hope in Christ because of the resurrection have not died but are sleeping.⁵⁷³ In the next sentence, he quotes from 1 Thess 4:13b, “so that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope.”

Another example from Luke 7 where real grief is acknowledged but eventually overcome by the resurrection is in the work of Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory describes the widow at Nain as undergoing a real lamentation (θρήνος ἄντικρύς).⁵⁷⁴ He calls attention to the weight of her misfortune, tragedy of her suffering, and great grief, as a heart consumed by flame (οἶονεὶ πυρὶ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐγκαταφλέγεσθαι); he imagines how bitterly she would prolong her lament over her son (ὥς πικρῶς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρατείνειν τὸν θρήνον) and not hasten the funeral but to have her fill of sorrow (ἐμφορεῖσθαι τοῦ πάθους).⁵⁷⁵ This is a lengthy and thoughtful reflection on the suffering endured by the widow. However, the detailed description of her plight and pain serves as the preface to Jesus who comes with compassion and turns around her tragedy. The next verse continues with the miraculous power of Jesus to perform acts of resurrection. Gregory concludes the paragraph by stating that the miracle wrought by the Lord is *greater than* (κυρίου τὸ μὲν θαῦμα μεῖζον) the above-mentioned devastation.⁵⁷⁶ Gregory illustrates how the ancients recognised great grief but contained it under the power of Jesus to bring about resurrection.⁵⁷⁷ Though not about weeping per se, the overall tenor matches that of Cyril of Alexandria’s above.

⁵⁷³ Origen, *Cat. Matt.* 185 (GCS 41/1, 89; Heine 2018, 1:344). This was not discussed earlier because it does not mention weeping, but it shows how the resurrection might limit grief.

⁵⁷⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Opif.* 25.10 (PG 44, 217; NPNF 2:5, 416).

⁵⁷⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Opif.* 25.10 (PG 44, 220; NPNF 2:5, 416).

⁵⁷⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Opif.* 25.10 (PG 44, 220; NPNF 2:5, 416).

⁵⁷⁷ Alexiou 2002, 24-35, in her study of ritual lament, demonstrates that the Greek writers curbed violent lamentations and advocated moderate grief.

When we look beyond interpretations of Luke 7 and 8, we find the same sentiments. For instance, Gregory of Nazianzus, when eulogising for his sister, Gorgonia, admits that his memory of her brought about trembling and tears, but he also tells his audience that at Gorgonia's death, tears were mute and the pangs of grief unconsolated because it seemed sacrilegious to mourn in the knowledge of the eternal glory and splendour that awaits her.⁵⁷⁸ Commodian's perspective is even harsher: on top of saying that bewailing the death of sons is to forget the promises of the Lord regarding the resurrection, he adds that the action of grieving, lamenting, and weeping "lessens" the Christian into a Gentile.⁵⁷⁹ Peter Brown points us to a fragment of an epitaph from the fourth century of an eighteen-month-old Sicilian baby girl (currently in the Mediterranean room in the Louvre) that reads: "While her parents bewailed her death at every moment, the voice of [God's] majesty was heard at night, forbidding them to lament for the dead child."⁵⁸⁰ Brown utilises this moving example to illustrate the tension between the freedom to mourn and a strict control on grief because of the resurrection. Such an attitude may have influenced the early writers to subconsciously neglect or even deliberately avoid expositions that border upon weeping in Luke 7 and 8. Durst observes that we hear practically nothing about Christian mourning practices in the first three centuries, and that expressions of Christian mourning only came into view at the end of the fourth century,⁵⁸¹ which coheres with the shift we see in Ambrose's records.

⁵⁷⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Gorg.* (Or.) 8.22-23 (PG 35, 813-6; NPNF 2:7, 244).

⁵⁷⁹ Commodian, *Instruct.* 2.28.10 (CCSL 128, 65-66; ANF 4, 217).

⁵⁸⁰ *Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres* (ILCV) 1549; referenced in Brown 1981, 69.

⁵⁸¹ „in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten erfährt man praktisch nichts von einer christlichen Trauerpraxis“ (Durst 2009, 431). Relatedly, Chapa 1998, 23-24 observes that early Christian letters of condolence merely accept death as fate, without exhibiting any Christian influence on consolation for death.

At this juncture, it is fitting to discuss 1 Thess 4:13b (“so that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope”), first seen in Origen’s quote above. If this is Paul’s prohibition to mourn, we may have found a key explanation for the early authors’ tendency to stay away from weeping and grief. As (possibly) the earliest extant NT text, 1 Thessalonians could represent the first Christian conviction about death and the apocalypse. Whether or not this view is Stoic-influenced, Paul’s statement unequivocally links fortitude in the face of death with Christian hope in the resurrection. However, is Paul prohibiting grief altogether?

John Barclay argues, based on patristic writings and his exegesis of 1 Thess 4:13, that Paul’s distinctive approach to death and resurrection explains the early Christians’ radically negative outlook on mourning the dead. Unlike non-Christians who have no hope, Christians can suppress emotions and overcome the pain of loss because of their peculiar hope in victory over death.⁵⁸² There are only two categories for Paul: “the grieving mass of humanity, and the non-grieving, because hope-filled, believers.”⁵⁸³ Barclay agrees with and quotes from James Frame that Paul is not saying Christians are to grieve less than the unbelievers but that “present grief, however natural, is excluded.”⁵⁸⁴ Barclay’s argument about death and early Christian identity is, in my opinion, harsh and exegetically unwarranted. By strictly ruling out grief, he paints Paul as a cold-hearted apostle who fails to engage with human suffering. We have insufficient information on the context of 1 Thessalonians 4 to know what Paul meant in 4:13b. It is difficult to accept Paul as absolutely prohibiting grief when we see him telling the Philippian church that if Epaphroditus had died he would have felt one

⁵⁸² Pre-Christian Jews also believed in the resurrection, as seen between the Pharisees and Sadducees.

⁵⁸³ Barclay 2011, 224.

⁵⁸⁴ Frame 1912, 167; Barclay 2011, 224. Malherbe 2008, 264 also thinks Paul prohibits grief.

sorrow after another (λύπην ἐπὶ λύπην, Phil 2:27). In Rom 12:15, Paul encourages Christians to weep with those who weep (κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων).⁵⁸⁵

Augustine clearly states that in 1 Thess 4:13 [Paul] did not forbid us to be sad but forbade us to be sad like the pagans who do not have hope.⁵⁸⁶ Responding to Barclay, Todd Still questions whether the passive voice λυπήσθε (v.13b) challenges Barclay's reading.⁵⁸⁷ Alex Muir builds on Still's query and argues that it indicates a "gradual prevention and restraint" rather than an interdiction of grief,⁵⁸⁸ like in Barclay's extreme position. Therefore, I prefer to interpret 1 Thess 4:13b as Paul's consolation, comfort, and encouragement when faced with death, not a command to the Thessalonians to cease grieving; rather, Paul is highlighting the distinctive Christian hope in the resurrection and second coming of Jesus.⁵⁸⁹ Everyone is allowed to grieve when death occurs, but Christians can grieve differently, with hope, unlike the hopelessness felt by their pagan neighbours.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁵ Barclay 2011, 225 n.22 acknowledges Rom 12:15 as an example of permissible weeping but argues it is not an equivalent example to 1 Thess 4:13 because it does not concern death. As for Phil 2:27, Barclay thinks the grief is for Paul himself and not for Epaphroditus. Barclay concedes that "Paul does not repress emotions in general," hence, I find it inconsistent for Barclay to think that Paul represses emotions in situations of death.

⁵⁸⁶ *non enim contristari prohibuit apostolus, cum hoc diceret, sed sic contristari quem ad modum gentes, quae spem non habent*; Augustine, *Ep.* 263.3 (CSEL 57, 632; WSA Letters II/4, 210). *contristor* is similar to λυπέω in 1 Thess 4:13.

⁵⁸⁷ Still 2007, 212.

⁵⁸⁸ Muir 2022, 104.

⁵⁸⁹ Muir 2022 contends that Paul "does not wholly forbid grieving" (103) but "introduces a consolatory narrative about the Parousia to console believers" (104).

⁵⁹⁰ For similar arguments see Martin 1995, 144; Elias 1995, 170. Ebner 2001 argues that grief and resurrection can be held together („Als der eigentliche theologische Ort der Klage erweist sich im Neuen Testament die Auferweckungshoffnung") (86), and that Paul is not prohibiting their grief but correcting the Thessalonian attitude that no longer expects God to intervene (87). Eklund 2021 "Lament," 42 reads 1 Thess 4:13 as "so that you might grieve with hope," and adds that "belief in the resurrection doesn't exempt people from grief when their loved ones die." Houlbrooke 2000, 222 specifies that "the earliest commentators upon the passage construed it as a prohibition of all mourning, but following Ambrose and Augustine, most later writers understood it as an injunction not to indulge in a sorrow like that of people who had no hope." For further discussion on the Christian construction of grief and early Christian eschatology, see Barton 2011.

Such an early view on death and grief prompts us to question whether Luke knew 1 Thess 4:13 since it pre-dates Luke's Gospel.⁵⁹¹ Following my interpretation of 1 Thess 4:14b (not Barclay's), Luke's narratives are consistent with Paul's perspective, and they serve as complementary personifications to Paul's theological statement. They both ensure readers know that the hope of resurrection in Jesus does not inhibit tears of mourning and feelings of grief. We could conjecture that Luke, knowing Paul's view, presents the Lukan Jesus as neither criticising nor prohibiting grief altogether but showing the widow and Jairus that there is hope even in death.⁵⁹² If this synthesis of permitting grief yet hoping in the resurrection is demonstrated by Paul and Luke, then Ambrose and Augustine (and Cyril of Alexandria) would be the earliest authors, based on extant sources, to cohere with the NT approach towards death and grief. It is on this note that we return to the Latin authors.

Revisiting the Latin Authors

After discussing how the coalescing of philosophical culture in antiquity and Christian doctrine may have influenced the fewer references to weeping and grief, we revisit Ambrose and Augustine. In *De excessu fratris*, Ambrose's grief on a personal and public level seems to correspond to Stoic practices—a struggle between permitting and controlling grief.⁵⁹³ As for

⁵⁹¹ See relevant debates in Adams 2013; Smith and Tyson 2013; Pervo 2006. Assuming Lukan authorship, the dating and sources of Acts invite a reinterpretation of Luke's Gospel and Luke's knowledge of Paul's letters.

⁵⁹² If we extend this thought experiment and assume that John knew Luke, as some scholars believe, it would be interesting to consider the extent to which the Lazarus account in John 11 might echo or differ from some characteristics in Luke 7 and 8. It appears that John also affirms the allowance for grief and weeping as seen in the weeping of Mary and the Jews. Like Luke, John's plot also moves from the weeping of mourners to the miraculous raising of the deceased. One could posit that John goes even further in affirming the tears of grief by not only removing the imperative "do not weep" from the lips of Jesus but even portraying a Jesus who sheds tears (11:35). Further analysis of John 11 will feature in the next chapter. Perhaps, in the early authors' eagerness to lump Luke 7 and 8 with John 11 to emphasise the resurrection, they have overlooked the allowance for weeping and grief in these accounts.

⁵⁹³ Eklund 2015 also describes the early Christian interaction with "Stoicism's aversion to outward expressions of grief" as "sometimes echoing this aversion and sometimes resisting it" (15); specifically, she observes that "Ambrose alternates between expressing the depth of his loss and clinging to his belief that the resurrection must temper his sorrow" (156).

Augustine, we have not yet seen his experiences of personal grief because his comments on Luke do not refer to himself, only to his mother's weeping. Below we see that at the death of his mother, Monica, Augustine also struggles but eventually allows himself to express grief—to an even greater degree than Ambrose.⁵⁹⁴

I closed her eyes. A measureless grief welled up in my heart and was on the point of overflowing into tears (*et confluebat in praecordia mea maestitudo ingens et transfluebat in lacrimas*), when my eyes at the same time, by the violent control of my mind, suppressed the flow at its source and remained dry. Woe was me in such a struggle!⁵⁹⁵

But in Your [God's] ears, where none of them heard, did I blame the weakness of my feelings, and restrained the flow of my grief (*constringebam fluxum maeroris*), and it receded a little; but the paroxysm returned again, though not to the point of breaking into sobs, nor to a change in my outward expression, though I was aware of what feeling I was crushing in my heart (*sed ego sciebam, quid corde premerem*)... with a new sorrow I sorrowed for my sorrow, and was torn apart by this twofold distress.⁵⁹⁶

So, when the body was carried forth, we both went and returned without tears (*redimus sine lacrimis*)... neither in their prayers did I shed tears; yet all that day I was secretly crushed with grief (*nec in eis ergo precibus fleui, sed toto die graviter in occulto maestus eram*), and in turmoil of mind I asked you continually, as best I could, to heal my pain, but You did not.⁵⁹⁷

We sense the palpable pain and struggle within Augustine as he tries his hardest to repress his emotions. He describes the intense experience as feeling sorrow at the fact of his sorrow. However, a shift happens when after the funeral he takes a hot bath and recalls a hymn of Ambrose and memories of his mother, which causes him to burst into tears.

Little by little did I bring back my former thoughts of Your handmaid... and it was a comfort to weep about her and for her, about myself and for myself in your presence (*et libuit flere in conspectu tuo de illa et pro illa, de me et pro me*). I set free the tears which before I repressed (*et dimisi lacrimas, quas*

⁵⁹⁴ Schenk 2005, 213 refers to Augustine's description as "one of the most insightful and detailed ancient phenomenologies of mourning."

⁵⁹⁵ Augustine, *Conf.* 9.12.29 [Hammond, *LCL* 27, 54].

⁵⁹⁶ Augustine, *Conf.* 9.12.31 [Hammond, *LCL* 27, 58].

⁵⁹⁷ Augustine, *Conf.* 9.12.32 [Hammond, *LCL* 27, 58].

continebam), and let them fall as freely as they would, spreading them beneath my heart (*ut effluerent quantum vellent, substernens eas cordi meo*).⁵⁹⁸

Barclay uses Augustine's confessions about his mourning process to argue that the early Christians did indeed suppress their grief. In Barclay's opinion, though Augustine was unsuccessful in his struggle against emotion, he later confesses his tears as a sin and a sign of too much worldly affection (*carnalis affectus*),⁵⁹⁹ which demonstrates that commitment to eternal life motivated the early Christians to struggle against emotions and criticise their own tears. I disagree with Barclay again and lean towards Durst's argument that the above excerpts are not indications that Augustine was averse to emotion; rather they show that Augustine finds the Christian convention of not showing grief unhelpful, as it only torments him all the more.⁶⁰⁰ Augustine's weeping over his mother in Book 9 ends a series of tearful events in *Confessions* that began with 3.2.2-4, suggesting his openness to weeping. Peter White usefully points out that the behaviour of *carnalis affectus*, "the misplaced attachment to worldly, passing things and people," was that for which Augustine criticised his mother (5.8.15).⁶⁰¹ Augustine commits what he had earlier criticised, again signifying his embrace of weeping. Thus, I prefer the view that "Augustine's vivid and sympathetic account of grief

⁵⁹⁸ Augustine, *Conf.* 9.12.33 [Hammond, *LCL* 27, 60]. The phrase *in conspectus tuo* "conveys that Augustine was able to weep for his mother only when he felt he was unobserved by anyone except God" (White 2019, 339).

⁵⁹⁹ Barclay 2011, 235; Augustine, *Conf.* 9.13.34 [Hammond, *LCL* 27, 62].

⁶⁰⁰ Durst 2009, 436: „An dieser Schilderung wird überdeutlich, als wie wenig hilfreich Augustinus die christliche Konvention erfuhr, keine Trauer zu zeigen, und wie dieses Herkommen ihn nur umso mehr quälte.“ Schenk 2005, 214 believes readers are misled if they only pay attention to Augustine's self-critical remarks. Paffenroth 2013 offers an additional emotional layer by arguing that Augustine's tears are a combination of grief and joy when he finally realises that Monica is also a repentant sinner coming to God.

⁶⁰¹ White 2019, 339.

itself shows a level of acceptance of grief,”⁶⁰² that this is his “final acceptance of the propriety of expressing [sorrow].”⁶⁰³

Augustine’s positive view of mourning is seen even more clearly in a letter he writes to Sapida at her brother’s death where Augustine acknowledges and encourages a degree of weeping and grief. Using John 11:35, Augustine tells Sapida that the Lord did not command us to weep by precept but he certainly permitted it by his example (*etsi non iussit praecepto, concessit exemplo*) to weep over the dead. He then quotes from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, “Shed tears over one who has died, and begin to lament, as if you have suffered grievously” (Sir 38:16).⁶⁰⁴ Elsewhere, Augustine preaches that when someone we love dies we are bound to grieve⁶⁰⁵ and to not have any grief is to become inhuman.⁶⁰⁶ These references demonstrate that besides commenting on the weeping in Luke 7 and 8, Augustine writes more openly about weeping in grief elsewhere.

For a more holistic view, we now compare Ambrose’s and Augustine’s openness to emotions with some of their Greek counterparts who curbed violent lamentations and advocated moderate grief.⁶⁰⁷ Basil of Caesarea in his homily *De gratiarum actione* prohibits mourning in the strict sense:

neither men nor women should be permitted too much lamentation and mourning. They should show moderate distress in their affliction, with only a

⁶⁰² Jones 2007, 82.

⁶⁰³ Banner 2014, 145. Contra Rebillard 2009, 131 who presents Augustine as containing his grief because “joy and hope prevailed over sorrow and tears.” Both views could be right in that each is seeing Augustine’s writings from different perspectives.

⁶⁰⁴ Augustine, *Ep.* 263.3 (CSEL 57, 633; WSA Letters II/4, 210).

⁶⁰⁵ *tamen mors ipsa, quam natura refugit, cum occupat dilectum, contristat in nobis ipsius dilectionis affectum*; Augustine, *Serm.* 172.1 (CCSL 41Bb, 479; WSA Sermons III/5, 251).

⁶⁰⁶ *melius tamen cum dolet et sanatur cor humanum quam non dolendo fit inhumanum*; Augustine, *Serm.* 173.2 (CCSL 41Bb, 496; WSA Sermons III/5, 255).

⁶⁰⁷ See Alexiou’s 2002, 24-35 study of ritual laments and the Greek authors.

few tears, shed quietly and without moaning, wailing, tearing of clothes and grovelling in the dust, or committing any other indecency commonly practised by the ungodly.⁶⁰⁸

Similarly, John Chrysostom denounces dirges as blasphemies (βλασφήμους λόγους)⁶⁰⁹ and refers to hiring mourners/weepers as a female disease⁶¹⁰ and as pagan customs that were fatal to the Church.⁶¹¹ Lest we conclude that the Greek authors only wrote harshly against weeping and mourning, we acknowledge that the overall content of Basil's *De gratiarum actione* allows yet limits tears, and that Chrysostom recognises grief as natural and allows moderate weeping (*Laz.* 5) (more on Basil's and Chrysostom's works in Chapter 5). Gregory of Nyssa also thinks that restrained grief is a necessary release to the feelings, a pleasure sanctified by the Scriptures: tears are only pleasure for people (μόνον ἦν ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δάκρυον).⁶¹² When writing about his sister, Macrina, lying on her death bed, Gregory admits to being so affected by the other grieving women that he too was overcome by emotions. After he pulled himself together, he reminded the women that there is only one occasion for tears—weeping at the time of prayer (Ἐνα καιρὸν δακρύων ὑμῖν ἡ θεία ψυχὴ αὕτη ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐν τῷ τῆς προσευχῆς καιρῷ τοῦτο πράττειν παρεγγυήσασα), that is, to turn sorrow and lamentation into psalmody.⁶¹³ The Greek writers did not stamp out weeping, grieving, and lamentation completely and advocated for the moderation of emotions, not dissimilar to the Stoics.

⁶⁰⁸ Basil, *Grat.* 6 (PG 31, 228). Also discussed below p.202.

⁶⁰⁹ Chrysostom, *Fil. Vid.* (PG 61, 791).

⁶¹⁰ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 62.4 (PG 59, 346).

⁶¹¹ καὶ γὰρ μειζόνως δέδοικα, μὴ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χαλεπὴ τις νόσος ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπεισέλθῃ; Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 4.7 (PG 63, 44; NPNF 1:14, 386).

⁶¹² Gregory of Nyssa, *Pulch. Or.* (PG 46, 868). Also, Basil, *Grat.* 3 (PG 31, 224-5).

⁶¹³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vit. Mac.* 26-7 (SC 178, 232).

These approaches to grief and tears echo the expositions we saw above in Cyril of Alexandria's Luke commentary that was written about a century later (c. early fifth century) that speaks about deep grief and sorrow in Luke 7 and 8 but that also quickly turns to the assurance of the resurrection. I surmise that Cyril's comment on and recognition of sorrow as real and present in the scenarios could owe to his later date of writing, i.e., when the effects of Stoicism had begun to taper down. Nonetheless, it is still Ambrose and Augustine who display greater degrees of embracing weeping and emotions in their works despite the Latin writers being those who were more Stoically influenced than the Greeks.

What made the Latin writers, amidst their Stoic influences, trailblazers in their take on grief? For Ambrose, I argue it is his courage and creativity in combining the predominant Stoic tenets of his time with Scripture-based Christian doctrines.⁶¹⁴ E.g., Ambrose transforms grief at the present loss to a longing for the loved one (still within Stoic philosophy) that will certainly be fulfilled on the last day because of the (distinctly Christian) resurrection.⁶¹⁵ Longing for a deceased loved one, as opposed to only feeling distress, is permitted by the Stoics, so Ambrose too allows for tears of grief that are driven by a sense of longing. In his funeral oration, we find instances of Ambrose's deep longing for Satyrus. Additionally, the

⁶¹⁴ For a survey of Ambrose's use of Stoicism that is neither uncritical and merely synthetic nor contrastive and tendentious, consult Colish 1985, 2:49-59. See Scherz 2017 for how Ambrose kept within the Stoic framework but transformed the affective response to death based on eschatological hope in the Lord—though not a Stoic, Ambrose produced “an eclectic mix of the philosophical ideas of the surrounding milieu” (18). Eklund 2015, 156 agrees that “Ambrose rejects some tenets of Stoicism on grief but moderates others.” Contra Hall 2017, 61-71 who argues Ambrose's Stoicism is so evident that without the identity of the writer one would not know it is the work of a Christian theologian. Hall maintains that Ambrose presents excessive grief as a sign of a lack of virtue, which is precisely the Stoic view. I opt for more nuanced views by Colish 1985; Scherz 2017; Eklund 2015; Irenei 2021.

⁶¹⁵ Scherz 2017, 9-12. Similarly, Eklund 2015, 156 claims that “Ambrose seeks to reconfigure weeping from a form of grief (frowned upon by Stoicism) into a type of longing (legitimated by love for his brother and by hope in the resurrection).” Ambrose's grief attitude can be said to cohere with Paul's laments. Öhler 2009, 156-65 finds Paul's laments a positive expression of longing and are directed toward to salvific future.

resurrection is reason for the mourner's tears of grief to be turned into tears of joy for what lies beyond the present grief. This perspective is based on the Platonic idea that death is good. For instance, Ambrose says that his brother is experiencing immortal goodness, "rest in Christ."⁶¹⁶ When grief is channelled into a source of longing and tears of grief turned into joy, Ambrose can turn what is commonly perceived as negative by the ancients—namely, emotions—into his theological discourse on how weeping and grief are natural and do not necessarily proceed from unbelief or weakness.⁶¹⁷ I conjecture that the shocking death of Satyrus also served as an appropriate occasion for Ambrose to solidify his views on grief within Christian and Stoic thought.

As for Augustine, his even greater openness to emotions stems from an assumption that is in total opposition to Ambrose and the dominant Christian tradition of his day. While Ambrose and other early writers viewed death as a good thing,⁶¹⁸ Augustine was the first to depart from them to deem death as evil. Augustine's predecessors followed the Platonic view in understanding the separation of body and soul as natural⁶¹⁹ but Augustine interprets God's creation as uniting the body and soul, so, to separate the two is considered unnatural and a punishment.⁶²⁰ For Augustine, death is always evil (e.g., *Civ.* 13.3, 5, 6) even when

⁶¹⁶ Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.29.

⁶¹⁷ See Irenei 2021 for Ambrose's vision on death and grief. Like Scherz 2017, Irenei also discusses Ambrose's grief as longing for what is lost. Irenei adds that tears may point to a good when one understands death is a good rather than a curse. In line with our findings, Irenei notices that Ambrose (and Augustine) are unique in their openness and positivity to emotions, something the other ancients held a fairly negative view on.

⁶¹⁸ E.g., Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.3. This may explain why in the above expositions on the death of his brother that draws from the story of the widow at Nain (*Exc.* 2.81-83), Ambrose no longer mentions grief or weeping but focuses solely on the resurrection. See Jones 2007, Chapter 2 for how Ambrose unites Christian and Platonic piety and metaphysics to explain the meaning of human death.

⁶¹⁹ Contra Eklund 2021 "Beatitudes," 116 who argues that Ambrose, against Stoicism, had already begun to think that death is *not* natural, which is why he longs for the kingdom to come and for death to be no more (cf. 1 Cor 15:26). While this may be implicit in Ambrose, I maintain it only becomes evident in Augustine's works.

⁶²⁰ On Augustine's view of death as evil and mourning as positive, see Cavadini 1999, 232-49; Jones 2007, 37-89; Banner 2014, 139-54.

good comes out of it. When death is viewed as bad, intense grief and weeping are no longer regarded as self-indulgent because there is real cause to mourn. Augustine undoubtedly holds firm to the exhortation that Christians should have hope in the resurrection but more readily permits of Christians to grieve because he “distinguish[es] the good that God brings out of death from the grievousness of death in itself.”⁶²¹

Another event that possibly changed Augustine’s views is when his own province and congregation were raided, seized, and violated towards the end of this life. Brown records: “the sudden descent of war-bands on a fertile province had made people realise, not that the world was ugly and unsure, but had caused them to experience the sheer, desperate tenacity of their love of life.”⁶²² Schenk argues that this personal encounter with suffering, life and death led Augustine still further away from Ambrose’s platonic rhetoric of *de bono mortis*.⁶²³ Therefore, it is reasonable to think that Augustine changed his view on death and need to grieve when harsh personal encounters of life changed his philosophy.

Furthermore, it is generally agreed amongst scholars that Augustine’s relationship to Stoicism was a complex one—it was both critical and complementary, depending on the issue at hand.⁶²⁴ I contend that on the expression of grief and mourning, Augustine’s views competed with that of the Stoics. Colish argues that over the years Augustine had rethought and revised the Stoic doctrine of *apatheia* as a sage’s virtue, he subsequently “modifi[ed]

⁶²¹ Jones 2007, 86.

⁶²² Brown 2000, 435.

⁶²³ Schenk 2005, 216.

⁶²⁴ Colish 1985, 2:152-234 presents three Augustinian orientations toward Stoicism: i) Augustine uses Stoic ideas inconsistently, ii) he uses them consistently, iii) he shifts his view toward Stoic teachings. Irwin 2003 discusses Augustine’s criticisms of the Stoic passions but also how he derives his fundamental features from the Stoics. Boersma 2017 shows that Augustine thought the Stoic virtue ethic lacked a robust eschatology.

and reject[ed] this position on both theological and psychological grounds.”⁶²⁵ Colish’s claim about Augustine’s view of *apatheia* corresponds to and supports our observation of an Augustine who grieves and weeps. Though we find elements of Stoicism in *Confessionum*⁶²⁶ we also see Augustine’s detailing of his need to mourn and weep for his mother.⁶²⁷ It might be that Stoicism had fizzled out by the third century, hence, the Latin authors (and possibly Cyril) were not as directly subjected to the dominant philosophy as the earlier authors. This in no way suggests that Ambrose and Augustine were free from Stoic philosophy—their writings reveal clear evidence of Stoic ideas—but that they could distance themselves more easily as Stoicism’s influence after the third century is not as evidently defined.

In conclusion, this section demonstrates that the earliest comments on weeping in Luke 7 and 8 only appear in the works of Ambrose, Augustine, and Cyril of Alexandria. Tears do not ostensibly refer to sorrow or mourning but to the idea that tears can move the Lord and have the purchasing power to redeem a situation. Tears can point to a lack of faith or even represent guilt and repentance. Additionally, Ambrose, Augustine, some Greek writers, and the Stoics agree that weeping is gendered—i.e., effeminate. To justify the dearth of ancient expositions, we looked at mortality rates in antiquity, Stoic-related ideas, and the notion of Christian hope in the resurrection. We saw Ambrose brilliantly combining ancient Stoic philosophy with Christian resurrection in a way that permits grief but also limits it. As for Augustine, his drastically different view of death could be the main reason for his even greater allowance for the emotional expression of grief. If this is the picture of grief and

⁶²⁵ Colish 1985, 2:221. Oppel 2004, 198-9 also begins her article claiming that Augustine’s view on sadness not only disagreed with the Stoics “but also with those Christians who taught the spiritual practice of *apatheia*.”

⁶²⁶ Byers 2016 demonstrates Augustine’s use of Stoic psychology and ethics in *Confessionum*.

⁶²⁷ Scherz 2017, 8 notes that the failure to mourn death shows ingratitude toward God and his gifts, and that “at least since Augustine,” it is argued that Stoicism contradicts “the positive role of emotions.”

tears in early Christianity, do modern scholars also consider weeping a womanish affair? Is weeping in grief and pain also underrepresented in modern scholarship?

Modern Interpretations of Luke 7:13 and 8:52

As we survey modern references on both passages, we find a variety of comments on Jesus' "do not weep" imperative. For one, we find that Jesus' μή κλαῖε coupled with the explicit mention of ἐσπλαγχνίσθη (7:13) often leads modern commentators to consistently highlight the compassion of Jesus in response to the situation.⁶²⁸ In Stein's words, "his heart went out to her."⁶²⁹ Jesus' action of raising the son and delivering him back to his mother is "the natural completion of his gesture of compassion."⁶³⁰ Jesus' compassion extends even into Luke 8:52 for Marshall and Bock (who references Marshall) even though the word σπλαγχνίζομαι does not appear in that account.⁶³¹ Relatedly, the words μή κλαῖε are meant as words of comfort for the grieving and weeping widow,⁶³² and words of assurance to those in Jairus' house.⁶³³ It appears that the presentation of Jesus as compassionate when he responds to weepers is important to the moderns.⁶³⁴ Some ancients also drew attention to

⁶²⁸ Bovon 2002, 1:271-2, 274; Marshall 1978, 283 & 285; Green 1997, 291; Bock 1994, 1:650, 654-5; Nolland 1989, 1:323; Fitzmyer 1981, 1:658-9; Carroll 2012, 163 & 166; Jeffrey 2012, 193-4; Stein 1992, 222-3; Johnson 1991, 118; Crisler 2023, 262-3; Levine and Witherington 2018, 203; Klein 2006, 276: „*Er erbarmt sich der Frau.*“ See Nuemann 2023 above on p.137 on the uniqueness of σπλαγχνίζομαι in Luke.

⁶²⁹ Stein 1992, 222.

⁶³⁰ Jeffrey 2012, 194.

⁶³¹ Marshall 1978, 342; Bock 1994, 1:785.

⁶³² Carroll 2012, 166; Bock 1994, 1:650.

⁶³³ Carroll 2012, 201.

⁶³⁴ Dibelius 1934, 75 thinks that the mention of Jesus' compassion is "the contribution of Luke." This has been challenged by later scholars who argue the depiction of feelings is from a Lukan source, not Luke's own addition, because where the other Synoptic parallels use σπλαγχνίζομαι Luke does not (Bock 1994: 1:650; Nolland 1989: 1:323) and "Lukan activity is more probable merely at the beginning and end of the narrative" (Marshall 1978, 283, 286). Bovon 2022, 1:271-2, though, agrees with Dibelius and thinks Luke's avoidance of σπλαγχνίζομαι "might be for philological rather than theological reasons." Whether Jesus' feelings are pre-Lukan or a Lukan addition, I think it demonstrates that Luke is intent on emphasising Jesus' compassion here.

Jesus' compassion but not with the same consistency and frequency that we find in major modern commentaries.

Carroll, Green, and Hong see Jesus' compassion as leading him to turn weeping to joy and to bless the one weeping, in a way that substantiates the Lukan Beatitude ("Blessed are you who weep now, for you will laugh," 6:21) promised one chapter earlier in the Sermon on the Plain;⁶³⁵ for Green, this applies to Jairus' situation too.⁶³⁶ Most moderns associate "do not weep" with the presentation of Jesus as compassionate and able to reverse the fate of those weeping over the dead. Their comments revolve mainly around a Christological preoccupation and not the human characters who weep. Modern authors also emphasise the resurrection hope found in Luke 7 and 8, but not to the effect of using the resurrection to prohibit or limit tears like in some of the ancient writings. Jeffrey, when commenting that Jesus' instruction to not weep would be inappropriate if Jesus did not resuscitate the young man,⁶³⁷ implies it is inappropriate to curtail tears in times of bereavement. In other words, "faith and grief are not mutually exclusive; belief in the resurrection does not obviate the pain one feels on the death of a loved one."⁶³⁸

Reflecting on Luke 7:11-17, co-authors Levine and Witherington enter into deep discussion about grief and weeping. Levine begins with a lengthy remark on bereavement:

telling a bereaved mother that she should not weep for her only child can sound heartless... to tell grieving parents not to weep because they will see their loved ones in the resurrection is to fail to take seriously the reality of

⁶³⁵ Carroll 2012, 166-7, 201; Green 1997, 291-2; Hong 2018, 60f. offers a detailed argument for this reversal.

⁶³⁶ Green 1997, 350.

⁶³⁷ Jeffrey 2012, 194.

⁶³⁸ Levine and Witherington 2018, 243.

death... to skip over the reality of death is both to deny the power of the resurrection and to deny the loss that the ones left behind feel.⁶³⁹

Witherington agrees with Levine but also attempts to justify that Jesus' imperative to stop weeping is valid in this scenario because Jesus proceeds to raise the dead; the story is about Jesus' glory and compassion. Levine concurs but also explains that she has concerns because she has heard preachers and pastors citing Luke 7:13 to tell grieving parents not to weep. On this note, both Levine and Witherington agree it is a misuse of the text.⁶⁴⁰

Another modern scholar who makes explicit statements about human grief when commenting on the widow at Nain is Bovon: "Psychoanalysis and systemics have taught us the constitutive meaning of the relationship between mother and son, as well as its possible pathological side effects."⁶⁴¹ Bovon does not deviate into discussions of modern psychology on grief, but his single sentence assumes that twenty-first-century readers understand the suffering involved in the process of mourning, especially when a mother loses her son. His recognition of the emotional pain involved may explain the descriptions of Jesus' emotions. In writing about Jesus' compassion, Bovon adds that "Luke does not shy from expressing Jesus' emotions" and that Jesus "possesses this emotional capacity."⁶⁴² Bovon's claims are corroborated by Neumann's observation that Jesus never feels pity (σπλαγχνίζομαι) in Luke, except toward the widow in 7:13 (not toward Jairus either).⁶⁴³ That Luke would attribute σπλαγχνίζομαι to Jesus, despite his resistance toward Jesus exhibiting emotions, indicates

⁶³⁹ Levine and Witherington 2018, 203. They add that "Luke's evocation of pathos is evident" in the text (202).

⁶⁴⁰ Levine and Witherington 2018, 203-4.

⁶⁴¹ Bovon 2002, 1:271.

⁶⁴² Bovon 2002, 1:271-2.

⁶⁴³ Neumann 2023, 162-3 explains that σπλαγχνίζομαι evokes characteristics of femininity („diese Züge der σπλαγχνίζομαι-Konzeption rufen starke Assoziationen zu Charakteristika von Weiblichkeit hervor“) that contradict the Lukan Jesus' portrayal of ideal Hellenistic masculinity, hence, the few uses of the verb in Luke.

either the widow's incomparable suffering (the economic loss for a widow is more dire than Jairus') or Jesus' deep concern; I posit it signals both parties' emotions.

Other modern scholars do not directly comment on the human emotions involved in the weeping, but they paint the scene as sorrowful and devastating. Almost all exegetes emphasise the fact that in both stories the parents have lost their *only* child, exacerbating the repercussions of the loss.⁶⁴⁴ Even when they do not draw attention to the weeping, the way some authors present the scene and characters implicitly depicts the emotionally heavy atmosphere that surrounds the weepers and mourners. Bock introduces 7:12 with the words: "The emotion in the verse carries deep pathos. The town shares in the grief as they gather with her... A sad setting greets Jesus in Nain."⁶⁴⁵ Marshall calls it "the sadness of the bereavement,"⁶⁴⁶ and Carroll "a mother's anguished mourning at the death of her only son."⁶⁴⁷ As for comments on Luke 8, Jairus is said to be in "anguish;"⁶⁴⁸ "the presence of the mourners testified to the tragic situation;"⁶⁴⁹ and "the mourning for an only child would have been especially bitter."⁶⁵⁰ The moderns comfortably expand on emotions related to death, but they also interpret the "do not weep" imperative as serving a literary function—it anticipates Jesus doing something, which in this instance is a miracle.⁶⁵¹ In other words, the moderns do not hesitate about writing more emotional remarks but they are also interested

⁶⁴⁴ Wolter 2017, 2:299; Bovon 2002, 1:271, 337; Marshall 1978, 284-5, 342-3; Green 1997, 290, 343-5; Bock 1994, 1:649, 786, 792; Nolland 1989, 1:419; Fitzmyer 1981, 1:743-5; Carroll 2012, 163-6, 197; Stein 1992, 222, 260-1; Johnson 1991, 141. The impact of losing an only child in antiquity was discussed above.

⁶⁴⁵ Bock 1994, 1:650.

⁶⁴⁶ Marshall 1978, 284-5.

⁶⁴⁷ Carroll 2012, 166.

⁶⁴⁸ Fitzmyer 1981, 1:745.

⁶⁴⁹ Bock 1994, 1:802.

⁶⁵⁰ Stein 1992, 222.

⁶⁵¹ Marshall 1978, 286; Nolland 1989, 1:324; Fitzmyer 1981, 1:659; Stein 1992, 223.

in other exegetical aspects like the literary function or “co-textual” (term borrowed from Joel Green) links of “do not weep” with 6:21.⁶⁵²

Modern scholars do not seem to hold one dominant view on the weeping in Luke 7 and 8, they offer views that range from Christological and exegetical to emotional and psychological. We must admit that, just as there were few early comments on these texts, there are also fewer modern references on weeping and grief than there were on the anointing woman’s and Peter’s tears; there are almost no remarks on the weeping in Luke 8:52. The dearth in overall references confirm that these Lukan passages do not indeed feature weeping as an integral part of the story. That Luke 8:52 receives close to no mention of the weepers and mourners could be because other aspects of the chapter call for more attention, e.g., the sandwich structure made up of Jairus and the bleeding woman; the faith of Jairus; that the next phrase, “for she is not dead but sleeping,” (8:52) has stolen the spotlight; and more. Nolland notes that Jairus’ wife and the other weepers appear “without proper introduction and an adequate setting,”⁶⁵³ which suggests that weeping was not a prominent point in the narrative. Also, the silence in both pericopes could point to an opposite reason—the few comments do not suggest the irrelevance or insignificance of grief and tears but rather the commonness and universality of it. Commentators assume there is little need to restate the obviously immense suffering and uncontrollable weeping of parents who have lost their only child. The assumption that modern readers know and understand deep grief is not a mis-estimated one when we look at Christian literature of the recent century.

⁶⁵² Jeffrey 2012, 231 relates the weeping followed by miracle to both Luke 6:21 and 6:25.

⁶⁵³ Nolland 1989, 1:418.

Here we acknowledge two notable and influential modern Christian writers, amongst others, who have written openly and authentically about expressing grief. A recognition of their works establishes for us a sketch of the popular and literary atmosphere within which current commentators think and write. In the earlier half of the twentieth century, apologist and Christian author, C.S. Lewis, wrote *A Grief Observed* which chronicles his reflections on mourning and loss after his wife died.⁶⁵⁴ Lewis grapples with his grief in relation to God and faith. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Catholic priest and spiritual theologian, Henri Nouwen, wrote poignantly on the importance of mourning our losses, allowing ourselves to grieve, and not avoiding or covering up pain.⁶⁵⁵ His encouragement to mourn and shed tears illustrates how modern psychology is integrated with pastoral and spiritual theology. Lewis and Nouwen are mentioned not to place them in direct conversation with the early authors but to point out that the wider worldview on bereavement and mourning in the twentieth century appears to be quite different from that in antiquity.⁶⁵⁶

To conclude this section, I branch out momentarily beyond biblical scholarship to look at research on modern psychology related to grief to further underscore the influence

⁶⁵⁴ Lewis 1966 honestly pens down his emotions: “Tonight all the hells of young grief have opened again; the mad words, the bitter resentment, the fluttering in the stomach, the nightmare unreality, the wallowed-in tears. For in grief nothing ‘stays put’” (56). In a letter written to Mrs Shelburne in 1954, Lewis advises, “don’t ‘weep inwardly’ and get a sore throat. If you must weep, weep: a good honest howl! I suspect we—and especially, my sex—don’t cry enough nowadays” (Hooper 2007, 432).

⁶⁵⁵ Nouwen 2011; 1994, 21-36; 2010, esp. 52-3; E.g., “We must mourn our losses. We cannot talk or act them away, but we can shed tears over them and allow ourselves to grieve deeply” (1994, 27).

⁶⁵⁶ Their work continues to impact twenty-first scholarship. E.g., the recently published works on death and mourning by Slawkowski-Rode 2023 and O’Hear 2023 refer to C.S. Lewis’ *A Grief Observed*. The former uses Lewis’ example to argue for mourning as a second-person relatedness versus an individual-only process while the latter draws on Lewis’ story to demonstrate the unpredictability and uncontrollability of grief. Jedan 2019, 17-46 introduces the need for the concept of consolation, specifically “*consolationescapes*—the spatially situated phenomena and practices to do with loss and grief” (17) and categorises Lewis’ *A Grief Observed* as a “biographical memorialization.”

that it has on Christian exposition of mourning. In 1917, Sigmund Freud wrote a paper entitled *Trauer und Melancholie* (Mourning and Melancholia) proposing the idea of grief as a process that needs to be worked through.⁶⁵⁷ During World War 2, Erich Lindemann wrote about the symptomology of grief that is both psychological and physical, which leads to the need to do grief work.⁶⁵⁸ A big leap in the studies on grief happened when Elisabeth Kübler-Ross published her work in 1969 on the “five stages of grief” that continues to be popularly known today by even non-experts.⁶⁵⁹ Though this model has largely been discredited in recent scholarship,⁶⁶⁰ research on grief continues to be a budding area of interest.⁶⁶¹

This young field called bereavement science is populated by neuroscientists, clinical psychologists, researchers, and practitioners who produce works ranging from frameworks and theories to empirical investigations and cultural and spiritual aspects of grief.⁶⁶² In the past decade, we find books on counselling methods, understandings of grief,⁶⁶³ attachment theory, cellular chemistry, the neurobiology of grief, and even the study of grief using MRI imaging.⁶⁶⁴ This succinct overview on research about grief⁶⁶⁵ presents the growing body of literature on the topic and the inescapable reality that the modern world is much more open

⁶⁵⁷ Freud 1917.

⁶⁵⁸ Lindemann 1944.

⁶⁵⁹ Kübler-Ross 1969.

⁶⁶⁰ E.g., Bonanno 2009 and Konigsberg 2011 demonstrate that grief is much more dynamic and fluid than a predicted process, it can even develop resilience in the bereaved.

⁶⁶¹ A recent essay by Conrad 2023 uses Kübler-Ross’ model to show how the Roman Catholic Liturgy of the Dead (Requiem Mass, *Ordo Exsequiarum*, etc.) “acknowledges a legitimate grieving process which may involve anger and protest” (34) on top of offering a hope-filled perspective for mourners. Conrad writes about the need for clergy to be attentive to mourners’ grief and help the bereaved move-on.

⁶⁶² See Neimeyer et al. 2011 for a compilation of more than 30 articles for a wide range of topics on grief.

⁶⁶³ Gross 2015; 2018; Rainer 2013.

⁶⁶⁴ O’Connor 2022; Parkes and Prigerson 2010.

⁶⁶⁵ See also O’Connor 2019 for a brief history of research on how the body, mind, and brain adapt in reaction to the death of a loved one.

and welcoming towards learning about emotions. Perhaps such an advancement of research is what Bovon's comment on psychoanalysis and pathological side effects refers to.

Ancient Versus Modern Views: Appreciating "Do Not Weep"

To draw together the above analyses, we should first acknowledge that a point of similarity between the ancient and modern periods is that the act of weeping in grief has attracted less attention compared to weeping in relation to repentance (Chapters 2 and 3). In Luke 7:36-50, the sinful woman is said to be weeping and her tears are mentioned twice in the passage. In 22:62, Peter is recorded as weeping bitterly. In comparison, the widow and Jairus do not receive detailed descriptions of their crying; their tears are made known only through Jesus' imperative to cease weeping. Also, the plots of Luke 7 and 8 highlight Jesus' compassion and ability to resuscitate. It is, thus, understandable that the weeping in these two accounts has been overshadowed by Jesus who will overcome death and bring believers into eternal life, which further diminishes the need to weep over death.

Amidst the relatively few comments on weeping and mourning by the ancients and moderns, we notice some differences between them. The recognition of the legitimization of grief comes through in Augustine who is open to psychological influences on grief and tears, but it is still different from the level of openness and ease with which the moderns write about the topic.⁶⁶⁶ In actuality, apart from Cyril's comments on the emotional pain in the narratives, we do not have ancient remarks that recognise and accept the emotions likely present in Luke 7:13 and 8:52. In contrast, even when modern scholars do not highlight the

⁶⁶⁶ Interestingly, I think some parts of Seneca's *Ep.* 99 (see above) are more approving of tears than Augustine is and perhaps closer to the modern view.

weeping, their comments implicitly draw us to consider the emotionally heavy atmosphere. This differs from how the early authors tended to avoid references to emotions. The scene in antiquity was nuanced—the Stoics and the larger Roman population navigated between private and public displays of emotions as well as philosophical and poetic genres of writing about grief. Also, the tension between expressing and repressing emotions that is also reflected in Ambrose’s and Augustine’s writings does not appear in modern writings.

If Stoicism shaped the way the ancients thought about weeping and mourning, then developments in modern psychology have done the same for current scholars. The wider Christian scholarship of the recent century, as exemplified by C.S. Lewis and Henri Nouwen, discusses the raw emotion of grief in a very different tone from the ancients—weeping is not prohibited, in fact, it is encouraged as a manner of release.⁶⁶⁷ This is further influenced by modern approaches that are keen to learn more about grief and healthy ways to manage it. There is an increasing interest to adopt an interdisciplinary approach of combining biblical and theological studies with the modern sciences. If this trend continues, there should be an even greater openness in discussions on weeping and grief when texts like Luke 7:13 and 8:52 are read from the perspectives of psychological theories or bereavement science. There is, nonetheless, the tendency in these modern exegetical accounts of tears and grief to be eisegetical, moved by the desire to find a “modern” and therapeutic Jesus.

⁶⁶⁷ E.g., Bowler and Richie 2022. Kate Bowler, Associate Professor at Duke, co-authored a book which writes, “when you cannot have the future you imagined, let the tears flow” (17); they also paraphrase the Beatitudes as, “Blessed are you, telling your tears they can flow” (18). Though not positioned as a piece of academic work, it is nonetheless written by an academic who offers a glimpse into the cathartic nature of crying.

A more immediate and relevant implication for this project is the acknowledgement that socio-cultural forces shape ideas and writings. We have identified cultural “scripts”—influenced not least by the dominant Stoicism of antiquity and the ideas of popular modern psychology—that govern and determine whether and when tears should be shed, how tears are evaluated, and the meaning of weeping. The willingness of early and current authors to engage with tears and grief in the Lukan passages is unmistakably driven by their contexts. All else equal, the “openness” or “closeness” of each cultural era shapes the respective authors’ welcoming of or shying away from writing about weeping and grief.⁶⁶⁸ In other words, one must understand tears of grief as culturally specific.⁶⁶⁹

It remains that we pull together our findings to consider how the phrase “do not weep” in Luke 7:13 and 8:52 can be read in new light. First, despite the fewer references on weeping in these verses, the above examination shows that the theme of weeping should receive more attention. I am not proposing that weeping takes precedence in these stories as that would be ignoring Luke’s content and focus. Rather, I argue that readers of Luke should deliberate the presence of these uniquely Lukan imperatives instead of zooming only into Jesus’ compassion and the resurrection event. If we pause to appreciate the inclusion of the “do not weep” instruction based on early and contemporary comments, we might enrich our interpretation of the texts in two ways.

⁶⁶⁸ Our overall finding coheres with the important work by Nussbaum 2001, 139-73. She argues that our emotions are connected to reason and awareness. A theory of emotions involves knowing how one is influenced by our cultural sources (Stoicism/modern psychology), one’s background and childhood (Augustine and his mother), and unpredictable events in our lives (Ambrose’s brother’s death).

⁶⁶⁹ It would be interesting to extend this point by researching the socio-cultural bounds of weeping in non-Western, even non-Christian, societies. It would be valuable to learn how other cultures and sub-cultures might react to the findings of this chapter. E.g., there is a traditional saying in Chinese that men shed blood but not tears (男人流血不流泪, nán rén liú xiě bù liú lèi); I would be curious to know the views of an ancient versus modern Chinese exegete to this project’s discussion.

For one, if Stoic ideals were the cause of muting potential ancient comments on emotions, we could read the emotions of deep grief and sorrow back into these texts. If, as some moderns think, the lack of mention in modern commentaries assumes that grief and sorrow are universally understood and require no further comment, we should deliberately remark in writing to ensure other interpreters appreciate the emotional setting provided by Luke. When the emotional energy of the plot and characters is brought to light, it further intensifies the joy, relief, and gratitude experienced when Jesus raises the children. The ancients have not offered comments on emotions for 7:13 and 8:52 but acknowledging and including them, especially explicitly like Bovon and Levine and Witherington (above), are true to Luke's texts.

Additionally, consulting both ancient and modern comments prevent us from biased readings of Luke as being either too cold or too emotional.⁶⁷⁰ On the one hand, there is no sense in the narratives that Jesus is prohibiting weeping altogether, thus, the moderns are right to add emotional descriptions in their comments. This is especially true in 7:13 when the verb *σπλαγχνίζομαι* is surprisingly used for Jesus,⁶⁷¹ calling for special attention to the emotional atmosphere in the bereavement scenario. On the other hand, the ancient view serves as a valuable balance for those who might exaggerate the need to weep and grieve excessively. The narrative progression in both stories lead to Jesus' ability to overturn death, so believers do not need to weep hopelessly (cf. 1 Thess 4:13). Whilst the moderns have

⁶⁷⁰ Trotter 2023, 47-48 illustrates how Hellenistic Jews found themselves caught "between the dynamic and expressive manifestations of mourning in their biblical heritage... and a general disdain for public and visible displays of grief in the Greco-Roman tradition;" between contemporary Stoicism and Jewish practices, the moderate position (*μετριοπάθεια*) appealed because they could hold both together. Given my assumption that Luke is a Hellenistic Jew, I find it probable that he too adopted this position of moderation in his gospel.

⁶⁷¹ See Neumann's arguments above pp.137 & 174.

valuable insights to offer, Luke's "do not weep" (7:13; 8:52) would have more likely resembled the cultural lexicon of the early Christian authors than the twenty-first century Lukan commentators. Interpreters of any era are conditioned by their surroundings to see a "culturally adjusted" image of how Jesus manages grief and weeping, but in the case of an ancient text like Luke, the Lukan Jesus is probably not too cold—but more definitely, not too emotional. In short, when we allow for the moderation of the ancients to speak in tandem with the permission of moderns to feel deep pain and sorrow, we are closer to experiencing Luke's scenes as filled with grief and tears yet transformed by Jesus' miraculous deed.

Conclusion

We have devoted this chapter to examining the significance of Luke's distinctive "do not weep" imperatives in Luke 7:13 and 8:52. Despite the general lack of early and modern interpretations, we have accumulated adequate data to conclude that there is a greater openness and approval in modern scholarship in talking about grief, tears, and emotions as opposed to ancient writers, like Ambrose and Augustine, who were more restrained. We considered at length the influence of Stoic philosophy on early Christian views but concluded that the NT authors and ancient thinkers were not blindly conforming to Stoic ideals as their reason for restraining grief is grounded on the powerful belief and hope in the resurrection. Our discussions have evidently demonstrated that views from each period are shaped by their cultural "scripts," like Stoic philosophy and popular modern psychology. We concluded with the need to read Luke 7:13 and 8:52 with a balance of both ancient and modern cultural dynamics. In the next chapter, we observe if these cultural influences also shape the readings of Jesus' weeping and the women of Jerusalem who weep for him.

CHAPTER 5

THE TEARS OF JESUS AND THE DAUGHTERS OF JERUSALEM

I have examined a variety of views on the weeping of human characters in relation to themes like repentance (Part I) and grief (Part II). To complete the analysis, I include in this final part the possibility of divine weeping (Part III). The final two weeping-related narratives concern Jesus weeping over Jerusalem (Luke 19:41) and the daughters of Jerusalem weeping as Jesus makes his way to the crucifixion (23:28). Both these weeping instances are recorded only in Luke's Gospel, which again demonstrates not only Luke's use of other material in addition to Mark but also his special interest in the emotional expression of weeping.⁶⁷² The Lukan portrayal of a Jesus who weeps is especially significant because Luke's Jesus is portrayed as the strongest and least emotional amongst the Synoptic Gospels, especially in the Passion narrative.⁶⁷³ Thus, the impact of Jesus weeping over Jerusalem should heighten the reader's appreciation in that, of the many things to weep over, Jesus chooses Jerusalem.⁶⁷⁴ The combination of weeping and Jerusalem resurfaces a few chapters later when Jesus tells the daughters of Jerusalem not to weep for him but for the city.

This chapter focuses on the significance of Jesus' weeping and the link between tears (of Jesus and the women) and Jerusalem. John 11:35 is also discussed because ancient and modern commentators regularly place the two weeping events of Jesus together, which is unsurprising since there are only two NT records of Jesus weeping, so one will call to mind the other. The driving question of this chapter is to ask how early and modern authors make

⁶⁷² Luke usually omits emotional content from Mark but neither Luke 19:41 nor 23:28 is derived from Mark, so Luke's *Sondergut* amplifies the weeping for and emotions felt toward Jerusalem.

⁶⁷³ Synoptic differences are detailed below on p.240 and above in Chapter 1, p.1.

⁶⁷⁴ Unlike the report of Jesus weeping and grieving over Lazarus in John 11:35, there is no such Lukan account.

sense of the Lord's weeping as well as the women's weeping. We start by examining views around the issue of whether it was the divine or human Jesus that wept. Then we move on to explore other early and modern views of Jesus' tears, including querying whether κλαίω for Jerusalem (Luke 19:41) differs from δακρύω for Lazarus (John 11:35).⁶⁷⁵ Finally, the results are applied to the task of re-reading the tears of Jesus and the women of Jerusalem.

Luke 19:41 and 23:28

In between Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem (19:38) and his going into the temple to drive out those selling things (19:45) is the uniquely Lukan insertion of Jesus weeping over Jerusalem when he sees the city from the Mount of Olives (19:41, καὶ ὡς ἤγγισεν ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν). Luke explains the dramatic reaction as caused by the state of the Jerusalemites that will bring about their devastation. The first prediction for destruction is found in 13:34-35 where Jerusalem is accused of killing the prophets and stoning the messengers. Now the theme is repeated but with the additional accusation that the city does not recognise the things that make for peace (19:41), which includes their peace with God, and their divine visitation (19:44).⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁵ We might question whether κλαίω (19:41) for Jerusalem is comparable with φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (23:46) at Jesus' crucifixion. I contend the two are different—the former depicts Jesus weeping with tears while the latter emphasises the loud volume of his voice without tears. Bovon 2012, 3:326 translates 23:46 as “raising his voice, with a loud voice.” Eklund 2015, 87 notes that “Jesus gives a loud cry from the cross in the Synoptic Gospels.” The combination of φωνέω with φωνῇ μεγάλῃ is also in Acts 16:28 to depict Paul shouting loudly (cf. Mark 1:26; Rev 14:18 also refers to loud shouts). In the Septuagint, if weeping or tears are conveyed, κλαίω is attached to φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Job 2:12; 1 Sam 15:23; Ezra 3:12). Otherwise, ἀναβοάω (Gen 27:34; Ezek 11:13; 3 Maccabees 5:51), βοάω (Esth 4:1; 1 Macc 13:45), ἐπικαλέω (1 Kgs 18:27, 28), or κράζω (2 Sam 19:5) are used with φωνῇ μεγάλῃ to denote loud shouts. So, it is unlikely that Luke 23:46 refers directly to weeping or tears.

⁶⁷⁶ Iverson 2015, 145 thinks Jesus' affective responses could also be owing to his impending death but submits that Jesus' fate and Jerusalem's unbelief are closely intertwined.

Luke 19:41 is especially pertinent to this project's central inquiry because this is the only instance in the NT where Jesus is described as weeping (κλαίω). The verb differs from the other crying verb (δακρύω) in John 11:35.⁶⁷⁷ John uses κλαίω thrice in his narration of the scene at Lazarus' death but only to depict the weeping of Mary and the Jews (vv.31, 33); the *hapax legomenon* δακρύω is used instead for Jesus (v.35). While keeping in mind that Luke and John are independent works, they are broadly speaking still participants in a common linguistic culture and can thereby be set in meaningful comparison. We will see below that some early authors use these verbs interchangeably while some moderns argue κλαίω is a more intense and dramatic wailing than δακρύω.⁶⁷⁸

The action of weeping in relation to Jerusalem reappears when Jesus meets the daughters of Jerusalem en route to his crucifixion (Luke 23:27-31). He instructs them not to weep for him but instead to weep for themselves and their descendants' destiny (23:28, μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμέ πλὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς κλαίετε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν). Immediately before saying these words, Luke describes Jesus as turning to the women (στραφεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰς [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν). We highlighted in Chapter 3 that whenever Jesus turns (στρέφω) in Luke's Gospel, he is about to communicate something important.⁶⁷⁹ Here, Jesus is highlighting the importance of Jerusalem—their weeping should be for the city.

The weeping women are described as ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἐθρήνουν, which is appropriate for situations of lament and mourning. Unsurprisingly, the verb κλαίω is also found next to

⁶⁷⁷ For a discussion of other related words within the semantic complex of weeping like κλαυθμός, βοάω, κράζω, etc., see above Chapter 1, p.11.

⁶⁷⁸ See p.235 below.

⁶⁷⁹ Three out of the seven mentions of στρέφω occur with weeping or tears (7:44; 22:61; 23:28), signifying that these important events are related to weeping.

κόπτω in 8:52 (those mourning Jairus' daughter) and θρηνέω in 7:32 (those who reject repentance). While the imperative to cease weeping in 23:28 is similar to the two “do not weep” instances in Luke 7:13 and 8:52, it differs slightly in that Jesus further instructs the daughters of Jerusalem with the imperative κλαίετε—to weep instead for themselves and their children. Jesus stops the women from beating their breasts and wailing for him but instructs them to weep for the Jerusalemites. Luke 19:41 and 23:28 indicate that the state and future of Jerusalem is of utmost significance to Jesus.

The Weeping of Jesus: Divine or Human

We begin our investigation into the meaning of tears in relation to Jerusalem by focusing on a topic frequently detected in ancient comments regarding Jesus' weeping, that is, early authors tend to distinguish between the two natures of Jesus. The ancients claim that Jesus is only able to weep in his human nature because the divine nature cannot take on the weak human expression of tears. This discussion on humanity and divinity is, however, scarcely identified in modern scholarship. Before conjecturing reasons for the ancient-modern difference, we first study the assertions and assumptions made by the early writers. While our focus is on Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem, where relevant and available, I will include views on John 11:35 (ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς for Lazarus) or other weeping mentions for a more holistic view. Space does not allow for comments that are only about John 11:35 (without Luke 19:41) as this project is primarily on Lukan weeping.

On the question of Jesus' two natures, there are early authors who, though they did not base their comments directly on Luke 19:41, offer us comments about Jesus weeping in his humanity. For example, Irenaeus thinks that if Jesus had taken nothing of Mary, his mother,

he would never have wept over Lazarus.⁶⁸⁰ Similar arguments about tears as coming from Jesus' earthly flesh and humanity are found in Tertullian's *Prax.* 16.4; 27.11; *Carn. Chr.* 9.7; and Gregory of Nazianzus' *Or.* 29.20; 37.2;⁶⁸¹ 38.15; 45.27. In essence, they viewed weeping as a purely human action because the divine nature of Jesus cannot weep.⁶⁸² Now we turn to individual writers who expound on this topic from Luke 19:41 (and John 11:35) specifically.

Hippolytus

Based on extant sources, the writings attributed to Hippolytus (c. AD 170-23/56),⁶⁸³ appear to be some of the earliest interpretations on the weeping of Jesus and the daughters of Jerusalem. Though much remains unknown and disputed about Hippolytus (information was lost possibly because he wrote in Greek as a Western author in the Roman Church), there are nonetheless available references attributed to this elusive author.⁶⁸⁴ In a fragment on Elkanah and Hannah, Jesus' weeping is mentioned in relation to his humanity: Jesus was incarnate (ἐν ᾧ ἔνσαρκος παρῆν) taking to Himself humanity from the virgin, in which he also saw the city and wept over it (ὃς καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ).⁶⁸⁵ Elsewhere,

⁶⁸⁰ οὐδ' ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.22.2 (SC 211, 436).

⁶⁸¹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 37.2 (SC 318, 271; *NPNF* 2:7, 338), writes that Jesus "weeps that he may make tears blessed" in a paragraph about the two natures in one person. Thus, the assumption is that the human nature of Jesus weeps while the divine nature blesses tears.

⁶⁸² The earliest authors, Irenaeus and Tertullian, will not feature in individual sections below as their comments are not based on Luke 19:41 or 23:28. In fact, some of their comments on Luke 19:41 are wholly unrelated to weeping—they are interested in Jerusalem only or utilise the verse in a very different manner (e.g., Irenaeus loosely quotes Luke 19:41 in *Haer.* 1.20.2 to argue against Bythus). Amphilochius, *Laz.* 4 (*CCSG* 3, 89) explains Jesus' weeping in terms of the Jews' suspicion (ὕφοψία) of the person of Jesus; Amphilochius does not further interpret the tears. For more on the homily, see Barkhuizen 1994.

⁶⁸³ Though nothing is known about Hippolytus' early life, both Simonetti, "Hippolytus," *EAC* 2:244 and Brent, "Hippolytus, St.," *ODCC* 4, 1:895 agree on the estimated dates of his life.

⁶⁸⁴ Brent 1995, 204-367 explains that many Hippolytan scholars assume a "Two Authors Theory" for the works attributed to Hippolytus. For more on the authorship of the Hippolytan corpus, see Frickel 1988; Cerrato 2002; Volp 2009, 521-9.

⁶⁸⁵ Hippolytus, *Helc. Ann.* (*GCS* 1/2, 122). There is an enormous corpus of Greek writings from the third century attributed to a Hippolytus of Rome but there is great difficulty in verifying the accuracy of these writings and their attestation as belonging to Hippolytus, especially when only a few fragments are left, like in this case and the next (*Comm. Jo. Laz.* 4:171-2).

when Hippolytus writes about the weeping for Lazarus, he adds that Jesus wanted it to be clear that he who is God, is also something else—he showed himself actually as man also by the fact that he wept.⁶⁸⁶ We discuss other works attributed to Hippolytus below; for now, we confirm that Hippolytus is certain Jesus weeps because he is a real, incarnate human.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius also seems focused on Jesus' human nature in his weeping. Besides mentioning the hidden knowledge of Jerusalem (*Pan.* A 34.18.14) and Jesus' crying for the hardness of men,⁶⁸⁷ Epiphanius' other weeping-related comments are about the fullness of Jesus' true humanity—evidenced in Jesus' hunger and thirst, weeping and discouragement (κλαυθμῷ τε καὶ ἄθυμιά), tears and sleep (δάκρυσί τε καὶ ὕπνῳ), weariness and repose.⁶⁸⁸ A similar list, including weeping (κλαυθμός), appears in another section of *Panarion* to again prove Jesus' true nature.⁶⁸⁹ On Jesus' incarnation in *Ancoratus*, Epiphanius includes the point that Jesus wept (ἐκλαυσε).⁶⁹⁰ Against those who say that Christ has shown himself only in appearance, Epiphanius appeals to Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* to prove that Jesus was really a man.⁶⁹¹ The same weeping argument is repeated a few chapters later to shame the error of the Manicheans who think Jesus only appeared in the body.⁶⁹²

⁶⁸⁶ „Und er wünscht, dass deutlich würde, dass er, der Gott war, etwas anderes sei. Aber er zeigte sich durchaus und wirklich als Menschen (auch) dadurch, dass er weinte;“ Hippolytus, *Comm. Jo. Laz.* 4:171-2 (GCS 1/2, 220).

⁶⁸⁷ Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 38.5 (GCS 25, 48; FC 128, 117). Even the ἐδάκρυεν at the Lazarus scene is couched as an argument about Jesus' humanity. Jesus is not ignorant about what will happen next but as a man he meets the mourners at their state of grief and offers them an opportunity to believe; Jesus weeps out of disappointment (not mourning) at their blindness to what he can perform.

⁶⁸⁸ Epiphanius, *Pan. Chr.* 3.2 (GCS 25, 230; NHMS 63, 57).

⁶⁸⁹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 77.26.7 (GCS 37, 439; NHMS 63, 604).

⁶⁹⁰ Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 36.4 (GCS 25, 46; FC 128, 114).

⁶⁹¹ Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 31.4 (GCS 25, 40; FC 128, 106).

⁶⁹² Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 33.7 (GCS 25, 42; FC 128, 110).

These comments are unsurprisingly consistent, given the apologetic nature of *Panarion* and *Ancoratus*, and Epiphanius' commitment to defend orthodoxy and refute heresy. Such remarks, however, do not expound on the meaning of Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem, though they serve to confirm the common view of the time that weeping proves the humanity of Christ.⁶⁹³

Basil of Caesarea

We now look specifically at a portion of Basil's *De gratiarum actione* that addresses the topic of Jesus' humanity; the rest of the homily will be analysed below. In Homily 5, Basil speaks about Jesus' weeping in John 11:35 and Luke 19:41 in relation to his humanity: If the Lord sheds tears over Lazarus and over the city (ἀλλὰ μὴν πρὸς γε τὸ δακρῦσαι τὸν Κύριον ἐπὶ Λαζάρῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει), we have to say that he himself both ate and drank; by weeping for a friend (ἐπιδακρύσας τῷ φίλῳ), Jesus shows his communion with human nature (αὐτός τε τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ἐπεδείξατο).⁶⁹⁴ Basil is certain that the Lord's weeping is equivalent to eating, drinking and showing κοινωνία with humanity.

Athanasius

Athanasius utilises Jesus' weeping mostly to support his arguments against Arianism throughout his *Orationes contra Arianos*. Athanasius writes that when the Arians ask how it is possible for God to sleep and weep like man (κοιμώμενος ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κλαίων), he explains that these are human attributes which the Saviour took on and the flesh which he

⁶⁹³ Writing around the same time as Epiphanius is Gregory of Nyssa who also delineates the action of weeping as belonging to the human, not divine, nature of Jesus (*Con. Eun.* 3.3.65; 3.4.7; 5.5; *Ref. Eun.* 181; *Apol.* (149,9) (156,5) (166,31); *Deit.* (564, B4). We will not discuss them because they are like those already discussed above.

⁶⁹⁴ Basil, *Grat.* 5 (PG 31, 228)

bore.⁶⁹⁵ Likewise, when the point is raised about Jesus who sleeps and weeps, Athanasius clarifies that Christ suffered not in his Godhead but suffered for us in the flesh.⁶⁹⁶ When the same issue is raised again a few chapters later, the same answer is given: he showed his body was passible by his permitting it to weep and hunger (κλαίειν καὶ πεινᾶν); though God is impassible, he has taken on passible flesh.⁶⁹⁷ Three paragraphs later, the same justification is made—Jesus was troubled and wept in the flesh.⁶⁹⁸

In a letter concerning Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius continues to write against Arianism by proving that Dionysius is not an Arian. On the question of weeping, he is clear that while the Lord, having become man, exhibits his human character in weeping, it is God who raises up Lazarus.⁶⁹⁹ In other words: weeping is of man, but miracles are of God. The Arians do not think Jesus is co-eternal with the Father, but Athanasius argues Jesus is equal with the Father yet also took on human attributes.

Hilary of Poitiers

Like the earlier writers, Hilary points out that Jesus wept as evidence that he was a real man and an example of human infirmity since God is incapable of tears (*Tract. Ps. 53:7; 68:12; 141:1; Trin. 3:10; 9:75; 10:24; 10:63*).⁷⁰⁰ Hilary comments specifically on Luke 19:41 amidst discussions on the two natures of Christ:

How great a mystery of word and act it is that Christ wept, that His eyes filled with tears from the anguish of His mind (*flere Christum et per animi angorem lacrimas oculis effluere*). From where came this defect in His soul that sorrow

⁶⁹⁵ Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 3.27 (PG 26, 381; NPNF 2:4, 408).

⁶⁹⁶ Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 3.34 (PG 26, 396; NPNF 2:4, 412).

⁶⁹⁷ Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 3.54-55 (PG 26, 436-7; NPNF 2:4, 423).

⁶⁹⁸ Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 3.58 (PG 26, 444; NPNF 2:4, 425).

⁶⁹⁹ Athanasius, *Dion.* 9.4 (Opitz 1940, 52; NPNF 2:4, 179).

⁷⁰⁰ Also *Trin* 10:8, but it is an interpolation by Erasmus (NPNF 2:7, 184 n.4).

should wring tears from His body (*ut fletum corpori tristitiae maeror eliceat*)? What bitter fate, what unendurable pain, could move the Son of Man who descended from heaven to break into tears (*in lacrimas dissoluit*)? What was it in Him which wept? God the Word or His human soul? For though weeping is a bodily function, the body is but a servant; tears are, as it were, the sweat of the agonised soul. What was the cause of His weeping? Did He owe to Jerusalem the debt of His tears (*debito lacrimarum honore prosequitur*)... What, I ask, was this mystery of weeping? His soul wept for sorrow (*anima quae tritis est, flet*)... But God the Word cannot grieve, nor can the Spirit weep... yet we cannot doubt that Jesus Christ truly wept (*vere Iesum Christum flesse non dubium est*).⁷⁰¹

The same explanation for God incarnate weeping over Jerusalem is also located in Hilary's Psalms exposition where the Lord himself wept over the impiety of Jerusalem (*Dominum ipsum ad impietatem Hierusalem inlacrimasse*).⁷⁰² In both references, Hilary argues that Jesus' tears and sorrow over Jerusalem should not be associated with God nor the Spirit because they cannot grieve and weep; it is the human body and soul of Jesus that tears.

When thinking about Lazarus' death, Hilary maintains that Jesus' tears were no less real (*pari quoque lacrimarum veritate et Lazarus fletus est*); he finds no necessity for tears, yet Jesus wept (*nulla ergo restat necessitas flendi, et tamen fletum est*).⁷⁰³ In his concluding sentence, Hilary still sounds baffled as to why the Giver of life is also the one who wept and grieved. If anything, Jesus rejoiced at what happened to Lazarus, for it is for God's glory (also *Trin.* 10.24; 10.67; *Tract. Ps.* 68.12). Explanations include i) Jesus weeping not for Lazarus but for the unbelief of the human race,⁷⁰⁴ and ii) Jesus' tears taking on the dimension of a parable to testify to his love for Lazarus.⁷⁰⁵ In any case, Hilary remains certain that it is the

⁷⁰¹ Hilary, *Trin.* 10.55 (CCSL 62a, 510; NPNF 2:9, 197).

⁷⁰² Hilary, *Tract. Ps.* 20.8 (SC 347, 276-8). Here, the Apostle (referring to Paul) is also said to weep over the impenitent (cf. Phil 3:18) because it is acceptable and respectable behaviour.

⁷⁰³ Hilary, *Trin.* 10.56 (CCSL 62a, 510; NPNF 2:9, 197-8).

⁷⁰⁴ Hilary, *Tract. Ps.* 68.12 (CCSL 61, 301).

⁷⁰⁵ Hilary, *Tract. Ps.* 68.12 (CCSL 61, 301).

human Jesus who weeps for Lazarus,⁷⁰⁶ for the impenitent (Jerusalem), for the unbelief of people (John 11), and out of love (Lazarus), because God cannot weep.

Ambrose

The Bishop of Milan also intentionally writes about the weeping of Jesus as i) a mark of the flesh (*Apol. Dav.* 12.65), ii) characteristic of a man (*Ep.* 11.8; 39.7), iii) displaying human feelings (*Enarrat Ps.* 61.5), and iv) showing human infirmity (*Fid.* 3.2.7; 2.7.56). As a man, Jesus weeps for Lazarus because he is moved by the tears of a loving sister (*ibi piaae sororis lacrimis commovetur*), namely Mary's weeping (John 11:33)—her tears touched his human heart (*quia mentem humanam tangebant*).⁷⁰⁷ When Jesus' human heart is touched, the accompanying compassion is so powerful that it overturns the death of Lazarus and the sorrow of his sisters. For Ambrose, Jesus weeps in his humanity; his human heart is moved when people weep.⁷⁰⁸

God or Man: Between Ancients and Moderns

It is evident that some ancient authors, in the wake of Nicaea, were committed to distinguishing the two natures of Jesus when it came to his weeping—Jesus weeps in his humanity because God cannot assume the weakness of crying. This early theological conviction could be explained by the pervasive early church heresies that gave rise to the topic of the two natures in one person. While the ancients insist that only the human Jesus can weep, the moderns do not mention the two natures and one person of Jesus at all,

⁷⁰⁶ Hilary, *Trin.* 10.56 (CCSL 62a, 510; NPNF 2:9, 197-8).

⁷⁰⁷ Ambrose, *Fid. Grat.* 2.7.55 (CSEL 78, 75; NPNF 2:10, 230). The wording in *Exp. Luc.* 10.58 (CCSL 14, 362) is almost verbatim to this reference.

⁷⁰⁸ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 63.1-2 (PG 59, 350; NPNF 1:14, 232-3) also summarises the early Christological view on the issue. Twice Chrysostom says that Jesus weeps to prove that he truly took on human nature.

possibly because the Christological heresies of antiquity are no longer as heated today.⁷⁰⁹

Moreover, current scholars would likely consider a discussion of the two natures of Jesus an anachronistic imposition in the context of Lukan exegesis.

The ancients' insistence that the divine cannot weep assumes that God did not weep in the OT. From their perspective, a weeping deity is problematic, appearing too vulnerable and unpredictable, it infringes on the notion of an impassible God.⁷¹⁰ However, some recent scholars have pushed back on this reading, in favour of a God who weeps. For example, using attachment theory, David Bosworth asserts that Jeremiah employs the parent-child bond to explain why God weeps over his people.⁷¹¹ He boldly claims that Jeremiah should not be about the weeping prophet but "the weeping God."⁷¹² Others think that Jesus "resorts to no divine δύνάμις" to intervene when he sees the holy city,⁷¹³ instead he

⁷⁰⁹ This might also be owing to developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that insisted and enforced the separation between critical biblical study and doctrinal/theological/confessional considerations of the text. Hence, modern biblical scholars do not consider questions about the two natures a part of their work. The ancients would not be able to contemplate this phenomenon because the affirmation of the literal sense of the text and the sacramental nature of the text go hand in hand.

⁷¹⁰ Eklund 2015, 116-23 offers an overview of arguments between those who uphold the impassibility of God (David Hart, Thomas Weinandy, and Paul Gavrilyuk) and those who suggest passibility in favour of a suffering God (Jürgen Moltmann, Kazoh Kitamori, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer). For further discussion, consult Koslowski and Hermann 2001; Keating and White 2009; Castelo 2009.

⁷¹¹ Bosworth 2013 argues that the following passages should be read as God who weeps rather than Jeremiah: Jer 9:10-11; 8:23; 9:18; 13:17; 14:17; 48:32; Low 2023, 110-1 adds Micah 1:8-9 to Bosworth's list. O'Connor 1998, 179-85 focuses on Jer 8:18-9:21 to show that it is God, and not Jeremiah, who weeps and argues that God mourns, sheds tears, and grieves over the nation's death. Bosworth 2013, 27-29 and O'Connor 1998, 181 appeal to extrabiblical references to prove divine weeping in the Ancient Near East. Ellington 2008, Chapters 2 & 5 are about Yahweh who weeps, suffers, and laments first before the prophet and people, and whose tears are mingled with Jeremiah's. Eklund 2015, 104-5 argues the grief of the prophet/people merges with the divine grief of God in Jeremiah and Lamentations, and they can be hard to tell apart. Biddle 1996 proposes a new model for reading Jeremiah 7-20 in which it is the voice of a suffering Yahweh and not Jeremiah. Bassar 2018, 184 who discusses weeping and laments in Jeremiah, Isaiah, the targums, and Talmud observes: "the theme of God crying... is pervasive in Jewish literature." Standhartinger 2023, 126-7 reflecting on Jer 14:17 also thinks that God weeps at the suffering of his people („Gott weint angesichts des Leidens seines Volkes"), and that the Midrashim preserved the idea that God shows emotions.

⁷¹² Bosworth 2013, 24. Similarly but more generally, Fretheim 1984 devotes ten chapters in his book *The Suffering of God* to reading selected OT texts in a way that favours divine passibility.

⁷¹³ Bovon 2012, 3:17.

expresses “divine grief over Jerusalem’s rejection.”⁷¹⁴ One explanation for the opposing views could be the respective contexts: the ancients wrote to defend doctrinal positions,⁷¹⁵ while the moderns, influenced by post-enlightenment approaches, include more panoptic methods of interpretation, such as psychological theories.

To assess the validity of both views, I propose reading Luke’s Christology using Kevin Rowe’s argument, after his in-depth study of the title κύριος, that the identity of the Lukan Jesus is united to God.⁷¹⁶ Based on Rowe’s high Christology, the allusions of divinity found throughout Luke, including in Luke 19 (κύριος occurs thrice in vv. 31, 34, 38, immediately before Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem), support the reading of Jesus weeping in his divinity.⁷¹⁷ In fact, in Jewish thought, the destruction of the first temple warrants God’s tears. Herbert Bassier, who analyses texts on God’s weeping in the Babylonian Talmud, says that after the destruction of the first Temple “humans and God have one thing in common: the ability to cry;” God no longer only dwells in the heavens and is accessible to his people through the temple but he is now joined to his children through tears.⁷¹⁸ If the fall of the first temple caused God to experience such great desolation and tears, then a weeping divine in the

⁷¹⁴ Eklund 2012, 94. So, unsurprisingly when commenting on Jeremiah and Zion, Eklund writes, “the grief of the prophet or the people merges with divine grief as God mourns God’s own punishment of the elect people” (2015, 104). Thus, Jesus’ “weeping mirrors both the mourning of other prophets over Zion and God’s own weeping over the fall of Zion” (107).

⁷¹⁵ Judgments of what is considered “orthodoxy” or “heresy” is complex, context-driven, and relative to other ideas, a topic of its own. Not all ancients found themselves on the “right” side of the “orthodoxy” label. By “orthodoxy,” I mean the “classical Christian orthodoxy” that became mainstream Christianity in the eastern and western church by the fourth and fifth centuries that defined the creeds.

⁷¹⁶ Rowe 2006, after his narratological analysis of κύριος yields the conclusion that in Luke we find “the binding of θεός and Ἰησοῦς” (202). Both identities begin to merge and overlap as the story progresses. Rowe clarifies, though, that “κύριος does not imply that Jesus is the same character or person as God the Father” (49).

⁷¹⁷ See also Giambrone 2017, 299-300 who argues for Jesus taking on the divine role and image of God based on his creditor Christology.

⁷¹⁸ Bassier 2018, 184-5 bases his observations on the Babylonian Talmud, *Hagigah* 5b, where the rabbis justify God’s weeping as happening in the inner chamber, and Rabbi Eleazar concludes that God tears three times—for the first Temple, the second Temple, and for exiled Israel.

person of Jesus is not inconceivable for the second fall of Jerusalem. Additionally, the idea of a weeping divine was not an anomaly in the lament traditions of the Ancient Near East.⁷¹⁹

Additionally, the following two examples, though not precisely about weeping, show that Jewish literature accepts the concept of God who feels sorrow. First, בְּכָל-צָרָתָם לֹא צָר in Isa 63:9 can be read differently when drawing on the Kethib-Qere. The MT reads לֹא צָר as לוֹ ("to him," following the Qere) and צָר as distress or affliction: "in all their affliction, God was afflicted." The MT changes the orthography for words sounding alike to generate a more meaningful reading of the original Hebrew. The LXX, however, shifts the verse division, reads לֹא as the negative particle (prefers the Kethib), and repoints צָר (*ṣār*) as צִיר (*ṣîr*) meaning messenger: "in all their affliction. It was no messenger." The idea of God feeling afflicted is removed in the Septuagint even though the LXX reading is not attested by other versions.⁷²⁰ In contrast, Jewish evidence for the MT reading of God feeling distressed ranges from the early third century Mekhilta (tractate Amalek 2.169)⁷²¹ to the twelfth century Ibn Ezra (on Isa 63.9).⁷²² The difference between the MT and LXX reading suggests that Jewish thought had no issues with an afflicted and distressed God.

Another prime example of the Septuagint removing notions of God feeling regret and grief is in Gen 6:6. Where the MT reads, "and the Lord was sorry (וַיִּנָּחֵם) that he had made

⁷¹⁹ Roberts 1992 surveys the lament traditions of the ANE and demonstrates that Jeremiah's anthropomorphic imagery of a God who mourns and weeps was considered normal and acceptable. Roberts connects his finding with the NT (though based on Matthew, his assertion applies to the Lukan Jesus too): "the portrait of a God who weeps over the people he must punish is also encountered in the figure of Jesus who laments over Jerusalem" (372). See also, Bosworth 2013, 27-29; O'Connor 1998, 181.

⁷²⁰ Childs 2001, 523; Blenkinsopp 2008, 254.

⁷²¹ Lauterbach 2004, 2:269.

⁷²² Friedländer 1873, 287-8 emphasises that the true meaning of לֹא is "to him," and that לֹא צָר is a figurative expression that means "unto [God] was trouble" and means that God's soul was grieved.

humankind on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart,” the LXX shortens it into “and God reflected (ἐνεθυμήθη) that he made humankind upon the earth and considered (διενοήθη),” LXX Gen 6:6). The Hebrew verb נחם used to communicate God’s regret is replaced with the verb ἐνθυμέομαι to mean God thinking about something. Also, the whole phrase describing God as being grieved to his heart (וַיִּתְעַצֵּב אֱלֹהִים לִפְנֵי) is replaced with another thinking verb διανοέομαι. There is evident editorial intent in these two OT texts to omit notions of God feeling distress, regret, and grief, and to tone down the negative emotions into solely cognitive descriptions or into a different translation altogether. These three brief excursions (Basser; Isa 63:9; Gen 6:6) demonstrate that the idea of a weeping, grieved, and afflicted God is well attested in Jewish literature and tradition.

To Weep or Not to Weep: When and Why

After discussing the human-divine issue in Jesus’ weeping, we analyse other ancient and modern comments for more perspectives on why and when one should or should not weep. I have classified the references into four categories: i) Jesus’ weeping with respect to emotions and his relatability to humans; ii) the unrepentance and unbelief of Jerusalem as explanation for weeping; iii) tears as washing away sins (examined in earlier chapters); and iv) literary connections between weeping and other parts of the biblical canon.

Jesus’ Weeping and Emotional Display

There were ancients who explained Jesus’ weeping as a display of kindness, mercy, compassion, and sympathy. After surveying the following early comments, we turn to modern remarks that also discuss Jesus’ weeping as expressing emotion, but possibly with some difference.

Hippolytus

Hippolytus says the following about Jesus weeping for Lazarus:⁷²³

What need was there to weep for him whom he was soon about to raise (τίς δὲ χρεία δακρύειν ὃν ἔμελλεν ἀνιστᾶν μετ' ὀλίγον)? But Jesus wept to give us an example of sympathy and kindness toward our fellow human beings. Jesus wept that he might by deed rather than word teach us to “weep with those that weep” (Rom 12:15).⁷²⁴ He wept but did not mourn (ἐδάκρυσεν οὐχ ἐπένθησεν) – avoiding absolute tearlessness as harsh and inhuman... He wept, assigning due measure to his sympathy (τάξιν δὲ ἐπιτιθεὶς τῇ συμπαθείᾳ ἐδάκρυσεν).⁷²⁵

For Hippolytus, Jesus wept as a man to exemplify sympathy and empathy with his fellow humans, aware that not crying at all is to be inhuman. Though resurrection will soon occur, it is sensible to first weep with Mary and the others.

Origen

Origen conveys a similar sentiment on John 11:35 where Jesus sheds tears when his dear friend is made (alive) in the grave (δακρύει δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων ἐν μνημείῳ γένηται).⁷²⁶ The substantive τῶν φίλων, though not in John's text, was most likely chosen because the Jews said that Jesus so loved (φιλέω) Lazarus (John 11:36). Since Jesus weeps for one he loves, it is plausible that he wept in Luke 19:41 because the Jerusalemites are dear to him—for Jesus so loved Jerusalem.⁷²⁷

⁷²³ Refer to p.188 above for discussions on Hippolytus.

⁷²⁴ John 11:35 is used as an example for Paul's teaching (Rom 12:15).

⁷²⁵ Hippolytus, *Comm. Jo. Laz.* 4:171-2 (GCS 1/2, 224; *ANEG* 4:172-3).

⁷²⁶ Origen, *Cat. Jo.* 83 (GCS 10, 549).

⁷²⁷ Ramelli 2009, 370-1 finds that Origen praises weeping caused by love (cf. *Comm. Matt.* 16.1) and Christian ἀγάπη is not πάθος, which maintains the ethical ideal of ἀπάθεια. If, as Lyman 2022, 271 points out, Origen presents “Jesus as the central model for Christian life and action,” then Jesus' grief over sin and love for Jerusalem/the church should also be emulated by Christians.

Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus

On the conquest of Jerusalem, Eusebius, in *Theophania*, perceives Jesus as the compassionate Saviour weeping over the whole city. It was not that Jesus had so much pity on the buildings and land as he had upon the souls of its inhabitants and the prospect of their destruction.⁷²⁸ Athanasius, through the example of Joseph who had mercy on his eleven brothers who sold him, writes that our Lord and Saviour, though being pursued by the Pharisees, wept over their downfall.⁷²⁹ This could refer to Jesus weeping over Jerusalem to demonstrate his mercy on those who oppose him. Also, Gregory of Nazianzus claims that Jesus treats his mockers with meekness and kindness at his crucifixion; he weeps on account of those who put him on the cross (τῶν σταυρούντων αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι δάκρυον).⁷³⁰ There is no such Gospel record, but Gregory paints a picture of Jesus as one who weeps for those who do not know what they do. In short, Jesus weeps out of pity, kindness, and mercy.

Ambrose and Augustine

Ambrose also makes Jesus more personable and relatable to people. At his brother's funeral, Ambrose confesses that he himself wept, but that the Lord also wept (*lacrimavi ergo, fateor, etiam ego, sed lacrimavit et dominus*),⁷³¹ as though deriving approval from Jesus' example. The Lord wept for one not related to him, but he, Ambrose, wept for his brother (*ille alienum, ego fratrem*).⁷³² Ambrose adds that Jesus wept for all in weeping for

⁷²⁸ Er weinte aber über die ganze Stadt, der Mitleidige indem er nicht so sehr mit ihren Gebäuden noch mit dem Erdboden als vielmehr mit den Seelen ihrer einstigen Bewohner und mit ihrem Untergang Mitleid hatte; Eusebius, *Theoph.* 4.19 (GCS 11/2, 194; Lee 1843, 248).

⁷²⁹ „Unser Herr und Erlöser, als er von den Pharisäern verfolgt wurde, weinte über ihren Untergang;“ Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 10.4c (Lorenz 1986, 49, German translation of the Syriac).

⁷³⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.78 (SC 309, 200).

⁷³¹ Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.10.

⁷³² Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.10 (CSEL 73, 214; NPNF 2:10, 162).

one (*ille in uno lacrimavit omnes*),⁷³³ suggesting that Jesus' tears for Lazarus represent the tears he would weep for all people.⁷³⁴ In my view, Ambrose's personal deep grief at Satyrus' death and his combination of Stoicism with Christian belief influenced his openness to the idea of a Jesus who mourns death and also weeps.⁷³⁵

Like Ambrose, Augustine also presents an empathetic and approachable side to Jesus, which is unsurprising given Ambrose's influence on him. For instance, reading Jesus into Ps 69:20 (LXX Ps 68:20, "I looked for someone to grieve together with me, and there was no one"), Augustine interprets this as Jesus' loneliness in the Passion. Though his disciples, Mary Magdalene, and other women grieved and wept as he was being led to his Passion, Augustine thinks Jesus could not find anyone to grieve for the same reason that Jesus was grieving.⁷³⁶ A few sentences earlier Jesus is said to grieve for those who crucified and persecuted him. Knowing Augustine's sentiments towards the Jews, he is likely alluding to those in Jerusalem, which is why the women were told to weep for themselves.⁷³⁷ They should not weep (Luke 23:28) because they do not understand that the real grief of Jesus is his grief for Jerusalem, not his death. It is interesting that Augustine refers to the women's weeping in 23:28 but focuses instead on Jesus' inner thoughts and struggles.

⁷³³ This phrase is also in *Fid.* 2.7.55 (Jesus' human heart is touched by people who sincerely weep) and *Exp. Luc.* 10.58 (above).

⁷³⁴ That the Lord grieves in the face of death is in line with Chapter 4 about Ambrose's openness to emotions, see above p.168.

⁷³⁵ See earlier discussion in Chapter 4, p.168. In a study that argues for Ambrose's appreciation of Christ's human psychology, Bishop 2009, 183-4 appeals to Ambrose's mourning over his brother as defended by Christ's weeping for Lazarus to show that Ambrose allows for the expression of grief.

⁷³⁶ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 68.5 (CCSL 39, 920; WSA Psalms III/17, 387-8).

⁷³⁷ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 68.5 (CCSL 39, 921; WSA Psalms III/17, 388).

Unlike those who distance themselves from the emotional life of Jesus, Augustine has no qualms about discussing Jesus' loneliness, need for empathy and consolation, and grief. Augustine's willingness to present Jesus' vulnerability and closeness to people fits well with his identification as the first Christian/Western psychologist⁷³⁸ who writes about the interior life and is receptive to weeping and grieving.⁷³⁹ While Ambrose and Augustine see Jesus' weeping as giving humans the permission to cry (hence, making him relatable to people), the Latin authors also remind their audience to contain their tears because of the resurrection (Chapter 4). The tension between weeping, and restricting it, is also observed in the following writings.⁷⁴⁰

Basil

Basil, in *De gratiarum actione*, as though afraid hearers may interpret Jesus' tears as a green light to freely weep, adds that Jesus has left us the means and ends to contain the necessary affections of the soul⁷⁴¹—Jesus shed tears to restore those who are fond of wailing excessively, are distressed, and low in spirits (οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ἐδάκρυσε, τῶν ὀδυρτικῶν καὶ φιλοθρήνων τὸ ἄγαν περιπαθὲς καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐπανορθούμενος).⁷⁴² Therefore, since the tears of Jesus restore those weeping, like in the raising of Lazarus, we, too, should limit our sadness and tears.

⁷³⁸ Dixon et al. 2013 consists of essays on Augustine and Freudian psychoanalytic concepts, Augustine's relationship with his mother, his psychology as therapy, his psychology and neurobiological accounts, his experience of grief, etc. Couenhoven 2017 shows Augustine's reason and emotion as fitting with modern behavioural science. Charry 2006 writes about him as a psychotherapeutic teacher. These works confirm that psychology is deeply intertwined with the spiritual life for Augustine.

⁷³⁹ See above Chapter 4, p.169 on Augustine (and Ambrose) as trailblazers in their openness to emotions.

⁷⁴⁰ The later authors tend to appear more aware of the emotional aspect to tears than the earlier authors.

⁷⁴¹ The idea that emotions are to be contained is even clearer in Latin: *sed modos ac fines quibus necessarii animae affectus contineantur, tibi reliquisse*; Basil, *Grat.* 5 (PG 31, 228).

⁷⁴² Though ἐπανορθούμενος could either mean to restore or correct, it is more likely "to restore" as the story that continues is about the raising of Lazarus. Moreover, the Latin is translated as *sanaret*; Basil, *Grat.* 5 (PG 31, 227-8).

However, Basil concedes that a kind of pleasure does come to the bereaved during mourning, as that which burdened them is secretly emptied through weeping; otherwise, restraining tears by force can lead to incurable diseases, even death.⁷⁴³ Basil adds that those fond of grieving should not oppose the tears of the Lord in support of those who are given to sadness; however, this is balanced with the statement that neither women nor men are allowed to indulge in mourning or tear profusely (οὔτε οὖν γυναῖξιν, οὔτε ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτέτραπται τὸ φιλοπενθὲς καὶ πολὺδάκρυ), but only as much as it is right to be distressed and to shed little tears (μικρόν τι δάκρυον ἀποστάξαι).⁷⁴⁴ In sum, weeping is encouraged under distressing situations to relieve burdens but it should be limited. Basil has reconciled rejoicing with weeping in a homily on thanksgiving, because the blessed action of weeping is beneficial, pleasurable, and leads to laughter and joy.

John Chrysostom

In his Matthew homily, after mentioning that Christ mourned for Lazarus and Judas, Chrysostom says that if we should weep, we should weep calmly as Jesus did (κἂν κλαίης δάκρυσον ἡρέμα ὡς αὐτός).⁷⁴⁵ Likewise, in an earlier homily Chrysostom sees Jesus as setting measures of sorrow (λύπης μέτρα τιθεῖς) by weeping moderately (δακρύει ἡρέμα).⁷⁴⁶ In a homily on Lazarus, Chrysostom agrees that it is natural to grieve (τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄθυμεῖν τῆς φύσεως) but writes against grieving and weeping in despair, disgust, or anger (ἄλγησον, δάκρυσον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδυσπετήσης, μὴ δυσχεράνης, μὴ ἀγανακτήσης): Weep as the Lord wept for Lazarus, which sets a standard for us—a rule and limit for pain—that is not to be

⁷⁴³ Basil, *Grat.* 5 (PG 31, 228).

⁷⁴⁴ Basil, *Grat.* 6 (PG 31, 228).

⁷⁴⁵ Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 78.4 (PG 58, 716; NPNF 1:10, 474).

⁷⁴⁶ Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 66.2 (PG 58, 628; NPNF 1:10, 406).

transgressed (μέτρα τιθεῖς ἡμῖν καὶ κανόνας καὶ ὅρους ἀθυμίας, οὐς ὑπερβαίνειν οὐ δεῖ).⁷⁴⁷

Using the example of Jesus weeping over Lazarus again, he exhorts his audience to weep, but gently (δάκρυσον ἀλλ' ἡρέμα).⁷⁴⁸ Jesus is also portrayed as crying in silence (δακρύει ἡρέμα) to contrast Mary whose weeping is described as κλαῦσαι.⁷⁴⁹ In the three instances where ἡρέμα is used to describe Jesus' crying, ἡρέμα is translated into English as calmly, moderately, or gently. Chrysostom does not forbid weeping but forbids immoderate or despairing weeping.

Jerome

Jerome writes a letter to console Paula, a mother who is suffering the loss of her daughter, Blaesilla. In the beginning of the letter Jerome recognises that the weeping of grief for all that is lost with the death of Blaesilla is not the same as Jesus' weeping for the miserable fate of Jerusalem (*ut ieselus, miseram Hierusalem*) (Luke 19:41).⁷⁵⁰ The rest of the letter does not comment on Luke 19:41 but we will discuss relevant sections for Jerome's insights on grief. Jerome admits that he too, like Paula, is in tears over the death of Blaesilla. The entire letter is written in tears (*confiteor affectus meos, totus hic liber fletibus scribitur*); Jerome's tears are wept out of love for Blaesilla, just as Jesus wept for Lazarus because he loved him (*flevit Iesus Lazarum, quia amabat eum*).⁷⁵¹ He depicts his grief physiologically by

⁷⁴⁷ Chrysostom, *Laz.* 5 (PG 48, 1019). A similar argument is found in *Pat.* 1 (spurious) (PG 60, 729) which invites us to weep as Christ wept for Lazarus (ὥς ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν Λάζαρον ἐκλαυσεν, οὕτω κλαύσωμεν) but not to mourn immoderately.

⁷⁴⁸ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 62.4 (PG 59, 350; NPNF 1:14, 231).

⁷⁴⁹ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 63.1-2 (PG 59, 350; NPNF 1:14, 232-3). All four mentions of Jesus' weeping here are described with δακρύω while Mary's weeping is recorded as κλαίω.

⁷⁵⁰ Jerome, *Epist.* 39.1 (CSEL 54, 294; NPNF 2:6, 49).

⁷⁵¹ Jerome, *Epist.* 39.2 (CSEL 54, 295; NPNF 2:6, 49).

describing how his eyes, voice, and mouth are affected by his tears, and even tells Paula that his agony is as great as hers (*eadem me dolorum perpeti tormenta, quae pateris*).⁷⁵²

Then Jerome shifts his tone and appeals to 1 Thess 4:13 to remind Paula that she should not grieve like those who have no hope.⁷⁵³ He attempts to regulate—even restrain—Paula’s emotions: “I pardon you the tears of a mother (*ignoscimus matris lacrimis*), but I ask you to restrain your grief (*sed modum quaerimus in dolore*); when I think of the parent, I cannot blame you for weeping; but when I think of the Christian and the recluse, the mother disappears from my view.”⁷⁵⁴ Finally, Jerome uses rather harsh language to limit Paula’s tears: “Tears which have no meaning are an object of abhorrence. Yours are detestable tears, sacrilegious tears, unbelieving tears; for they know no limits, and bring you to the verge of death.”⁷⁵⁵ Jerome recognises the need to weep and mourn, but the embrace of emotions is followed by strict language to limit grief because of the resurrection.⁷⁵⁶

Modern Opinions on Emotions and Weeping

Whilst the ancients describe Jesus’ weeping with some emotion yet with restraint, most moderns agree that Jesus’ tears (Luke 19:41) are a display of lament and grief over the upcoming destruction of Jerusalem.⁷⁵⁷ Jeffrey believes looking at the city that Jesus so loved

⁷⁵² *lacrimis ora conplentur, singultus occupant vocem et haerentem linguam viscera commota non laxant*; Jerome, *Epist.* 39.1 (CSEL 54, 294; NPNF 2:6, 49).

⁷⁵³ Jerome, *Epist.* 39.3 (CSEL 54, 298; NPNF 2:6, 51). Jerome draws the mother’s attention to the place in paradise that Blaesilla is now enjoying.

⁷⁵⁴ Jerome, *Epist.* 39.5 (CSEL 54, 304; NPNF 2:6, 52-3). Jerome appeals to the examples of Naomi and Ruth to show how Paula can be strong and overcome her grief.

⁷⁵⁵ *detestandae sunt istae lacrimae plenae sacrilegio, incredulitate plenissimae, quae non habent modum, quae usque ad vicina mortis accedunt*; Jerome, *Epist.* 39.6 (CSEL 54, 306; NPNF 2:6, 53).

⁷⁵⁶ The only reference to Luke 23:28 is in Jerome, *C. Jo.* 34, but the verse is quoted to prove the events of Jesus’ life and ministry with no exposition on weeping.

⁷⁵⁷ Green 1997, 689 calls it “Jesus’ prophetic lament;” Marshall 1978, 717 says Jesus “weeps over the destruction which will come over [Jerusalem] unawares;” Nolland 1993, 3:932 thinks “Jesus laments their

was for Jesus both “a beautiful and a most painful scene.”⁷⁵⁸ Wolter features Jesus’ solidarity with Jerusalem by stating that “one weeps only over the unsalvific fate of those whom one loves.”⁷⁵⁹ Bock senses “a tone of sadness” as the tears of Jesus are “tears of one who knows that the people have already turned their backs on God’s messenger... like a parent watching a child make a foolish decision.”⁷⁶⁰ Johnson perceives the weeping as “a sign of sorrow,”⁷⁶¹ and Eklund insists Jesus’ lament over Jerusalem is a form of dirge.⁷⁶² It is also not uncommon to liken Jesus to the OT prophets,⁷⁶³ like a weeping Jeremiah.⁷⁶⁴ The totality of emotions embodied by Jesus is like “the sympathy of the suffering prophet... caught up in the rage, anguish, frustration, and sorrow of God for Israel.”⁷⁶⁵

There is more emotional language found in Bovon’s comments on Luke 23:28. He explains the scene as Jesus “inviting the women of Jerusalem to weep for themselves... encourages them to face the situation, their situation, to assume responsibility for themselves, as do the sick people who consult a physician or the disturbed people who turn to a therapist.”⁷⁶⁶ The language of invitation to weep, encouragement to face hardship, and consultation of a physician and therapist are telling signs of Bovon’s interest to in

situation, because he sees, prophetically, the future outcome;” Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1256 writes, “Jesus weeps as he reflects on the fate of the city;” Stein 1992, 484 adds, “Jesus wept... for the fate of Jerusalem and people of Israel;” Wolter 2017, 2:372 refers to it as “a prophetic lament embedded in a narrative” and “an anticipating lament over the destruction of Jerusalem;” Spencer 2021, 88 dramatically describes it as “Jesus’ tears fall down, his words fall apart in concert with his horrific visions of Jerusalem’s devastating fall;” Fisk 2008, 173: “Jesus’ lament lacks entirely the self-conscious ἑγὼ: he sheds no tears for himself, only for Jerusalem.”

⁷⁵⁸ Jeffrey 2012, 394.

⁷⁵⁹ Wolter 2017, 2:372.

⁷⁶⁰ Bock 1996, 2:1560; so Jesus weeps over the fate of the city he loves (1564).

⁷⁶¹ Johnson 1991, 298.

⁷⁶² Eklund 2012, 80, 94, 130, 147.

⁷⁶³ Bock 1996, 2:1560; Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1258; Stein 1992, 484; Hong 2018, 120; Spencer 2021, 89; Crisler 2023, 275; etc.

⁷⁶⁴ Nolland 1993, 3:930; Tiede 1980, 82.

⁷⁶⁵ Tiede 1980, 78.

⁷⁶⁶ Bovon 2012, 3:302.

incorporating aspects of modern psychology and mental/emotional health into Jesus' speech to the women; they are similar to words used in counselling people undergoing affliction.

Though Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine (above) acknowledge the need to weep, their level of openness is still a distance away from the modern depictions of a Jesus who expresses himself emotionally, invites and encourages emotions in others, and does not ask to limit the emotions. Basil is the most descriptive about tears, but his primary interest lies in its physiology, not in the way that modern psychology speaks of weeping, which is understandable since the concept of paying attention to mental and emotional health is a modern cultural presupposition, unavailable in antiquity. I contend that the ancients allowed for weeping with limits because of their Stoic-influenced milieu,⁷⁶⁷ just as modern exegetes are affected by developments in the field of psychology.

Weeping for the Sin, Unrepentance, and Unbelief of Jerusalem

While weeping freely and emotionally is restricted in the early writings, weeping for the unrepentance and unbelief of Jerusalem is consistently allowed and valid.

Origen

Origen questions if Jesus' weeping pertains to this Jerusalem of ours, for we are the Jerusalem that is wept over (*nos enim sumus Hierusalem, quae defletur*).⁷⁶⁸ Jesus bewails this Jerusalem of ours because after her sins, enemies and evil surround her; this Jerusalem is the city that Jesus wept over (*haec est ergo, quae defletur, Hierusalem*).⁷⁶⁹ Equating

⁷⁶⁷ See above Chapter 4, p.168 for the influence of Stoicism on the ancients' handling of grief and weeping.

⁷⁶⁸ Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 38.3 (GCS 35, 222; FC 94, 157).

⁷⁶⁹ Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 38.4 (GCS 35, 222; FC 94, 157).

Jerusalem with his third-century believers, Origen thinks Christians should know better because they have been taught by the church and have heard the Gospel, so, when Christians sin they become the Jerusalem for which Jesus weeps.⁷⁷⁰ While not all comments by Origen on Luke 19:41 are about weeping,⁷⁷¹ Jesus' tears still attract the most attention.

In a Leviticus homily, Origen further asserts that Jesus wept over an unrepentant city. He writes repeatedly about our Saviour who laments sins, is saddened by iniquities, is sorrowed while we persist in error, and ends with Jerusalem: Does he not grieve about our errors, and does he not mourn over our ruin and griefs? This is he who wept over Jerusalem (*qui flevit super Ierusalem*).⁷⁷² Elsewhere, when preaching on the words “Woe is me” in Jer 15:10, Origen uses the example of the Saviour who wept for Jerusalem to show that Jesus himself might have exclaimed these words too, for the sound of his weeping over Jerusalem is the woe (κλαίωντος δὲ φωνή ἐστι τὸ οἶμοι).⁷⁷³ We surmise that “woe” is how Jesus felt when weeping over Jerusalem because of the city's sinfulness.

The following views in Origen's Matthew commentary further confirm the above arguments. Immediately after mentioning the Lord's weeping, Origen writes about how sinful and desolate Jerusalem is because of its treatment toward Jesus, and even thinks it was necessary for Jerusalem not to exist thereafter.⁷⁷⁴ Origen deliberately differentiates

⁷⁷⁰ It is unsurprising to view Jerusalem as representing current Christians since Origen also identifies Jerusalem with the Christian soul in *Comm. Jo.* 10.174 (FC 94, 157 n.10).

⁷⁷¹ Some comments by Origen quote Luke 19:41 with the sole purpose of comparing it with the other gospels (*Comm. Jo.* 10.122, 127, 197) or to discuss only the city of Jerusalem (*Cat. Lam.* (236,26); *Cat. Luc.* (329, 2)). Also, extant writings by Origen do not seem to include weeping-related comments on Luke 23:28.

⁷⁷² Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 7.2.2 (GCS 29, 375; FC 83, 133-4).

⁷⁷³ Origen, *Hom. Jer.* 14.6.1 (SC 238, 76; FC 97, 141).

⁷⁷⁴ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 76 (GCS 38, 177; Heine 2018, 2:677). Origen could be thinking about the fall of Jerusalem (AD 70) or the Bar Kochba Revolt (AD 135).

between the “Jeruselems”: At the Transfiguration, when the tombs open, the saints who were asleep go off into the truly holy city, not the Jerusalem wept for by Jesus (εἰς τὴν ἀληθῶς ἁγίαν πόλιν τὴν μὴ κλαιομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ἱεροθαλήμ).⁷⁷⁵ This means the holy city redeemed by Jesus’ passion is not the “unholy” Jerusalem that Jesus wept for; it is the heavenly Zion as opposed to the Zion which crucified the Lord. Origen places Luke 19:41 side by side 13:35 to contrast the heavenly Zion that receives Jesus (cf. Hebrews 12:22-27) with the earthly Zion that crucifies the one who weeps over the city.⁷⁷⁶ Origen then claims that if Jesus wept reasonably over Jerusalem, he will more reasonably weep over the church (εἵτε εὐλόγως ἔκλαυσεν ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ, εὐλογώτερον κλαύσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) that is meant to be a house of prayer but that has become a den of robbers.⁷⁷⁷ In sum, Origen believes Jesus’ tears express grief over sin and unrepentance, whether for the city of Jerusalem, present Christians, or the church in general.⁷⁷⁸

Eusebius

Like Origen, Eusebius’ comments on Luke 19:41 are not all about weeping,⁷⁷⁹ but several are about Jesus’ weeping. In his Isaiah commentary, Eusebius depicts Jerusalem as a people characterised by destruction and wretchedness—a way of peace they do not know, which is why the Saviour wept aloud for them (διὸ καὶ ἀπεκλαύσατο αὐτοὺς ὁ σωτὴρ).⁷⁸⁰ The weeping is extended to Jesus’ apostles when Eusebius quotes from Luke 19:41-42 to say

⁷⁷⁵ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 12.43 (GCS 40, 169; Heine 2018, 1:125).

⁷⁷⁶ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 16.15 (GCS 40, 523; Heine 2018, 1:254).

⁷⁷⁷ Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 16.21 (GCS 40, 547; Heine 2018, 2:496).

⁷⁷⁸ The emphasis on repentance agrees with Ramelli 2009, 368-79 who after engaging with Origen’s works on weeping concludes that tears of repentance are viewed positively because they are not caused by πάθος.

⁷⁷⁹ In *Theoph.* (29,10) and *Comm. Isa.* 1.95; 2.48, Eusebius is only interested in Jerusalem.

⁷⁸⁰ Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 2.48 (GCS 60, 364; Armstrong 2013, 285).

that even the messengers of peace wept bitterly as they deeply lament their destruction (πικρῶς ἔκλαυσαν ἀποδυρόμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπώλειαν).⁷⁸¹

When Eusebius expounds on Ps 88:9 (LXX Ps 87:7) “my eye grows dim through sorrow,” he uses it to describe Jesus who exhausted his own eyes with tears (καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατεπόνει δάκρυσι), lamenting the destruction of those who would not accept him; as he mourned over Jerusalem, so it was also reasonable that he would mourn over the fall of the apostle who betrayed him and the rejection of the whole Jewish nation.⁷⁸² Jesus’ weeping and mourning reminds Eusebius of Peter’s betrayal and the entire Jewish nation’s rejection of Jesus. In another comment on Ps 109:17-20 (LXX Ps 108:17-20), Jerusalem is described as persecuting a poor and needy man, and even killing him who was pierced in heart; this man (Jesus) was afflicted because of the lawlessness he saw so he spoke to Jerusalem and wailed over it (κλαίων αὐτήν).⁷⁸³ The majority of Eusebius’ comments revolve around Jesus’ mourning over the holy city that has rejected its Saviour.

Pseudo-Clementine Homilies

This homily speaks about the reign of Christ yet how Jesus’ own people assailed him out of ignorance. Despite it all, Jesus loved even those who hated Him, wept over the unbelieving (ἔκλαιε τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας), blessed those who slandered Him, and prayed for those who were in enmity against Him.⁷⁸⁴ Though without a clear context, the homily suggests that ἔκλαιε is referring to Jesus weeping over Jerusalem, his tears poured out of

⁷⁸¹ Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 2.4 (GCS 60, 215; Armstrong 2013, 166).

⁷⁸² Eusebius, *Comm. Ps.* (1061,A10) (PG 23, 1061).

⁷⁸³ Eusebius, *Comm. Ps.* (1337,C4) (PG 23, 1061). Special thanks to Justin Gohl for sharing his unpublished translation and annotation.

⁷⁸⁴ Clement of Rome (Pseudo), *Hom.* 3.19.3 (GCS 42, 63; ANF 8, 414).

grief for the unbelieving people. This homily forms part of the Pseudo-Clementine literature, works that were wrongly attributed to Clement of Rome.⁷⁸⁵

Basil

After discussing Basil's *De gratiarum actione* above, we now move on to *Regulae morale*. Immediately before Basil refers to Luke 19:41, we find the section heading that reads: it is not necessary to behave indifferently towards sinners but to be moved with sadness and mourn for them.⁷⁸⁶ This is followed by discussion about sinners and the call to repentance, which suggests that Jesus in Luke 19:41 weeps because of his sadness over Jerusalem's sins and lack of repentance.

We find two comments on Luke 23:28 in Basil's panegyric works for two martyrs. First is a homily delivered c. AD 372 about the local martyr Julitta who, amidst a lawsuit, does not deny Christ though it would cost her all her property and even her life;⁷⁸⁷ she was burnt alive, but with courage and rejoicing. Basil interrupts his praise for Julitta with an exegesis of 1 Thess 5:16-18 for the encomium to Julitta fittingly demonstrates his points.⁷⁸⁸ He says that when others encounter adversity, we ought to "weep" with them not by shedding tears but by giving thanks for their sorrow.⁷⁸⁹ Quoting Paul, Basil reminds us that we should rejoice

⁷⁸⁵ Over the last century, scholars have pushed for a later dating of the Clementine Homilies than previously assumed. Bigg 1890, 191-2 argues they are produced in Antioch at "some early period in the fourth century." Chapman 1908, 157 concludes the same. Modern dictionaries also indicate an early fourth-century dating (Trevijano, "Clementines (pseudo)," *EAC* 1:551; Jones, "Pseudo-Clementines," *RPP-O*).

⁷⁸⁶ Basil, *Reg. mor.* 52.1 (PG 31, 776).

⁷⁸⁷ Julitta is killed c. AD 305; about seventy years later Basil honours her with an encomium. For dating, see Gain 1985, 218 n.279. Basil, *Julit.* 1-2 summarises the context for the martyrdom. Also Girardi 1988, 455-9.

⁷⁸⁸ I agree with Holman and DelCogliano 2013, 17 that it is partly Basil's fault for jumping abruptly from Julitta to a study on 1 Thess 5, "yet Julitta's story illustrates precisely the type of exuberant joy in times of trial and consolatory flow of healing waters in bereavement that Basil wishes to convey."

⁷⁸⁹ Basil, *Julit.* 7 (PG 31, 256; Holman and DelCogliano 2013, 119).

with those who rejoice (possibly referring to the martyrs) and weep with those who weep (κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων, Rom 12:15) because their reward is in heaven.⁷⁹⁰ This is followed by Jesus' words to the daughters of Jerusalem to cease weeping for him but to weep for their children (Luke 23:28), which brings Basil to tell his listeners to mourn and lament with those who out of repentance shed tears (τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας ἀφιεῖσι δάκρυον συμπενθεῖν καὶ συνοδύρεσθαι) and bewail those who lack the right perception about their ruin.⁷⁹¹ We notice here that Jesus, who represents the martyrs, does not need to be wept over, but Jerusalem, who is ignorant of their faults, requires weeping over.⁷⁹²

The other homily, written c. AD 373, is about another local Caesarean martyr Gordius, who appears before a packed amphitheatre watching chariot races in honour of Mars to confess that he is a Christian.⁷⁹³ The governor ordered for him to be tortured and eventually beheaded.⁷⁹⁴ When his friends were weeping over him and begging him not to enter the fire, he paraphrased the words of the Lord: Weep not over me, but weep over the enemies of God (μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμοί· ἀλλὰ κλαύσατε ἐπὶ τοὺς θεομάχους); he tells them to stop crying and crushing his heart.⁷⁹⁵ Though Basil does not have Gordius quote Luke 23:28 verbatim, it is clear that Basil has replaced "their children" with "the enemies of God." Again, Basil probably thinks the Jerusalemites are the enemies of God we should weep over. Basil

⁷⁹⁰ The scope of this project does not allow space to look at occurrences of κλαίω outside of Luke, but we can suggest here that Rom 12:15 calls for readers to weep with those who weep out of penitence and to rejoice with those who, despite persecution, rejoice.

⁷⁹¹ Basil, *Julit.* 7 (PG 31, 256; Holman and DelCogliano 2013, 120). The message of weeping over one's own sins and the sins of a brother is repeated in *Julit.* 9; shedding tears over a neighbour's sins even cures oneself.

⁷⁹² Holman and DelCogliano 2013, 17 lament that Basil's thanksgiving and tears in Julitta's example has gained almost no attention in patristic studies. This paragraph hopes to kickstart the conversation in modest ways.

⁷⁹³ For dating, see Fedwick 1981, 1:10 n.40. Gain 1985, 219 n.280 estimates *prononcée après 370 à Césarée*. Leemans et al. 2003, 56-7 provides a brief introduction to Gordius.

⁷⁹⁴ Basil, *Gord.* 2.6 (PG 31, 492-504). See also Chiriatti, "Gordius," *BEEC-O*; Girardi 1988, 460-71.

⁷⁹⁵ Basil, *Gord.* 7 (PG 31, 504).

reckons weeping is acceptable when it is for sin, repentance, or the lack thereof, and the enemies of God.

Ambrose

Now we look at Ambrose's *De paenitentia* that refers to multiple weeping texts.

Ambrose thinks Jesus wept over Jerusalem (Luke 19:41) inasmuch as Jerusalem would not weep itself, so that it might obtain forgiveness through the tears of the Lord (*domini lacrimis ad veniam pertineret*); Jesus wills that we should weep in order that we may escape.⁷⁹⁶ In other words, if Jerusalem would weep for itself it would be forgiven, but because it did not, Jesus weeps for the city. Ambrose wonders why people blush to weep for sins when God commanded even the prophets to weep for the people.⁷⁹⁷ He ends the call to repentance with "Blessed are ye that weep now, for you shall laugh" (Luke 6:21).⁷⁹⁸ Later, Ambrose quotes from 23:28 asserting that women who live ungodly lives ought to be weeping for themselves (*quae se ipsas flere debebant*), because they have lost the pearl from heaven,⁷⁹⁹ which hints that weeping is a necessary response to ungodliness.

The last excerpt from *De paenitentia* is on the Lazarus account:

Christ will come to your grave, and if He finds there weeping for you Martha, the woman of good service, and Mary who carefully heard the Word of God, like the holy Church which has chosen the best part, He will be moved with compassion, when at your death He shall see the tears of many (*cum viderit in tuo obitu lacrimas plurimorum*) and will say: "Where have you laid him?" that is to say, in what condition of guilt is he, in which rank of penitents? I would see him for whom you weep, that he himself may move me with his tears (*videam*

⁷⁹⁶ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.6.49 (SC 179, 164; NPNF 2:10, 351). Ambrose also quotes Luke 23:28 here.

⁷⁹⁷ *quid erubescis tu peccata tua flere, cum deus etiam prophetas iusserit flere pro populis*; Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.6.50 (SC 179, 164-6; NPNF 2:10, 351).

⁷⁹⁸ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.6.51 (SC 179, 166; NPNF 2:10, 352). More on Ambrose's use of Luke 6:21 below on p.224.

⁷⁹⁹ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.9.88 (SC 179, 188; NPNF 2:10, 356).

quem fletis, ut lacrimis suis ipse me moveat). I will see if he is already dead to that sin for which forgiveness is entreated.⁸⁰⁰

Through a creative adaptation of characters to represent believers and the church, Ambrose makes his point on the need for faithful servants (like Martha) and the church (Mary) to weep intercessory tears on behalf of sinners. The grave and death (spiritual death and guilt) will not have the last word if Jesus is moved by tears of sinners who desire forgiveness. Again, weeping is closely related to penitence and forgiveness.

John Chrysostom

When Chrysostom instructs his readers to lament the fate of those who perish, he draws attention to Christ himself, who, when due to inflict punishment on Jerusalem, weeps at its destruction (ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κολάζειν μέλλων Χριστὸς δακρύει τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀπολλυμένην).⁸⁰¹ In another work concerning virgins in disgraceful relationships with men, Chrysostom tells them to grieve their sin and lament their shameful behaviour by pointing to Jesus their bridegroom who wept (ἐδάκρυσε) when he saw Jerusalem brought down to utter ruin and no longer able to restore herself from her weakness.⁸⁰²

Likewise, in an Acts homily, Chrysostom says that to mourn and bewail a sinner is to follow after the pattern of the Lord, for even Jesus wept over Jerusalem (ἐκλαυσε γὰρ καὶ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ).⁸⁰³ In his John homily, the same idea continues where Christ, after exhorting those in Jerusalem many times, wept at their hardness (ἐδάκρυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν

⁸⁰⁰ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.7.54 (SC 179, 168; *NPNF* 2:10, 352).

⁸⁰¹ Chrysostom, *Exp. Ps.* 140 (PG 55, 424; Hill 1998, 259).

⁸⁰² Chrysostom, *Fem. reg.* (PG 47, 516; Clark 1979, 214).

⁸⁰³ Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 21.5 (PG 60, 168; *NPNF* 1:11, 139).

πώρῳσιν).⁸⁰⁴ He adds that we should weep not for those already dead but for those in sin for they are still capable of change. Chrysostom specifies in his Hebrews homily that when one has entangled himself in evil, of his own choice, he is not worthy of tears, but of wailings, or rather of mourning (οὐδὲ δακρύων ἀλλὰ θρήνων ἐστὶν ἄξιος μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τότε πένθους) since even our Lord Jesus Christ mourned and wept for impious Jerusalem.⁸⁰⁵

Despite the repeated comments on weeping for sin and evil, Chrysostom reckons that God unwillingly punishes us for our sins, like Christ who wept over the destruction of Jerusalem (Χριστὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ καταστροφῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ δακρύει).⁸⁰⁶ In another homily that speaks against foolish and worldly laughter, Chrysostom points out: When Jesus looked on Jerusalem, he wept (καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ εἶδεν, ἐδάκρυσε); when he thought about the traitor he was troubled; when he was about to raise Lazarus, he wept (καὶ ὅτε τὸν Λάζαρον ἔμελλεν ἐγείρειν, ἔκλαυσε).⁸⁰⁷ In these remarks, Jesus exhibits compassion and weeps for important spiritual matters. It is thus unsurprising that weeping like Jesus is a sign of being a follower of God: If you also weep likewise (ἂν οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς δακρύῃς), you become a follower of your Lord, for he also wept over Lazarus and the city.⁸⁰⁸

The daughters of Jerusalem (Luke 23:28) are part of Chrysostom's list of weeping examples from the OT and NT that reflect the beauty of tears. The daughters are blessed

⁸⁰⁴ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 64.4 (PG 59, 360; NPNF 1:14, 240). The textual variant τὴν συμφορὰν (misfortune) also suits the impending destruction in Luke 19:41.

⁸⁰⁵ Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 23.6 (PG 63; 163; NPNF 1:14, 471).

⁸⁰⁶ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 68.2 (PG 59, 377; NPNF 1:14, 253). The textual variant Χριστὸς ἀπολλύειν μέλλων τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ δακρύει suits the impending destruction Jerusalem in Luke 19:41 better.

⁸⁰⁷ Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 15.8 (PG 63; 122; NPNF 1:14, 442). Chrysostom concludes his thoughts against foolish laughter with “woe to them that laugh, for they shall weep” (Luke 6:25).

⁸⁰⁸ Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 6.8 (PG 57, 69; NPNF 1:10, 41).

because it is through those tears that they saw Christ (τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, δι' ὧν εἶδον τὸν Χριστόν).⁸⁰⁹ Chrysostom preaches that we should weep when we see evil in our children (δακρύοντες ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἐν κακοῖς ὄντας), contrasting this with things that are not worthy of tears (ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ δακρύων ἄξια), like poverty, bodily disease, or death.⁸¹⁰ Chrysostom emphasises the importance of weeping over sin, evil, impiety, and those who are still in the midst of it and capable of change.

Jerome

Jerome's mentions of Jesus' weeping concern grief over Jerusalem, repentance, and love. He comments on Jer 4:19-22 by stating that the prophet grieves over the brokenness of his people, just as the Saviour mourned over the death of Lazarus and wept in Jerusalem (*quomodo et saluator super lazari morte doluit et planxit hierusalem*).⁸¹¹ In a letter regarding sin, penance, and forgiveness, Jerome combines Jesus' weeping over the city of Jerusalem because its inhabitants had not repented (*flevit et dominus super civitatem hierusalem, quia non egisset paenitentiam*) with the weeping of Peter who washed out his triple denial with bitter tears.⁸¹² Jerome believes tears will melt the hard hearts of sinners until they too weep (*ut dura corda peccantium uestris lacrimis provocetis ad fletum*).⁸¹³ Besides needing to weep over the unrepentant, Jerome believes tears have the ability to soften the hearts of sinners. Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem is again mentioned with his weeping over Lazarus to make the point that he loved Jerusalem and Lazarus.⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰⁹ Chrysostom, *Hom. Col. 12* (PG 62, 385; NPNF 1:13, 316).

⁸¹⁰ Chrysostom, *Hom. Col. 12* (PG 62, 385-6; NPNF 1:13, 317).

⁸¹¹ Jerome, *Comm. Jer. VI*, 1.83.2 (CSEL 59, 60).

⁸¹² Jerome, *Epist. 122.1* (CSEL 56/1, 60; NPNF 2:6, 226). Also above in Chapter 3, p.122.

⁸¹³ Jerome, *Epist. 122.1* (CSEL 56/1, 61; NPNF 2:6, 226).

⁸¹⁴ *numquam enim fletet eam dominus conruentem, nisi diligeret; flevit et lazarus, quia amabat illum*; Jerome, *Epist. 46.5* (CSEL 54, 334; NPNF 2:6, 62).

Augustine

To the best of my knowledge, Augustine does not refer specifically to Luke 19:41 in his writings.⁸¹⁵ In the raising of Lazarus, he writes: “Christ wept, let man weep for himself; for why did Christ weep, but to teach man to weep (*flevit christus, fleat se homo. quare enim flevit christus, nisi quia flere hominem docuit*)?”⁸¹⁶ Although John 11:35 presupposes grief, Augustine thinks of Jesus’ tears in terms of sin and repentance; sinners should emulate Jesus’ tears for Lazarus and weep in penitential sorrow. On the point of penance, Augustine understands the Jews’ remark, “See how he loved him” (John 11:36), as Jesus calling sinners to repentance out of love (cf. Matt 9:13).⁸¹⁷ Jesus groaned, wept, and cried with a loud voice (*fremuit, lacrymavit, voce magna clamavit*) to demonstrate the difficulty of raising one who lies crushed under the heavy burden of a habit of sinning.⁸¹⁸ Augustine also preaches that Jesus weeps to show he goes to great lengths to bring sinners (represented by Lazarus) to repentance.⁸¹⁹ Brachtendorf, who compares Augustine’s and Thomas Aquinas’ views on John 11:35, concludes that Jesus cried to teach us to be sorrowful for our sins.⁸²⁰ Jesus’ weeping over Lazarus is almost always described by Augustine in penitential terms.

Given that Augustine understands John 11:35 as a demonstration of Jesus’ love for sinners and as a call to repentance,⁸²¹ he might also interpret the weeping in 19:41 as Jesus’

⁸¹⁵ The closest reference to Luke 19:42-44 is about Jesus chiding the Jews and calling them to repentance (Augustine, *Ep.* 198.3 & 199.4, 12).

⁸¹⁶ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 49.19 (CCSL 36, 430; NPNF 1:7, 276). I discuss comments on John 11 that refer to Jesus’ tears, and exclude those that are only about Mary’s weeping (e.g., 49.17-18).

⁸¹⁷ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 49.21 (CCSL 36, 430; NPNF 1:7, 277).

⁸¹⁸ Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 49.24 (CCSL 36, 431; NPNF 1:7, 277).

⁸¹⁹ Augustine, *Serm.* 139A (*MiAg* 1, 354; WSA Sermons III/4, 401).

⁸²⁰ Brachtendorf 2017, 242. Brachtendorf extends his observations to John 12 and 13 to argue that Christ not only teaches us to sorrow for sins but is sorrowful to console and teach us how to cope with affections (242-4). Though beyond the scope of John 11, Brachtendorf’s argument fits comfortably with our observation of Augustine’s embrace of weeping and grief (see above Chapter 4, p.169). There is even some continuity from Ambrose’s view that Jesus would weep for all people and mourn for humans.

⁸²¹ Commenting on Luke 6:21 in *Serm.* 175.2, Augustine speaks about weeping as repentance; penitential tears are a requirement for the later reward of laughter. Two other comments on Luke 6:21 refer to the blessedness of weeping now and the promise of laughter (*Enarrat. Ps.* 118.3; 137.12), but they are not about repentance.

eagerness to call the Jews to repentance and as an example for them to weep in penitence; but, admittedly, this remains a conjecture.

Contemporary Views on Ignorance Versus Ancient Views on Repentance

The above ancient remarks demonstrate that weeping is permitted, even required, when sin and repentance are concerned; tears are inescapably related to penitential sorrow. Unlike the limits placed on displaying grief, sorrow, and anger, the ancients show no hint of restricted weeping for the unrepentance and unbelief of Jerusalem. We could imply that the nature of and reason for one's weeping determines its acceptability—lamenting a loss like Jerusalem (spiritual death) is a real reason to weep but mourning the loss of a life (physical death) is not, because of the resurrection.⁸²² However, there does not seem to be such a distinction in modern works—both spiritual and physical deaths are to be mourned and wept over because death causes grief. Modern scholars do not suggest a different criterion for weeping in mourning versus in repentance. Moreover, the moderns rarely use the language of sin, repentance, and forgiveness when referring to Jesus' weeping or his instruction for the women to weep for Jerusalem.

The general impression gathered from modern comments on Luke 19:41 and 23:28 is that weeping is necessary because Jesus and the women need to mourn the state and fate of Jerusalem.⁸²³ The oblivion and failure of the Jerusalemites to recognise the real reason to weep—for the city, not Jesus—led Jesus to instruct the women to weep for themselves.⁸²⁴ While the reasons for weeping by the ancients and moderns are not exactly the same, they

⁸²² See above Chapter 4, p.158 and below p.227.

⁸²³ E.g., Fitzmyer 2008, 2:1253; Green 1997, 689; Nolland 1993, 3:930; Marshall 1978, 717.

⁸²⁴ Green 1997, 815; Fitzmyer 2008, 2:1495; Bock 1996, 2:1843-4.

do not disagree with each other. The obliviousness of the Jerusalemites highlighted by the moderns does not contradict the evil, unbelief, and unrepentance emphasised by the ancients; it is a situation where they are incognisant of their sin. Modern writers, like Green, think that Jesus' prophetic words regarding Jerusalem contain "the hope of repentance,"⁸²⁵ and Marshall reckons they are "offering a last opportunity of repentance."⁸²⁶

There is not a clash in views but a difference in focus—the ancients point to sin and repentance whilst the moderns underscore the ignorance of an upcoming destruction. On this minor discrepancy, I find the modern understanding closer to the Lukan texts in which Jesus wishes that Jerusalem would be less ignorant ("if you, even you, had only recognised," 19:41) and know that doom "days [are] surely coming" (23:28). The contemporary comment on unawareness is a more careful interpretation, and can readily incorporate the ancient view of penitence and hope for forgiveness.

Why Repentance?

It is appropriate to question why repentance was so firmly linked to weeping in the ancients' minds. We have found the recurring theme of penitence in every narrative setting and chapter of this thesis, even in death and mourning. An appreciation for what is considered natural and unnatural within the ancient worldview might begin to illuminate our inquiry. Eklund's study of the early reception of the Beatitudes has found that patristic and medieval interpreters believe that death is a natural phenomenon, and, hence, not an event

⁸²⁵ Green 1997, 814.

⁸²⁶ Marshall 1978, 717.

requiring God's blessing or special attention.⁸²⁷ However, events that are unnatural or countercultural, including actions requiring effort and God's help, will be blessed by Jesus.

If we adapt this concept into our deliberations on weeping, it means that, for the ancients, there is no need for us to weep over the natural (e.g., death, since everyone dies) but there is good motivation to weep over unnatural and effortful actions (e.g., repentance or turning away from sin, which is countercultural and generates life by God's grace). This might explain the silence in early comments on grief and loss (Chapter 4) but the steady stream of repentance-related admonishments seen throughout this thesis. Having potentially satisfied our curiosity on the repentance question, we turn to another aspect of weeping that has also been consistently found in the ancient sources but not modern ones.

Tears as Washing Away Sins

On the notion that tears can wash away sins, the early thinkers and modern writers always diverge. There is no comparable modern view on the following claims.⁸²⁸

Hippolytus

In his commentary on the Song of Songs, Hippolytus believes that because Christ was weeping over the people, he was able to spread out over them an aroma; Christ wept for the people (τὸν λαὸν ἐδάκρυεν) so that he might be able to wash them (ἵνα ἀπολοῦσαι δυνήθῃ), showing the aroma which he had through mercy.⁸²⁹ Though Luke 19:41 does not

⁸²⁷ See the broader argument within the Beatitudes in Eklund 2021 "Beatitudes," 102f. & 114. I am grateful to Rebekah Eklund for highlighting this distinction in our conversation.

⁸²⁸ See similar discussion above in Chapter 3, p.121.

⁸²⁹ Hippolytus, *In Cant.* 13.2 (CSCO 264, 36; Smith 2009, 313). The first half is in Georgian, the latter half Greek. Smith 2009, 313 compares the versions, including the Paleo-Slavonic, and thinks the commentary "may be the earliest extant Christian commentary on the Song of Songs" (8). See above p.188 for more on Hippolytus.

hint at the tears of Jesus cleansing the sins of Jerusalem, Hippolytus adds this function of washing away sins.

Ambrose and Chrysostom

As Ambrose takes the imagery of Jesus weeping for all people to the cross where Jesus wept so that man may not weep long (*ille flevit, ne tu, homo, diu fleres*), he adds that Jesus' tears wash us, his weeping cleanses us (*lacrimae illae nos lavant, fletus illi nos abluunt*).⁸³⁰ Though there is no explicit scriptural record of Jesus weeping on the cross,⁸³¹ we are familiar with the ancient practice of occasionally ascribing a cleansing function to tears. Ambrose also writes that Jesus wept when he raised Lazarus so that he might first wash away the sins of the dead man by his tears (*ut prius lacrimis suis mortui delicta lavaret*).⁸³²

In line with the above ideas, Chrysostom too thinks that nothing so wipes out sins as tears (οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀποσμήχει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὥς δάκρυα).⁸³³ Hippolytus, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, however, do not explain whether the cleansing function of Jesus' tears is to be attributed to his divinity or humanity, a distinction they evidently thought was crucial. The belief that tears can wash away sins is not new (Chapters 2 and 3), hence, we could assume that the human tears of Jesus wash away sins, just as the tears of faithful believers and the

⁸³⁰ Ambrose, *Fid. Grat.* 2.11.94-95 (CSEL 78, 91-92; NPNF 2:10, 236).

⁸³¹ Regarding weeping on the cross, Ambrose reckons the bitterness and cruelty of the event gave rise to Jesus' tears, and that its cruelty should move us to keener love (*acrior ad conmovendum*); Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 7.182 (CCSL 14, 277; Ní Riain 2001, 324).

⁸³² Ambrose, *Jos.* 10.59 (CSEL 32/2, 111; FC 65, 225). This section is on Paul's blindness and restoration of his sight as compared to the weeping and washing of Jesus' face. The analogy is further illustrated with the weeping over and restoring of Lazarus. Both weeping occasions cleanse Lazarus and Paul off their sins.

⁸³³ Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 12 (PG 62, 386; NPNF 1:13, 317).

church can. Though tempting to think that divine tears may offer more effective or complete forgiveness, there is no ancient evidence, especially since it was held that God cannot weep.

Weeping and Its Literary Connections

Another interesting feature we notice with Luke 19:41 and 23:28 is the frequency with which some ancients call to mind other weeping-related texts as part of the exposition. One wonders whether the fact that Jesus wept requires extra scriptural validation.

Origen

Origen, for instance, masterfully demonstrates an intertextual argument to clarify an uncertain phrase. In an exposition on Ezek 7:27 (specifically, “the king will mourn”), Origen refers to Luke 19:41 to confirm that the Saviour did indeed weep over Jerusalem (εἶπε ἔκλαυσεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ);⁸³⁴ thus, it is unproblematic to include “the king will mourn” in Ezekiel. This phrase has customarily included an asterisk in manuscripts.⁸³⁵

Mischa Hooker explains that the LXX did not translate it either because the phrase was not in the MT or because it was questionable as to whether the Saviour would mourn.⁸³⁶

Whatever the uncertainty, Origen’s text-critical method appeals to Luke 19:41 to show that the Saviour *did* weep and was capable of mourning. He was a philologist of his time.⁸³⁷ Also,

⁸³⁴ Origen, *Cat. Ezech.* (PG 13, 796; Hooker 2014, 515). Assuming this catanae fragment was part of an Ezekiel homily and that Origen delivered his Ezekiel homilies between AD 239-42 (see dating argument in Scheck 2010, 3), it means this was written later in his life when he was permitted to preach as priest in Caesarea.

⁸³⁵ Origen marked additions to the LXX using the asterisk on the grounds that it was probably in the Hebrew text. It raises the issue of whether Origen was referring to another Hebrew *Vorlage* (Hooker 2014, 515 n.337), but it is inconsequential to our focus on weeping. For a detailed example of Origen’s philological analysis of an OT text (Isa 7:14) and use of the Septuagint with the Hebrew text, see Karakolis 2014.

⁸³⁶ Hooker 2014, 515.

⁸³⁷ Martens 2012, 11 argues that Origen went far beyond the technicalities of Greco-Roman philology, “Origen participated in the quest for salvation.” This coheres with Ramelli 2009 who observes that acceptable tears for Origen are those that lead to salvation.

when Origen preaches about the Lord and Saviour approaching Jerusalem, he says we must first contemplate Jesus' weeping (*primum ergo de fletu ejus videndum*), and explains the weeping as Jesus exhibiting all the Beatitudes in himself.⁸³⁸ Curiously, while in Chapter 4, we found the consistent message by the ancients was to limit weeping and mourning, here Jesus' weeping in Luke 19:41 is not only allowed but scripturally justified by Luke 6:21.⁸³⁹ For Origen, Jesus is capable of weeping and mourning even if kings and saviours do not appear as such, and Jesus' weeping is an embodiment of the blessed weeping from the Beatitudes.

Basil

As for Basil, he begins with David weeping for Saul and Jonathan and segues into Jesus who wept over Lazarus and Jerusalem (ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ Λαζάρῳ, ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ) as well as the proclamation that both the mourners and weepers are blessed (καὶ μακαρίζει δὲ τοὺς πενθοῦντας, καὶ πάλιν τοὺς κλαίοντας).⁸⁴⁰ Basil does not differentiate between κλαίω and δακρύω (more below) though the former is used for Jerusalem and the latter for Lazarus. He also brings together the mourners from Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (5:4) with the weepers in Luke's Sermon on the Plain (6:21),⁸⁴¹ which suggests Basil views both instances of Jesus' crying—for Jerusalem and for Lazarus—as an expression of mourning.

⁸³⁸ Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 38.1-2 (GCS 35, 222; FC 94, 156). Origen adds: Jesus wept because "blessed are those who weep," to lay the foundations for this Beatitude.

⁸³⁹ Origen expounds on Luke 6:21 in *Hom. Jer.* 20.6.1, he emphasises that the blessed action of weeping is met with the opposite promise of laughter. Ramelli 2009, 369-77 summarises Origen's multiple references to Luke 6:21 as a crying that is blessed because God hears their weeping and prayer, and as evidence that Scripture always takes what is sad and turns it into good, like death to life/salvation.

⁸⁴⁰ Basil, *Grat.* 3 (PG 31, 225).

⁸⁴¹ The Matthean and Lukan Beatitudes are again combined in *Grat.* 4 where the weeping in Luke 6:21 is related to removing sin (also Basil, *Hom. Ps.* 24.4).

The link between Matt 5:4 and Luke 6:21 continues into the next homily. Basil describes the physiology of tears as coming forth when our breath (or spirit, πνεῦμα) is compressed around the heart from a sudden occasion, whether happy or sad.⁸⁴² After describing the physical symptoms, he makes the point that the lamentations and tears of the Saints (οἱ θρῆνοι καὶ τὰ δάκρυα τῶν ἁγίων) proceed from the love of God for they mourn for the sinners and make amends with their tears (ἐπανορθούμενοι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν δακρύων). When this happens, Matt 5:4 and Luke 6:21 which were just introduced, are now experienced—weepers (οἱ κλαίοντες) and mourners (οἱ πενθοῦντες) shall be comforted and laugh.⁸⁴³ Basil adds that these tears may become the seed and loan of eternal joy.⁸⁴⁴ It suggests that tears can be driven by God's love, have the capacity to redeem the sins of others (cf. Chapters 2 and 3), will bring about positive outcomes, and are seeds for eternal joy. By looking at weeping texts from Luke 19:41 to 6:21 and Matt 5:4, we find a message of redemption and future hope in the shedding of tears.

Ambrose

We saw earlier in *De paenitentia* that Ambrose concludes the call to repentance with Luke 6:21, “Blessed are ye that weep now, for you shall laugh.”⁸⁴⁵ The Lukan Beatitude is quoted here in an argument for weeping that brings salvation⁸⁴⁶—our tears bring about forgiveness. Though 6:21 does not directly explain Jesus choosing to weep for Jerusalem, it

⁸⁴² Basil, *Grat.* 4 (PG 31, 225).

⁸⁴³ Basil, *Grat.* 4 (PG 31, 228).

⁸⁴⁴ Basil, *Grat.* 4 (PG 31, 228).

⁸⁴⁵ Ambrose, *Paen.* 2.6.51 (SC 179, 166; NPNF 2:10, 352).

⁸⁴⁶ A survey of Luke 6:21 in Ambrose's writings shows that the weeping Beatitude is understood as i) weeping for sins to merit pardon (*Exp. Luc.* 5.55; *Enarrat. Ps.* XII 38.38) and wash away guilt (*Paen.* 2.10.92); ii) related to repentance (*Job* 4.2.7; *Virg.* 6.35); iii) something done in the present for everlasting future rewards (*Virg.* 3.5.21; 6.35); iv) gentle, peaceable, and humble (*Exp. Luc.* 5.62); and v) more blessed than the possession of riches (*Off.* 2.4.15; 2.5.16).

indirectly communicates the benefits of one's tears. We get a sense that for early authors like Origen, Basil, and Ambrose, weeping, including Jesus' weeping, is valid when endorsed by other parts of scripture, namely, the Lukan Beatitude (6:21).⁸⁴⁷

Modern Scholarship and Mutual Acknowledgment

Contemporary scholars are also on the lookout for lexical, textual, and literary links, but in broader ways than those we see in Origen, Basil, and Ambrose. Moderns notice a lexical similarity that connects 19:41 and 23:28—both verses use κλαίειν ἐπὶ to refer to weeping over Jerusalem and its people.⁸⁴⁸ Connections between 19:41 and 23:28 with the weeping Beatitudes in 6:21, 26 are also noted.⁸⁴⁹ In terms of textual comparisons, there are recommendations, amongst other suggestions, to consider Luke 23:28 as being influenced by Zechariah's prophecy in 12:10-14⁸⁵⁰ and as parallel to Peter's denial in Luke 22:62.⁸⁵¹ Beyond biblical intertextuality, MacDonald daringly argues that Luke 23:27-31 is modelled after *Iliad* 22 but elaborated with biblical images.⁸⁵² Space does not permit discussions on

⁸⁴⁷ Besides appealing to Luke 6:21 to validate Jesus' weeping, this Beatitude is understood by the ancients as anticipation for the removal of sin and for better rewards in the future. These benefits justify Jesus' weeping.

⁸⁴⁸ Klein 2006, 617 n.44 (*weinen über*); Nolland 1993, 3:931; Bock 1996, 2:1560; Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1258.

⁸⁴⁹ Green 1997, 816 lists 6:21, 25 as texts that are lexically related to weeping but does not expound further. Eklund 2021 "Beatitudes," 42, in her reception historical study of the Beatitudes, argues that throughout history Jesus is known to be the perfect embodiment of the Beatitudes, but she does not detail how Jesus models it in his weeping (Luke 19:41). Hong 2018 contends that 6:21, 25 set the stage for a distinctive Lukan theme on the reversal of weeping that is then narrated throughout Luke. For my critique of his maximalist argument, see above Chapter 1, p.8. I argue that both moderns and ancients (see above for Origen, Basil, and Ambrose on Luke 6) recognise the weeping connection but differ in that the ancients think of 6:21 as endorsing Jesus' weeping whereas the moderns focus on its literary role.

⁸⁵⁰ For Stein 1992, 584, the two texts should be compared; Bovon 2012, 3:302: it is possible "that [Zechariah] contributed to the redaction of [Luke 23:28];" Nolland 1993, 3:1137 thinks it is "possible but uncertain."

⁸⁵¹ Johnson 1991, 372 notes that Luke uses the same aorist participle στραφεῖς in 23:28 as in 22:61 when Jesus turns to Peter. Green 1997, 815 furthers the observation to argue that in both scenes Jesus not only turns, but chides Peter and the women, and they weep when they recognise their failure. Ascough 1993, 356-65 devotes a section of his article to demonstrate how the events at Peter's denial parallel and prepare readers for the people's rejection of Jesus and their eventual repentance. Neyrey 1983, 76-77 and Hong 2018, 130, however, maintain the difference between Peter's denial and the women's weeping: Peter was brought to repentance by Jesus' turning but the turning in 23:28 is a description of God's judgment resulting from Jerusalem's rejection, 23:28 is not necessarily a call to repentance.

⁸⁵² MacDonald 2005.

the legitimacy of the different views. They are presented to demonstrate the contemporary interest in inter- and intra-textual links.

As for literary devices, the chiastic structure in Luke 23:28 is frequently noted to drive home the contrast between what and what not to weep for:

A (Do not weep)

B (for me)

B' (for yourselves)

A' (weep, and for your children).⁸⁵³

Commentators also highlight an *inclusio* that is formed between Luke 19:41 and 23:28, as both Jesus' entrance into and exit from Jerusalem are marked by weeping.⁸⁵⁴ As the Lukan Jesus has wept for the holy city, so he also invites the daughters of Jerusalem to do the same.⁸⁵⁵ Neyrey calls this thematic entering and leaving a "distinctive of Luke,"⁸⁵⁶ Johnson considers the statement in 23:28 "a reprise of the earlier one" (19:41);⁸⁵⁷ Green thinks if the women (23:28) were more perceptive they would align themselves with Jesus in weeping for Jerusalem (19:41).⁸⁵⁸ Fitzmyer observes that the king who comes in the name of the Lord is now brought out of Jerusalem to be crucified as king of the Jews.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵³ Bovon 2012, 3:302; Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1498; Stein 1992, 586; Nolland 1993, 3:1137; Bock 1996, 2:1845. Jeffrey 2012, 455.

⁸⁵⁴ Stein 1992, 586. Commentators also often include the textual correlation between 19:41 and the prediction that precedes it in 13:34-35 and/or the next repetition of weeping, prophecy, and Jerusalem in 23:27-31. See Fisk 2008, 149-50; Tiede 1980, 71; Carroll 2012, 386-7; Stein 1992, 483-4; Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1256; Marshall 1978, 718; Nolland 1993, 3:931; Bock 1996, 2:1650.

⁸⁵⁵ Bock 1996, 2:1846; Nolland 1993, 3:1137; but Matthews 2013, 396 adds the distinction between typical feminine tears by the women and exceptional masculine ones by Jesus.

⁸⁵⁶ Neyrey 1983, 84. I offer a minor correction to Neyrey's imprecision: He writes that Jesus wept over the city when he first entered it and when he finally left, but it is not Jesus who weeps when he leaves Jerusalem.

⁸⁵⁷ Johnson 1991, 372.

⁸⁵⁸ Green 1997, 816.

⁸⁵⁹ Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1495.

While it appears that the moderns engage critically with the texts, we should not assume that the ancients did not. We saw above how Origen used Luke 19:41 to make an intertextual argument to confirm a reading in Ezek 7:27. Nevertheless, modern scholars are generally keener to appreciate texts from their literary perspectives to show a broader network of possible explanations for the origin of and reason for the passage. Contemporary literature does not suggest a difference between lamenting the sins of the holy city with mourning the death of a loved one, which is found in early comments.

Continuing the point of literary and textual links, we find that the ancients did not find it problematic to place Luke 19:41 and John 11:35 together when substantiating an argument because they viewed all of Scripture as connected.⁸⁶⁰ In the ancient Christian writer's mind, Christ is the intended meaning for all biblical authors, so all Scripture points to Christ. Modern scholars, however, are more cautious when suggesting a link between passages, even if the related texts belong to the same book, because they are influenced by source criticism. These different hermeneutical approaches may cause early readings to overlook the voice and intent of the specific biblical author and cause the moderns to miss the larger thematic observations. This is an example of how one can benefit from hearing both sides to expand one's interpretative lens. In short, early and modern writers have paid attention to texts other than Luke 19:41 or 23:28 but often for different motivations—the ancients used literary connections to validate weeping for penitential reasons whilst the

⁸⁶⁰ E.g., Basil, *Grat. 5* appeals to both weeping events in John 11:35 and Luke 19:41 to argue for Jesus weeping in his human nature; Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb. 15* swaps the verbs κλαίω (Luke 19:41) and δακρύω (John 11:35)—he does not distinguish the Lukan from the Johannine account.

moderns are mostly keen to suggest new ways of making sense of the weeping event vis-à-vis other passages within the corpus, canon, and even beyond the Bible.

Reasons Behind “Do Not Weep” in Luke 23:28

After discussing the different reasons for and against weeping, we finally look at the *μὴ κλαίετε* imperative (Luke 23:28) and ask why Jesus wanted the daughters of Jerusalem to cease weeping. Based on ancient sources, the reason is found in the repeated emphases on the resurrection.⁸⁶¹ The women are not to weep because Jesus will rise from the dead.

Resurrection as Reason

Below we begin with comments by four early authors who point to the resurrection as reasons to stop weeping but then also include other reasons found in the writings of Ambrose and Augustine.

Hippolytus, Pseudo-Cyprian, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, Athanasius

We start with a reference where Hippolytus likens Tamar’s sorrow and weeping (Gen 38:6-10) to the women and holy community mourning and weeping for Christ on his way to Calvary (Luke 23:27) and connects their stories with Christ’s promise to the congregation that when he rises from the grave they shall rejoice greatly and cease mourning.⁸⁶² This interpretation suggests that the women of Jerusalem can cease weeping and mourning for

⁸⁶¹ This is not dissimilar to the resurrection reasons discussed above in Chapter 4, p.158.

⁸⁶² „die Frauen und die heilige Gemeinde hinaus trauernd und um ihn weinend... Wenn ich aus dem Grabe aufstanden bin, so sollst du dich gross freuen und die Trauer soll von dir weichen;“ Hippolytus, *Pent.* (GCS 1/2, 95). For discussion on this evasive figure and his writings, see above p.188.

Jesus because of the resurrection. For Hippolytus, the sadness and tears (of Tamar and the daughters of Jerusalem) will end with rejoicing instead because Jesus will rise.

Also, on the point of being raised from the dead, we turn to a comment that, though not directly about “do not weep,” conveys the relationship between tears and resurrection. In his Daniel commentary, based on the LXX Additions to Daniel, Hippolytus writes about a godly woman, Susannah, who through her tears attracted the Word from heaven (διὰ γὰρ τῶν δακρύων ἐφείλκετο τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν λόγον), who also through tears (διὰ δακρύων) was destined to raise the dead Lazarus.⁸⁶³ In other words, tears of a godly woman attract Jesus and Jesus’ tears signifies his destiny to raise the dead. Susannah’s and Jesus’ tears are presented in a positive light—their tears bring about help and resurrection. Hippolytus does not clarify the direct correlation between Jesus’ tears and the raising of Lazarus, but it highlights the interesting role of Jesus’ tears in his ability to resurrect the dead. This indirectly coheres with some ancients who reckon Jesus did not grieve for Lazarus because he would soon raise his friend.⁸⁶⁴ For Hippolytus, they were not tears of grief but tears that enabled the resurrection. We surmise that Hippolytus not only believes Jesus raised Lazarus, but that he himself will be raised so the daughters of Jerusalem have no need to weep.

Interestingly, in a letter erroneously ascribed to Cyprian, Pseudo-Cyprian ensures we understand that Jesus is not grieving for Lazarus but is weeping because Lazarus is forced back into a hostile world.⁸⁶⁵ I argue that it is because the resurrection so conceived does not

⁸⁶³ Hippolytus, *Comm. Dan.* 1.25.6 (SC 14, 116; Schmidt 2017, 62). Brent 1995, 276 dates it after AD 222.

⁸⁶⁴ However, Basil allows for Jesus to mourn and weep over Lazarus because his homily holds rejoicing and weeping together (also in Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.10, but clearer in Basil, *Grat.* 3 & 6).

⁸⁶⁵ Pseudo-Cyprian, *Tur.* (276,13) (CSEL 3/3, 276-7). For other anonymous writings attributed to a certain Cyprian, see above pp.55 & 59.

allow for mourning, that Jesus' tears are here perceived as a sadness for Lazarus who needs to return to this world.

Gregory of Nyssa refers directly to the daughters of Jerusalem and explains why they should hold back their tears:

At the time of His Passion, the women followed, bewailing the unjust sentence against Him, for they could not yet see into the dispensation of what was being done. But he bids them be silent as to what is befalling Him, for it does not demand their tears (μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι δακρύων ἄξια), but to reserve their wailing and lamentation for the true time for tears (εἰς τὸν ἀληθῆ τῶν δακρύων καιρὸν) when the city should be compassed by besiegers, and their sufferings reach so great a strait that they should deem him happy who had not been born.⁸⁶⁶

Gregory presents an evident comparison between what warrants weeping and what does not deserve (ἄξια) tears. He does not explicitly state reasons for why it is not worth weeping for Jesus but the context of this chapter in *De opificio hominis* is on the resurrection. The women should stop weeping because Jesus will be raised from the dead. Moreover, the valid and true reason for weeping is the fall of Jerusalem. The same resurrection-related reason (like in Hippolytus) is called to mind but with the additional reminder of what should be wept for—the holy city.

Basil, in a discussion on grieving for those who have fallen asleep, appeals to Luke 23:28 to argue that Jesus does not want the daughters of Jerusalem to weep for him because he does not want them to grieve like those who have no hope in the resurrection (cf. 1 Thess 4:13-14).⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Opif.* 25.3 (PG 44, 216; NPNF 2:5, 416).

⁸⁶⁷ Basil, *Reg. mor.* 67.1 (PG 31, 805).

In Athanasius' only reference to Luke 23:28, Jesus restrains the women following him from weeping (*subsequentes feminas flentesque objurgabat*) to show that the Lord's death is not of sorrow but of joy, and that Jesus who dies for us is alive.⁸⁶⁸ Again, the resurrection is reason for the cessation of tears.

Ambrose

We include other interpretations of Luke 23:28 besides the resurrection's impact on the cessation of tears. When Ambrose expounds on the joy in Ps 119:111 (LXX Ps 118:111), he links the image of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev 21:4 to Luke 23:28:

In these you will find joy and gladness, for indeed every tear will be wiped away (*quandoquidem omnis fletus delebitur*); there will be no more death, and no more sadness or sounds of weeping (*fletus neque clamor*)... by the silent suffering of [Christ's] Passion he wiped away every shout and outcry of impiety. He did not want tears for he said to the daughters of Jerusalem: "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me; weep rather for yourselves." He who was to wipe away all tears (*ablaturus enim omnes lacrimas*), by the grace of his cross showed in his own Passion such outstanding blessedness that no one wept excepting those who did not trust in Christ's aid (*ut nemo fleret nisi qui Christi beneficia non teneret*).⁸⁶⁹

Jesus' work on the cross brings about a world without sadness and tears, thus, the women are told to stop weeping for him who is on his way precisely to achieve this heavenly kingdom. At the same time, those who do not trust in his work are left weeping, referring to the people of Jerusalem and the real reason for the women to weep.

Another interesting explanation by Ambrose for the women's cessation of weeping is Jesus' incarnation: Christ does not wish that the women fear for him nor weep for Him (*non*

⁸⁶⁸ Athanasius, *Ep. fest.* 11.14 (PG 26, 1411; NPNF 2:4, 537).

⁸⁶⁹ Ambrose, *Exp. Ps. 118*, 14.43 (CSEL 62, 328; Ní Riain 1998, 209).

vult pro se flere nos dominus) because God is Jesus' salvation and protector.⁸⁷⁰ It is also because Jesus, God in the flesh, has assumed the perfection of human nature (*deus in carne perfectionem naturae adsumpsi humanae*) and the flesh can do nothing against him.⁸⁷¹ That Ambrose would appeal to the incarnation is likely a sign of his dogmatic anti-Arian and anti-Apollinarian arguments.⁸⁷²

Unlike arguments that prohibit weeping because of the resurrection, these Ambrosian expositions focus on the incarnation of Christ, his work on the cross, and the faith of the people in the one crucified. When we place these instructions to stop weeping next to other comments by Ambrose that allow weeping,⁸⁷³ we again arrive at a place of tension between permitting and prohibiting weeping. It appears that the example of Jesus weeping allows for humans to weep and grieve, but the work of Jesus also puts an end to suffering and weeping. I maintain that the internal tension reflects Ambrose's creative combination of Stoic tenets with Christian doctrines.⁸⁷⁴

Augustine

Lastly, we turn to a comment where Augustine mentions Jerusalem's destruction. In his exposition on Ps 41:10 (LXX Ps 40:12, "But you, O Lord, be gracious to me"), God exhibits

⁸⁷⁰ Ambrose, *Incarn.* 7.70 (CSEL 79, 260; FC 44, 246).

⁸⁷¹ Ambrose, *Incarn.* 7.71 (CSEL 79, 260; FC 44, 246).

⁸⁷² Deferrari in FC 44, 217-8 introduces *De incarnationis* as a sermon born out of heresy (sparked by two individual Arians) in which Ambrose refutes the Arians and Apollinarians. Williams 2017, 297 rightly doubts the accuracy of details about the two Arians that occasioned the sermon (reported by Paulinus) but recognises Ambrose's "unrivalled religious authority." Harrison and Draghici, "Ambrose, St," *ODCC* 4, 1:59 describe Ambrose as "a zealous upholder of orthodoxy against Arianism."

⁸⁷³ See above *Paen.* 2.6.49-51; 2.7.54, and 2.9.88 (Ambrose quotes Luke 23:28 on ungodly women who ought to weep for themselves) where weeping is encouraged and necessary for penitence, ungodliness, forgiveness.

⁸⁷⁴ See above Chapter 4, p.168 for full argument on how Ambrose grieves and longs for a loved one (Stoicism) but believes the longing will be fulfilled because of the resurrection (Christian doctrine).

graciousness to Jesus at his crucifixion by having fire burn among the Jews, as it does among thorns. However, Jesus is like the green wood (Luke 23:31) that will not be consumed by burning thorns because the sap in the wood resists the flame.⁸⁷⁵ So, when the women were lamenting over him, he was able to say *nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete* (23:28).⁸⁷⁶ Though this tells us more about Jewish-Christian relations and the meaning of the green wood than about weeping, it nonetheless reveals Augustine's views. The women are to weep for a real loss—for themselves and Jerusalem's doom (not Jesus)—as represented by the metaphor of burning Jews.

To sum, the early views on the prohibition of weeping for the daughters of Jerusalem are largely explained by the promise of the resurrection—μή κλαίετε because Jesus will be raised and the women have no need to mourn. Less repeated reasons for not weeping, that are found in later works by Ambrose and Augustine, include Jesus' incarnation, his work on the cross, the people's trust in Jesus, and Jerusalem's doom.

Modern Authors and Additional Emotions on Luke 23:28

Moving on to modern works, scholars agree amongst themselves that Jesus instructs the women not to weep because he is encouraging them to save their tears for a later time and a better reason to weep (for themselves and their children) than for his impending death.⁸⁷⁷ In Fitzmyer's words, the women "raise the death-wail over [Jesus] in anticipation" but Jesus in turn raises the "death-wail over Jerusalem in anticipation."⁸⁷⁸ The women have

⁸⁷⁵ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 40.12 (CCSL 38, 457; WSA Psalms III/16, 236).

⁸⁷⁶ Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 40.12 (CCSL 38, 457; WSA Psalms III/16, 236).

⁸⁷⁷ Marshall 1978, 862-4; Green 1997, 816; Bock 1996, 2:1843-4; Nolland 1993, 3:1137-9; Carroll 2012, 464; Stein 1992, 584; Soards 1987, 229; Hong 2018, 131; Jeffrey 2012, 454; Wolter 2017, 2:521.

⁸⁷⁸ Fitzmyer 1985, 2:1495.

misdirected their mourning but the sincerity of their lament should not be doubted.⁸⁷⁹ There is, however, a feminist reading that argues Jesus is diminishing the significant role of women by telling them not to weep for the soon-to-be crucified Jesus.⁸⁸⁰ Matthews interprets the account with a novel hermeneutics of suspicion, but I disagree that the function of “do not weep” is to downplay the tradition of women in ritual lament. Luke is emphasising Jesus’ deep concern for Jerusalem (cf. 13:34-35 and 19:41-44), and not obliterating the privilege of mourning women. Luke’s favourable treatment of women in his Gospel further renders this reading unlikely.⁸⁸¹

Additionally, modern commentators also include emotional descriptions in 23:28. Green and Carroll reckon Jesus is chiding and admonishing the women,⁸⁸² while Bovon calls it “special and affectionate attention from the Lord”⁸⁸³ and Bock describes Jesus’ interaction with the women as tender and gentle.⁸⁸⁴ Jeffrey sees Jesus as responding to the weeping women who were “chanting a threnody (thrēneō) of grief.”⁸⁸⁵ Nolland uses the language of invitation: “the Lukan Jesus has already so wept (19:41), and he invites the women to do the same.”⁸⁸⁶ Either of these readings is possible given the lack of emotional information.

⁸⁷⁹ Bovon 2012, 3:301 and Bock 1996, 2:1844 agree that the women’s laments as ἐκόπποντο καὶ ἐθρήνουν (cf. *Sifre Deut.* 308.2) look ritualised but are convinced that it does not reduce their sincerity. It is worthwhile to also consider their laments vis-à-vis the work of Erker 2009, 135-60 on women’s mourning in Roman ritual. Women’s mourning rituals for their family was ill-regarded because lament gestures contradict the ideal quiet life of Romans, however, tears in rituals of *supplicationes* during catastrophes or military defeats/mourning for the ruling family were treated positively. Erker argues that the value of women’s grief depended on whether it brought gain for the *civitas*; thus, traditional mourning was marginalised but political mourning was accepted. If we equate the *civitas* and Rome with Jerusalem, then Luke’s Jesus could be encouraging the women towards a more valued kind of mourning, as opposed to the ritualized beating of breasts and wailing for Jesus. This thought experiment remains to be more thoroughly pursued but the comparability should be noted.

⁸⁸⁰ Matthews 2013, 396-400.

⁸⁸¹ See also above Chapter 2, p.75 for criticisms of a modern feminist reading on Luke 7:36-50.

⁸⁸² Green 1997, 815; Carroll 2012, 464.

⁸⁸³ Bovon 2012, 3:302.

⁸⁸⁴ Bock 1996, 2:1844-5.

⁸⁸⁵ Jeffrey 2012, 454.

⁸⁸⁶ Nolland 1993, 3:1137.

To conclude, the added emotional tones with which Jesus spoke to the women are unsurprisingly found only in the modern works. Ancient writings are more focused on the resurrection as a valid reason to prohibit weeping (though not in Ambrose and Augustine), however, the moderns do not attach the resurrection to their explanations. For them, the women should stop weeping not because Jesus will be raised but because there is a more important reason for weeping—the future doom for Jerusalem and their children.

I argue that the contemporary interpretation adheres more closely to Luke 23:28-29. Immediately after the commands to stop weeping for Jesus (μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ’ ἐμέ) and start weeping for themselves and their children (πλὴν ἐφ’ ἑαυτὰς κλαίετε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν) is the conjunction ὅτι that explains the positive and negative imperatives. The justification for both instructions is attached to the ὅτι clause; the upcoming days of destruction (ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται ἡμέραι) is the legitimate reason to weep. The women should not misapply their tears now for Jesus. The ancient view does not contradict Luke’s reasoning, but it cannot be corroborated by the text either, in the same way that the tones and emotions that moderns attach to Jesus’ instructions cannot.⁸⁸⁷

The Weeping Verbs: κλαίω or δακρύω

We now return to a question mooted in the beginning of this chapter: is there is a lexical distinction between the verbs κλαίω (Luke 19:41, 23:28) and δακρύω (John 11:35)?

⁸⁸⁷ I am aware my approach is especially grammatical here, which implies my chosen interpretative method.

In *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius describes the fall of Jerusalem as happening in agreement with prophetic pronouncements of Jesus: By divine power, Jesus foresaw these events as if already present and wept over them and wailed (ἐπιδακρύσαντός τε καὶ ἀποκλαυσάμενου) according to the holy Evangelists.⁸⁸⁸ We find two interesting observations from Eusebius. First, Jesus wept because he was able to know beforehand (προεορακότος) the events of AD 70. Second, Jesus ἐπιδακρύσαντος and ἀποκλαυσάμενου, which further intensifies only κλαίω in Luke 19:41. It also suggests the two verbs are similar enough to occur together. Though written as a historical record, there are Christological implications: Jesus wept because of his foreknowledge, and Eusebius is comfortable with presenting a Lord who displays such striking emotional expressions. Moreover, there are potential lexical implications as Eusebius uses the verbs κλαίω and δακρύω in a manner that renders them indistinguishable—a topic which we now explore through Chrysostom's writings.

To the best of my knowledge, Chrysostom is the only early author who uses the two weeping verbs side-by-side when referring to Jesus' weeping. Chrysostom seems to employ the verbs interchangeably and synonymously for Jerusalem and Lazarus; he uses κλαίω when Jesus weeps for Lazarus and δακρύω for Jerusalem⁸⁸⁹ though scripture records the verbs the other way round. Lest we conclude the two are fully identical, we observe some differences in the John homilies, particularly between Mary's wailing (κλαίω) versus Jesus' shedding of tears (δακρύω).⁸⁹⁰ Jesus' δακρύω appears to be calmer, gentler, and more silent

⁸⁸⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.7.4-5 (GCS 9/1, 212; FC 19, 153).

⁸⁸⁹ Chrysostom, *Hom. Heb.* 15.8 (PG 63; 122; NPNF 1:14, 442). I appreciate Jonathan Zecher for alerting me to the nuances in Chrysostom.

⁸⁹⁰ Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 63.1 (PG 59, 349).

because it is often paired with ἡρέμα.⁸⁹¹ In other words, the only instance where the verbs seem to be distinguished is not between Luke 19:41 (κλαίω) and John 11:35 (δακρύω), but when Chrysostom speaks about Mary as κλαῦσαι but Jesus as δακρύει ἡρέμα.

While there is a conceivable difference in meaning, I contend that Chrysostom's distinction is more likely intended to emphasise Jesus' ability to silently shed tears and control his emotions as compared to Mary, rather than an attempt to differentiate Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem and Lazarus, since the contrast is limited to John 11. We can imagine Chrysostom, who "offers to God the firstfruits of a rhetorical ability,"⁸⁹² making a strategic homiletical point using different weeping verbs to show that Mary was weeping more dramatically while Jesus was calm and composed in those moments of grief. Thus, we cannot claim further assertions, based on Chrysostom's homilies, that κλαίω in Luke 19:41 is more emotional than δακρύω in John 11:35, as he does not explicitly distinguish the verbs in the two events.

Modern scholars, however, are keen to designate the difference in meaning for the two verbs. Some moderns argue that κλαίω connotes a stronger, more dramatic emotional expression (with loud cries and tears) than δακρύω in John 11:35.⁸⁹³ Bovon thinks "κλαίω is

⁸⁹¹ Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 66.2; 78.4 (PG 58, 628 & 716); *Hom. Jo.* 62.4; 63.1 (PG 59, 347, 349); in *Hom. Matt.* 78.4, κἂν κλαίης δάκρυον ἡρέμα ὡς αὐτός also contrasts the gentler, quieter δακρύω as opposed to κλαίω.

⁸⁹² Malingrey and Zoncone, "John Chrysostom," *EAC* 2:431-3.

⁸⁹³ Matthews 2013, 384; Hong 2018, 120. Spencer 2021, 86 n.30 acknowledges that κλαίω is more commonly used for mourners and may be a "more intense, vocal anguish" than δακρύω, but Spencer claims the two may not be different because δάκρυον appears in Heb 5:7 with Jesus' loud cries on the eve of his death, suggesting a connection with mourning. I think Spencer over-states his case in trying to dramatise the tears of Jesus for Lazarus. A single occurrence of the noun in Hebrews is insufficient to inform the meaning of the verb, esp. when eight out of the other nine occurrences of δάκρυον are not connected to loud crying or death (Luke 7:38, 44; Acts 20:19, 31; 1 Cor 2:4; 1 Tim 1:4; Heb 12:17; Rev 7:17; except maybe Rev 21:4).

stronger than δακρύω, and designates a real wailing.”⁸⁹⁴ Wilson asserts κλαίω “connotes both tears and audible cries.”⁸⁹⁵ Klein refers to Jesus weeping over Jerusalem as *lautem Klagen* (loud wailing).⁸⁹⁶ The *LSJ* describes κλαίω as “cry, lament, any loud expression of pain or sorrow, weep aloud” and in the *BDAG* as “weep, cry;” in both lexicons δακρύω is “shed tears, weep.”⁸⁹⁷ Though both verbs describe weeping, there is the added element of lament, sorrow, and pain in the audible wailing of κλαίω that is not present in the silent shedding of tears in δακρύω.⁸⁹⁸ Thus, Matthews concludes that “only in Luke do we find Jesus depicted in the throes of such deep, bodily sorrow.”⁸⁹⁹ The modern differentiation in verbs largely coheres with the verb distinction implied by Chrysostom’s homily on John 11.

Keeping the difference in meaning in mind, we focus our attention momentarily on John 11:35. Scholars are divided over the question of *why* Jesus was moved to tears even though he was about to raise Lazarus. The key to the debate lies in how they make sense of the verbs ἐμβριμάομαι and ταρασσώ (v.33), denoting indignation and deep disturbance.⁹⁰⁰ Some moderns deem it inappropriate to offer “a psychologizing explanation” for “Jesus’

⁸⁹⁴ Bovon 2012, 3:17. Schmidt 1876, 471-6 also argues κλαίειν is stronger than δακρύειν: „bedeutet δακρύειν eigentlich „tränen“ und wird also vom Weinen ohne Rücksicht auf die dabei hervorgebrachten Töne gebraucht; auch die physiologische Erscheinung des Tränens der Augen wird so genannt und in Fällen wo die lautlos sich äussernde Trauer mit δακρύειν bezeichnet wird, ist der Ausdruck gar nicht misszuverstehn... Umgekehrt bedeutet κλαίειν das laute Weinen, welches natürlich zugleich einen stärkeren Affekt bezeichnet“ (471).

⁸⁹⁵ Wilson 2016, 217.

⁸⁹⁶ Klein 2006, 617: „Darum weint er über die Stadt, gemeint ist mit lautem Klagen.“

⁸⁹⁷ *LSJ-O* “δακρύω”; “κλαίω”; *BDAG* “κλαίω,” 545; “δακρύω,” 211.

⁸⁹⁸ In the field of classics, Lateiner 2009, 105-34 studies the use of tears and crying in eleven Greek historians between 440-140 BC. Lateiner breaks down the word frequency according to the δακρυ- and κλαι- stems, and though he does not explicitly remark on their differences, his translations mostly follow the *LSJ*. Elsewhere, van der Veen 1996, 31 compares κλαίειν with δακρύειν in Herodotus’ history and concludes they differ in function: κλαίειν “communicate[s] one’s feelings to others... stylised and intentional demonstration of grief” while δακρύειν “denotes the simple *emotion* of sorrow... has no other function than to air one’s feelings of sadness.” Admittedly, these are half a millennium distant from NT usage, but may inform our appreciation of the verbs.

⁸⁹⁹ Matthews 2013, 384.

⁹⁰⁰ Spencer 2021 calls this Jesus’ “anger-grief metaemotional chain” and “teary grief” (82), and refers to the situation as “some admixture of grief and anger” in Stage 2 of Kübler-Ross’ famous Five Stages of Grief (56).

apparently contradictory emotions.”⁹⁰¹ Nonetheless, many still attempt to make sense of it. Explanations for Jesus’ anger and tears range from i) anger at the mourners’ faithlessness and unrecognition of Jesus’ ability,⁹⁰² and ii) anger at sin, death, and Satan’s work⁹⁰³ to iii) Jesus being mentally and spiritually excited yet strained before raising Lazarus⁹⁰⁴ or iv) Jesus showing his feelings of compassion and sharing in the grief of the people.⁹⁰⁵

I will briefly assess the four possibilities.⁹⁰⁶ The first option coheres most closely with the ancient views above that Jesus wept because of the disbelief of the people, but it is challenging to justify why Jesus joins in the crying (v.35), especially since John records Jesus as ἐδάκρυσεν *after* he is invited to ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε (v.34), so his tears are more likely related to the reality of *seeing* a dead Lazarus than to their faithlessness.⁹⁰⁷ The third possibility is hard to establish because making claims about the psyche of Jesus is at best an argument from silence. The second and fourth views could be held together. The verb ταραάσω⁹⁰⁸ in 11:33 is used in 12:27; 14:1, 27 within the context of Jesus’ imminent death and in 13:21 to

⁹⁰¹ Schnackenburg 1982, 334. While Schnackenburg’s resistance to a psychologising approach appears similar to the ancients, he clearly differs from them when he writes that a Christological discussion of the divinity and humanity of Jesus with regards to Jesus’ weeping would be misleading (334-5).

⁹⁰² Borchert 1996, 360; Hoskyns 1947, 405; Keener 2012, 1:846; Spencer 2021, 62. Salazar Infante 2014, 239-52 employs a narrative-critical analysis of κλαίω in John and δακρύω in the LXX, and concludes that Jesus sheds tears due to frustration that Mary, Martha, and the others failed to believe in him.

⁹⁰³ Brown 2008, 435; Beasley-Murray 1987, 193; Carson 1991, 416.

⁹⁰⁴ Köstenberger 2004, 340.

⁹⁰⁵ Conway 2008, 147; Haenchen 1984, 66; Bernard 1929, 393.

⁹⁰⁶ Moore 2017, 298-308 offers another option that draws on affect theory to explain the weeping. He argues that Jesus does not weep from a “deep, hidden, internal pool of emotion” (302) but out of “disgust... a certain unmistakable stench” (303) from Lazarus’ corpse. Moore contends that Jesus came to overcome rotting flesh in this “Flesh Gospel” (308). Though a novel proposition, the narrative sequence of John 11 challenges Moore’s argument. The mention of stench only appears in v.39, while his tears were already shed in v.35. Furthermore, Jesus’ tears are more likely a reaction to the seeing (v.34) than smelling.

⁹⁰⁷ Spencer 2021, 83-86 thinks the Greek word order conjoins “come/see” and “weep” in a tight sequence, and the literary role of “come and see” in preceding parts of the Fourth Gospel confirm it is not simply a conversion filler. Based on modern psychological explanations of the role of emotions and his reading of the narrative, Spencer argues that the actual seeing breaks Jesus down and causes him to burst into tears.

⁹⁰⁸ Of the six occurrences of ταραάσω, only John 5:7 uses it to describe water stirring and not human emotion.

portray Jesus' reaction to Satan's work in Judas, thus, we can think of Jesus as reacting to Satan and death before raising Lazarus.⁹⁰⁹ Additionally, Jesus is said to love (ἐφίλει, v.36) Lazarus, including the sisters (ἠγάπα, v.5), which makes it reasonable that he weeps and grieves for and with his loved ones.⁹¹⁰ Thus, I argue Jesus sheds indignant tears at the face of Satan, sin, and death while also showing empathy and solidarity with those mourning.⁹¹¹

If we accept this reading of John 11, then the verb choices for the respective scenes are fitting. Though Luke 19:41 and John 11:35 are both weeping accounts, they convey a different tone of grief⁹¹²—John's Jesus is quietly grieving the personal loss of a beloved friend (δακρύω) but he will soon reverse the situation, while Luke presents a Jesus utterly and openly in pain and sorrow (κλαίω) over the stubbornness of the Jerusalemites headed towards a destruction that Jesus does not prevent.⁹¹³ We will discuss other implications of the two verbs below when applying our findings into re-reading the weeping texts.

The Significance of κλαίω within Luke's Christological Portrayal

An important implication of our detailed examination of the two weeping verbs is the way it sheds light on Luke's Christological portrayal. We mentioned earlier that Luke's Jesus

⁹⁰⁹ Brown 2008, 435. Brown also appeals to *Hom. Jo.* 63.2 to show that Chrysostom suggests Jesus' emotional distress as "prompted by the imminence of death and the struggle with Satan."

⁹¹⁰ In other words, "Despite knowing what he is about to do, Jesus does not order the mourners to stop weeping. Instead, he participates with them in their mourning" (Eklund 2021 "Lament," 84). North 2013, 40 & 50 emphasises that Jesus' love for the Bethany family is evident, even in his absence.

⁹¹¹ Eklund 2015, 41 rightly notes that φωνῇ μεγάλῃ in the Septuagint "is most often associated with bitter grief accompanied by weeping, usually in the context of death, calamity, of a great loss." However, φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκράυγασεν (John 11:43) is written in a context of death and loss but likely not accompanied by weeping; it is a loud crying out by Jesus. See above p.185 n.3.

⁹¹² Warfield 1950, 127 thinks Mary's wailing caused Jesus tears in John 11, but stubborn Jerusalem called forth loud wailing. Voorwinde 2011, 180 shares a similar view: "It is possible that the careful choice of verbs is intended to contrast the quiet weeping of Jesus with the loud grief of Mary and the Jews."

⁹¹³ It requires a future research project to analyse whether John, assuming he knew Luke 19, intentionally chose δακρύω to record the Lazarus narrative.

is the most self-restrained, unbowed, even un-emotional in the Synoptic Gospels, but it is also Luke who chooses to present Jesus as openly wailing over the fate of the holy city. How do we reconcile the two?

I argue that Luke's deliberate emphasis on the stubbornness of the Jerusalemites and the holy city helps us to reconcile the seemingly weak and weepy Jesus (as alleged by some scholars) with Luke's Socratic-like noble death and/or Graeco-Roman and Jewish martyrological portrayal.⁹¹⁴ Assuming Markan priority, wherever Mark attributes certain emotions to Jesus, Matthew mutes some of these, but Luke omits most of these depictions.⁹¹⁵ This is especially evident throughout Luke's Passion narrative: Luke omits the three Markan statements (Mark 14:33-35) that emphasise Jesus' distress and grief. Luke also edits Mark's dramatic ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσήχετο (Mark 14:35) to θεὶς τὰ γόνατα προσήχετο (Luke 22:41), replacing signs of anxious physical collapse with a posture of piety. Later, in the same spirit, Luke replaces Ps 22:1, ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με (Mark 15:34; cf. Matt 27:46) with Ps 31:5, πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Luke 23:46), connoting trust as opposed to devastation.⁹¹⁶ Luke's Socratic and noble martyr

⁹¹⁴ For more, see Scaer 2005; Sterling 2001; Doran 2006; Brown 1994, 1:187-8; Neyrey 1980; Pope 2019; cf. 2 Maccabees. Matthews 2009, 144 describes Jesus' total control of emotions as "emperor-like." Thorsteinsson 2018 refers to Luke's Jesus as a "Stoic-like philosophical sage" (169); he is in authority, controlled, and poised as the innocent martyr (170-7). The validity of a Socratic or Jewish worldview is secondary, the point is Luke presents a very different Jesus in his Passion narrative. Wilson 2016, Chapter 6, however, argues that "Jesus' death is not nearly as noble as it is often characterized" (191) and that the Passion is better understood as Isaiah's Suffering Servant and the psalmist's righteous sufferer. First, I question whether the image of Jesus as Suffering Servant is as prominent in Luke's Passion as Wilson argues. Secondly, Wilson's reading requires that we downplay the comparisons based on Markan priority in the Passion Narrative. Even if I temporarily ignore Luke's redactions, we still need to contend with Luke's overall portrayal that has Jesus who is set towards Jerusalem and mostly in control of events up until his crucifixion. Even Wilson concedes that the suffering servant and righteous suffering traditions have affinities with the noble death tradition (210).

⁹¹⁵ See above Chapter 1, p.1 for details of the omissions.

⁹¹⁶ The appearance of the comforting angel in Luke 22:43-44 has been used to counter these depictions. Some early manuscripts (P^{69(vid)} P⁷⁵ X^a A B T W, syr^s cop^{sa}) lack vv.43-44. Its omission received an {A} level confidence by the UBS Committee (Metzger, 1994 151). However, Green 1986, 35-36 argues they are original to Luke based on the *hapax legomena* ἀγωνία, ἰδρῶς, and θρόμβος and other vocabulary, and that they were omitted

is also the Jesus who wails and sobs (κλαίω) at the fate of the holy city.⁹¹⁷ This certainly accentuates the importance of Jerusalem in the Third Gospel.⁹¹⁸

Therefore, instead of perceiving Luke as contradicting himself, we can appreciate his use of Jesus' tears to emphasise Jesus' feelings towards the holy city. In this manner, we also reconcile the incongruity when we appreciate Jesus' tears as manly tears.⁹¹⁹ Like tears of a great general shed for the devastation of a great city, so Jesus' tears are for the destruction of Jerusalem, the great city.⁹²⁰ Neumann also concludes that Luke's Jesus is much closer to the Hellenistic ideals of self-determination and masculinity than Mark's.⁹²¹ Thus, we can say

for doctrinal reasons. Ehrman 1993, 187-94, who finds arguments based on textual, syntax, and vocabulary evidence inconclusive, argues the verses were added in the early second century as an anti-docetic polemic. A concise overview of the debate is in Brown 1994, 1:180-6 who favours Lukan authorship. I accept vv.43-44 as a later addition based on manuscript evidence, and argue that in the ancient world one understanding of agony is that of "victorious struggle" (Senior 1989, 88; Neyrey 1980, 160; contra Eklund 2015, 29 who thinks the later addition parallels the suffering in Mark's and Matthew's Gethsemane accounts).

⁹¹⁷ Here I assume that Luke is written post-AD 70 and Jesus' recorded lament is Luke's lament as he recounts the period of war and destruction. The dating of Luke should not affect the point that Jesus' intense emotions serve to stress Jerusalem's priority.

⁹¹⁸ George 2009, 242 calls this "an important counter-example of emotion used for emphasis by Luke in communicating to his auditors how utterly devastating was the destruction of Jerusalem."

⁹¹⁹ See full argument in Matthews 2013 who demonstrates Luke's masculinising rhetoric within Greco-Roman topos. It is interesting that Wilson 2016 finds Luke's Jesus "unmanly" instead (see above p.29 n.106). Spencer 2021, 88 thinks Matthews overlooks Jesus' weak and broken state, as seen in Jesus' fractured syntax (19:42f.) that deviates from Luke's polished Greek. I find it unconvincing that Jesus is "palpably weak" (88 n.36) just because his words are unpolished. Spencer devotes considerable space to persuade readers of Jesus' emotions using largely modern concepts of self-conscious emotions, philosophy of regret, and related emotions of shame, guilt, remorse, embarrassment. Spencer is a suitable example of a modern scholar who employs modern psychology to interpret the emotional life of Jesus, but which is difficult to ascertain with the limited details in the text. Thus, I lean towards the view of manly tears that are paralleled by Graeco-Roman patterns. See also Conway 2008, 127-42 on Luke's Jesus and masculinity (but more on Acts than Luke).

⁹²⁰ E.g., Marcellus weeps for the city of Syracuse (Livy, *Rom.* 25 24.11-15 [Yardley, *LCL* 355, 432]); Scipio the Younger weeps for the city of Carthage (Polybius, *Hist.* 38.22.1-2 [Olson and Paton, *LCL* 161, 488]); etc. For more on manly tears, see Matthews 2013, 389. Building on Matthews' argument, Standhartinger 2023, 114 also sees Jesus as a weeping general who marks the turn of a historical era when a great city falls, so Jesus here weeps over the fate of Jerusalem, marking the end of an era („weint er wie Scipio angesichts ihres unvermeidbaren Schicksals, welches das Ende einer Epoche markiert“). Wilson 2016, 218 n.113 challenges Matthews' manly weeping by listing texts from Isaiah and Jeremiah that place Jesus' weeping within Jewish prophetic lament tradition. I do not, however, think that the prophetic passages cited are necessarily unmanly nor see how the lament tradition must stand at odds against the depiction of a weeping general, especially for Luke who is probably well acquainted with both Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions. Asikainen 2018, 147 contends that in "early Christian marginal masculinity" lamenting can be understood as Jesus' prophetic role.

⁹²¹ Neumann 2023, 160: „das Lukasevangelium zu einer Jesusdarstellung die hellenistischen Idealvorstellungen von Selbstbestimmtheit und Männlichkeit viel näher kommt als die markinische.“

that Luke's Christological portrayal is one where the Lukan Jesus is a great man who weeps over a great city and who also dies a noble death.

Besides seeing Jesus as the manly general who weeps, I propose an additional and possibly unconventional perspective of Jesus' tears—as one who weeps over Jerusalem with maternal grief.⁹²² The picture of a broken-hearted mother lamenting over rebellious children who reject her is inferred from Luke's first prediction for Jerusalem's destruction in 13:34-35. Six chapters earlier, Luke had already presented Jesus' emotions toward the city:

“Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills that prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often have I desired to gather your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you were not willing!” (v.34).⁹²³

It is very likely that early readers/hearers of Luke would have recalled the earlier record of 13:34-35 when 19:41-44 was read; Jesus' more dramatic weeping reaction in 19:41 is built up from his first lament for Jerusalem.⁹²⁴ To add, the placement of 13:34-35 is significant.

The pericope's parallel passage in Matt 23:37-39 is placed towards the end of Matthew where Jesus is already in Jerusalem. In Matthew, this is Jesus' last public appearance before his arrest, but Luke presents this pericope earlier when Jesus is still en route to Jerusalem before his triumphal entry. In a sense Luke repeats the scenario in 19:41 but with added

⁹²² Scholarship on maternal grief in the Bible is largely limited to that of mothers in the OT (e.g., Kalmanofsky 2011; Kozlova 2017) but Luke 13:34 allows for an indirect portrayal of Jesus as crying like a grieving mother. Sheridan 2016 has written on anxiety and joy in childbirth (John 16:20-22) from the perspective of maternal psychology, but, to the best of my knowledge, maternal grief has not been discussed vis-à-vis NT Gospel texts.

⁹²³ N.T. Wright 2004, 172 sheds light on this imagery by illustrating a hen's farm life: “When a farmyard catches fire, the animals try to escape; but, if they cannot, some species have developed ways of protecting their young. The picture here is of a hen, gathering her chicks under her wings to protect them. There are stories of exactly this: after a farmyard fire, those cleaning up have found a dead hen, scorched and blackened—with live chicks sheltering under her wings.”

⁹²⁴ Bovon 2013, 2: 327-8 reminds us that the double vocative Ἰερουσαλὴμ Ἰερουσαλὴμ in 13:34 hints at a mixture of affection and disappointment. Wilson 2016, 200 reads Jesus “as a mother speaking to another mother—namely Jerusalem—about her children.”

emotion to reiterate the importance of the city and the intensity of Jesus' feelings for it.⁹²⁵ In other words, the imagery of a hen gathering her brood under her wings from 13:34 is called to mind for the hearers/readers when Jesus weeps in deep disappointment in 19:41.⁹²⁶

The vivid picture of the mother bird brooding over her young ones in the nest to protect them is evidently feminine (with feminine nouns ὄρνις and πτέρυγας, the feminine reflexive pronoun ἑαυτῆς, and feminine article τὰς; 13:34); the mother bird's profound love brings her into devastation in 19:41. The close connection between the pericopes suggests an element of maternal grief in Jesus' weeping, though only indirectly indicated from 13:34. Through this intra-textual reading, Luke could be presenting Jesus as both male and female (great general and tender mother) at the same time. I argue that the image of Jesus is not limited to only that of a noble man weeping over the great city;⁹²⁷ this man also has the heart of a mother who weeps tears of grief over stubborn children.

Moreover, the sketch of outstretched wings is a common metaphor for God's care and protection in the OT (Deut 32:11; Pss 17:8; 36:7; 57:1); the wings are always those of the God of Israel (Ruth 2:12, κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραήλ, πρὸς ὃν ἦλθες πεποιθέναι ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ). These intertextual links signal that Jesus' desire to gather people under his wings is a divine action, which implies that when he weeps in Luke 19:41 he weeps as a

⁹²⁵ Tan 1997, 124 thinks Luke placed 13:31-33 "by way of Jerusalem *Stichwort* to provide a preview of the outcome of the journey to Jerusalem and also to set the tone for it."

⁹²⁶ Levine and Witherington 2018 believe that Jesus in 19:41-44 is lamenting the deaths of those alive now and their children (520), and "Jesus' weeping over the city provides an alternative to the glories of battle" (521). Their reading suggests that apart from seeing Jesus as a great general in battle, we can appreciate Jesus who laments the ugliness and suffering involved in war.

⁹²⁷ For Crisler 2023, 257-8 Luke 13:34-35 is a divine lament in which Jesus identifies as Israel's God, which lends supports to the argument for divine weeping and grief in Luke 19:41 too.

divine being for his people. Also, it is not incompatible to think of God as exhibiting both genders—that of a great warrior (Exo 15:3; Josh 5:14; 1 Sam 17:45; Isa 42:13; Joel 2:11) and affectionate mother (Deut 32:18; Isa 42:14; 49:15; 66:13)—therefore allowing Jesus to also represent both. From our brief discussion, we conclude that Luke’s repeated laments over Jerusalem reinforce the importance of the holy city, and when both Luke 13:34-45 and 19:41-45 are read together, we arrive at a richer portrayal of Jesus who weeps as a great man, with a mother’s love and concern for her children, and who is no less the continuation of divine protection and human embodiment of the God of Israel.⁹²⁸

Re-Reading the Tears of Jesus and the Women

Having canvassed a broad array of weeping topics derived from early and modern comments on Luke 19:41 and 23:28, we are left with the vital question of how an exercise of comparative receptions contributes new perspectives. We now attempt to expand our reading of the key Lukan texts with fresh eyes that take into consideration as well as critically evaluate the different perspectives in both ancient and modern interpretations.

The adamant belief of the ancients that God cannot weep has been challenged in recent scholarship (as well as Jewish and ANE literature).⁹²⁹ If the God of the OT is said to grieve and weep, as some moderns, like Bosworth and Eklund (and Jewish thinkers like Bassier) maintain, then Jesus should be able to weep and experience sorrow both as God and

⁹²⁸ Wilson 2016, 200 writes, “with this lament over Jerusalem, Jesus identifies with a female figure and he also identifies with God... both masculine and feminine images intimate Jesus’ identity as the God of Israel.”

⁹²⁹ See above p.194 for discussions on the topic of impassibility in relation to a weeping deity. This is related to patripassianism that sees the Father suffering as the Son because of a failure to distinguish between the two persons. See Sarot 1990 for terms and definitions. While divine impassibility and patripassianism are related, moderns who argue for a weeping God do not seem to include Trinitarian relations.

man.⁹³⁰ However, views within the ancient and modern groups are nuanced. While some moderns have argued for a weeping God, others have chosen to refrain from adding emotional layers to Jesus' weeping. As for the ancients, against majority early thought, Basil and Ambrose suggest that Jesus could mourn for Lazarus, and Augustine writes about Jesus experiencing grief and loneliness. We cannot make blanket assertions for either side, but generally most Hellenistic ancients are resistant to ideas of God weeping while the moderns are increasingly open to the opposite stance.

I argued above, following Rowe's allusions of divinity and Eklund's view of divine grief, that Jesus weeps over Jerusalem as God and man. The ancients would strongly oppose such a reading, but their reasons are driven more by issues of heresy and orthodoxy (see esp., Epiphanius' *Panarion* and *Theophania*) than by the Lukan text itself. In fact, Luke, and by extension John 11,⁹³¹ was not written with the issue of Jesus' two natures in mind. Therefore, between the ancients who contend that Jesus can only weep in his humanity and some moderns who advocate for a weeping divine, I find less reason to resist the idea of a God who weeps and laments. Moreover, the modern argument that God weeps heightens the intensity of Jesus' deep concern for Jerusalem, which fits well with the importance of Jerusalem in Luke's Gospel (see below). If so, the dramatisation in the text would not so

⁹³⁰ Crisler 2023, 277 directly claims that in Luke 19:41 "Jesus cries out as both a prophetic-kingly figure and a divine one." Perhaps this argument about Luke's Jesus is not unlike Syreeni 2020, 283-306 who concludes that John's portrayal of Jesus nuances divine and human emotions.

⁹³¹ By extension this argument can be applied to divine weeping in John 11:35, but the limits of this project do not allow further exploration.

much be in the use of κλαίω over δακρύω but in the fact that [the Son of] God weeps over his beloved city and people.⁹³²

On the discussion of κλαίω versus δακρύω, we found that the moderns delineate the verbs and make arguments based on them, but the ancients scarcely deliberate the point. The ancients forestall us from being overly reliant on modern arguments based on the lexical meaning of terms and from making assertions based on the distinctions between Jesus' tears in Luke 19:41 and John 11:35. That δακρύω and κλαίω are found interchangeably in the works of Eusebius and Chrysostom⁹³³ suggests that one verb does not exclude the other and might even remind hearers of the other. Though our analysis led us to conclude that Luke's weeping is a more intense wailing, we should be mindful that lexical terms in and of themselves do not best determine the meaning of words; words are best defined within their context and frequent uses. In other words, the distinction between δακρύω and κλαίω is noteworthy and likely accurate, but the modern tendency to jump into arguments about Luke deliberately using κλαίω to intensify the wailing and convey a particular meaning is deficient, since δακρύω does not occur in Luke, unlike John 11, for comparison. Nonetheless, the modern emphasis on the different verbs informs us that Jesus in Luke 19:41 likely wailed audibly instead of cried silently, which depicts his devastation over the fate of Jerusalem. This is a case where the modern preoccupation on different verb meanings can be held in fruitful tension with the lack of difference in ancient writings. We can appreciate *how* Jesus wept over Jerusalem while not reading too much into Luke's verb choice.

⁹³² We saw above on p.195 that Jewish thought saw the destruction of the first temple as warranting Yahweh's tears, and that the idea of a weeping deity was unproblematic in the ANE. Contra Voorwinde 1997 who argues that Jesus' weeping falls more on his humanity, not divinity.

⁹³³ Above on p.235. Also, Basil, *Grat.* 3 on p.222.

The early Christian authors also appeal to the crying events of Luke 19 and John 11 together to argue for Jesus' humanity, the non-repentance of people, and the cleansing role of Jesus' tears. They do not find it problematic to place together two different tearful records written under different contexts by two different authors to assert a Christological or anthropological claim. We must acknowledge though that perhaps such an observation is unfairly and anachronistically driven by the modern commitment to independently treat biblical writings according to book and author.

One way the ancients could refine modern exegesis is by their frequent inclusion of repentance into their weeping interpretations. The relatively greater focus in modern works on the reasons for weeping, the emotions involved, and the literary and textual connections between the weeping texts may have eclipsed the message of repentance. Jerusalem's lack of recognition of the Lord and failure to see its upcoming doom shows the need to mourn one's sins. Given Luke's emphasis on repentance,⁹³⁴ it is fitting for the early authors to speak about sorrow for sins in regard to both the Jerusalem-related weeping narratives, which serves as an effective prompt for moderns who have overlooked this implication.

The moderns can also challenge some of their predecessors. The ancients (except Ambrose and Augustine) interpret the "do not weep" imperative as a prohibition to mourn

⁹³⁴ Tannehill 2005, 84-101 argues that repentance as a Lukan theme is central to Luke-Acts. Half of the NT occurrences of μετάνοια are in Luke-Acts (Luke 3:3, 8; 5:32; 15:7; 24:47; Acts 5:31; 11:18; 13:24; 19:4; 20:21; 26:20), and the verb μετανοέω is found seven times in Matthew and Mark combined, but nine times in Luke and five times in Acts (Luke 10:13; 11:32; 13:3, 5; 15:7, 10; 16:30; 17:3, 4; Acts 2:38; 3:19; 8:22; 17:30; 26:20).

because of the resurrection (cf. 1 Thess 4:13).⁹³⁵ Of the three times that Jesus says “do not weep” (Luke 7:13; 8:52; 23:28), 23:28 is most clearly unrelated to the resurrection because the second half of the imperative explains the negative command in the first.⁹³⁶ The text is clear that the women are to stop weeping for Jesus because they have other and better reasons to weep—for themselves and the future occupants of Jerusalem (πλὴν ἐφ’ ἑαυτὰς κλαίετε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, 23:28b). Moreover, the need to weep for Jerusalem was already embodied by Jesus (19:41), emphasising the essential object of weeping. The hope of the resurrection is an unconvincing reason to stop weeping given the text of 23:28.

Finally, we gain a greater appreciation for Jerusalem since both groups agree that the object of lament should be the city. The Gospel of Luke begins and ends in the Temple at Jerusalem.⁹³⁷ The progression of the temptation scenes from desert to high mountain and finally to the pinnacle of the Temple (4:1-13) shows Jerusalem’s importance in this pericope for Luke.⁹³⁸ Luke is the only Gospel that has Jesus deliver four sad “oracles” over Jerusalem (13:34; 19:41-44; 21:5-6; 21:20-24), and Luke’s travel narrative is fixed on Jerusalem for ten whole chapters (with reminders of Jerusalem as destination, 9:51; 13:22; 17:22), unlike Matthew or Mark. When Luke’s Jesus finally arrives after ten long chapters, he weeps over Jerusalem (19:41) and meets the daughters of Jerusalem (23:28). By tracing the repeated mentions of Jerusalem, we see the broader thematic perspective on how the significance of tears for Jerusalem fits within the Third Gospel as a whole. That Jesus would choose to weep

⁹³⁵ See above Chapter 4, p.161 for my arguments against Barclay who argues Christians do not grieve and that Paul commands the Thessalonians (4:13) to stop grieving. The resurrection rationale is also used to explain why Jesus does not mourn for Lazarus.

⁹³⁶ Wolter 2017, 2:521 calls it “the double exhortation.”

⁹³⁷ Zechariah in the Temple at the opening (1:9) and the Eleven in the Temple at the end (24:53).

⁹³⁸ The order in Matt 4:1-11 is more likely the original (Nolland 1989, 1:161 n.21; Luz 2007, 148; Hagner 1993, 62; Bovon 2002, 1:139; etc).

over Jerusalem of all things and then instruct the women to do the same advances the role of Jerusalem in Luke's narrative and geographic conception.⁹³⁹ Luke's marked interest in Jerusalem even challenges the assumption, often without convincing evidence, that Luke is a Gentile author.⁹⁴⁰ In sum, our focused study on weeping in relation to Jerusalem has proven fruitful with the above payoffs and fresh views on Luke's Gospel.

Conclusion

The investigation of the weeping of Jesus and the women of Jerusalem has included topics like Jesus' two natures, emotional displays, repentance, the washing away of sins, literary connections, reasons to cease weeping, and the differences between κλαίω and δακρύω. We carefully considered the strengths and limitations of the different early and modern views before reading the weeping narratives afresh. I believe ancient authors can remind the moderns to include repentance into their understanding of weeping and also to incorporate the ancient understanding of weeping verbs in determining how Jesus wept. In return, the moderns can show the ancients that Luke 23:28 is not a prohibition to mourn because of the resurrection but because of Jerusalem. I also argue that Jesus' weeping can be appreciated as divine weeping, thus, contributing towards a greater appreciation for Jerusalem's significance. As this is the final chapter of analysis, brief comparative remarks have been made between the Jerusalem-associated scenarios and the earlier narratives, but we are now prepared to synthesise all observations in the concluding chapter.

⁹³⁹ For the significance and centrality of Jerusalem in Luke-Acts, see Bormann 2019, 112-22; for more specific treatments on the Temple in Luke-Acts, see Fay 2006; Taylor 2004; van der Waal 1973.

⁹⁴⁰ Jeffrey 2012, 37 thinks Luke is "almost certainly indeed a Gentile;" Fitzmyer 1981, 1:42 regards "Luke as a Gentile Christian;" *Revised New Jerusalem Bible* 2019, 1939 refers to Luke's "Hellenistic, non-Jewish position;" Moule 1960, 2 claims Luke is "probably a Gentile and perhaps the only one among the writers of the [NT]."

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

Having reviewed the six Lukan weeping narratives across the four preceding chapters, this concluding segment summarises findings to facilitate a final deliberation of implications and applications. We began the endeavour guided by questions about how ancient interpretations made sense of the weeping texts and how these early commentaries align with or diverge from contemporary scholarship. Through a series of dialogues between the two sets of interlocutors, fresh perspectives have emerged on Luke's weeping stories. This project is not an exhaustive investigation but an eclectic one; I have curated weeping-pertinent issues that call for attention based on comments that are influential, and some that could be deemed innovative.

The early reception methodology employed here necessitated a keen sensitivity to cultural, linguistic, and historical contexts throughout, acknowledging that early writers likely occupied a different emotional register to their counterparts more than a millennium later. Awareness of potential "echo chamber" effects among contemporary scholars is also critical, particularly in how a small group of modern scholars referencing each other might arrive at homogenised findings.⁹⁴¹ Moreover, despite the utilisation of so-called modern scientific critical methods, such approaches retain an inherent subjectivity, particularly with the study of emotions, which fall more naturally into the realm of the intuitive and introspective. The analysis of Luke's weeping accounts was conducted with these realities in mind.

⁹⁴¹ Interestingly, I have not found any notable distinctions between Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars. E.g., concerning the anointing woman's weeping, whilst it is less likely for Protestant commentators to label an act as penitential, one might expect a Roman Catholic commentator (say, Joseph Fitzmyer or Luke Timothy Johnson) to use penitence as a neutral term, but all of them emphasise only the woman's pardon.

Chapter Summaries

The investigation commenced in Chapter 2 with an analysis of the sinful woman who enters the house of Simon the Pharisee and anoints Jesus' feet with her tears (Luke 7:36-50). After defining the theological terms of sin and repentance, we surveyed ancient views of the woman's weeping and found that a significant majority of early Christian writers interpreted her tears as symbolic of penitence on her part. In contrast, contemporary scholarship near-unanimously perceives these as expressions of joy and gratitude in response to forgiveness already pronounced by Jesus. After critical evaluation of the divergent views on Luke's passage, it seemed feasible to hold both in fruitful tension, with neither early nor modern interpretation holding absolute precedence. I argue it is plausible for repentance and gratitude to occur concurrently and co-exist; the emphasis on repentance (ancient view) elicits the response of joy and gratitude for pardon received (modern view).

Chapter 3 shifts focus from the sinful woman to the prince of the apostles who wept bitterly after denying Jesus (22:62). Though chronologically distant in Luke's Gospel, Peter's denial is discussed immediately after the anointing account because both Peter and the woman are thought to weep in repentance. However, departing from the predominant ancient view that saw the woman's weeping as penitential, we found fewer early references that characterise Peter's tears as repentance. Conversely, most modern scholars interpret Peter's tears as stemming from remorse and guilt. Intriguingly, some early works refer more specifically to Peter's weeping as exemplifying contrition (sorrow for sin) in comparison to the modern assumption that repentance encompasses the entire arc from sin to pardon and amendment. I argue that Luke positions contrition as an inescapable interpretation (ancient wisdom) yet denies that Peter should be regarded as less sinful (modern comments). The

divergent receptions throughout demonstrate how a writer's contextual circumstance, theological inclination or bias, and exegetical strategy can lead to opposing views.

After considering the relationship between weeping and repentance, we focused on the topic of grief. Discussions in Chapter 4 primarily focused on portrayals of weeping in situations of death and mourning, as depicted by the widow at Nain (7:13) and Jairus and his household (8:52). While the phrase “tears of repentance” was frequently encountered in early references for the weeping of the woman and Peter, the expression “tears of grief” was notably absent in ancient comments on 7:13 and 8:52. To probe potential reasons behind this omission, a section was devoted to exploring Stoic philosophy and the Roman dichotomy between philosophical versus poetic genres in discourses on grief. Whilst Stoic influences did lead to more muted expressions, we saw that early Christian writers differed from the Stoics: Ambrose transformed grief in the present into a longing for the deceased (congruent with Stoicism) because of the Christian hope of resurrection, and Augustine contested the Stoic notion of *apatheia* to adopt a more open stance toward grief and weeping. However, these are still a far cry from the openness and ease with which modern discourse on these two scenarios takes place. Modern commentators tend to include layers of emotions for the characters involved in the bereavement scenes. A balance between both perspectives provides a valuable way to read Luke's “do not weep” imperatives.

In the final segment, discussions transition from weeping human characters to Jesus, and from the themes of repentance and grief to the place of Jerusalem in Luke. Chapter 5 delves into two narratives unique to Luke—Jesus weeping over Jerusalem (19:41) and his instruction for the daughters to weep for themselves and for their children (23:28). Ancient

interpretations typically attribute Jesus' weeping to his human nature, whereas modern works either bypass the theological discourse on the two natures of Christ or challenge the premise that God cannot weep. I propose that Jesus' lament over Jerusalem in 19:41 may be understood as an expression of both his human and divine natures. Regarding the women's weeping, the ancients generally perceived Jesus' directive to cease weeping as predicated on his resurrection, whereas modern scholars insist that the cessation is warranted because their weeping is misdirected. I argue, based on the text of 23:28, that the imperative is unrelated to the resurrection but highlights the proper object of weeping—Jerusalem. The analysis also cautions against over-emphasising lexical differences between κλαίω (Luke 19:41) and δακρύω (John 11:35), a reminder of the dynamic, non-static nature of language; thus, advising modern readers against exaggerating or constructing unnuanced arguments based on lexemes in a language far removed from contemporary understanding.

Further Observations and Reflections

A review of the weeping texts has prompted the re-evaluation of topics such as repentance, death and grief, the influence of Stoicism in Luke, the significance of Jerusalem, Luke's Christology, the symbolism of tears, and the function of emotions in Luke. The theme of repentance is perhaps the most enduring throughout our study. In Chapter 2 we saw the majority of early writers present a fairly uniform interpretation that Luke's anointing woman was a sinner who came to Jesus' feet weeping in repentance. The concept of penitential weeping extended into Chapter 3's discussion of Peter's tears. Even in contexts of mourning (Chapter 4), the ancients attached penitence to tears. They understood Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem (Chapter 5) as an exhortation *for* repentance. For the ancients, the consistently accepted rationale for weeping is when the sinner, their associates, or the church, express

sorrow for sin. Penitential weeping is not disputed by modern scholars, but the concept of intercessory tears appears absent from their discourse. The ancients' strict emphasis on repentance may stem from their worldview of what was considered natural and unnatural phenomena: death, because it is a natural occurrence, does not necessitate tears, while repentance, an unnatural, deliberate act, warrants weeping.

Intimately connected to penitence is the recurring ancient notion that tears possess the ability to cleanse sins, a theme elucidated in every chapter. In Chapters 2 and 3, weeping serves to absolve the woman and Peter of their sins. In Chapter 4, when Ambrose discusses the widow grieving her son, he employs this as a metaphor for the tears of the Mother Church eradicating sin and guilt. In Chapter 5, the ancients infer that Jerusalem's forgiveness is secured through the purifying effect of Jesus' tears washing away its sin. The idea of tears (whether shed for oneself or for others) as a cleansing agent with redemptive value is conspicuously absent in modern works. I posited that modern Protestant commitments to *sola gratia* and *sola fide* are probably reasons to resist such a view. The concept of tears washing away sin would potentially be seen as contradictory to the salvific efficacy of Jesus' work on the cross, standing in opposition to the Protestant precept of the believer's faith in God by grace alone.

In addition to ancient perspectives and Reformation-associated doctrines, we have given considerable attention to Stoicism and contemporary psychology as crucial factors influencing the treatment of weeping. Chapter 2 proposed that Stoic ideals of a controlled emotional life might have shaped early Christian categorisations of weeping into moral and theological categories—like repentance. In Chapter 4 we noticed how Stoicism contributed

to the NT and early Christian writings, diverging from the relatively more emotionally expressive Jewish practices. As a general observation, the ancients, likely shaped by Stoic ideals, tended to limit and discourage emotional expressions, while the moderns, immersed in popular psychology and an increased discourse of mental-emotional health, demonstrate greater openness to inclusion of emotions within interpretative methods.⁹⁴² Whilst these patterns are highlighted, nuances, aberrations, and exceptions were also discussed to provide concrete granularity and specificity amidst the broader consensus.

In employing the method of diachronic comparison, we have seen that there is fertile ground in a dialogue that spans centuries. Notice the potential productivity and wealth of Luke's weeping texts to engage not only with modern questions but also ancient ones: while the study of emotions may seem a largely modern concern, this inquiry has illuminated how the ancients addressed these themes within their distinct and culturally acceptable norms.⁹⁴³ Though neither early nor contemporary commentators stand beyond the cultural lens of their day when interpreting the narratives, I have attempted to mitigate the vicious cycle of cultural relativity by weighing the strengths and weaknesses of each view before re-reading Luke's accounts. This research has not only been conscious of the influences of Stoicism, Reformation doctrines, and modern psychology, but also a variety of hermeneutical approaches, linguistic registers, and genres.

⁹⁴² Despite the wider cultural and linguistic norms within which one is shaped, Nussbaum 2001, 171-3 sees each individual as shaped by personal upbringing and experiences, which might explain some exceptions.

⁹⁴³ In some ways this is similar to how the notion of *The Therapy of Desire* is a modern question, but Nussbaum 1994 demonstrates ways in which the ancients had already addressed the question.

The dynamic interaction between scripture and its interpreters is also observed. Narrative texts generally lack indicators of sound, tone, and body language, inviting exegetes to infer and imagine the emotional climate of the story. We have seen a modern propensity to imbue the narratives with emotional depth and layers, as influenced by contemporary cultural weightage toward emotional expression. Conversely, in ancient works, the observed restraint reflects cultural inclinations toward emotional regulation and control.⁹⁴⁴

The comparative process of assessing perspectives on the Lukan weeping texts has proven that one cannot definitively prioritise one view over another. Instead, reading Luke through a “tearful lens” and through ancient and modern perspectives has led to treasures unearthed—both new and old—in the form of exegetical and theological payoffs. For one, we proposed a conjunctive reading (in line with Cosgrove’s work on the woman’s unbound hair) as solution to the long-standing conundrum of whether the sinful woman was weeping in repentance or gratitude. Second, we learned to distinguish between the vital theological concepts of contrition and repentance (unlike most moderns, Bockmuehl rightly notices that Luke portrays only contrition, and not full repentance, after Peter’s denial). Third, the wisdom generated from early (primarily Ambrose and Augustine) and current views on grief provides a balance on how to approach the bereavement narratives. Fourth, our discussion of κλαίω and δακρύω (based on Eusebius and Chrysostom) created a more cautious awareness when approaching lexical terms. Finally, an analysis of the weeping of Jesus opened doors to the possibility of divine weeping and grief (proposed by Bosworth, Eklund,

⁹⁴⁴ Hockey 2017, 332 n.4 says an interpretation “usually reveals more about the interpreter than the text itself.”

Basser, etc.) These and other payoffs are evidence that this comparative exercise has been a worthwhile pursuit.

This close examination of ancient and modern sources also alerts exegetes to pay attention to distinct voices within the broader consensus, lest we paint a picture of antiquity or modernity with careless broad strokes. For example, whilst we recognised that most modern scholars think the sinful woman was weeping in gratitude and joy, not repentance, (Chapter 2) we must still acknowledge that Marshall, Nolland, Carroll, Jeffrey, and Levine and Witherington did provide the possibility, but without further substantiation, that both penitence and joy could occur together. Similarly, we noted that Wolter departs from the majority modern view by arguing that the woman was only forgiven at the point of Luke 7:48 because of the great love she displayed. Though I have often claimed that the moderns tend to accentuate emotions involved in the narratives, it is specifically only Bovon's three-volume Luke commentary that quite consistently and overtly includes comments with layers of emotions and aspects from modern psychology. I appreciate and agree with, and hope to build on, the importance that Bovon has placed on the function of emotions. The explicit mention of the above modern authors serves to remind us that whilst the moderns share many preferences and prejudices in common, they are hermeneutically at different places on the spectrum.

Likewise, whilst I have repeatedly contended that the ancients often restrained and limited weeping and other emotional displays, we must nonetheless acknowledge that Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine did admit there is need to weep even within their more reserved cultural milieu (Chapter 4). Also, there were ancients like Origen, Basil,

and Ambrose who made literary connections in their exegesis (Chapter 5), debunking the belief that the ancients did not engage with textual and literary criticism. Having analysed a rather extensive list of ancient works, I have found Ambrose and Augustine to depart from the majority early Christian view on a relatively regular basis. Besides being the only Latin authors to offer some comment on Jesus' "do not weep" imperatives in Luke 7 and 8, they were also the only two writers to think that the reason for "do not weep" in 23:28 is not related to the resurrection, but to Jesus' incarnation, the cross, faith, and Jerusalem's doom (Chapter 5). Keeping these diverse individual opinions in mind preserves a kind of granularity against a potentially generic or homogenised view of all ancient references.

Finally, recognising that the evolution of exegetical possibilities is not independent of external factors, scholars must be vigilant against their own predispositions and biases. This journey has installed a profound sense of humility in hermeneutics, acknowledging the complexity of biblical interpretation and the invaluable contributions of diverse voices across different eras, places, and cultures. This realisation beckons exegetes to interpret Scripture in community—past and present. Since "the history of interpretation shows how readings always change because readers are always changing,"⁹⁴⁵ we should expect an even more colourful variety of weeping-pertinent interpretations in the future.

Future Research Possibilities

Having recognised the compelling influence that socio-cultural and personal factors can exert on interpretations of Luke's weeping narratives, I acknowledge the necessity of

⁹⁴⁵ Allison, 2005, 61.

scrutinising the conclusion of this study for potential biases arising from the researcher's standpoint—a twenty-first century Protestant woman, with both Asian and Western contextual input. Additionally, the development of this project during the grief-stricken COVID-19 pandemic may have potentially influenced some aspects of this research. Hence, I invite constructive dialogue from multiple perspectives and will remain interested in the evolution of scholarly thought as the field progresses.

Due to space and focal constraints, I did not include an exhaustive corpus of Jewish literature on penitence, lament, and mourning. Future studies can include the rich Jewish traditions (like rabbinic writings) for comparison alongside NT and Hellenistic views of weeping. There is also potential to expand this investigation to encompass Syriac and Coptic ancient texts, and to move beyond exclusive commentary on Luke, for a wider study.⁹⁴⁶ Also, whilst we briefly considered weeping in relation to constructs of masculinity and femininity, considerable room exists for deeper research into the gender dynamics related to weeping, especially since weeping practices in antiquity were predominantly associated with women yet Luke's depictions show that men like Jairus, Peter, and Jesus wept.

As it stands, this project has filled the scholarly lacuna in Lukan studies that has neglected the motif of weeping. I have extended my exploration beyond solely considering Jesus' tears (common amongst existing scholarship) and have shown new, fresh ways of appreciating the six weeping narratives as a result of considering the function of emotions through the lens of ancient and modern readers. Recognising how tears and emotions are

⁹⁴⁶ This study having as its focal point Lukan weeping, has not examined other ancient views of tears; e.g., ancient understandings of tears as symbolising thanksgiving, joy, and even baptism.

interwoven into Luke's narrative warrants serious attention from biblical scholars who might overlook discourses on emotions.

Overall, this project has contributed to the rethinking of Luke's Christological portrayal, the possibility of divine weeping, the place of Jerusalem within Luke's narrative, the role of repentance, and the handling of grief in the Third Gospel. These discussions also hold pastoral implications for how one might interpret, derive meaning from, and respond to the array of life events involving emotions and tears.

APPENDIX A – E

Appendix A: Ancient References in Chapter 2 (primarily on Luke 7:38, 44)

(*References that are considered “non-penitential”)

Early Author	Work	Content
Clement	<i>Paedagogus</i> 2.61.1	poured out tears of repentance (μετανοίας δάκρυα), her sins were forgiven (ἀφέωνται αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι)
"	<i>Paedagogus</i> 2.61.2	tears are repentance (δάκρυα δὲ ἡ μετάνοιά ἐστι), the old has been done away because of new faith
Tertullian	<i>Adversus Marcionem</i> 4.18.9	bathed Jesus’ feet with her tears (<i>lacrimis inundaret</i>), her repentance as a sinner deserved forgiveness
"	<i>De pudicitia</i> 11.1	sinful woman and her actions, was granted pardon by the Lord
Pseudo-Cyprian	<i>Ad Novatianum</i> 11.4	penitent (<i>paenitentem</i>), weeping (<i>flentem</i>), remission for her sins (<i>et remissam peccatorum accipientem</i>)
"	<i>*De singularitate clericorum</i> 20	weeping sinner is used to argue against cohabiting
"	<i>*De singularitate clericorum</i> 26	weeping sinner is used to argue against cohabiting
Origen	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 77	sinner weeping and washing Jesus’ feet with tears (<i>plorans lacrimis lavabat pedes eius</i>); sorrow produces repentance steadfast for salvation (<i>prae tristitia “paenitentiam in salutem stabilem” operante</i>)
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 12.4	Rahab the harlot (ῥαββὴ ἡ πόρνη), and washed Jesus’ feet with tears of repentance (μετανοίας δάκρυσι)
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 114	in conjunction with the anointing woman, Peter’s tears are bitter in repentance (ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ)
"	<i>Commentarii in evangelium Joannis</i> 6.294	Jesus offers his own feet for the tears of a repentant sinner (παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόδας τοῖς δακρύοις τῆς μετανοούσης ἁμαρτωλοῦ)
"	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Lucam</i> Cat 113	where are our tears (δάκρυα)? Bring a good odour of repentance (φέρειν μετανοίας εὐωδίαν),
"	<i>Homiliae in Leviticum</i> 2.4.5	the seventh and final forgiveness is through penance that is expressed in tears
Epiphanius	<i>*Panarion Christentum</i> 42.11.17	weeping woman is evidence that she did not wash the feet of a phantom but touched Jesus’ real body
"	<i>*Panarion</i> 77.28.1	her tears touched Jesus’ feet but the power of the Godhead was unaffected
"	<i>*Panarion Christentum</i> 42.11.6	list of Lukan events to demonstrate the problems of the Marcionite canon
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>*Oratio</i> 8.19	an abundance of tears (καὶ δάκρυσι τοῦτο πλουσίως), wet the feet of Christ (Gorgonia’s funeral oration)
Amphilochius	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem</i> 6	In Jesus’ presence the sinner is at a loss for words to speak, so, she speaks through her tears (λαλεῖ δὲ τοῖς δάκρυσι)
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem</i> 6	she was washing away the evil laughter with her beautiful tears (καλοῖς δάκρυσι). With teardrops from her eyes, she was washing away the dirt from her cheeks (ταῖς δὲ ῥανίσι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν τῶν παρειῶν ἐκπλύνουσα ῥύπον) so that she might defend herself after how she has sinned (ῥήμαρτεν)

"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 6</i>	tears were falling as a bath of repentance (αὐτὴ ἐαυτῇ λοῦτρον μετανοίας προβαλλομένη τὰ δάκρυα), she provided tears like water and received forgiveness from Christ invisibly (τὴν δὲ ἄφεισιν ἀοράτως παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποδέχεται)
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 6</i>	the woman released a fountain of tears (ἀλλὰ κρήνας δακρύων ἀφεῖσα) and washed the feet of Jesus (τοῦς πόδας ἀπέπλυνε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ)
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 6</i>	her eyes were sending forth streams from above like wells of tears (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἄνωθεν ὡς κρῆναι δακρύων ἔπεμπον ὀχετοὺς)
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 9</i>	Jesus showed a way of repentance ("Ἐλαβεν μύρον καὶ ἔδειξε μετανοίας τρόπον), he received tears and established a fountain of sin (ἔλαβε δάκρυα καὶ ἔστησε πηγὴν ἁμαρτημάτων) [Note: πηγὴν ἁμαρτημάτων likely refers to the source of sin]
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 9</i>	woman who is a sinner (Ἀμαρτωλὸς ἐστὶν ἡ γυνή) had nothing to grant Jesus except a fountain of tears (πηγὴν δακρύων), and she was propitiating through a fountain the fountain (πηγὴ τὴν πηγὴν ἐξευμενίζουσα), procuring for the teacher an immaterial means of expiation (ἀκτήμονι διδασκάλῳ αὔλον ἱλαστήριον προσκομίζουσα) [Note: τὴν πηγὴν refers to Jesus, the true of source of everything, likely a play of words with πηγὴ throughout the homily]
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 11</i>	contrasting the lavish act of repentance by the woman with Simon's disrespectful behaviour, the woman who is a sinner washes away her sins with her tears
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 11</i>	the woman, unlike Simon, honoured Jesus with tears and ointments (ἐτίμησέ με ἐκ δακρύων καὶ μύρων)
"	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem 12</i>	tears conquer the lament that would have resulted from judgment (τὴν δάκρυσι νικήσασαν τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ὀδυρμόν)
Ambrose	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 6.14</i>	Luke's woman is a sinner who poured perfume on the feet of Jesus (<i>nam peccatrix secundum Lucam supra Christi pedes effudit unguentum</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 6.16</i>	where are our tears (<i>Ubi sunt nostrae lacrimae</i>)? Fall down before God, and weep (<i>ploremus</i>), the sinner falls at Jesus' feet
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 6.17</i>	admit faults with tears (<i>lacrimis confitere delicta</i>) (cf. Luke 7:44)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 6.18</i>	Christ wanted us to wash his feet with our tears (<i>ut eos lacrimis nos lauemus</i>), these are good tears (<i>bonae lacrimae</i>), redemption of sinners
"	<i>Expositio psalmi cxviii 17.33</i>	the woman who bathed the Lord's feet with her tears (<i>quae lacrimis inrigavit in evangelio domini pedes</i>)
"	<i>De Ioseph 3.14</i>	woman's actions brought about her forgiveness
"	<i>Epistola 41.23</i>	The woman washing the Lord's feet with her tears, faults are washed away, and pardon is granted (<i>culpa lavatur, donatur indulgentia</i>)

"	<i>Epistola</i> 41.12	"tears of penitence" (<i>lacrimas poenitentiae</i>) to contrast with Simon the Pharisee who has no tears and no penance (<i>Quomodo enim haberet lacrimas qui poenitentiam non gerebat</i>), the church has both the water of baptism and the tears of penitence (<i>aquam baptismatis, lacrimas poenitentiae</i>)
"	<i>De poenitentia</i> 1.16.90	the guilty man should seek pardon with tears (<i>petat eam lacrimis</i>), with the aid of the tears of all the people (<i>populi totius fletibus</i>), he must increase his tears... clasp the feet of the faithful, kiss them, wash them with tears (<i>lavet fletibus nec dimittat</i>)
"	<i>De poenitentia</i> 1.16.91	Penitents' countenance was furrowed with tears (<i>lacrimis</i>), cheeks worn with constant weeping
"	<i>De poenitentia</i> 2.8.66	tears can remove the scars of sin (<i>absterge lacrimis cicatrices tuas</i>); the woman wiped out the stench of her sin (<i>faetoremque sui erroris abstersit</i>) and washed away her fault when washing Jesus' feet with tears
"	<i>De poenitentia</i> 2.8.67	if I have no water I have tears (<i>si aquam non habeo, habeo lacrimas</i>), and whilst with them I wash Thy feet I trust to cleanse myself
"	<i>De poenitentia</i> 2.8.68	the woman gave a lesson to all who desire to gain forgiveness, kissing and washing Jesus' feet with tears
"	<i>De poenitentia</i> 2.8.69	to implore pardon, throw themselves on the earth with tears (<i>ut ad terram flens te ipse prosternas</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae extra collectionem traditae</i> 1.5	cites the Lukan anointing story in full
John Chrysostom	<i>De poenitentia</i> 7.2.6	confessed to have committed every sin and iniquity (ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐκείνη γυνὴ ἡ μεμαρτυρημένη ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ), guilty of so many sins, thirsting for salvation from repentance, arranged for amnesty (ἀμνηστίαν ἐκομίσαστο)
"	<i>Ad Theodorum lapsum</i> 1.17	the woman is used as an example of repentance and forgiveness in Chrysostom's appeal to Theodore
"	<i>De beato Philogonia</i>	prostitute (ἡ πόρνη) who came to Christ in a brief critical moment and washed away all her offences
"	<i>In Johannem homiliae</i> 85	ἡ πόρνη poured ointment on his holy feet
"	<i>In Matthaum homiliae</i> 6.8	ἡ πόρνη became more honourable than virgins when thoroughly warmed by repentance (γὰρ διεθερμάνθη τῇ μετανοίᾳ), drenched Jesus' feet with tears
"	<i>In Matthaum homiliae</i> 30.1	a harlot (πόρνην γυναῖκα), permitted her to kiss his feet, with her tears (βρέξαι τοῖς δάκρυσι), heal wickedness of the soul, forgive sins
"	<i>In Matthaum homiliae</i> 73.3	ἡ πόρνη who anointed the feet of Christ
Augustine	<i>Sermon</i> 99.1	she shed tears (<i>prius fudit lacrymas</i>), the heart's blood (<i>sanguinem cordis</i>), washed the Lord's feet with the ministration of her confession (<i>obsequio confessionis</i>)

"	<i>*Sermon 99.3</i>	the woman gains confidence from her confession (<i>confessionis</i>), no longer be pricked by the stings of her conscience (<i>conscientiae</i>)
"	<i>*Sermon 99.6</i>	Simon thought he had few sins and loved the Lord a little but the woman was the total opposite
"	<i>Sermon 99.13</i>	the sinner is a prostitute (<i>prostitutione</i>) who sheds tears and confesses
"	<i>*Enarrationes in Psalmos 100.8</i>	Contrast the woman with the proud Pharisee
"	<i>*Enarrationes in Psalmos 125.5</i>	humility in the woman's weeping as compared to the Pharisee's pride
"	<i>In Johannis evangelium tractatus 7.19</i>	she washed Jesus' feet with her tears, made peace as a sinner with the very sole of the Lord's feet (<i>pacem fecit cum vestigiis Domini peccatrix</i>)
"	<i>Exposition of Psalm 140.8</i>	she showed love by confessing and weeping (<i>quia confessa est, quia flevit</i>), not excuses in her sins

Appendix B: Ancient References in Chapter 3 (primarily on Luke 22:62)

Early Author	Work	Content
Origen	<i>Commentary on John</i> 32.383	seek Jesus like Peter who wept bitterly seeking Jesus after denying him (ὥς ὁ Πέτρος μετὰ τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι πικρῶς ἔκλαιεν, οἶμαι, ζητῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν)
"	<i>Commentary on John</i> 32.385	they would weep and lament but have joy when they see Jesus
"	<i>Homiliae in Leviticum</i> 16.7.3	Peter recovered his place by weeping which he had lost by denying (<i>atque ita respectus a Deo locum suum flendo recepit, quem negando perdiderat</i>)
"	<i>Contra Celsum</i> 2.18	he went out, after the denial, and wept bitterly (ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς)
"	<i>Contra Celsum</i> 2.39	Peter perceived the depth of wickedness and he went out and wept bitterly (ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς)
"	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Proverbia</i> 12	the cock crowing (when Peter began to weep bitterly) made Peter aware of his sins (τῶν προημαρτημένων)
"	<i>De principiis</i> 1.8.2	why would Peter weep bitterly if another sinned (<i>cur autem et Petrus alio peccante ipse flet amarissime</i>)
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 12.22	through Jesus' turning Peter recognised his sin, wept bitterly (<i>cognovit peccatum suum et amarissime flevit</i>)
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum A</i> 114	in conjunction with the anointing woman, Peter's tears are bitter in repentance (ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ)
Eusebius	<i>Demonstratio evangelica</i> 3.5.92	Mark made known Peter's denial and how he wept about it bitterly (ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πικρῶς)
"	<i>De Theophania</i> 5.40	that Mark preached that Peter denied and wept bitterly over it (ἀκριβοῶς ἡλὲν κλαίον)
Asterius	<i>Commentarii in Psalmos</i> 19.30	the Lord turned and looked, Peter went out and wept bitterly (Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ὁ Πέτρος ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς)
Hilary of Poitiers	<i>Commentarius in Matthaeum</i> 32.4	wept bitterly (<i>amarissime flevit</i>); could not evade the weight of his guilt, had already been warned
"	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i> 52.12	that the denial was also a time for tears (<i>et ipsum illud fuit demutationis tempus et fletus</i>)
Cyril of Jerusalem	<i>Cathecheses ad illuminandos</i> 2.19	wept bitterly (ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς), shows repentance of the heart (τὴν μετάνοιαν τὴν ἐγκάρδιον παρίστησιν)
Epiphanius	<i>Ancoratus</i> 9.10	Jesus was a true man (ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον) in his weeping (κλαίειν) at Jesus' arrest
"	<i>Panarion</i> 59.7.6-7	those fallen away through persecution, if they accept full repentance, weeping before the Lord (κλαύσαντες ἐνώπιον κυρίου), the benefactor shows mercy
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>In sancta lumina Oratio</i> 26.17	a certain Peter did not weep bitterly (κλαίει πικρῶς) to cure his sin (θεραπεύσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν)
"	<i>In sancta lumina Oratio</i> 39.18	Peter accepted by Jesus, denial healed (ἐθεράπευσεν) by the threefold question and confession
"	<i>Christus Patiens</i> (192, 813; 194,828)	I absolve the sin of Peter as you ask (λύω δὲ Πέτρῳ σφάλμα, χρηζούσης σέθεν)
Ambrose	<i>Exameron</i> 5.24.88	Peter washed away his guilt, wept bitterly, he washed away his faults with his tears (<i>amarissime flevit ut lacrimis suis lavaret errorem</i>)

"	<i>Exameron 5.24.89</i>	call on Jesus to help us acknowledge our errors, to grant us the tears of Peter (<i>da quaeso lacrimas Petri</i>)
"	<i>Exameron 5.24.90</i>	a time of silence for tears
"	<i>Super Psalmos XII 37.37</i>	Peter as an example of sincere weeping that leads to conversion (<i>conversionem</i>)
"	<i>De apologia prophetae David 6.25</i>	Peter was granted pardon by his weeping (<i>si quia semel flevit Petrus ueniam reportavit</i>) Jesus' compassionate look compelled Peter to weep bitterly
"	<i>De paenitentia 2.10.92</i>	if we weep bitterly Christ will look at us and our guilt shall leave us (<i>Christus ad te respiciet, culpa discedet</i>)
"	<i>Explanatio Super Psalmos XII Psalm 45.15</i>	Christ looked at Peter, Peter wept, by his tears, he washed out his offense (<i>respexit eum Christus et Petrus flevit, quo proprium lavit errorem</i>)
"	<i>Explanatio Super Psalmos XII Psalm 43.41</i>	Peter wept and washed away the straw (<i>denique flevit et paleas suas lauit</i>), which refers to the chaff, and he was changed into good wheat
"	<i>Hymn 1 (149,16)</i>	the rock of the church himself washed away his guilt (<i>canente culpam diluit</i>)
"	<i>De virginitate 6.33</i>	Peter washed away his guilt with his tears (<i>istius lacrimis culpa lavatur</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae 67.7</i>	Peter began to weep to mend his wrong (<i>denique gallus cantavit et flere coepit, ut emendaret errorem</i>)
"	<i>Explanatio Super Psalmos XII 47.9</i>	Peter wept bitterly (<i>Petrum amarissime flentem</i>) because of his mistake, was corrected by grace
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 4.38</i>	Peter was tempted, so that he denied; he denied, so that he wept (<i>Petrus temptatus est ut negaret, negavit ut fleret</i>)
"	<i>De excessu fratris 2.27</i>	we might yet overcome the sting of the temptation with tears of patience (<i>patientiae lacrimis</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.52</i>	Ambrose does not reproach Peter for denying, but praises his weeping (<i>ita non reprehendo quod negavit, laudo quod flevit</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.87</i>	Peter did not make excuses for himself, he thought about the denial, he accused his own sin, wept, and was restored to innocence
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.88</i>	tears wash away the offense that is shameful to confess aloud (<i>lavit lacrimae delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.89</i>	good are tears that purge guilt (<i>bonae lacrimae, quae lavant culpam</i> ; Look, Lord Jesus, so that we may know how to weep for our sin (<i>deflare peccatum</i>))
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.90</i>	Peter wept so that he could purge his offense with tears (<i>flevit ut lacrimis suum posset lavare delictum</i>); you should wash away your guilt with tears
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.92</i>	ask the apostle what he was thinking when he wept and what profit his tears brought (<i>doce nos quid tibi profuerint lacrimae tuae</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 10.93</i>	Peter had tears which he shed out of the abundance of his love but [Judas] the traitor had no weeping with which to wash away his guilt (<i>non habebat proditor fletus, quibus culpam ablueret</i>)

Ambrosiaster	<i>Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti</i> 102.4	the Saviour did not deny Peter who had denied him, in penitence Peter wept bitterly for his mistake (<i>erratum suum amarissime flevit</i>), knew he would be pardoned
"	<i>Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti</i> 102.5	The tears and complaints of repentance bring the sinner forgiveness and change of life
John Chrysostom	<i>De paenitentia</i> 1.25	Peter who denied Christ three times but by shedding tears erased everything (καὶ δακρύσας ἀπῆλειπεν ἅπαντα)
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 1.24	had Judas lived, even he would have been saved if he repented when he recognised that he had sinned, and even shed tears for Jesus
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 3.20	Peter performed a second baptism (δεύτερον βάπτισμα) with the tears from his eyes
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 3.21	it was not a small accusation to deny his Master yet the tears (τὰ δάκρυα) utterly removed the sin
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 3.23	Let us weep for our sin, let us lament for our lawlessness (κλαύσωμεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, θρηνήσωμεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ)
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 5.5	Peter lapsed, restored the same night, cried bitterly
"	<i>Adversus Iudaeos</i> 8.3.4	before anyone accused Peter he told of his error and wept bitterly (καὶ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς)
"	<i>In epistulam ad Hebraeos</i> 31.4	Peter's repentant tears compared to Esau's tears that were not of repentance
Jerome	<i>Epistulae</i> 122.1	Peter washed his triple denial with bitter tears (<i>Petrus trinam negationem amaritudine abluit lacrimarum</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 38.1	weeping bitterly, Peter may hear the soothing words: "Feed my sheep."
Augustine	<i>De consensu evangelistarum</i> III 6.26	Jesus' merciful look moved Peter to penitence and salutary weeping (<i>adque ita misericorditer domino respiciente paeniteret eum et salubriter flere</i>)
"	<i>Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate</i> 22.82	the Lord looked at Peter so that he might weep bitterly (<i>et ut Petrus amare fleret, praemisit evangelista et ait: Respexit eum dominus</i>)
"	<i>De gratia Christi et de peccato originali</i> I 45.49	the Lord's mercy touched Peter's heart, stirred up a love in the interior human to the point of exterior tears (<i>exteriores lacrimas</i>)
"	<i>De correptione et gratia</i> 9.24	when the Lord turned his face to Peter, he washed away his guilt with tears (<i>et culpam lacrymis diluit</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 140.14.36	Peter was worn down with salutary sorrow when he began to weep (<i>qui tristitia salubri contabescunt sicut idem ipse petrus, cum amare flevit</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 265.2	who would tolerate the idea that the first of the apostles should be counted among such penitents (<i>paenitentes</i>)? Peter repented over denying Christ, as his tears demonstrate, he wept bitterly
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 284.6	the Redeemer turned around, Peter was washed clean by his own tears (<i>et ecce lacrymis suis ablutus</i>)
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 285.3	Peter's weeping wipes away what his fear had smudged him with (<i>fletus tergit quod timor infecerat</i>),

		if Peter had not been looked round at, he would not have wept (<i>nisi respectus, non fleret</i>)
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 286.2	by denying he perished, by weeping he rose again (<i>negando periit, flendo resurrexit</i>)
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 295.3	Peter represents the church's strength and courage because he followed the Lord to his Passion, but he also went outside to confess (<i>exiit foras, hoc est confiteri</i>) and weep bitterly
"	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> 138.21	it required God's gaze upon Peter to evoke his weeping (<i>fletus ille de respectione dei fuit</i>)
"	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> 140.24	if what Peter did was no sin, why did he weep (<i>si nihil peccauit, quare fleuit</i>)? We should take Peter's tears as evidence as we shall find no more reliable witnesses concerning him than his tears—he wept bitterly
Cyril of Alexandria	<i>Sermon</i> 149	Peter was condemned by his own conscience, his tears upon his repentance, for a grievous sin, did not defer his repentance, continued to be a true disciple.

Appendix C: Ancient References in Chapter 4 (primarily on Luke 7:13 and 8:52)

Early Author	Work	Content
Commodian	<i>Instructionum libri ii</i> 2.28.10	the action of grieving, lamenting, and weeping “lessens” the Christian into a Gentile
Basil of Caesarea	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 6	neither men nor women should be permitted too much lamentation and mourning (οὔτε οὖν γυναιξιν, οὔτε ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτέτραπται τὸ φιλοπενθὲς καὶ πολὺδάκρυ), show moderate distress in their affliction, with only a few tears (μικρὸν τι δάκρυον ἀποστάξαι), shed quietly and without moaning
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>Orationes</i> 8.22-23	sacrilegious to mourn in the knowledge of the eternal glory and splendour that awaits her
Gregory of Nyssa	<i>De opificio hominis</i> 25.3	the widow at Nain as undergoing a real lamentation (θρήνος ἀντικρύς)
"	<i>De opificio hominis</i> 25.3	the weight of her misfortune, tragedy of her suffering, and great grief, as a heart consumed by flame (οἶονεῖ πυρὶ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἐγκαταφλέγεσθαι)
"	<i>De opificio hominis</i> 25.3	the miracle wrought by the Lord is greater than (κυρίου τὸ μὲν θαῦμα μεῖζον) the devastation
"	<i>In Funere Pulcheriae</i> <i>Oratio</i>	tears were the only pleasure for people (ἦν ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δάκρυον)
"	<i>De infantibus</i> <i>praemature abreptis</i>	the death of an infant protects the infant from the sin, evil, and temptations of this world
Ambrose	<i>De excessu fratris</i> <i>Satyri</i> 1.29	Christ is moved to mercy seeing you weeping (<i>Christum misericordia motum cum vos flentes videret</i>)
"	<i>De excessu fratris</i> <i>Satyri</i> 2.3	What grief is there which the grace of the Resurrection does not console?
"	<i>De excessu fratris</i> <i>Satyri</i> 2.81	Jesus, moved by the tears of a widowed mother (<i>fletu viduae matris inflexus</i>), raises the young man when he came and touched the bier
"	<i>De excessu fratris</i> <i>Satyri</i> 2.82	the crowds weeping (<i>flebant turbae</i>) and flute-players piping because of the conviction that the girl is dead
"	<i>De excessu fratris</i> <i>Satyri</i> 2.83	purchased the resurrection of another by their tears (<i>illi resurrectionem alienam suis lacrimis redemerunt</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii</i> <i>secundum Lucam</i> 6.62	those who do not believe in the resurrection weep (<i>fleant igitur mortuos suos qui putant mortuos</i>) since they believe their loved one is dead
"	<i>Expositio evangelii</i> <i>secundum Lucam</i> 5.89	the widow has by her tears merited the resurrection of her only young son (<i>quae resurrectionem unici adolescentis filii sui lacrimis meruerit inpetrare</i>)
"	<i>Expositio evangelii</i> <i>secundum Lucam</i> 5.92	if their sins are so heinous that not even their tears can wash them away, they should let the Mother Church weep for them (<i>fleat pro te mater ecclesiae</i>)
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.10.92	the Church weeps for sinners and to wash away guilt with her tears (<i>culpam tuam lacrimis lavet</i>)
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.10.92	Jesus raised the widow's son because he was moved by her tears and many were weeping for her (<i>quia plurimi pro ea flebant, filium eius resuscitavit</i>)

"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 1.5.22	the Lord waits for our tears (<i>expectat lacrimas nostras</i>) to restore us from sin, just as he had pity on the tears of the widow and raised her son
"	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaum</i> 185	those who have hope in Christ because of the resurrection have not died but are sleeping
John Chrysostom	<i>In filium viduae</i>	denounces dirges as blasphemies (βλασφήμους λόγους)
"	<i>In Joannem Homiliae</i>	hiring mourners is a female disease
"	<i>Homiliae XXXIV in Epistolam ad Hebros</i> 2.4	dirges are pagan customs that were fatal to the Church (ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἀνεχόμεθα ἔθνη τοιαῦτα ὀλέθρια τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπείσαγαγεῖν)
Augustine	<i>Confessionum</i> 6.1.1	Augustine's mother weeping over him as over a dead man but one who could still be raised to life again (<i>me tamquam mortuum sed resuscitandum tibi flebat</i>)
"	<i>Confessionum</i> 9.12.29	there flowed a great sadness into my heart, and it was passing into tears, (<i>et confluebat in praecordia mea maestitudo ingens et transfluebat in lacrimas</i>)
"	<i>Confessionum</i> 9.12.31	restrained the flow of my grief (<i>constringebam fluxum maeroris</i>), I knew what I repressed in my heart (<i>sed ego sciebam, quid corde premerem</i>)
"	<i>Confessionum</i> 9.12.32	neither in their prayers did I shed tears, I most sad in secret all the day (<i>nec in eis ergo precibus fleui, sed toto die graviter in occulto maestus eram</i>)
"	<i>Confessionum</i> 9.12.33	I set free the tears which before I repressed (<i>et dimisi lacrimas, quas continebam</i>)
"	<i>Confessionum</i> 9.13.34	tears as a sin and a sign of too much worldly affection
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 98.4	the Lord is moved with pity because the widowed mother now deprived of her only son was weeping
"	<i>In Johannis evangelium tractatus</i> 49.17	the Jews thought that Mary wept at the tomb to seek in her weeping the solace of her grief (<i>ut doloris sui solatium lacrymis quaerere</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 263.3	Paul did not forbid us to be sad but forbade us to be sad like the pagans who do not have hope
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 172.1	when someone we love dies we are bound to grieve (<i>contristat in nobis ipsius dilectionis affectum</i>)
"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 173.2	to not have any grief is to become inhuman (<i>non dolendo fit inhumanum</i>)
Plato	<i>Respublica</i> 3.395C-E	lamenting and mourning are effeminate and weak
Aristotle	<i>Ethica nicomachea</i>	lamenting and mourning are effeminate and weak
Cicero	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> 251 (12.14.3)	but my sorrow is stronger than any consolation (<i>sed omnem consolationem vincit dolor</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> 251 (12.15.1)	I am interrupted by fits of weeping (<i>eum tamen interpellat fletus</i>), against which I struggle
"	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i> 249 (4.6.1)	overwhelmed and unable to resist the grief (<i>sed opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i> 249 (4.6.2)	neither public nor private life can comfort the distress (<i>nec eum dolorem quem e re publica capio domus iam consolari potest nec domesticum res publica</i>)
"	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i> 4.14	fools are subject to distress and distress is a newly formed belief of present evil

"	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i> 2.24	what is more disgraceful for a man than womanish weeping (<i>quid est enim fletu muliebri viro turpius</i>)?
Seneca	<i>De Consolatione ad Helviam</i> 2.5	Seneca lost his son less than twenty days before he was sent into exile himself
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.6	countless cases of men have without tears (<i>sine lacrimis</i>) buried sons in the prime of manhood
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.2-3	the greatest blow to a man is not the death of his son, but a friend
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.2-3	Marullus behaves like a woman in the way he handles his son's death (<i>molliter tu fers mortem filii</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.12-13	a dead child is better off because he leaves the potential dangers of this world before he is wearied out, and his father will have less to worry about
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.15	the son was only a boy who was as yet better known to his nurse than to his father!
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.15-16	not to be hard-hearted (<i>duritiam</i>), keep face unmoved at the funeral (<i>funere ipso rigere vultum volo</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.15-16	weep as emotion floods our eyes, but not as much as mere imitation shall demand (<i>fluat, quantum adfectus eiecerit, non quantum poscet imitation</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.18	nothing is more foolish than to court a reputation for sadness and to sanction tears (<i>stultius vero nihil est quam famam captare tristitiae et lacrimas adprobare</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.18	people call a man who collapses and clings to his dead as womanish and weak (<i>effeminatum ait et enervem</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.18-19	allows tears that naturally fall out at grief and when reminiscing sweet memories of the deceased
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 99.20-21	check or pour forth your tears, let them flow naturally (<i>eant sua sponte</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 63.1	weep and grieve in moderation
"	<i>Epistulae</i> 63.13	women are limited to mourn for one year but there is no legislation for men because it is not honourable for men to mourn
Epictetus	<i>Discourses</i> 3.24.84-85	when kissing a child, brother, or friend act as though it were something like a jar or a crystal goblet
"	<i>Discourses</i> 3.24.88	whisper to yourself, at the very moment you are kissing your child, and say, "Tomorrow you will die"?
Dio Cassius	<i>Roman History</i> 56.43.1	the mourning required by law was observed only for a few days by the men, but a whole year by the women

Appendix D: Ancient References in Chapter 5 (primarily on Luke 19:41 and 23:28)

Early Author	Work	Content
Irenaeus	<i>Adversus Haereses</i> 3.22.2	if Jesus had taken nothing of Mary he would not have wept (οὐδ' ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν) over Lazarus
Hippolytus	<i>In Elcanam et Annam</i>	Jesus was incarnate (ἐν ᾧ ἕνσαρκος παρῆν), saw the city, wept over it (ιδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ)
"	<i>Aus Dem Kommentar zu Evangelium des Johannes und der Auferweckung des Lazarus</i> 4:171-2	Jesus wanted it to be clear that he who is God is also something else; Jesus showed himself actually as man also by the fact that he wept (<i>aber er zeigte sich durchaus und wirklich als Menschen (auch) dadurch, dass er weinte</i>)
"	<i>Aus Dem Kommentar zu Evangelium des Johannes und der Auferweckung des Lazarus</i> 4:171-2	he wept but did not mourn (ἐδάκρυσεν οὐχ ἐπένθησεν), avoiding absolute tearlessness as harsh and inhuman... He wept, assigning due measure to his sympathy (τάξιν δὲ ἐπιτιθεις τῇ συμπαθείᾳ ἐδάκρυσεν)
"	<i>In Canticum canticorum</i> 13.2	Christ wept for the people (τὸν λαὸν ἐδάκρυσεν), he might be able to wash them (ἵνα ἀπολοῦσαι δυνηθῇ)
"	<i>In Daniele</i> 1.25.6	Susannah through her tears (δακρύων) attracted the Word from heaven who also through tears (διὰ δακρύων) was destined to raise the dead Lazarus
"	<i>Arabische Fragmente zum Pentateuch</i>	Tamar's sorrow and weeping (Gen 38:6-10) likened to the women and holy community mourning and weeping for Christ on his way to Calvary (Luke 23:27)
Origen	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Ezechielem</i>	on Ezek 7:27 "the king will mourn," Origen confirms that the Saviour did indeed weep over Jerusalem (εἶγε ἔκλαυσεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ)
"	<i>Homiliae in Lucam</i> 38.1-2	We must contemplate Jesus' weeping, his weeping exhibits all the Beatitudes in himself
"	<i>Homiliae in Lucam</i> 38.3	we are the Jerusalem that is wept over (<i>nos enim sumus Hierusalem, quae defletur</i>)
"	<i>Homiliae in Lucam</i> 38.4	this Jerusalem of ours is the city that Jesus wept over (<i>haec est ergo, quae defletur, Hierusalem</i>)
"	<i>Homiliae in Jeremiam</i> 20.6.1	the blessed action of weeping is met with the opposite promise of laughter
"	<i>Homiliae in Jeremiam</i> 14.6.1	the sound of Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem is the woe (κλαίοντος δὲ φωνή ἐστι τὸ οἶμος)
"	<i>Homiliae in Leviticum</i> 7.2.2	does he not grieve about our errors? This is he who wept over Jerusalem (<i>qui flevit super Ierusalem</i>)
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 76	how sinful and desolate Jerusalem's treatment toward Jesus, necessary for Jerusalem not to exist thereafter
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 12.43	the saints who were asleep go off into the truly holy city, not the Jerusalem wept for by Jesus
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 16.15	heavenly Zion that receives Jesus versus earthly Zion that crucifies Jesus who weeps over the city
"	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i> 16.21	if Jesus wept reasonably over Jerusalem, he will more reasonably weep over the church
"	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Joannem</i> 83	Jesus sheds tears (δακρύει δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς) when his dear friend is made (alive) in the grave

Pseudo-Cyprian	<i>Ad Turasium</i> (276,13)	Jesus is not grieving for Lazarus but is weeping because Lazarus is forced back into a hostile world
Eusebius	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> 3.7.4-5	Jesus foresaw these events and wept over them and wailed (ἐπιδακρύσαντός τε καὶ ἀποκλαυσαμένου)
"	<i>Commentarii in Isaiam</i> 2.48	Jerusalem characterised by destruction and wretchedness, which is why the Saviour wept aloud for them (διὸ καὶ ἀπεκλάυσατο αὐτοὺς ὁ σωτὴρ)
"	<i>Commentarii in Isaiam</i> 2.4	even the messengers of peace wept bitterly (πικρῶς ἔκλαυσαν) as they deeply lament their destruction
"	<i>Commentaria in Psalmos</i> (1061, A10)	Jesus exhausted his own eyes with tears (καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατεπόνει δάκρυσι), lamenting the destruction of those who would not accept him
"	<i>Commentaria in Psalmos</i> (1337, C4)	Jesus was afflicted because of the lawlessness he saw so he spoke to Jerusalem and wailed (κλαίων) over it
"	<i>Theophania</i> 4.19	Jesus had pity upon the souls of its inhabitants and the prospect of their destruction
Pseudo-Clementine Homilies	<i>Homiliae</i> 3.19.3	Jesus loved even those who hated Him, wept over the unbelieving (ἔκλαιε τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας)
Epiphanius	<i>Ancoratus</i> 38.5	Jesus crying for the hardness of men
"	<i>Panarion Christentum</i> 3.2	Jesus' true humanity is evidenced in Jesus' hunger and thirst, weeping (κλαυθμῶ) and discouragement, tears (δάκρυσί) and sleep
"	<i>Panarion</i> 77.26.7	weeping (κλαυθμός) proves Jesus' true nature
"	<i>Ancoratus</i> 36.4	on Jesus' incarnation, Epiphanius includes the point that Jesus wept (ἔκλαυσε)
"	<i>Ancoratus</i> 31.4	Jesus' weeping proves that Jesus was really a man
"	<i>Ancoratus</i> 33.7	that Jesus wept is used to shame the Manicheans who think Jesus only appeared in the body
Gregory of Nazianzus	<i>Orationes</i> 4.78	Jesus treats his insulters with meekness and kindness, he weeps on account of those who put him on the cross (τῶν σταυρούντων αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι δάκρυον)
"	<i>Orationes</i> 37.2	Jesus weeps that he may make tears blessed
Gregory of Nyssa	<i>De opificio hominis</i> 25.3	the women should reserve their wailing and lamentation for the true time for tears (εἰς τὸν ἀληθῆ τῶν δακρύων καιρὸν) when the city is besieged
Amphilochius	<i>Oratio in Lazarum quadriduanum</i> 4	Jesus' weeping is explained in terms of the Jews' suspicion (ὑφοψία)
Basil of Caesarea	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 3	mourners (τοὺς πενθοῦντας) and weepers (τοὺς κλαίοντας) are blessed (μακαρίζει)
"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 4	tears as coming forth when our breath (or spirit, πνεῦμα) is compressed around the heart
"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 4	mourn for the sinners and make amends with their tears (ἐπανορθούμενοι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν δακρύων)
"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 4	tears may become the seed and loan of eternal joy
"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 5	Jesus shows his communion with human nature (κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ἐπεδείξατο)
"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 5	emotions are to be contained: <i>modos ac fines quibus necessarij animae affectus contineantur, tibi reliquisse</i>

"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 5	a kind of pleasure does come to the bereaved during mourning... secretly emptied through weeping
"	<i>De gratiarum actione</i> 6	not allowed to indulge in mourning or tear profusely... only shed little tears (μικρόν τι δάκρυον ἀποστάξαι)
"	<i>Regulae morales</i> 52.1	it is not necessary to behave indifferently towards sinners but be moved with sadness, mourn for them
"	<i>Regulae morales</i> 67.1	Jesus does not want the daughters of Jerusalem to weep for him because he does not want them to grieve like those who have no hope in the resurrection
"	<i>In martyrem Julittam</i> 7	we ought to "weep" with them not by shedding tears but by giving thanks for their sorrow
"	<i>In martyrem Julittam</i> 7	mourn and lament with those who out of repentance shed tears (ἐκ μετανοίας ἀφιέῃσι δάκρυον)
"	<i>In Gordium martyrem</i> 7	weep over the enemies of God (κλαύσατε ἐπὶ τοὺς θεομάχους)
Athanasius	<i>Orationes contra Arianos</i> 3.27	ask how it is possible for God to sleep and weep like man (ὥς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κλαίων), these are human attributes which the Saviour took on
"	<i>Orationes contra Arianos</i> 3.34	Christ suffered not in his Godhead but suffered for us in the flesh
"	<i>Orationes contra Arianos</i> 3.54-55	he showed his body was passible by his permitting it to weep and hunger (κλαίειν καὶ πεινᾶν)
"	<i>Orationes contra Arianos</i> 3.58	Jesus was troubled and wept in the flesh
"	<i>De sententia Dionysii</i> 9.4	the Lord exhibits his human character in weeping, it is God who raises up Lazarus
"	<i>Epistula festalis</i> 10.4c	our Lord and Saviour, though being pursued by the Pharisees, wept over their downfall
"	<i>Epistulae festalis</i> 11.14	Jesus restrains the women from weeping (<i>subsequentes feminas flentesque objurgabat</i>) to show that the Lord's death is not of sorrow but of joy
Hilary of Poitiers	<i>De Trinitate</i> 10.55	God the Word cannot grieve, nor can the Spirit weep, yet we cannot doubt that Jesus Christ truly wept
"	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i> 20.8	where the Lord himself wept over the impiety of Jerusalem (<i>impietatem Hierusalem inlacrimasse</i>)
"	<i>De Trinitate</i> 10.56	Jesus' tears were no less real (<i>pari quoque lacrimarum veritate et Lazarus fletus est</i>); he finds no necessity for tears, yet Jesus wept
"	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i> 68.12	Jesus weeping not for Lazarus but for the unbelief of the human race
"	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i> 68.12	Jesus' tears taking on the dimension of a parable to testify to his love for Lazarus
"	<i>De Trinitate</i> 10.56	it is the human Jesus who weeps for Lazarus
Ambrose	<i>De fide ad Gratianum</i> 2.7.55	Jesus weeps for Lazarus, he is moved by the tears of a loving sister (<i>piae sororis lacrimis commovetur</i>),
"	<i>De excessu fratris Satyri</i> 1.10	Jesus wept for all in weeping for one (<i>ille in uno lacrimavit omnes</i>)
"	<i>De fide ad Gratianum</i> 2.11.94-95	Jesus wept so that man may not weep long (<i>ille flevit, ne tu, homo, diu fleres</i>), his weeping cleanses us (<i>lacrimae illae nos lavant, fletus illi nos abluunt</i>)

"	<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam</i> 7.182	the bitterness and cruelty of the cross gave rise to Jesus' tears, and that its cruelty should move us to keener love (<i>acrior ad conmovendum</i>)
"	<i>De Ioseph</i> 10.59	Jesus wept when he raised Lazarus so that he might first wash away the sins of the dead man by his tears (<i>ut prius lacrimis suis mortui delicta lavaret</i>)
"	<i>Expositio de Psalmo CXVIII</i> 14.43	he who was to wipe away all tears (<i>ablaturus enim omnes lacrimas</i>) by the grace of his cross showed in his own passion such outstanding blessedness that no one wept except those who did not trust in Christ's aid
"	<i>De incarnationis demonicae sacramento</i> 7.70	Christ does not wish that the women fear for him nor weep for Him (<i>non vult pro se flere nos dominus</i>) because God is Jesus' salvation and protector
"	<i>De incarnationis demonicae sacramento</i> 7.71	God in the flesh has assumed the perfection of human nature (<i>deus in carne perfectionem naturae adsumpsi humanae</i>), the flesh can do nothing against him
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.6.49	Jerusalem would not weep itself, obtain forgiveness through the tears of the Lord (<i>domini lacrimis</i>)
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.6.50	why people blush to weep for sins when God commanded the prophets to weep for the people
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.6.51	a call to repentance with "Blessed are ye that weep now, for you shall laugh"
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.9.88	women who live ungodly lives ought to be weeping for themselves (<i>quae se ipsas flere debebant</i>)
"	<i>De paenitentia</i> 2.7.54	faithful servants (like Martha) and the church (Mary) to weep intercessory tears on behalf of sinners
John Chrysostom	<i>Expositiones in psalmos</i> 140	when due to inflict punishment on Jerusalem, Christ weeps at its destruction (Χριστὸς δακρύει)
"	<i>Quod regulares feminae viris cohabitare non debeant</i>	Jesus their bridegroom who wept (ἐδάκρυσεν) when he saw Jerusalem brought down to utter ruin and no longer able to restore herself from her weakness
"	<i>In Acta apostolorum homiliae</i> 21.5	to mourn and bewail a sinner is to follow after the pattern of the Lord
"	<i>In Johannem homiliae</i> 64.4	Christ, after exhorting those in Jerusalem, wept at their hardness (ἐδάκρυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν πώρωσιν)
"	<i>In epistulam ad Hebraeos homiliae</i> 23.6	when one has entangled himself in evil, of his own choice, he is not worthy of tears, but of wailings, or rather of mourning
"	<i>In Johannem homiliae</i> 68.2	God unwillingly punishes us for our sins, like Christ who wept (δακρύει) over the destruction of Jerusalem
"	<i>In epistulam ad Hebraeos homiliae</i> 15.8	when Jesus looked on Jerusalem, he wept (ἐδάκρυσεν), when he was about to raise Lazarus, he wept (ἐκλαυσε)
"	<i>In Matthaeum homiliae</i> 6.8	weeping like Jesus is a sign of being a follower of God: (ἂν οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς δακρύῃς)
"	<i>In epistulam ad Colossenses homiliae</i> 12	the daughters of Jerusalem are blessed because it is through those tears that they saw Christ (τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, δι' ὧν εἶδον τὸν Χριστόν)

"	<i>In epistulam ad Colossenses homiliae 12</i>	we should weep when we see evil in our children (δακρύνοντες ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἐν κακοῖς ὄντας)
"	<i>In epistulam ad Colossenses homiliae 12</i>	nothing so wipes out sins as tears (οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀποσμήχει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὡς δάκρυα)
"	<i>In Matthaum homiliae 78.4</i>	if we should weep, we should weep calmly as Jesus did (κἂν κλαίῃς δάκρυσον ἡρέμα ὡς αὐτός)
"	<i>In Matthaum homiliae 66.2</i>	Jesus as setting measures of sorrow by weeping moderately (δακρύνει ἡρέμα)
"	<i>De Lazaro conciones 5</i>	weep as the Lord wept for Lazarus, a rule and limit for pain that is not to be transgressed
"	<i>In Johannem homiliae 62.4</i>	weep, but gently (δάκρυσον ἀλλ' ἡρέμα)
"	<i>In Johannem homiliae 63.1-2</i>	Jesus is again portrayed as crying in silence (δακρύνει ἡρέμα), but this time in contrast to Mary whose weeping is described as κλαῦσαι.
"	<i>In Johannem homiliae 63.1-2</i>	Jesus weeps to prove that he truly took on human nature
Jerome	<i>Epistulae 39.1</i>	Paula's weeping is not the same as Jesus' weeping for the miserable fate of Jerusalem
"	<i>Epistulae 39.2</i>	Jesus wept for Lazarus because he loved him (<i>flevit Iesus Lazarum, quia amabat eum</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae 39.1</i>	my eyes fill with tears (<i>lacrimis ora conplentur</i>)... my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth
"	<i>Epistulae 39.3</i>	Paula should not grieve like those who have no hope
"	<i>Epistulae 39.5</i>	the Christian and the recluse should not weep
"	<i>Epistulae 39.6</i>	detestable tears, sacrilegious tears, unbelieving tears (<i>detestandae sunt istae lacrimae plenae sacrilegio, incredulitate plenissimae</i>) know no limits
"	<i>In Hieremiam prophetam libri VI 1.83.2</i>	grieve over the brokenness of his people as the Saviour mourned over the death of Lazarus and wept in Jerusalem (<i>planxit hierusalem</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae 122.1</i>	Jesus wept (<i>flevit</i>) over Jerusalem because it had not repented (<i>non egisset paenitentiam</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae 122.1</i>	tears will melt the hard hearts of sinners till they too weep (<i>ut dura corda peccantium vestris lacrimis provocetis ad fletum</i>)
"	<i>Epistulae 46.5</i>	Jesus' wept because he loved Jerusalem and Lazarus (<i>quia amabat illum</i>)
Augustine	<i>In Johannis evangelium tractatus 49.19</i>	Christ wept, let man weep for himself, for why did Christ weep, but to teach man to weep (<i>flevit christus, flet se homo, quare enim flevit christus, nisi quia flere hominem docuit</i>)?
"	<i>In Johannis evangelium tractatus 49.21</i>	Jesus calling sinners to repentance out of love
"	<i>In Johannis evangelium tractatus 49.24</i>	Jesus groaned, wept, and cried with a loud voice (<i>fremuit, lacrymavit, voce magna clamavit</i>) to demonstrate the difficulty of raising one who lies crushed under the heavy burden of a habit of sinning

"	<i>Sermones ad populum</i> 139A	Jesus weeps to show he goes to great lengths to bring sinners (represented by Lazarus) to repentance
"	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> 40.12	Jesus is like the green wood that will not be consumed by burning thorns because the sap in the wood resists the flame, so, when the women were lamenting over him, he was able to say <i>nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete</i>
"	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> 68.5	Jesus could not find anyone to grieve for the same reason that Jesus was grieving

Appendix E: Early Christian Art of Peter and the Cock (Chapter 3)



Figure 1. St Cyriaca Catacomb, Rome (second-half 4th century)

Image taken from: Wilpert, Josef. 1903. *Die Malereien Der Katakomben Roms*, 242. Freiburg Im Breisgau. Rome: Herdersche Verlagshandlung; Druckerei Der Unione Cooperativa Editrice 2.

Dating information in Callisen, S. A. 1939. "The Iconography of the Cock on the Column." *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 2: 165 n.25.



Figure 2. Catacomb of St. Commodilla, Rome (mid-4th century)

Image and information taken from:

<https://www.akg-images.co.uk/archive/Denial-of-Peter-2UMDHUM2E8H5.html>



Figure 3. **Church of Santa Sabina Doors, Rome** (AD 422-40)

Image found in: <http://www.rome101.com/Christian/Sabina/>

More information in Sheckler, Allyson Everingham and Mary Joan Winn Leith, 2010. "The Crucifixion Conundrum and the Santa Sabina Doors." *The Harvard Theological Review* 103, no. 1: 67-88; dating information on 67-68.



Figure 4. **Maskell Ivories at the British Museum** (AD 430-40)

Image and information taken from: Foletti, Ivan. 2017. "The British Museum Casket with Scenes of the Passion: The Easter Liturgy and the Apse of St. John Lateran in Rome." In *The Fifth Century in Rome: Art, Liturgy, Patronage*. *Studia Artium Medievalium Brunensia* 4, 152. Edited by Manuela Gianandrea, Ivan Foletti, Sible De Blaauw, Olof Brandt, Zuzana Frantová, and Dale Kinney. Roma: Viella.



Figure 5. **Tree Sarcophagus, Rome** at the Louvre, Paris (4th century)

Image taken from: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/pelegirino/1367008576/in/set-72157601944678916/>



Figure 6. **Sarcophagus, Quarto Miglio, Rome**. Vatican inv. 31495 (c. AD 310-20)

Image and information taken from:

<https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-pio-cristiano/sarcofagi-a-strigilature/sarcofago-con-predizione-della-negazione-di-pietro.html>

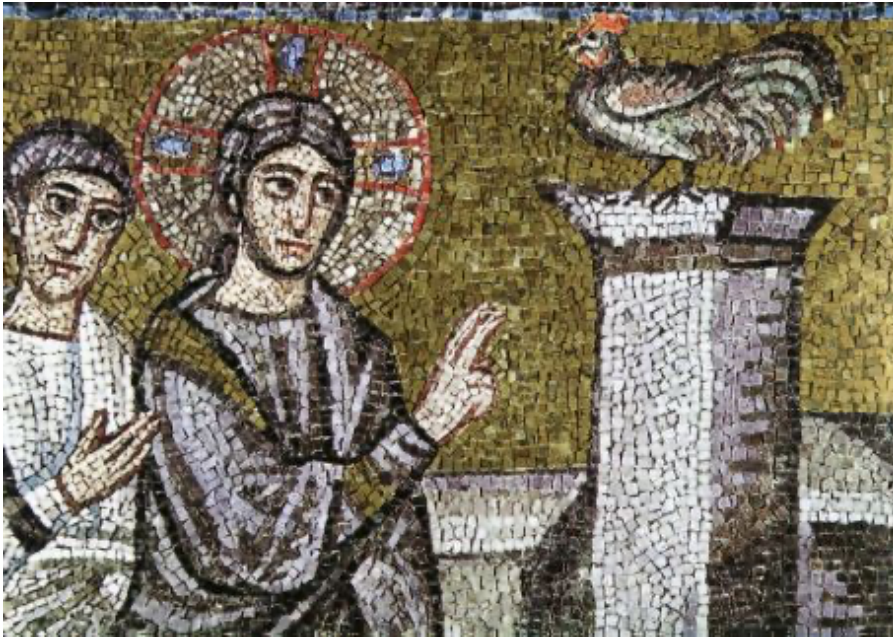


Figure 7. **Mosaic in Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo**, Ravenna, Italy (c. AD 500-26)

Image taken from: <https://www.ack-images.co.uk/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2UMESQJAQXGUFB#/SearchResult&VBID=2UMESQJAQXGUFB&POPUPPN=7&POPUPID=2UMDHUHD0JBW>

Dating information from Foletti 2017, 156.



Figure 8. **Brescia Casket, Milan** at Brescia, Museo di Santa Giulia (c. AD 370-80)

Image and information taken from: Foletti 2017, 156.



Figure 9. **Sarcophagus Ospedale S. Spirito, Rome**

Image taken from:

Dresken-Weiland, Jutta. 2020. "The Role of Peter in Early Christian Art: Images from the 4th to the 6th Century." in *The Early Reception and Appropriation of the Apostle Peter (60-800 CE): The Anchors of the Fisherman*, 122. Edited by Roald Dijkstra. Leiden: Brill.

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