

The Oxford Handbook of the Books of Kings

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CHAPTER

28 The Reception of the Books of Kings in the Church Fathers

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Abstract

This chapter provides an overview of the different ways early Christian writers up to the seventh century CE used or referred to the books of Kings in commentaries, catena, and other works. It then discusses what kinds of exegesis these authors practiced when interpreting these books and what specific passages attracted their attention. Interestingly, these are often not the same passages that are of interest to modern readers. While the books of Kings are not among the works these ancient authors quote the most, they represent a touchstone for their hermeneutics. Compared to commentary for other books of the Bible, commenting on these books requires making a choice among typological, historical, and moral readings.

Keywords: church fathers, early Christian authorship, patristic exegesis, patristic interpretation, First Kings, Second Kings

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The books of Kings are not among the most quoted books by the so-called church fathers or Early Christian Authors (those who wrote before the end of the seventh century), and these writers often retain only a few characteristic episodes. But these books represent a touchstone for their hermeneutics. Compared to commenting on other books of the Bible, commenting on these books requires making a choice among typological, historical, and moral readings.

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1. The Church Fathers and 1–2 Kings

The books of Kings do not receive particular attention from commentators until the Middle Ages. The Biblindex database,[1] run by the Sources Chrétiennes Institute (Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques-Sources chrétiennes) in Lyon, France, collects biblical quotations in the works of the church fathers; on consulting it, readers will find that the two books of Kings were the subject of approximately eight thousand five hundred quotes, whereas the Psalms exceed fifty thousand citations and Genesis thirty thousand. These books are seldom read for themselves: following the Septuagint, they are included in the books of Kingdoms composed of 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. However, Saint Jerome recalled in his prologues to the books of the Bible (*Prologi in libros Sacræ Scripturæ* 3:4) that they form a work in themselves, called the "book of Kings"
p. 417 rather than the "books of Kingdoms" (*regum* rather than *regnorum*). As proof of ↳ the little enthusiasm that these books seem to arouse in him, he says nothing about their content in his preface to the book and discusses the number of books in the Jewish Bible and the fidelity of his own translation to the Hebrew. He ends the notice by confessing, "This Prologue may be suitable as an empanelled [*galeatus*] exordium to all the books of the Scriptures that we translate from Hebrew into Latin" (3:2).[2] This prologue, often called the *prologus galeatus*, is therefore more famous for Jerome's affection for the *hebraica veritas* than for his account of the books of Kings.

This relative lack of interest had a paradoxical consequence: the efflorescence of new treatises in the medieval period. A new conception of Christian time emerged, as exemplified by the Venerable Bede's seminal work *The Reckoning of Time* (*De temporum ratione*), which differentiates epochs in world history. It prompted medieval authors to consider the history of the monarchy in Israel. The same Bede wrote a (lost) commentary on the books of Kings and the *In libros Regum quaestiones XXX*.[3] Another factor can also be put forward. The introduction of new dynastic practices, such as the coronation of Pepin the Short in 751, which was modeled on that of David, underlined the continuity between biblical and Christian time.[4]

1.1 Complete Commentaries

Only one complete commentary on the books of Kings survived, by Theodoret of Cyr (ca. 393–460/6).[5] It is probably the last work of Theodoret, and it follows the Lucianic text (with a few exceptions). Theodoret comments sporadically on the text of the books of Kings and concentrates on the main difficulties of the books. As usual, his commentary is literal and focuses on historical circumstances (why did Moab violate the treaty with Israel?[6] Who is Jehonadab son of Rechab?[7]), geographical details (what is the city of David?[8]), onomastics (the name of Gihon,[9] and what a Baal is[10]), narrative obscurities (why does God permit the people to carve idols during the reign of Rehoboam?[11] Why does God let the son of the widow of Zarephath
p. 418 die if he is to be resurrected right ↳ afterward?[12] Why does God allow Elijah to erect an altar on Carmel when he had ordered that he is to be worshiped in one place only?[13]), and difficult expressions (how to read "they blessed the king, and went to their tents, joyful and in good spirits because of all the goodness that the Lord had shown,"[14] and how to understand "Father, Father! The chariots of Israel and its horsemen!"[15]). An example of his method can be given by citing the following short explanation of 2 Kgs 2:14, attempting to clarify the strange transliteration αφφω for a word the MT reads as אַף־הוּא and whose interpretation divides commentators.[16]

> How do we understand "Where is the God of Elijah, αφφω?" When the prophet wanted to cross the Jordan, he imitated his master and struck the water with a sheepskin without saying anything, believing that the sheepskin would suffice for the miracle. But since the nature of the waters did not obey, he called out to the God of his master, who cannot be seen or approached by human beings. *Aphpho* is interpreted as "the hidden one," according to the explanation of the ancient interpreters.[17]

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We can see how Theodoret works: having spotted a textual difficulty, he proposes a reading that is primarily narrative and then calls on his vast library to elucidate the difficult expression. In this case, it is unfortunately not known who the ancient interpreters were.

A Latin commentary on 1 Kings, *In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI*, was once attributed to Gregory of Tours.[18] But Adalbert de Voguë has shown that it should be ascribed to the abbot of Cava, Peter II, who died in 1156.[19] The *Quaestiones hebraicae in libros Regum et Paralipomenon* was written under Jerome's name[20] but dates from the ninth century.

In Syriac, a complete commentary under the name of Ephrem the Syrian is preserved in two extracts from a catena made in the ninth century by the monk Severus of Edessa.[21] Unfortunately, this commentary is not by Ephrem but dates from the early Middle Ages.[22]

p. 419

1.2 Catena

Several catenae ("chains" composed of extracts from commentaries by some church fathers) remain, described by Robert Devreesse.[23] The most complete is the catena on the Octateuch and the books of Kings published in Leipzig by the hieromonk Nicephore Theotokis.[24] The core of this chain is made up of the *Quaestiones* of Theodoret. Nicephorus completed it with the Greek fragments of another chain, by Procopius of Gaza,[25] known in its entirety only through a Latin translation. Devreesse cites several more fragmentary chains, which he includes in his edition.

1.3 Two Types of Use

The fathers utilized the books of Kings to create two types of works. The first consists of chronologies, ecclesiastical histories, and onomastic treatises that exploit the information contained in these books to compile their lists and narratives. Flavius Josephus made extensive use of the books of Kings; in imitation of him, Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Universal Chronicles*[26] uses the same historical data. Eusebius also refers to the books of Kings in his *Onomasticon*,[27] as does Jerome in his *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*.[28] Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologies*,[29] an encyclopedia of the knowledge of his time, used it to resolve various questions, such as the name of Bethel (15:1.19) and the name of the son of the widow of Zarephath, whom Isidore calls Amittai (7:8.18) and whom he identifies with the prophet Jonah.

The fathers also referred to the books of Kings in their sermons, hymns, theological writings, and the like or sometimes in their treatises on other books. Eusebius of Caesarea, in his commentary on the book of Isaiah,[30] now lost but cited at length in the catenae, had recourse to the books of Kings to explain the context of Isaiah's prophecies. An anthology of these various readings can be found in the book edited by Marco Conti.[31] Its catalogue of the fathers is revealing, for it shows that the first quotations go back to Justin Martyr (ca. 110–165) and that the Greek or Syriac fathers who refer to the books of Kings are much less numerous than the Latin fathers, the first of whom is Tertullian (ca. 155–220). Conti provides a political
p. 420 explanation.[32] The loss of sovereignty ↳ of the Western Empire led to a stronger opposition to imperial power than in the East. The books of Kings, which are very judgmental of the monarchical institution, could have fueled this opposition. For instance, the collection of texts selected and translated by Richard Flower[33] demonstrates how violent the polemic could be against Constantius II (337–361), who was suspected of Arianism. Athanasius of Alexandria in the *History of the Arians*, Hilary of Poitiers in *Against Constantius*, and Lucifer of Cagliari in *The Necessity of Dying for the Son of God* quoted the books of Kings to vituperate the behavior of *Augustus*. Athanasius, for example, repeatedly likened his situation to those of Elijah or Naboth, and to him the emperor appeared as an Ahab-like figure.[34]

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An interesting case for this dispute is provided by Lucifer of Cagliari († 370). This harsh and excessive polemicist, passionate defender of Athanasius, and bitter enemy of Arianism ("Luciferian" became an adjective to designate the intransigent opponents of Arianism) violently criticized the emperor Constantius II. Lucifer is famous among scholars of the books of Kings for retaining in his texts a pre-Vulgate Latin translation of the Old Testament that appears to follow neither the Antiochene text (L) nor the Codex Vaticanus (B).[35] While he makes no reference to the books of Kings in *The Necessity of Dying for the Son of God*,[36] he does use them in *De Regibus Apostaticis.*[37] This text, once again directed against Constantius II, is available in two editions[38] and an Italian translation.[39] The purpose of the book is outlined at the beginning:

> Since you are pleased to repeat the conventional story, namely, that unless your faith was pure, and your conduct towards us agreeable to God, you would already have been destroyed, I have felt a desire to make known to you the story of some kings equal to you in apostasy and cruelty, in order to bury your voice which says: "If the faith of Arius, which is mine, were not Catholic, if it were not agreeable to God that I should pursue that faith which was written down at Nicaea against us, I could not truly prosper in the supreme power."[40]

Lucifer therefore endeavors to defeat an imperial version of Gamaliel's argument (Acts 5:38–39): if Arianism is of human origin, it will fail, but if it is of God, you will not be able to overthrow it. To do this, he reads through the books of Kings: Solomon continues to live after his idolatry;[41] Jeroboam, although the son
p. 421 of the harlot and an ↳ idolater, prospers, even though he was warned by a man of God;[42] and his successors Nadab, Baasha, and Omri also flourish, even though they have not repented.[43] Finally, Lucifer devotes a long notice to the misdeeds of Ahab and Jezebel[44] as well as to those of Manasseh,[45] who nevertheless remained on the throne for fifty-seven years.

2. Patristic Exegesis of the Books of Kings

This last example highlights a pattern of usage of the books of Kings by the fathers that sounds familiar to modern readers: treating them as history books that gather past actions, which can serve as models for the present—*historia magistra vitae*, as Cicero put it. But other uses seem more alien to us.

2.1 A Different Exegesis

When evoking the interpretation of the church fathers, it is usual to distinguish between the allegorical exegesis of the Alexandrians and the literal exegesis of the Antiochians and to oppose both to a moral or monastic reading.[46] Actually, as demonstrated by Jean-Noël Guinot,[47] this distinction was born out of the theological debates of the early twentieth century (notably the debate on the task of biblical scholars) and does not correspond to the complexity of patristic interpretations nor to the fact that it was a disciple of Origen himself (Methodius of Olympus) who first condemned the excesses of the allegorical interpretations of his master. This distinction is particularly inappropriate for the books of Kings, where theological and moral interpretations overlap regularly. In the treatises that have been preserved, the books of Kings are not the subject of an allegorical reading, probably because this method originated with Philo of Alexandria, who left no known commentary on the books. Rather than repeating the old opposition, it is better to understand the patristic reading as an interpretation of the books of Kings according to the keys of Christ and the church. Everything is related to Christ as a prefiguration, a typology, or a simple clarification of the Gospel text or to the community as a moral illustration to be followed or not.

Regarding the Christological key, two clear examples are provided by Origen's *Commentary on John*. The first
p. 422 is precisely an instance of the rejection of prefiguration. ↳ Commenting on the question addressed to John the Baptist about whether he might be Elijah, Origen takes up 1 Kgs 18:21–38 and shows that he could not be

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Elijah, because the Old Testament prophet refused to "baptize" the wood on the altar. On the contrary, he asks the prophets to pour the water for him. He concludes: "How, then, will he who did not himself baptize at that time, but gave the task to others, baptize when he has come in fulfillment of the things?"[48] However, commenting on the fact that John baptized at the Jordan, he uses the story of Naaman (2 Kgs 5) to show that the Jordan is indeed the place par excellence for healing: "Naaman becomes angry because he does not perceive that it is our Jordan, and not the prophet, which removes the uncleanness of those who are unclean because of leprosy and heals them. For the work of a prophet is to send one to that which heals."[49]

As regards the role of the community, we can mention the *De Helia et Ieiunio* (on Elijah and fasting) by Ambrose of Milan. At first, the reader is quite taken aback. After two pages that briefly recall some episodes in the life of the prophet, Ambrose abruptly announces, "But we have dealt extensively and frequently with the actions of Elijah in other books, and I think we should avoid repeating the same things."[50] A wise precaution, indeed, but one that will keep those who hope to understand Ambrose's reading of the books of Kings wanting more. In reality, as Aline Canellis demonstrates, the rest of the text opposes temperance and intemperance. Now, the model par excellence of this virtue of *temperantia*, which justifies and reinforces the title of the treatise, is precisely Elijah, symbol of the angelic life, who fasted in the desert, showed sobriety, and deserved to ascend to heaven on a chariot of fire. He thus prefigures all the stages of the initiation of catechumens: the Quadragesima fasting allows them to receive the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist.[51]

For the contemporary scholar accustomed to distinguishing between historical and prophetic books in the Bible, the patristic interpretation is confusing, because it is a bit of both, as proven by Saint Augustine's reading, which Anne-Marie La Bonnardière presented before her exhaustive review of the quotations from the books of Kings in the Bishop of Hippo's works.[52] Indeed, in chs. 17–18 of the *City of God*, Augustine alternates between two radically different views of these biblical books. In ch. 17, he comments on pericopes he treats as prophecies of the divine plan. Most of them are collected in the books of Samuel, such as the Song of Hannah, Samuel's prophecy to David, and so on, but he also quotes the prediction to Elijah. However, in ch. 18, he takes from these same books facts from the royal period to trace the history of the temporal city. Therefore, for him, the books of Kings are both historical books and books announcing God's purpose; they are simultaneously concerned with the past and the future.

p. 423

2.2 Different Interests

This difference in exegesis naturally leads to different interests and therefore to different uses of the books. Here again the Biblindex Bible Citation Database is very helpful.

p. 424

Let us begin by observing which verses are the most quoted in the two books of Kings (see table 28.1). ↳

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Table 28.1 The ten most-quoted verses

Number of occurrences	Reference	Verse (NRSVue)
133	2 Kgs 2:11	As they continued walking and talking, a chariot of fire and horses of fire separated the two of them, and Elijah ascended in a whirlwind into heaven.
122	2 Kgs 25:811	In the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month—which was the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon—Nebuzaradan, the captain of the bodyguard, a servant of the king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem. He burned the house of the LORD, the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem; every great house he burned down… Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carried into exile the rest of the people who were left in the city and the deserters who had defected to the king of Babylon—all the rest of the multitude.
79	1 Kgs 17:1	Now Elijah the Tishbite, of Tishbe in Gilead, said to Ahab, "As the LORD the God of Israel lives, before whom I stand, there shall be neither dew nor rain these years, except by my word."
74	1 Kgs 6:1	In the four hundred eightieth year after the Israelites came out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month of Ziv, which is the second month, he began to build the house of the lord.
71	2 Kgs 19:35	That very night the angel of the lord set out and struck down one hundred eighty-five thousand in the camp of the Assyrians; when morning dawned, they were all dead bodies.
56	1 Kgs 17:6	The ravens brought him [Elijah] bread and meat in the morning, and bread and meat in the evening; and he drank from the wadi.
52	1 Kgs 17:16	The jar of meal was not emptied, neither did the jug of oil fail, according to the word of the lord that he spoke by Elijah.
49	2 Kgs 24:16	The king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon all the men of valor, seven thousand, the artisans and the smiths, one thousand, all of them strong and fit for war.
46	1 Kgs 19:8	He [Elijah] got up, and ate and drank; then he went in the strength of that food forty days and forty nights to Horeb the mount of God.
45	1 Kgs 4:29 (= MT 5:9)	God gave Solomon very great wisdom, discernment, and breadth of understanding as vast as the sand on the seashore.

These figures should be taken with caution for several reasons. The first and main reason is obviously that the Biblindex database, which is grounded on the *Biblia Patristica* project,[53] is far from exhaustive. It is not only that not all the writings of the fathers have been preserved but also that not all of them are edited, and within the edited ones, not all the passages and especially not all the allusions have been unraveled. Moreover, obviously, not all editions have been searched. Additionally, the database is largely dependent on the habits of the editors, who sometimes make precise references to a verse, sometimes to a whole episode, sometimes quote the first verse, and so on. Finally, the editors of the database have included the catenae, containing texts known elsewhere, which increases the risk of duplication. Therefore, the figures should not be taken as absolute values but rather as trends, and these trends are already very clear. It is evident that the fathers are interested in three main issues: the character of Elijah, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the building of the temple. The person of Solomon and that of the angel of the Lord are also favored.

These tendencies are confirmed when considering the pericopes more globally, and in this case the trend is overwhelming (see table 28.2).

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Table 28.2 Most-cited pericopes

Number of occurrences	Reference	Topic
236	2 Kgs 2	Elijah ascends to heaven
217	2 Kgs 24–25	The downfall of Jerusalem
209	1 Kgs 17	Elijah fed in the desert
189	1 Kgs 19	Elijah runs away from Jezebel
163	1 Kgs 17	The widow of Zarephath
144	1 Kgs 6	Solomon builds the temple
143	2 Kgs 4	Raising of the son of the woman of Shunem
130	1 Kgs 17	Elijah kills the priests of Baal

This list confirms the intuition previously expressed: the fathers interpret the books of Kings with a Christological key. All these episodes are clearly related to Christ. The question of the temple and its demise can be read in the light of the pericopes that take place in the temple in the life of Jesus and his statements concerning his own body (John 2:13–22[54]) as well as the link he makes between the destruction of the temple and the coming of the Son of Man, notably in Mark 13.[55] As for the character of Elijah (and secondarily that of Elisha), he is central in the New Testament, as Magnus Zetterholm confirms.[56] The traditions of Elijah are found in the Gospels as well as in Paul, Hebrews, ↳ and Revelation. In the Gospels, Elijah is explicitly understood as a forerunner of Christ. The origins of this link are not clear: Is it a Christian invention or did the Jews of the Second Temple period actually await the return of Elijah? Is it a way of settling the conflict with the followers of John the Baptist by reducing him to an Elijah-like figure?[57] Whatever the case, this link permits all typological or antitypological readings.

p. 425

It is impossible to cite all the patristic readings on the prophet Elijah: a number of them can be found in the work published by the Abbey of Bellefontaine.[58] Greeks and Latins differ in their views on the figure of Elijah. For the Greeks, he is above all a prefiguration of Christ, who must not be confused with him. Origen, for example, comments on the error of the Jews who see Elijah in Christ and on the mistake of Peter, who wants to make three tents, one for Christ, one for Moses, and one for Elijah, by saying that the Savior must be separated from a lawgiver and a prophet who announced his coming.[59] However, John shows that Elijah's prophetic strength passed to John,[60] along with the power to work miracles, revealed by Elijah and Elisha.[61] Methodius of Olympus, in *De resurrectione* (1:22–25; 1:52; 3:7–13) insists especially on the manifestation of Elijah at the time of the transfiguration and declares that Elijah was on that day no different from what he had been, although he had not yet been resurrected to eternal life. Finally, John Chrysostom makes extensive use of the figure of Elijah in several texts. For him Elijah is the forerunner of the second coming of Christ,[62] and he is the one who the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians says has not yet come.[63] Chrysostom praises his courage in the face of Ahab and says that it is the same as that shown by the Baptist before Herod.[64] But, he asks, why does John declare that he is not Elijah and thus put himself at odds with Christ?[65] True to his habit of detaching his listeners from the fascination with miracles, Chrysostom emphasizes that it was not his wonders that made Elijah great but his holiness.[66] Finally, he captures everything he thought about Elijah in his magnificent praise of the man he calls "a boundless ocean," which paints a picture of the ideal Christian as conceived by the Patriarch of Antioch.

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> He had for himself neither wealth, nor the glitter of birth, nor the power of his country, nor the strength or charm of his speech, nor swarms of servants or eunuchs, nor gilded paneling, silken clothes, a sumptuous table, nor anything that makes men happy. He was in extreme poverty, not even having the food he needed, obliged to go and beg from a widowed woman, a Sidonian woman,
p. 426 holding out his hand, asking ↳ for a little bread to live on; a cave was his home, a skin his clothing, the earth his table. He had obscure parents whose names are not even known, a humble homeland, an almost savage life. None of this, however, prevented him from attaining the most brilliant virtue; he was more opulent than all kings, wiser than all philosophers, more eloquent than all rhetors.[67]

For the Latins, Elijah is above all the figure of the prophet par excellence. Lactantius makes him the model of all prophets,[68] of whom Christ is the model and whom Christians should imitate. If Moses was the *informator populi*, Elijah was the *reformator populi* according to Tertullian.[69] Ambrose nuances: whereas Elijah takes revenge, Christ is only meekness.[70] The denunciation of Jezebel's sin also gives Elijah a high status as a victim, which is one of the themes of early Christian preaching: he becomes a martyr who provides examples for Christians persecuted not only by the emperor in the third century[71] but also by the Arian policy of Valens in the fourth century.[72] The rapture of Elijah into heaven also plays a role in theological controversies. Is this ascension not proof, Pelagius argues, that original sin—and thus death—did not reach all of humanity? Augustine answers: the temporary immortality granted to Elijah testifies in favor of the possibility of immortality definitively granted to Adam and Eve before sin.[73]

Elijah along with his disciple, Elisha, also played a central role among the Greeks, Latins, and Eastern church fathers, as Éliane Poirot indicates.[74] They provide a model for ancient monasticism. Gregory of Nazianzus displays how this role model works, for he twice makes a *syncrisis*, comparison, among Elijah, Basil of Caesarea, and Athanasius of Alexandria: the last two, following the example of Elijah, become paradigms of episcopal and monastic life. The discourse on Basil follows themes about ascetic life. Concerning the giving of rules to the monks, Basil establishes remarkable statutes for them and embraces solitude with Elijah and John, those perfect philosophers. On the subject of the miracle of the multiplication of food, only Moses, Elijah, and Christ were able to accomplish it, but Basil's charity nourished multitudes of poor people. What about courage in persecution? Elijah and Elisha resisted tyrants; Basil did the same and was preserved.[75] Athanasius, for his part, also provides a model of fortitude for Christians.[76]

If the fathers are interested in the figures of Elijah and Elisha, they accord much less importance than one
p. 427 might expect to episodes that are very important for modern readers of the books of Kings (see table 28.3). ↳

Table 28.3 Other pericopes cited by the fathers

Number of occurrences	Reference	Topic
118	1 Kgs 19	Solomon and the Queen of Sheba
99	2 Kgs 5	The healing of Naaman
95	1 Kgs 19	Elijah at Horeb
55	1 Kgs 3	The judgment of Solomon
39	2 Kgs 23	The reform of Josiah
27	2 Kgs 23	Josiah's death at Megiddo

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This list provides an interesting insight into the shifts in the history of the reception of the biblical books. The remarkable lack of interest in such brilliant episodes as the welcoming of the Queen of Sheba or the judgment of Solomon reminds us that the early Christian writers were less sensitive to the picturesque than writers in other periods. Moreover, the medieval and then modern appropriations of the character of Solomon, which constructed a courtly and romantic figure as well as a political one, providing a model for wise kings such as Alfonso X of Spain or Charles V of France,[77] certainly influence us. The lack of interest in the episode of Elijah at Horeb helps explain the change in theology in the twentieth century. The God of discretion, the modest God of 1 Kgs 19:12, is completely foreign to ancient times. The verse is actually the least discussed of the whole pericope, as the fathers comment on the firmness of Elijah's declaration in v. 14 and the promise of the Almighty God in v. 18. As for Josiah, if contemporary exegesis emphasizes the Deuteronomistic reform and the importance of this personality in the redaction of the Bible, it must be noted that this king, who died at Megiddo, was only a secondary character for the fathers.

Abbreviations

Ambrose

Exp. Luc.
Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam

Hel.
De Helia et Ieiunio

Athanasius

H. Ar.
Historia Arianorum

Augustine

C. Jul. op. imp.
Contra secundam Juliani responsionem imperfectum opus

p. 428 Cyprian

Ad Fort.
Ad Fortunatum

Chrysostom

Hom. 2 Thess.
Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Thessalonicenses

Hom. In Eliam
Homiliae in Eliam Prophetam

Hom. Jo.
Homiliae in Joannem

Hom. Matt.
Homiliae in Matthaeum

Gregory of Nazianzus

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Or. Ath.
Oratio 21 in laudem Athanasii

Or. Bas.
Oratio 43 in laudem Basilii

Lactantius

Inst.
Divinarum institutionum libri VII

Lucifer de Cagliari

De Reg.
De Regibus Apostaticis

Origen

Comm. Matt.
Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei

Tertullian

Marc
Adversus Marcionem

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Notes

1 Biblindex, www.biblindex.org.
2 Canellis, *Préfaces*.
3 Bede, *In libros Regum quaestiones XXX*, CPL 1347.
4 Chevalier-Royet, *Rois*, 45.
5 Theodoret of Cyr, *Quaestiones ambigues in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, *CPG* 6201. The critical edition was produced by Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz (*Quaestiones*) on the basis of fourteen manuscripts. Their edition is rather hard to find, and the most accessible text (the one used by the *Thesaurus Linguæ Graecæ*, for example) is given in the Latin patrology from Sirmond’s *editio princeps* of 1642, corrected by Schulze in 1769. There is no translation of the text in any modern language.
6 2 Kgs 1:1; Theodoret of Cyr, *Quaestiones ambigues in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, *PG* 80, 746.
7 2 Kgs 10:15; *PG* 80, 770.
8 1 Kgs 2:11; *PG* 80, 672.
9 2 Kgs 1:38; *PG* 80, 668.
10 2 Kgs 1:32; *PG* 80, 724.
11 1 Kgs 14:21–25; *PG* 80, 716–718.
12 1 Kgs 17:8–24; *PG* 80, 728.
13 1 Kgs 18:23; *PG* 80, 730.
14 1 Kgs 8:66; *PG* 80, 696.
15 2 Kgs 2:12; *PG* 80, 750.
16 Cogan and Tadmor, eds., *II Kings*, 33.
17 *PG* 80, 750.
18 Including in the Sources Chrétiennes series (*CPL* 1719).
19 De Vogüé, “L’auteur”; de Vogüé, “Introduction.”
20 Jerome, *Quaestiones hebraicae in libros Regum et Paralipomenon*, *PL* 23, 1329–1366.
21 Vaticanus Syriacus 103 and British Library Add 12.144; see de Halleux, “Éphrem.” Only the first was published, in the eighteenth century by Pierre Mobarak in a rather unsatisfactory manner (Melki, “Éphrem”); it is printed in the edition of Assemani with a Latin translation (Assemani, “Regum”). An Armenian version was published in Venice by the Mekhitarist Fahers.
22 Outtier and Graffin, “Pseudo-Éphrem.”
23 Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs*.

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24 *CPG*-C4; Theotokis, ***Σειρὰ***. He used two manuscripts (Athens 43 and Lambeth 1214); Devreesse mentions others.
25 Procopius of Gaza, *Catena in Octateuchum*, *CPG* 7430; *PG* 87, 21–1220.
26 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon*, *CPG* 3494.
27 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Onomasticon*, *CPG* 3466.
28 Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, *CPL* 581.
29 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, *CPL* 1186.
30 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, *CPG* 3, 468.
31 Conti, Pilara, and Oden, eds., *1–2 Kings*.
32 Conti, Pilara, and Oden, *1–2 Kings*, xxi.
33 Flower, *Invectives*.
34 *H. Ar.* 2, 1; 45, 3; 47, 3; 54, 4: 68, 1.
35 Kauhanen, "Lucifer"; Kauhanen, *Lucifer*.
36 Lucifer of Cagliari, *Moriendum esse pro Dei filio*, *CPL* 116.
37 For those interested in textual criticism, it may be useful to recall the passages quoted by Lucifer in his version: 1 Kgs 11:14, 29–28; 12:24–33; 13:1–6, 33–34; 14:2–3; 15:3, 34; 16:25–26, 28, 30–33; 21:13–14, 19–20; 22:5–8, 18, 27; 2 Kgs 20:21–21:19.
38 Avilés, "El Tratado"; Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani opera*.
39 Ugenti, ed., *Luciferi Calaritani*.
40 *De Reg.* 1.
41 1 Kgs 11; *De Reg*. 3.
42 1 Kgs 11–12; *De Reg*. 3–6.
43 *De Reg*. 6.
44 1 Kgs 15–22, *De Reg*. 7–8.
45 2 Kgs 20–21, *De Reg*. 8.
46 Conti, Pilara, and Oden, *1–2 Kings*, xviii–xx.
47 Guinot, "La frontière."
48 Heine, *Commentary*, 204.
49 Heine, *Commentary*, 234.
50 *Hel*. 5.
51 Canellis, *Élie*, 23–26.
52 La Bonnardière, "Les livres"; La Bonnardière, *Biblia Augustiniana*, 57–87.
53 Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristiques, *Biblia patristica*.
54 See Kerr, *Temple*.
55 Stein, *Jesus*.
56 Zetterholm, "Kings."
57 Zetterholm, "Kings," 581–584.
58 Abbaye de Bellefontaine, *Élie*.
59 *Comm. Matth.* 12, 9.
60 *Comm Matth.* 13, 2.
61 *Comm Matth.* 17, 4.
62 *Hom. Matt.* 57, *PG* 58, 559–560.
63 *Hom. 2 Thess.*
64 *Hom. Matt.* 24, *PG* 58, 325–326.
65 *Hom. Jo.* 16, *PG* 59, 104.
66 *Hom. Matt*. 46, *PG* 58, 479.
67 *Hom. In Eliam* 1, 3, *PG* 73, 464.
68 *Inst.* 4, 11.
69 *Marc.* 4, 22.
70 *Exp. Luc.* 6, 96.
71 Cyprian, *Fort.* 11.
72 *Petition of Luciferian leaders Marcellinus and Faustus to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius*, coll. Avellana 2, 69.
73 *C. Jul. op. imp.* 6, 39.
74 Poirot, *Élie*; Poirot, *Les prophètes*.
75 *Or. Bas.* 29.
76 *Or. Ath.* 3.

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77 Bose, “From Exegesis”; Boudet, “Le modèle.”

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