

SUE ANN MAK

# Weeping and Tears in Luke's Gospel Narratives

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe  
637*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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# Weeping and Tears in Luke's Gospel Narratives

Between Ancient and Modern  
Commentators

Mohr Siebeck

SUE ANN MAK, born 1984; 2021 M.A. in New Testament studies from Oxford University; 2024 D. Phil in New Testament studies from Oxford University; training for ordination with the British Methodist Church at The Queen's Foundation, Birmingham.  
orcid.org/0009-0008-3994-2587

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[www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com), [info@mohrsiebeck.com](mailto:info@mohrsiebeck.com)

## Preface

This monograph on weeping and tears is an edited version of the doctoral dissertation I defended at the University of Oxford in July 2024. The journey from researching and writing, to submission and defence, and now to publication has thankfully produced more tears of gratitude than of sorrow.

I first thank my supervisor, Markus Bockmuehl, for patiently guiding me from the early days of my interest in the topic to the point of completion of the doctoral dissertation, for careful reading of and exacting remarks on countless drafts, and for his conscientious advice at every juncture of my academic journey. I am grateful to my examiners, Rebekah Eklund and Jennifer Strawbridge – their generous and astute feedback has significantly improved the project and has sparked new pertinent ideas. Also, to David Downs, Mary Marshall, Neil Martin, and Andrew Mein who at various stages offered comments that have sharpened the research question and focus. My doctoral thesis was greatly enhanced by conversations with Alex Muir, Jeremiah Coogan, Jonathan Zecher, Katherine Hockey, Kylie Crabbe, and Paul Foster. I am grateful to friends who generously offered their time to proofread the whole or parts of this project. Alex Muir, Ann Ang, Erica Ridderman, Gyni Zatsch, Hwa Yue-Yi, James Garnett, Karen Keen, Kenny Lei, Melissa Tan, and Nigel Herbert have improved the quality of this work by offering feedback from their areas of expertise; any remaining errors and inadequacies are my own. I must also specially mention Jörg Frey, who played a key role in turning my dissertation into a monograph.

My studies at Oxford were originally facilitated through two Singaporean sponsoring institutions – Trinity Theological College and Bukit Panjang Methodist Church. Trinity gave me the opportunity to participate in an exchange program to Yale Divinity School, where the possibility of pursuing doctoral studies was first mooted.

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Crown Terrace Methodist Church taught me what real-life, persevering service to those in need looks like. Members of Aberdeen University's Divinity Department graciously welcomed me into their midst. I must include heartfelt gratitude to the wonderful community at The Queen's Foundation, Birmingham, and particularly to Principal Anne Hollinghurst, for showing unwavering love and support during an immigration crisis.

I wish to recognise the following friends who have faithfully stood by me through some of the most turbulent times – Georgina in Singapore; Vava in Hong Kong; Sally and Karen and Debbie and Erica in the US; and Jenn, Erin, Stacey, and Yue-Yi in Oxford. Their steadfast presence and life-giving words have sustained me. Mansfield College, Oxford, will always have my allegiance, not only for awarding me the Caird Scholarship, but also rendering help during a distressing season; a heartfelt thank you to Principal Helen Mountfield.

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Eastertide 2025

Mak Sue Ann

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## Abbreviations

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

<i>ANEG</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels</i> . Edited by H. D. Smith. 6 vols. London: SPCK, 1925–1929.
<i>BrillDAG-O</i>	<i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek Online</i> . Montanari, Franco. Edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
<i>BEEC-O</i>	<i>Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online</i> . Edited by David Hunter et al. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
<i>DECL</i>	<i>Dictionary of Early Christian Literature</i> . Edited by Döpp, Siegmund and Wilhelm Geerlings. Translated by Matthew O’Connell. New York: Crossroad, 2000.
<i>EAC</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity</i> . Edited by Angelo Di Berardino. 3 vols. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014.
<i>LD-O</i>	<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.
<i>NDT</i>	<i>New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic</i> . Edited by Martin Davie et al. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016.
<i>NHMS</i>	<i>Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies</i> . Edited by Jason D. Beduhn et al. 106 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1993–.
<i>WSA</i>	<i>Works of Saint Augustine (4<sup>th</sup> Release). Electronic Edition</i> . Edited by Boniface Ramsey. 50 vols. New York: New City Press, 1990–.

## Individual Authors and Works

Ambrose	
<i>Cat. Matt.</i>	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaëum</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Ep. ext.</i>	<i>Epistulae extra collectionem traditae</i>
Ambrosiaster	
<i>Quaestio.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti</i>

## Amphilochius

<i>Laz.</i>	<i>Oratio in Lazarum quadriduanum</i>
<i>Mulier.</i>	<i>Oratio in mulierem peccatricem</i>

## Asterius

<i>Comm. Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Psalmos</i>
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## Basil of Caesarea

<i>Gord.</i>	<i>In Gordium martyrem</i>
<i>Grat.</i>	<i>De gratiarum actione</i>
<i>Hom. Ps.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Psalmos</i>
<i>Julit.</i>	<i>In martyrem Julittam</i>
<i>Reg. mor.</i>	<i>Regulae morales</i>

## Clement of Rome

<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
-------------	-----------------

## Commodian

<i>Instruct.</i>	<i>Instructionum libri</i>
------------------	----------------------------

## Cyprian-Ps.

<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Ad Novatianum</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>De singularitate clericorum</i>
<i>Tur.</i>	<i>Ad Turasium</i>

## Cyril of Jerusalem

<i>Cath. Illum.</i>	<i>Cathecheses ad illuminandos</i>
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## Dio Cassius

<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Roman History</i>
-------------	----------------------

## Epictetus

<i>Disc.</i>	<i>Discourses</i>
--------------	-------------------

## Epiphanius

<i>Ancor.</i>	<i>Ancoratus</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panarion</i>

## Gregory of Nazianzus

<i>Chr. Pat.</i>	<i>Christus Patiens</i>
<i>Gorg. (Or.)</i>	<i>In laudem sororis Gorgoniae (Orat.)</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>

## Gregory of Nyssa

<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium</i>
<i>Con. Eun.</i>	<i>Contra Eunomium</i>

<i>Infant.</i>	<i>De infantibus praemature abreptis</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De Opificio hominis</i>
<i>Pulch. Or.</i>	<i>In Funere Pulcheriae Oratio</i>
<i>Ref. Eun.</i>	<i>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</i>
<i>Vit. Mac.</i>	<i>Vita sanctae Macrinae</i>

## Hilary of Poitiers

<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Matthaeum</i>
<i>Tract. Ps.</i>	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De Trinitate</i>

## Hippolytus

<i>Comm. Jo. Laz.</i>	<i>Aus Dem Kommentar zu Evangelium des Johannes und der Auferweckung des Lazarus</i>
<i>Pent.</i>	<i>Arabische Fragmente zum Pentateuch</i>

## Jerome

<i>C. Jo.</i>	<i>Contra Johannem</i>
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## John Chrysostom

<i>Bea. Phil.</i>	<i>De beato Philogonia</i>
<i>Fil. vid.</i>	<i>In filium viduae</i>
<i>Pat. (spurious)</i>	<i>De patientia sermo (spurious)</i>

## Justin Martyr

<i>Res.</i>	<i>On the Resurrection</i>
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## Livy

<i>Rom.</i>	<i>History of Rome</i>
-------------	------------------------

## Origen

<i>Cat. Ezech.</i>	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Ezechielem</i>
<i>Cat. Jo</i>	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Joannem</i>
<i>Cat. Lam.</i>	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Lamentationes</i>
<i>Cat. Luc.</i>	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Lucam</i>
<i>Cat. Matt.</i>	<i>Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaeum</i>

*Cat. Prov.* *Fragmenta e catenis in Proverbia*

<i>Scho. Luc.</i>	<i>Scholia in Lucam</i>
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## Polybius

<i>Hist.</i>	<i>The Histories</i>
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## Pseudo-Clementine Homilies

<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
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## 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.<sup>1</sup> Luke characterises Jesus as determined and in control throughout his Passion journey, expressing less emotion than in the other gospels.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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*.<sup>4</sup> 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 little discussed in Lukan studies. In this project, I hope to understand how the Lukan motif of weeping might be interpreted through a close analysis of these six narratives.

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> For Jesus' emotional control and other omissions in Luke's Passion narrative, see below Chapter 5, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> The relationship between Stoicism and the NT is discussed on p. 19 below.

<sup>4</sup> 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. 7 and again on p. 180.



I employ a method of inquiry that involves consulting different writers – each interpreting these narratives at different historical periods – to generate wide-ranging and markedly distinct views on Luke’s weeping narratives. As a general observation, modern 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. 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 how these driving questions should be approached, it is pertinent to first discuss the present state of research on emotions since weeping rightly belongs to this larger field of study.

## 1.1 Emotions and Weeping in New Testament Studies

In the last few decades, the study of emotions has been a burgeoning area of research in both the sciences<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> One

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<sup>5</sup> 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.”

<sup>6</sup> Sławkowski-Rode 2023.

<sup>7</sup> 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

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 classics,<sup>8</sup> which has done more research on weeping than biblical studies, there is “no systematic treatment of crying that covers the period from the eighth century BC to the fifth century AD.”<sup>9</sup>

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 neurophysiological processes as well as by cultural forces.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Whilst there is a degree of universality to weeping,<sup>12</sup> attitudes towards tears are inevitably shaped socio-culturally. The influential philosopher Martha Nussbaum also recognises that societal differences give rise to diverse emotional repertoires,<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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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.

<sup>8</sup> 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).

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

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

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> Rosenwein 2006, 15; Stearns and Stearns 1985.

In the realm of biblical studies, there has also been a relatively recent growth in the study of emotions.<sup>15</sup> 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.”<sup>16</sup> 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 Bible using cross-disciplinary approaches) arising from the SBL discussions was published.<sup>17</sup> In 2022, Nils Neumann and Anna-Lena Senk produced *Emotionen in der Bibel und ihrer Welt*.<sup>18</sup> The European Association of Biblical Studies has also established a unit called “Emotions and the Biblical World.” One EABS seminar session in 2024 was dedicated solely to presentations by contributors to the forthcoming T&T Clark Handbook of Bible and Emotion.<sup>19</sup>

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 there are articles on the physiology of tears in the OT<sup>20</sup> and lament literature from Qumran.<sup>21</sup> Recent years have seen publications ranging from laments and weeping in Jewish texts and the apocrypha<sup>22</sup> to maternal grief and the weeping of David, Rachel, and others in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> These examples illustrate that what was once deemed weak and womanly – thus seen as incompatible to the analytical, ob-

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

<sup>16</sup> Mirguet and Kurek-Chomycz 2016, 435.

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> Neumann and Senk 2022 discuss emotions in 1 Samuel, the Book of Jubilees, Mark, Matthew, and Acts.

<sup>19</sup> [https://eabs.net/EABS/EABS/Research-Units/Research\\_Units/EABS\\_Research\\_Units/Emotions\\_and\\_the\\_Biblical\\_World.aspx](https://eabs.net/EABS/EABS/Research-Units/Research_Units/EABS_Research_Units/Emotions_and_the_Biblical_World.aspx)

<sup>20</sup> Collins 1971, Part 1 and 2.

<sup>21</sup> Horgan 1973. Berlin 2003, 1–17 has also written on Qumran laments.

<sup>22</sup> See Basser 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.

<sup>23</sup> 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).

<sup>24</sup> Bosworth 2019; 2013, 217–37; 2015, 619–39.

jective, and rational discipline of biblical studies – is garnering scholarly interest and gaining traction.

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.<sup>25</sup> In NT studies, Matthew Elliott offers a rather comprehensive overview of emotions in the NT, and posits, following the example of Jesus, that human emotions should not be repressed.<sup>26</sup> There are other studies focused only on one emotion, like anger in Matthew,<sup>27</sup> fear in Mark,<sup>28</sup> or grief and consolation.<sup>29</sup> 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);<sup>30</sup> Channing Crisler explores Paul's use of lament in Romans;<sup>31</sup> and Ian Jew argues that emotions are crucial for Paul in the formation of Christian identity for believers in Philippians and 1 Thessalonians.<sup>32</sup> Beyond Paul's letters, Katherine Hockey has brought to light the role of emotions in 1 Peter (and the conspicuously absent emotion of anger).<sup>33</sup>

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 pro-

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<sup>25</sup> The verb κλαίω is found 40 times in the NT while the כבב 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](http://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.

<sup>26</sup> Elliott 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Roberts 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Vegge 2017, 243–63.

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

<sup>30</sup> Becker 2020; 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Crisler 2016.

<sup>32</sup> Jew 2022.

<sup>33</sup> Hockey 2019; 2017, 331–53.

file of the historical Jesus,<sup>34</sup> 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; Crisler then extends the study to the other 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 perspective<sup>36</sup> (some of her observations are discussed below in Chapter 5).

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;<sup>37</sup> discussions dedicated to tears are mostly brief chapter treatments on select Lukan texts.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the closest attempt to appreciate weeping in Luke is Sung Min Hong's published PhD dissertation.<sup>39</sup> Hong's study of Luke's weeping texts appear as adjacent to this 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

<sup>34</sup> 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).

<sup>35</sup> 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).

<sup>36</sup> Standhartinger 2023. Moore 2017 also wrote on Jesus crying in John 11.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

<sup>38</sup> 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).

<sup>39</sup> Hong 2018.

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;”<sup>40</sup> the ignorant and misdirected weeping of the women is also labelled as “those who laugh now.”<sup>41</sup> 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 prioritise the under-examined weeping theme in Luke is commendable. This study 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.

## 1.2 Focus and Boundaries for Weeping and Tears in Luke

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 and emotional expressions (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 project studies only narratives where weeping and tears occur, which will also be delineated in the following sub-section. Finally, the method of study employed is a distinct feature that I will expound on in detail.

### 1.2.1 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).<sup>42</sup> This popular verse also invariably surfaces whenever people learn of the topic of my research project, 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.”<sup>43</sup> The other related word that appears twice in Luke but only in the noun form is δάκρυον

<sup>40</sup> Hong 2018, 121.

<sup>41</sup> Hong 2018, 135.

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

<sup>43</sup> *LSJ*-O “κλαίω;” *BDAG* “κλαίω,” 545.

(tears). Luke is the only gospel to use the noun δάκρυον (7:38, 44), while the verb δακρύω is recorded in John 11:35<sup>44</sup> (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, δάκρυ<sup>45</sup> often appears alongside κλαίω in these texts, which reinforces the connotation of tearful weeping.<sup>46</sup> 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”).<sup>47</sup> These Latin terms are common in the ancient Christian manuscripts referred to 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.<sup>48</sup> Mindful of a language’s fluidity and dynamism, interpreters – especially and including this author – must be attentive to the semantic diversities when examining Greek and Latin terms in the upcoming chapters.

With a preliminary understanding of key terms established, it is imperative to note that meanings are most accurately determined within specific contexts. Within the Lukan corpus, the action of crying 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.<sup>49</sup> Incorporating the verbs βοάω and κράζω is also complex because the subjects who cry out include non-hu-

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

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

<sup>46</sup> For a breakdown of occasions for weeping in archaic Greek poetry, consult Föllinger 2009, 17–36.

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

<sup>48</sup> Vekselius 2018, 14.

<sup>49</sup> *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.



man 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.<sup>50</sup>

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).<sup>51</sup> Voorwinde provides statistical analysis on the frequency of emotional expressions attributed to Jesus – Matthew (10x), Mark (16x), Luke (5x), John (28x).<sup>52</sup> 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).<sup>53</sup> 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 idealsbwhere 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.<sup>54</sup>

A study of κλαίω naturally calls to mind words that express pertinent emotions like sorrow (λύπη, Luke 22:45), lament (θρηνέω, 7:32; 23:27), mourning (πενθέω, 6:25), beating one’s breast and wailing in grief (κόπτω, 8:52; 23:27), amongst others.<sup>55</sup> Determining the presence of grief and mourning often hinges

<sup>50</sup> 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).

<sup>51</sup> 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 2001 sees Luke as using Socratic traditions to portray Jesus’ death. Fitzmyer 1981, 1:95 thinks Jesus’ poised, resolved, and unbending traits in Luke are to guard the divinity of Jesus against an overly human Markan Jesus.

<sup>52</sup> 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).

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> 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.

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



on the appearance of δάκρυον<sup>56</sup> or κλαίω. 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 this study as 8:52 and 23:27 are already part of the 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 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 on the Plain.

### 1.2.2 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 of 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.”<sup>57</sup> While didactic texts offer pedagogical aspects and theoretical insights into weeping, they are secondary to the primary research interest.<sup>58</sup> “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).<sup>59</sup> In other words, though Luke has few mentions of Jesus’ emotions, “it *does not necessarily follow* that Luke’s Gospel is less emotional.”<sup>60</sup> 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 one’s understanding of its thematic

<sup>56</sup> The nominal form is used here because Luke does not use the verb.

<sup>57</sup> Hogan 2003, 5.

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> See summary tables in Voorwinde 2005, 287–303.

<sup>60</sup> Iverson 2015, 146 n. 60 (italics original).

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