Suspicious Similarities

A Comparative Study of the Falls of Samaria and Jerusalem

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1. Introduction

The falls of the northern and southern kingdoms constituted the two most traumatic events in the history of Ancient Israel. This paper investigates similarities between these two events and the literary production to which they gave rise. It will be divided into three sections.

The first section of this paper is dedicated to a study of historical events, in particular to the similarities and differences between the Assyrian conquest of Samaria and the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem. Both events have become the object of historical and religious reflection in the past. Consequently various comparisons are made between the fall of the northern kingdom and that of the southern kingdom. Therefore the second part of this paper will be dedicated to a comparison between the two falls in 2 Kings. In the third part I will investigate the connection between the interpretations of the falls of both kingdoms as presented in 2 Kings and the Pentateuch, in particular in Deut 28.

2. Historical Overview

The conquest of each kingdom was the result of a long process during which Assyrian or Babylonian troops were gradually taking control of Syria–Palestine. Since the expansion of both invading empires was from east to west, geography dictated a similar sequence of military campaigns. In order to expand westwards, the troops of both imperial armies had to conquer three strategic regions: the northern Levant (north-western Syria and south-eastern Turkey), the southern Levant (Lebanon, southern Syria, Jordan and Israel) and Egypt. The conquest of the northern Levant represented the first obstacle to overcome. Thus, Tiglath-pileser had his troops march for three years against Arpad (743–740 BCE) before crushing its resistance. Then he conducted a major campaign to conquer Unqi and Hatarikka.[1] Similarly, Nabopalassar and his successor Nebuchadnezzar needed almost five years to conquer Haran and Carchemish (*ABC* 3–5).

[1] TADMOR, *Inscriptions*, 234–237.

After the submission of the northern Levant, the southern Levant, including Samaria and Jerusalem, was the next problem to be tackled. During the Neo-Assyrian period, Tyre–Samaria–Damascus blocked the advance of Assyrian troops, and only after three campaigns was Tiglath-pileser III able to put an end to the so-called Syro–Ephraimite coalition. His successors needed other campaigns to subdue Israel, Phoenicia, Philistia and Judah.[2] Contrarily, Nebuchadnezzar's army, marching against Ashkelon, encountered much less resistance. For both empires, to subdue the southern Levant, in reality, meant conquering or negotiating the submission of the most important cities, among them Samaria, which was conquered by the Assyrians, and Jerusalem, conquered by the Babylonians.

The fall of Samaria went through several stages. Samaria suffered the first consequences of Assyrian military expansion after Tiglath-pileser III's initial series of invasions (738–734 BCE).[3] While Samaria still remained an independent kingdom, Menahem had to pay tribute to Assyria (RINAP 1 14:10; 27:3).[4] Tiglath-pileser III's second series of campaigns (734–732 BCE) resulted in the first deportation from northern Israel.[5] As a result of this invasion, Samaria was transformed into a fully fledged Assyrian vassal kingdom, ruled by a local king, Hoshea (RINAP 1 42:17'; 49 r. 10). The downfall of Samaria started during the reign of Shalmaneser V (*ABC* 1 i 28)[6] and was completed by Sargon II, who himself boasted about conquering Samaria and deporting its inhabitants (727–716).[7] After Sargon II's intervention, the northern kingdom ceased to exist and was transformed into a new Assyrian province ruled by Assyrian governors.[8] The whole process, from Tiglath-pileser III's first series of invasions to Sargon II's deportation, lasted about twenty years (*c.*738–716 BCE).

A similar process took place in the South.[9] An independent and prosperous Judean kingdom started losing its independence after the death of Josiah (610 / 609 BCE). The new king, Jehoahaz, was deposed by Pharaoh Necho and a new king, Jehoiakim, became an Egyptian vassal. However, the victorious advance of Nebuchadnezzar's troops in the southern Levant transformed Judah from an Egyptian vassal into a Babylonian one (604 BCE; *ABC* 5:15–20). The unsuccessful Babylonian attempt to conquer Egypt in 601 BCE (*ABC* 5 r. 5–7)

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[2] OLMSTEAD, *History*, 182–336.

[3] KUAN, *Inscriptions*, 142–146.

[4] For the meaning of Menahem's payment see COGAN / TADMOR, *II Kings*, 176.

[5] For a more detailed discussion of the fall of Samaria see, for example, DUBOVSKÝ, "Tiglath-Pileser III"; GALIL, "Years"; NA'AMAN, "Background"; TETLEY, "Date"; YOUNGER, "Fall"; BECKING, *Fall*.

[6] DUBOVSKÝ, "Shalmaneser V".

[7] FUCHS, *Inschriften*, 197.

[8] WEIPPERT *et al.*, *Textbuch*, 312–325. For the Assyrian governors of Samaria see SAAS II, 105–106; SAA VI 147:7'–8'; 148:4'–5'; those of Megiddo see SAA VI 223:r.9; SAAS II, 96.

[9] For a review of the historical events and archaeological details see LIPSCHITS, *Fall*; FAUST, *Judah*; VAN DER VEEN, *Final Phase*; MALAMAT, "Last Kings"; RONCACE, *Jeremiah*.

gave rise to a short period of Judean independence.[10] The downfall of Jerusalem itself started with Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion. The city of Jerusalem was conquered and its king, Jehoiachin, was deported to Babylon (598 / 597; *ABC* 5 r.11–13). Nebuchadnezzar's second invasion (586 BCE) and the destruction of the city carried out by his general Nebuzaradan can be partially reconstructed from the Lachish Ostraca as well as from the biblical sources.[11] As a result, the kingdom of Judah was fully incorporated into the Babylonian administrative orbit and ceased to exist, even despite an attempt by local lords to prevent this (2 Kgs 25:25–26).[12] The whole process lasted about twenty years (604–586 BCE).

The last twenty years of both kingdoms were intrinsically linked with the ebbs and flows of Assyrian and Babylonian control of the region. Samaria took advantage of the diminishing Assyrian presence in the Levant or the deployment of Assyrian troops in other regions and rebelled against Assyria.[13] A similar dynamic can be observed during the Babylonian period. When Babylonian troops suffered losses or were busy in other parts of the kingdoms, Judean kings did not hesitate to rebel.[14]

The rebellions and struggle for independence, on the one hand, and the imminent threat of invading troops and their destruction of entire regions, on the other hand, generated similar dynamics in both kingdoms. Both concluded alliances with their neighbours in order to get rid of the occupying power – often, ironically, with their former enemies. Thus Israel concluded a treaty with Aram, which had fought the northern kingdom for almost a century, and Judah with Egypt, which had deposed Jehoahaz and imposed heavy tribute upon Judah. Moreover, both kingdoms became unstable and often changed their kings. These dynamics, which Assyrian and Babylonian troops generated in Israel and Judah, were common in the Levant in other periods as well.[15]

The falls of both capitals were preceded by a series of rebellions and upheavals that involved the whole country.[16] The decisive attack, in both cases, included a prolonged siege. Once the capitals were conquered, a massive deportation followed and the regions were absorbed into Assyrian and Babylonian administrative systems accordingly.

Although they followed similar patterns regarding the resistance and conquest of the Levant, the main difference between Assyrian control and Babylonian control of Syria-Palestine was in relations with Egypt. It required the best efforts of two Assyrian kings, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, to conquer recalcitrant

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[10] GRABBE, "Kingdom", 110–111.

[11] AUERBACH, "Nebukadnezar"; *AHI* 1, 405–427; WEIPPERT *et al.*, *Textbuch*, 419–424; GRABBE, *Ancient Israel*, 204–215; GARBINI, *Scrivere*, 172–179.

[12] BECKING, *David*, 147–173.

[13] TAPPY, *Archaeology*, 531–579.

[14] LIVERANI, *Israel's History*, 183–199; KESSLER, *Sozialgeschichte*, 127–132.

[15] DUBOVSKÝ, "Dynamics".

[16] VAN DER VEEN, *Final Phase*, 20.

Egypt.[17] Once Egypt fell into the Assyrian hands, the southern Levant, including Samaria, was one among many provinces in an enormous empire extending from Egypt to Elam.[18] By contrast, the extension of the Babylonian empire was much smaller, and Babylonia never did conquer Egypt. This caused a change in politics towards Judah, the buffer state between Babylonia and Egypt.[19] The different geopolitical status of Judah entailed different policies regarding Jerusalem in the Babylonian period and Samaria in the Neo-Assyrian period. The expansionist tendencies of the Egyptian Pharaohs Psammetichus II and Hophra meant that the Babylonians had to turn the buffer state of Judah into an entity that would not be capable of revolt against Babylonia. No such measures were needed against Samaria during the Neo-Assyrian period, because Samaria did not border a kingdom comparable to Egypt in military and economic power. Probably this was one of the reasons why Jerusalem was razed to the ground, whereas the city of Samaria was spared from destruction. O. Lipschits summarized this difference:

> The Babylonian reaction to Zedekiah's revolt should not be viewed as merely an act of vindictiveness against Judah or an impulsive punishment for the revolt. The reaction was a carefully calculated act, with specific political goals, and was the first manifestation of the altered Babylonian policy toward Hatti-land. The intent was to remove the Davidic dynasty from power, because it had proved itself disloyal time and again, and to destroy Jerusalem, which had repeatedly shown itself to be a center of rebellion against Babylonian rule.

As a result of different Assyrian and Babylonian policies towards the southern Levant after the Assyrian conquest, Samaria became an Assyrian province,[20] whereas Jerusalem ceased to be the capital of the Judean region and the Babylonian administration was transferred to Mizpah.

Not only the extent but also the duration of the Neo-Babylonian empire was different from the Neo-Assyrian one. The Neo-Babylonian empire lasted only a little more than a half century; the Neo-Assyrian survived for more than two centuries. Samaria could enjoy the advantages of the *Pax Assyriaca* for over a hundred years,[21] whereas Judah, except Benjamin, remained devastated.[22] The Babylonians, unlike the Assyrians, did not invest too much in trade and the development of the local economies. They did not create an imperial administrative system in Judah that would stand comparison with the Assyrian provincial system. This Neo-Babylonian policy led to a drastic decline in the economy and in trade, as well as in urban life, throughout the southern Levant.[23] While the Assyrians left several administrative buildings such as

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[17] KAHN, "Assyrian Invasions".

[18] RADNER, "Provinz".

[19] The following summary is based on VANDERHOOFT, *Neo-Babylonian Empire*; LIPSCHITS, *Fall*.

[20] ZERTAL, "Province".

[21] PARKER, *Mechanics*, 249–271.

[22] FAUST, *Judah*, 31–32.

[23] This was not true in other parts of the Neo-Babylonian empire, see JURSA, *Aspects*; BAKER / JURSA (eds.), *Babylonian Economy*.

Megiddo, Dor, Tel Chinnereth, Ayyelet ha-Shahar, etc., witnessing to their interest in trade, the Babylonian empire left no traces in Syria-Palestine "in other than a destructive way".[24]

Finally there were differences regarding the deportation policy of each empire. Whereas inhabitants were deported from both regions, there is no evidence that there was an influx of people into Judah during the Babylonian period. Contrarily, the Assyrians not only deported people from Samaria but also moved people into it.[25]

In sum, the political dynamics and military events preceding the downfalls of Samaria and Jerusalem have several points in common. Above all, neither Samaria nor Jerusalem was conquered in a single military campaign, but the submission of the capitals was part of a long process, including conquest, which resulted in the full incorporation of each region into the Assyrian or the Babylonian system respectively. This period of transition caused great instability in both regimes, and generated similar political dynamics and patterns of resistance. But whereas the stages preceding conquest shared similar patterns, the contrary was true for the phases after the conquest. Assyrian policies towards Samaria after its submission differed radically from the Babylonian treatment of Jerusalem. The main differences related to the severity of the measures taken against the capitals, deportation strategies, and trade and development in the respective regions.

3. The Falls of Samaria and Jerusalem in 2 Kings

Both events became the object of historical and religious reflections. These reflections generated various types of comparisons between the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem, for example in Hos 5, Ezek 23, Jer 3:6–13, 2 Kgs 15, 17 and 24–25.[26] From among these texts I will focus on the Books of Kings. Examining the descriptions of these events in 2 Kings, we can observe that, despite several differences,[27] the final editors of the Books of Kings created multiple linguistic and thematic links between the two descriptions.

Both descriptions can be characterized by literary genres relating to invasion.[28] These genres in 1–2 Kings display several differences in language, forms and theme. Taking literary type (notices, reports, accounts and stories) as a way of

[24] JURSA, "Neo-Babylonian Empire", 121.

[25] NA'AMAN / ZADOK, "Assyrian Deportations"; ODED, *Mass Deportations*, 18–74.

[26] To this list we can add similarities between 2 Kgs 17 and Jer 44, providing a similar theological explanation for the fall of both kingdoms.

[27] The fall of Samaria starts with a series of *coups d'état* in the northern kingdom (2 Kgs 15:8–31) and ends with the Assyrian conquest of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:1–6). The fall of Jerusalem starts with the death of Josiah (2 Kgs 23:29–30) and ends with the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem (2 Kings 25).

[28] CAMPBELL, "Form Criticism's Future", 26–29.

categorizing these genres, we can distinguish invasion notices (1 Kgs 9:16; 2 Kgs 10:32–33; 13:25; 14:28),[29] invasion reports (1 Kgs 14:25–28; 2 Kgs 8:20–22, 28–29; 12:17–19; 15:16, 19–20, 29; 17:3–6; 18:9–11; 23:29–30),[30] invasion accounts (1 Kgs 12:21–24; 15:16–22; 2 Kgs 14:8–14; 16:1–19)[31] and invasion stories (1 Kgs 20; 22; 2 Kgs 18–19).[32] The notices and reports are distinguished from the other literary genres by their brevity. They report the facts in a very concise manner. At the opposite end of the spectrum are long narrations (invasion stories) with sophisticated plot, rhetorical and narrative devices, etc. Invasion accounts, including the accounts of the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem, can be located between these two ends of the spectrum.

In addition to distinctions in terminology, a reading attentive to these literary genres shows that the final redactors took pleasure in creating several linguistic and thematic links between invasion narratives.[33] Thus the final Hebrew texts of two invasion stories (1 Kgs 20 and 2 Kgs 18–19) share a similar pattern. Israel and Judah were invaded by foreign powers – Aram and Assyria respectively. Both offered to pay money to the invaders, but the invaders did not accept the proposal and continued to oppress them. In both cases the invaders' hubris, vividly described, was punished by God. In both cases the plot is developed by means of direct speech, prophetic interventions and other narrative devices. Like the invasion stories, the shorter invasion accounts in 1 Kgs 15:16–22 and 2 Kgs 16:1–19 are built as parallel narratives.[34] Both describe invasion by foreign powers. 1 Kgs 15:18–20 and 2 Kgs 16:7–9 share several points in common. The invaded kingdoms realised the impossibility of fighting off the invaders and their rulers sought help from other kings. Thus Asa sent a gift to Ben-hadad[35] and Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser III, both of whom accepted the money (שׁחד)[36] and saved Israel and Judah respectively.

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[29] A notice is a brief report of one event. It is not too different from a simple statement. LONG, *1 Kings*, 253.

[30] A report is a brief narration that does not have a plot. It can be accumulation of several notices; *ibid.*, 5, 259.

[31] "Generally longer and more complex than simple report, an account may consist of several briefer reports, statements, descriptions, or even fragments of story, organized according to a common theme. The account may aim at some degree of explanation rather than simple narration of events. However, like reports, accounts show a matter-of-fact third-person narrative style and few literary, imaginative, or artistic features." *Ibid.*, 243.

[32] An invasion story is a type of story whose main theme and action concern an invasion. It differs from an invasion report in "the sophistication of the narrative art. It shows narrative exposition, characterization and plot. Like a report it tends to emphasize a 'historical' aim", i.e. what happened; *ibid.*, 244.

[33] The study of the narrative in pairs has been elaborated in NAHKOLA, *Double Narratives*, 162–171.

[34] COGAN, *1 Kings*, 400.

[35] ELGAVISH, "Objective", 142–149.

[36] For the possible meanings of the term שׁחד see COGAN / TADMOR, *II Kings*, 188.

In sum, the narratives of the fall of Samaria and the fall of Jerusalem can be labelled as invasion accounts. Taking into consideration that the final redactors employed various literary techniques to pair their invasion stories (1 Kgs 20 and 2 Kgs 18–19) and invasion accounts (1 Kgs 15:16–22 and 2 Kgs 16:1–19), it is reasonable to ask whether the final Masoretic text of 2 Kings contains literary markers that urge the reader to read the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem as interlinked narratives.

3.1 Two Parallel Invasion Accounts (2 Kgs 17 versus 2 Kgs 24:1–17)

Given the importance of the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem, descriptions of them show some characteristics that distinguish them from other invasion narratives.

The most evident link between the narratives is the repetition of an invasion and vassalage formula (2 Kgs 17:3; 24:1): "PN1, king of ..., marched ... and PN2 became his servant". The first part of the formula employs the verb עלה, which often occurs in invasion literary genres (see above). However, the uniqueness of the descriptions in 2 Kgs 17 and 24 appears in the second part of this formula. The concept "a servant of someone" was a typical expression for vassalage relations (2 Sam 8:6; 2 Kgs 10:5; 16:7; 1 Chr 18:12). However, the phrase "עבד PN ויהי־לו" occurs only twice in the whole Bible (2 Kgs 17:3; 24:1).[37] The Chronicler used the same verb (עלה; 2 Chr 36:6a) to describe the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, but Jehoiakim's submission is expressed in a different way. According to 2 Chr 36:6b, the result of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was the arrest of Jehoiakim and his deportation to Babylonia. Conversely, according to 2 Kgs 24:1, employing the vassalage formula, after the invasion Jehoiakim became a vassal of Babylonia. In sum, the specific use of the whole formula in 2 Kgs 17 and 24, and its verbatim repetition in these two passages – by contrast with the omission of the second part of the formula from 2 Chr 36:6b – are arguments strong enough to justify the conclusion that the final editors intentionally created links between the narrative of the fall of Samaria and that of Jerusalem. These literary links lead us to the question of whether the narratives as a whole share other literary or thematic elements. I will argue that both narratives share a similar sequence of events: 1. first invasion, 2. vassalage, 3. revolt, 4. punishment, 5. decisive assault, 6. siege, 7. aftermath.[38]

Sections 1–2 and 1'–2' (2 Kgs 17:3; 24:1a). The formula given above reads "PN1, king of ..., marched ... and PN2 became his servant". The first part of this formula employs the verb in *qatal*, עלה (section 1). It states in very broad terms that Shalmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar led campaigns against Samaria and Jerusalem respectively. Scholars agreed that 2 Kgs 24:1a refers to Nebuchadnezzar's

[37] The only place where a similar phrase occurs is Gen 9:26–27.

[38] For a similar division see FRITZ, *Kings*, 349.

campaign against Ashkelon in 605 / 604 BCE. After having ascended the throne in Babylon (*ABC* 5:9–11), Nebuchadnezzar marched against the southern Levant and conquered Ashkelon in 604 (*ABC* 5:15–20).[39] The general statement בימיו עלה נבכדנאצר מלך בבל (2 Kgs 24:1a) summarizes this campaign. As the result of the campaign Judah became a vassal of Babylonia for three years (section 2; cf. 2 Kgs 24:1b).

The interpretation of the same formula in 2 Kgs 17:3, however, generates several problems as to how to reconstruct the Assyrian campaigns against Samaria.[40] Comparing the meaning of the formula in 2 Kgs 24:1 with that in 17:3, we can conclude that there is no reason to claim that the narrative function of the verb עלה differs in these two cases. Consequently, since the formula "PN1, king of ..., marched ... and PN2 became his servant" describes a real campaign and its result in 2 Kgs 24:1, it makes sense to conclude that the phrase עליו עלה שלמנאסר מלך אשור in 17:3 is not only a narrative introduction but also a description of a campaign that resulted in Samaria becoming a vassal of Assyria.

Sections 3 and 3' (2 Kgs 17:4a; 24:1b). Both narratives continue with a note on a revolt. Whereas 2 Kgs 17:3–4 gives details about what the revolt involved, 24:1c reports on it only briefly, וישב וימרד־בו.[41] Besides in 2 Kgs 24:1, 20, the verb מרד is used in 1–2 Kings only for the description of Hezekiah's rebellion against Sennacherib (2 Kgs 18:7), which Rab-shaqeh interpreted as Judean plotting with Egypt against Assyria (2 Kgs 18:20). This interpretation is indirectly confirmed by the history of the political situation in the southern Levant between 605 and 598 BCE. After a series of military victories, Babylonian troops suffered heavy losses in 601 BCE when they tried to invade Egypt (*ABC* 5 r.5–7). The Egyptians' successful obstruction of the advancing Babylonian army caused a series of rebellions in the Levant, including in Jerusalem. The rebellions against, and resistance to, Babylonia were naturally backed up by Egypt. So if 2 Kgs 24:1c is interpreted within the literary context of 1–2 Kings, and in the light of the political events of that period, then the rebellion of Jehoiakim took place after 601 BCE and was backed up by Egypt. In sum, sections 3 and 3' refer to a conspiracy / revolt intended, directly (2 Kgs 17:4) or indirectly (2 Kgs 24:1c), as complotting with Egypt against Assyria and Babylonia respectively.

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[39] COGAN / TADMOR, *II Kings*, 307–310.

[40] For a review of the campaigns see NA'AMAN, "Historical Background", 206–212; HAYES / KUAN, "Final Years", 153–156.

[41] The first segment, וישב, can be connected with the rebellion or read in the light of 2 Kgs 17:3 and translated in two ways:

NLT: "Jehoiakim's reign, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon invaded the land of Judah. Jehoiakim surrendered and paid him tribute for three years but then rebelled".

NRS: "In his days King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came up; Jehoiakim became his servant for three years; then he turned and rebelled against him".

Sections 4 and 4' (2 Kgs 17:4b; 24:2a). Before the final conquest, both narratives introduce a partial punishment: Hoshea was arrested (2 Kgs 17:4) and Judah was invaded by bands from surrounding nations (2 Kgs 24:2). The arrest of Hoshea was the last in series of Assyrian measures taken against Samaria, before Samaria was captured and passed into Assyrian hands. In the narrative of the fall of Samaria, Hoshea's arrest functions as a last warning sign before the northern kingdom ceased to exist.

Contrary to the version in Chronicles,[42] the punishment of Judah in 2 Kgs 24:2 took the form of raiding bands that encroached on its territory. The term "band", גדוד, in Kings refers to relatively small military units invading the northern kingdom: Arameans (2 Kgs 5:2; 6:23) or Moabites (2 Kgs 13:20–21) raiding Israel. According to MT, the bands were sent by YHWH as a warning sign for Judah. LXX omits "YHWH"; the bands might have been parts of Babylonian military units, which were usually composed of various ethnic groups. It is also plausible that the bands refer to nomads who filled the gap created by the destructive Babylonian activities.[43] In sum, section 4 describes the last warnings given to Samaria and Jerusalem. The warnings took the form of a punishment that presaged the impending end of both kingdoms.

Sections 5–6 and 5'–6' (2 Kgs 17:5a; 24:10a). Since the warnings do nor find their mark, both narratives move on to the description of the decisive assault. Each opens with a short summary introduction (2 Kgs 17:5a; 24:10a) employing the verb עלה.[44] In both cases the cities do not surrender immediately and the invading troops have to resort to siege.

Sections 7 and 7' (2 Kgs 17:6–7, 23b–41). The description of the conquest of both capitals unfolds three themes: conquest, deportation and aftermath. Both capitals passed into the invaders' hands after a siege. Whereas in 2 Kgs 17:6 it is unclear whether the city surrenders, 2 Kgs 24:12 does suggest that Jehoiachin surrenders. Once the cities had been taken by the invaders, their inhabitants were deported and the region was reorganized.[45]

Sections 4–7 of the sequence I have described, in contrast to sections 1–3, display marked differences, despite having basic themes in common:[46]

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[42] In 2 Chr 36:6, Nebuchadnezzar arrested Jehoiakim and not Zedekiah. This Chronicler's reading would create a perfect parallel between sections 4 and 4'. Both the Assyrian and the Babylonian king punished the revolt, one by arresting Hoshea and the other Jehoiakim.

[43] If the latter interpretation is advanced, then the note would be out of chronological order and it would rather refer to the nomadic tribes invading Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem.

[44] The independent status of 2 Kgs 17:5–6 is clearly seen from its insertion into the southern account in 2 Kgs 18:9–11.

[45] The description of the first conquest of Jerusalem can be synchronized with Babylonian chronicles which affirm that in 598 – three years after the battle in 601 BCE – the Babylonians decided to suppress the rebellions in the southern Levant. *ABC* 5 r.11–13 refers to the conquest of Jerusalem that corresponds to 2 Kgs 24:10–17.

[46] The translation of the biblical text is taken from the NRSV.

	2 Kgs 17	2 Kgs 24:1–17	2 Kgs 24:20–25:30
First invasion	(1) King Shalmaneser of Assyria came up against him	(1') In his days King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came up;	
Vassalage	(2) Hoshea became his vassal, and paid him tribute	(2') Jehoiakim became his servant for three years;	
Revolt	(3) But the king of Assyria found treachery in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to King So of Egypt, and offered no tribute to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year;	(3') then he turned and rebelled against him.	(III) Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon
Punishment	(4) therefore the king of Assyria confined him and imprisoned him.	(4') YHWH sent against him bands of the Chaldeans, bands of the Arameans, bands of the Moabites, and bands of the Ammonites;…	
Decisive assault	(5) Then the king of Assyria invaded all the land and came to Samaria;	(5') At that time the servants of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came up to Jerusalem,	(V) And in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, on the tenth day of the month, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came with all his army against Jerusalem,
Siege	(6) for three years he besieged it.	(6') and the city was besieged. King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came to the city, while his servants were besieging it;	(VI) and laid siege to it; they built siege works against it all around. So the city was besieged until the eleventh year of King Zedekiah.
Aftermath Conquest Deportation Aftermath	(7) In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria captured Samaria; he carried the Israelites away to Assyria. He placed	(7') King Jehoiachin of Judah gave himself up to the king of Babylon, himself, his mother, his servants, his officers, and his	(VII) On the ninth day of the fourth month the famine became so severe in the city that there was no food for the people of the land.

them in Halah, on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes .... The king of Assyria brought people from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria in place of the people of Israel; they took possession of Samaria, and settled in its cities. When they first settled there, they did not worship YHWH; therefore YHWH sent lions among them, which killed some of them...	palace officials. The king of Babylon took him prisoner in the eighth year of his reign. He carried off all the treasures of the house of YHWH, and the treasures of the king's house; he cut in pieces all the vessels of gold in the temple of YHWH, which King Solomon of Israel had made, all this as YHWH had foretold. He carried away all Jerusalem, all the officials, ...	Then a breach was made in the city wall; the king with all the soldiers fled by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, by the king's garden, though the Chaldeans were all around the city. They went in the direction of the Arabah ... Nebuzaradan, the captain of the bodyguard, a servant of the king of Babylon, came to Jerusalem. He burned the house of YHWH, ... carried into exile the rest of the people who were left in the city.
	The king of Babylon made Mattaniah, Jehoiachin's uncle, king in his place, and changed his name to Zedekiah.	He appointed Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan as governor over the people who remained in the land of Judah, whom King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon had left.

3.2 Other Similarities between the Falls of Samaria and Jerusalem

Besides the similarities presented above, an attentive reader can easily observe several minor linguistic and thematic connections that the final redactors have created between the downfalls of the two cities in their larger literary context (2 Kgs 15; 17 and 2 Kgs 21–24).

Neither kingdom was taken in a single campaign. According to the biblical accounts, during the first Assyrian invasion Menahem paid tribute then, during Pekah's reign, the Assyrians conquered and deported the inhabitants of the northern part of the kingdom, then Shalmaneser invaded it and arrested the king, and only in the final phase did the Assyrians besiege and conquered Samaria. Similarly the Judean kingdom first became an Egyptian vassal and had to pay tribute, then it was invaded by Nebuchadnezzar, then by the raiding bands, and at the end the city was conquered and its inhabitants were deported.

The period of time between the first Assyrian and Babylonian invasions and the final conquests were long enough to produce great instability in both the north and

the south.[47] The most evident characteristic of this instability was the shortening of the kings' reigns: Jehoahaz reigned for three months and Jehoiachin for six months in Jerusalem; Zechariah reigned for six months and Shallum for one month in Samaria. Whereas in the north the rapid changes of ruler were caused by *coups d'état*, in the south the kings were removed by the foreign powers; however, the result was the same.[48] In both cases the foreign power significantly limited the Judean and Israelite kings' room for manoeuvre, and the executive power slid gradually out of their hands. The rapid changes on the throne were closely bound up with shifting allegiances. Thus from the biblical accounts it is possible to deduce that Shallum was anti-Assyrian, Menahem and Pekahiah were pro-Assyrian, Pekah was anti-Assyrian, and Hoshea started as pro-Assyrian and ended as anti-Assyrian. Allegiances shifted similarly in the South. Jehoahaz was anti-Egyptian, Jehoiakim started as pro-Egyptian then became anti-Babylonian, and finished as pro-Babylonian, Jehoiachin was anti-Babylonian, Zedekiah at the beginning of his reign was pro-Babylonian and then anti-Babylonian. The tumultuous last years, the rapid changes of king, the shifting allegiances and the presence of the occupying power indirectly resulted in unprecedented violence in both kingdoms. Menahem ripped open pregnant women,[49] and there was extensive bloodshed in Jerusalem.[50]

Whereas in the north the kings were all bad, except for Jehu, in the south the kings were mainly good. The merits of the Judean kings abruptly changed after the death of Josiah. Jehoahaz and his successors (2 Kgs 23:31–25:30) were all considered bad kings. As a result the final years of both kingdoms were in the hands of poor rulers, which necessarily led to a similar end for both. The first bad Judean king was Jehoahaz. From the account of his reign we can observe two events that create links with the northern kingdom: the arrest of Jehoahaz and the payment of tribute. Besides the arrest of Hoshea in 2 Kgs 17:4, 1–2 Kings mention only two other kings who were arrested. First, Pharaoh Neco arrested Jehoahaz, king of Judah (2 Kgs 23:33) and then Nebuchadnezzar arrested Zedekiah, the last king of Judah (2 Kgs 25:7). The concentration of the arrest episodes in the last days of the northern and southern kingdoms creates another thematic link between the narratives of their falls. The arrests of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah functioned as last warnings given to the Judean kings before the final destruction of Jerusalem in a similar way to the arrest of Hoshea before the conquest of Samaria. In the second place, Jehoahaz' successor, Jehoiakim, had to pay a heavy tribute to Pharaoh Neco in order to stay in power (2 Kgs 23:34–35). Similarly the usurper Menahem had to pay sub-

[47] DUBOVSKÝ, "Why".

[48] In the South the only coup occurred when the administrator of Judah, Gedaliah, was assassinated shortly after being appointed. According to the Neo-Assyrian annals, Tiglath-pileser III directly intervened and put Hoshea on the throne in Samaria (RINAP 1 42:17'–18').

[49] COGAN, "Ripping"; DUBOVSKÝ, "Ripping".

[50] MT attributes it to Manasseh, LXX to Jehoiakim.

stantial tribute to Tiglath-pileser III so that the Assyrian king would endorse his rule (2 Kgs 15:19–20). Both Jehoiakim and Menahem collected money by taxing ordinary people and nobles – which, of course, drained the financial resources of both kingdoms.

The description of the second conquest of Jerusalem also displays some links with the fall of Samaria (2 Kgs 17). Both capitals were exposed to a siege that lasted three years. Both kingdoms suffered the deportation of their citizens and both underwent a complicated process of incorporation into the invaders' administration. Lions attacked and killed new settlers in Samaria; and rebels killed the Babylonian administrator Gedaliah. In both cases there remains an ambiguous hope for the exiled people (2 Kgs 17:34–41; 25:27–30).

Similarly the deportation of the local inhabitants itself went through several stages. In both cases the vicissitudes of the people left behind in, or imported into, the land are extensively discussed (2 Kgs 17:24–33; 25:22–26). The emphasis on the completeness and irreversibility of the destruction, with the whole city being destroyed and its inhabitants deported in both cases, is expressed by the frequent use of the particle כל.[51]

3.3 Two Parallel Accounts of the Fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:18–25:30)

Before comparing the conclusions of the historical overview with the literary study of the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem, I will briefly analyse 2 Kgs 24:18–25:30. This narrative continues the description of the fall of Jerusalem. While it is possible to discuss whether 2 Kgs 24:18–25:30 is a later expansion of the first narrative (2 Kgs 24:1–17) or vice versa,[52] in this section I will point to linguistic and thematic links between the two narratives, and between the second narrative of the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:18–25:30) and that of the fall of Samaria (2 Kings 17).

Whereas after the decisive assault the northern kingdom cease to exist, Nebuchadnezzar's final attack did not abruptly destroy the Judean kingdom, and the Jerusalemites had a last chance: Nebuchadnezzar named Zedekiah king of Jerusalem. From 2 Kgs 24:20 onwards the narrative resumes some elements of the literary pattern described above, creating specific literary links between the first and second narratives of the fall of Jerusalem.

Sections III~3 and 3' (2 Kgs 24:20b): Shortly after being put on the throne, Zedekiah rebelled against Babylonia (section III~3). The literary links between sections 3 and III (2 Kgs 24:1–20) are created by repeating the same verb, preposition and even verbal form, וימרד־בו and וימרד צדקיהו במלך בבל.

Sections IV~4 and 4': Sections 4 and 4' have no counterpart in 2 Kgs 24–25, and the narrative moves directly to the decisive assault (sections 5 and V).

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[51] LIPSCHITS, *Fall*, 83.

[52] BEGG, "DtrP".

Reading 2 Kgs 24:1–17 and 24:20–25:30 together it can be concluded that the first Babylonian invasion and deportation should have served as partial punishment for Judah, i.e. as an equivalent of sections 4 and 4'. Its goal was to warn Judah that the kingdom was heading towards the same disastrous end that overtook the northern kingdom. But this warning was of no avail, just as the warnings given to the northern kings (2 Kgs 15:29) proved useless.

Sections V~5 and 5' (2 Kgs 25:1a): The description of the decisive assault starts alike in sections 5 and 5' with a short narrative introduction summarizing the whole attack, though they use different verbs (עלה and בוא). The description of the fall of Samaria (section 5) and the second narrative of the fall of Jerusalem (section V) are closely interlinked. Both start with a temporary clause that opens a new narrative unit. Both contain the phrase "in the ninth year of", which occurs only twice in the Bible (2 Kgs 17:6 and 25:1).

Sections VI~6 and 6' (2 Kgs 25:1b-2): After the short summary statement the narrative continues with the description of the siege. The final redactors connected the first and the second narratives of the fall of Jerusalem by means of the verbatim repetition of the phrase ותבא העיר במצור, which occurs in 1–2 Kings only in these two narratives (cf. 2 Kgs 24:10; 25:2 / Jer 52:5).

Sections VII~7 and 7' (2 Kgs 25:3–30): These sections represent the largest part of the narrative. They resume the vocabulary of 2 Kgs 24:10–17. In these two passages alone (2 Kgs 24:12 and 25:1–8) an unusual chronology based on the reigning Babylonian king is employed, as well as the expression למלכו instead of במלכו (cf. 2 Kgs 23:36; 24:8, 18).[53] Similarly, both narratives of the fall of Jerusalem use the same terminology for the deportation (the root גלה). Moreover, the second narrative develops the themes of the first in a hyperbolic way. Both kings left Jerusalem: Jehoiachin surrendered; Zedekiah escaped. Both kings met Nebuchadnezzar, and both were deported to Babylon. However, whereas Jehoiachin, his family and dignitaries were deported to Babylon, Zedekiah's sons and his dignitaries were executed and Zedekiah's eyes were put out. Jehoiachin later benefited from Babylonian generosity in exile, whereas Zedekiah was bound in chains and subsequently disappears from the narrative. Whereas during the first Babylonian conquest the city was looted and the temple's vessels were smashed, in the second narrative the destruction is depicted in more vivid colours: the city was set on fire and its walls were torn down; the temple was destroyed in the conflagration, its columns were smashed and its bronze objects removed to Babylon. The extensiveness of the second deportation is also much greater than in Jehoiachin's case. Finally, both narratives describe a possible future granted to Judah by the Babylonians: in the first the Babylonians appoint Zedekiah as ruler, in the second Gedaliah. But neither of these opportunities is taken.

[53] Synchronization with the Babylonian kings is a characteristic feature of the Babylonian Chronicles (cf. for example *ABC* 5:15).

Whereas sections III, V, and VI contain several links to sections 3–3', 5–5' and 6–6', it is important to notice that the second narrative of the fall of Jerusalem contains specific vocabulary and themes not developed in the first narrative. The differences can be noted, in particular, in the aftermath of the second Babylonian invasion.[54] Whereas 2 Kgs 17 focuses more on the newcomers and their idolatrous practices, 2 Kgs 24–25 focus on the destruction of the temple, a so-called empty land, the revolt against Gedaliah, etc.

3.4 Summary

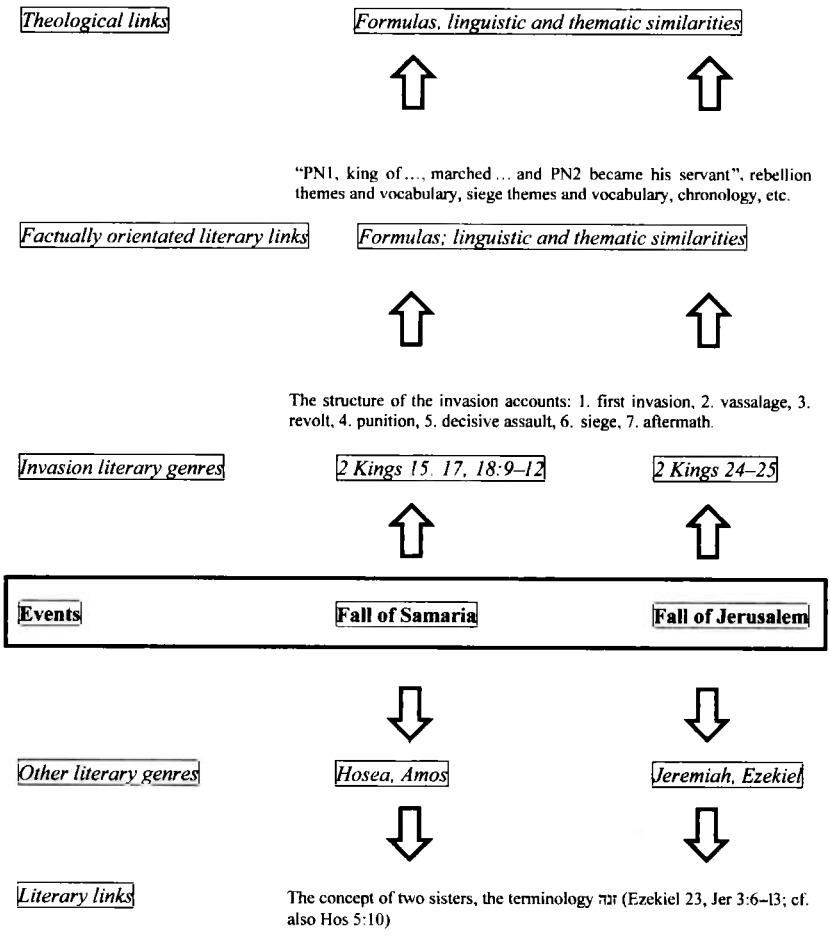
The historical overview of the downfalls of Samaria and Judah furnished similar results to those produced by comparing the invasion accounts in 2 Kgs 15; 17 and 2 Kgs 24–25. The literary pattern employed to present the last days of Samaria and Jerusalem in 2 Kings emphasized that neither of the kingdoms collapsed straight away. Rather the downfall of both went through various phases and was produced by similar social and political dynamics. Comparable dynamics could be seen in the historical analysis of these two events. Moreover, the historical analysis showed significant differences between the situations in Samaria and Jerusalem after the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests. Similarly, whereas the narratives describing the situation before the downfall of Samaria and Jerusalem have linguistic and thematic links, more differences can be observed between the description of what happened after the conquests of both capitals.

Comparing the presentation of the downfall of Jerusalem in 2 Kings with that in prophets such as Amos, Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the differences are obvious. The prophets did not adopt an annalistic style, except in Jer 52, but rather used various different literary genres.[55] So the first level of connection between the descriptions of the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem can be observed in the choice of an annalistic style ('invasion literary genres'). It is only natural that, since the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem went through similar stages, they generated similarities in how those stages were described. Similarly, since the fortunes of both kingdoms after their conquest differed significantly, the descriptions of the aftermaths also differ significantly as to vocabulary and themes.

Despite the explicable similarities and differences in the invasion literary genres that the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem generated, we observed the specific formulas and other unique linguistic and thematic links listed above. These links mainly concern the facts, in particular chronology and the nature of the events. They disclose directly or indirectly the political and military strategies preceding the fall of both kingdoms. They share details about the sieges, conquests and deportations. Consequently we have to distinguish between two similar invasion literary genres generated, as expected, by two similar sets of historical events, on the one hand, and, on the other, the specific linguistic links

[54] LIPSCHITS, *Fall*, 97–122.

[55] BEN ZVI / SWEENEY (eds.), *Changing Face*, 269–325.



that must have been introduced by later editors at a certain point. The nature of these links suggests that they were intentionally created in order to urge the reader to interpret the last days of Jerusalem in the light of the downfall of Samaria and vice versa. Since it is impossible to reflect on the fall of Jerusalem before it actually happened, it stands to reason that these factually orientated links were introduced into 2 Kings shortly after the fall of Jerusalem.

4. Impact on the Formation of the Pentateuch

What is the meaning of these literary patterns for the rise of the Torah? The Book of Deuteronomy, in various places, describes the fall of Jerusalem and

its consequences. 2 Kings 17; 24–25 and Deut 28 share several key themes, such as invasion by a foreign army, siege, the devastation of the country, famine and exile. However, a closer examination of the vocabulary and narrative details brings out significant differences. Above all, the Book of Deuteronomy does not organize the description using invasion literary genres, but makes it part of a series of curses. Moreover, Deuteronomy (28:53, 55, 57) employs a slightly different vocabulary for the siege "in the desperate straits", במצור ובמצוק, more similar to that of Jeremiah (19:9). The vivid description of the consequences – famine and cannibalism – of a prolonged siege is a feature that occurs in Deut 28:53–57 and Jer 19:8–9, but not in 2 Kings, even though the famine is mentioned (2 Kgs 25:3). Moreover, the word used for the exile (גלה), typical for both narratives in 2 Kings (17:6, 23, 26–33; 24:14–15; 25:11, 21), does not occur in Deuteronomy, which prefers other terms (שבי in Deut 28:41, פוץ in 28:64)[56] that are not used in 2 Kgs 17 and 24–25. There are almost no references in Deuteronomy to what happened after the falls of Jerusalem and Samaria. These and other differences show that the factually orientated links between the fall of Samaria and that of Jerusalem in 2 Kings, such as the invasion patterns, characteristic vocabulary and fixed expressions, do not have parallels in Deuteronomy.

4.1. Theological Links

Numerous scholars argued that the narratives in 2 Kgs 17 and 24–25 went through various phases of editing.[57] Thus the final narrative contains opening and closing formulas framing the narratives about single kings (2 Kgs 17:1–2; 23:31–32, 36–37; 24:5–6, 8–9, 18–19).[58] Besides the royal trappings, the final text also contains annalistic notes (on Egypt in 2 Kgs 24:7) as well as homiletical and exhortatory passages.

Even a quick examination of the theological reflections inserted into the narrative of the fall of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:7–23a, 34–41) shows that no similarly extensive reflection exists in 2 Kgs 24–25.[59] The first narrative of the fall of Jerusalem contains three verses of reflection (2 Kgs 24:2b–4, 13c) and the second only one verse, situated at the beginning of the narrative

[56] Cf. also Deut 28:32, 36.

[57] NELSON, *Double Redaction*, 85–90; FRITZ, *Kings*, 351–357, 414–426; GRAY, *Kings*, 638–641, 751–775; WÜRTHWEIN, *Könige*, 391–393, 466–484; LONG, *2 Kings*, 180–189, 285–290. For the redaction of 2 Kings 17, see FREVEL, "Schreiben". For 2 Kgs 24–25 see, for example, VANONI, "Beobachtungen".

[58] "[T]he synchronisms cannot derive from the respective royal chronicles, but must go back to the author of the excerpt": LEVIN, *Re-Reading*, 184.

[59] For further studies see HOFFMANN, *Reform*, 323–366; PERSON, *Deuteronomic School*, 117–120.

(2 Kgs 24:20a).[60] The scarcity of the Dtr vocabulary from 2 Kgs 23:26 on has led several scholars to the conclusion that a different redactor is at work.[61] Despite the brevity of the theological comments in the first and second narratives of the fall of Jerusalem, it is possible to observe undeniable linguistic links between the theological comments in 2 Kgs 24:2b–4, 13c, 20a and 2 Kgs 17:7–23a, on the one hand, and the Book of Deuteronomy, on the other.[62] In the comments a divine wrath theology[63] is used to explain the irrevocable rejection of Israel and Judah, and the prediction of the catastrophes by means of God's servants the prophets.

Fall of Jerusalem		Fall of Samaria	Deuteronomy
First narrative 2 Kgs 24:2b–4, 13c	*Second narrative 2 Kgs 25:20a*	*2 Kgs 17:7–23a, (34–41)*	
וישלחם ביהודה להאבידו	no equivalent	no equivalent	ישלח יהוה בך את־המארה (Deut 28:20; cf. also 28:48, etc.) כי־אבד תאבדון מהר מעל הארץ (Deut 4:26)
כדבר יהוה	no equivalent	no equivalent	no equivalent
אשר דבר ביד עבדיו הנביאים כאשר דבר יהוה	no equivalent	כאשר דבר ביד כל־עבדיו הנביאים	The expression כאשר דבר יהוה only has a positive meaning in Deuteronomy, i.e. what YHWH promised to do for Israel (Deut 1:21; 2:1; 6:3, 19; 9:3; 10:9; 27:3; 31:3).[64] The prediction of the disaster by means of the prophets does not have an equivalent in Deuteronomy.[65]

[60] Differences in vocabulary and themes between the theological comments in 2 Kgs 21:3–16, 23:26–27 and 24:3–4 brought K. Schmid to conclude that these passages do not reflect the classical Deuteronomistic theology, but rather *golaorientierte Theologie*; SCHMID, "Manasse", 98–99.

[61] VANONI, "Beobachtungen", 359.

[62] WEINFELD, *Deuteronomy*, 320–363; ADAMCZEWSKI, *Retelling*, 271–276.

[63] See for example KRATZ / SPIECKERMANN (eds.), *Wrath*; BODI, *Ezekiel*.

[64] The phrase has positive meaning in Solomon's narrative (1 Kgs 5:19; 8:20).

[65] Partial equivalents could be Deut 13:3.

אך על־פי יהוה היתה ביהודה להסיר מעל פניו	no equivalent	ויסרם מעל פניו עד אשר־הסיר יהוה את־ישראל מעל פניו	Only positive meaning (Deut 7:15)
וגם דם־הנקי אשר שפך וימלא את־ירושלם דם נקי	no equivalent	no equivalent	In legal cases Deut 19:10–13; 21:8–9; (cf. also Deut 27:25).
ולא־אבה יהוה לסלח	no equivalent	no equivalent	לא־יאבה יהוה סלח לו (Deut 29:19)
	כי על־אף יהוה היתה בירושלם וביהודה	ויתאנף יהוה מאד בישראל	אף־יהוה (Deut 6:15; 7:4; 29:19, etc.)
	עד־השלכו אתם מעל פניו	עד אשר השליכם מפניו	A similar concept: וישלכם אל־ארץ אחרת (Deut 29:27)

The second group of theological comments can be identified by comparing the larger theological commentary in 2 Kgs 17:7–23a with the theological reflection in 2 Kgs 21:3–11. The latter, inserted into the account of Manasseh's reign, functions in 2 Kings as the main theological interpretation of the fall of Jerusalem.[66] A comparison of these two texts reveals another series of theological features linking the fall of Samaria with that of Jerusalem. Since several studies have already been dedicated to the Dtr vocabulary,[67] let me present only the motifs that do not occur in the previous links, but do occur in 2 Kgs 17:7–23a, 2 Kgs 21:3–11 and Deuteronomy.[68] This group of comments focuses on the nature of the idolatrous worship and of the other ways in which the Israelites and the Judeans sinned and provoked YHWH to anger.[69] These abominable actions were indeed the real cause of the fall of both kingdoms, following the retribution model.[70]

[66] The theological reflection on Manasseh can be divided into two sections: 2 Kgs 21:2(3)–11, 12–15(16). The second part takes the form of a doom oracle, sharing the doom formula with Huldah's oracle, 2 Kgs 22:16–20 (cf. also Ahijah's oracle against Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 14:10–16). For other connections see ROMER, *Deuteronomistic History*, 160.

[67] WEINFELD, *Deuteronomy*, 320–365; RÖMER, "Case", 197–201.

[68] Some features in Kings do not occur in Deuteronomy, such as the theme of building high places (2 Kgs 17:9; 21:3).

[69] JOO, *Provocation*, 225–230.

[70] FEDER, "Mechanics".

Theme	2 Kgs 17:7–23a	2 Kgs 21:3–11	Deuteronomy
Sin	17:7, 21, 22	21:11	9:16
Following the sinful practices of the nations that YHWH expelled before the Israelites	17:8	21:2	18:12
Condemnation of illegitimate cultic practices	17:17	21:6	12:31; 18:10
Condemnation of the worship of the heavenly hosts	17:16	21:3	4:19; 17:3
Condemnation of Asherahs, Baals and other idols	17:10, 16	21:3, 7	
To provoke God to anger	17:11, 17	21:6	4:25; 9:18; 31:29; 32:16, 21
(Not) observing the statutes, commandments and laws	17:13, 15, 16, 19	21:8	Major theme (cf. 28:15)

The third group of comments linking the fall of Samaria to that of Jerusalem represents direct comparisons. From among the theological additions in 2 Kings, two verses directly link the fall of Jerusalem to that of Samaria.[71] In the midst of a long homiletic section explaining the causes of the downfall of Israel there is a verse on Judah (2 Kgs 17:18–19), and in the midst of a long list of Manasseh's sins there is a comparison with Samaria (2 Kgs 21:13). The former displays the typical vocabulary of the previous group: "Judah also did not keep the commandments of YHWH their God but walked in the customs that Israel had introduced" (cf. 2 Kgs 17:8).[72] The latter "I will stretch over Jerusalem the measuring line for Samaria, and the plummet for the house of Ahab" (NRSV) was probably inspired by Amos 7:7–10 and Isa 34:11.[73] It represents a concept of comparison that does not contain typical Dtr vocabulary, but draws upon an old, probably preexilic, prophetic tradition. It combines

[71] Similar direct comparisons can be found in Hos 5, Jer 3 and Ezek 23. However, it is necessary to note that in 1–2 Kings the sins of Judah and Israel are never interpreted by means of the concept of two sisters who behaved like prostitutes (זנה) – the favourite language of Jer 3:1–12 (cf. also Ezek 23) and Deut 31:16.

[72] Deut 28:15, 45, etc. have the same concept, though always with the verb "to observe", rather than the verb "to walk".

[73] KEIL, *Commentary*, 471.

the prophecy against Israel (Amos 7:7–10) with that against the nations (Isa 34:11). It stands in direct opposition to the oracle of salvation in Isa 28:17.

4.2. Summary

The theological links presented above can be divided into three groups in chronological order. A unique theological comment directly linking the downfall of Samaria with that of Jerusalem occurs in 2 Kgs 21:13. This link has no equivalent in Deuteronomy and combines Amos 7:7–10 and Isa 34:11. Chronologically, the next level of links represents the theological comments inserted into the narrative on the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:2b–4, 13c, 20a) and that of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:7–23a). These comments affirm the irrevocability of God's rejection of both kingdoms, in conformity with the prophets' accusations against both cities. These links have correspondences with Deuteronomy. The last type of theological link occurs in 2 Kgs 17:7–23a and in 2 Kgs 21:3–11. The wordy reflection in 2 Kgs 17:7–23a contrasts with the brief theological comments of 2 Kgs 24:2b–4, 13c, 20a. A similar wordy passage is inserted into the account of King Manasseh who, according to 2 Kings, was responsible for the downfall of Jerusalem.[74] By individuating the features occurring in both 2 Kgs 17 and 21, and eliminating those that occur in 2 Kgs 24, we can bring forward a new group of theological comments linking the fall of Samaria with that of Jerusalem. What makes this group new is the focus on the reasons why Samaria and Jerusalem were condemned. The overlapping themes demonstrate that the main reason for the rejection of both cities was idolatrous worship and illegitimate practices that made God angry. These links also correspond to Deuteronomy.

To which period can these theological links be dated? The *terminus post quem* is obviously the fall of Jerusalem, since it would be difficult to imagine the links referring to the fall of Jerusalem before it took place. The *terminus ante quem* is more difficult to establish. Josephus listed the reasons for the fall of Samaria (*Ant.* 9.281–282); however, they are different from those in 2 Kgs 17. Similarly, the theological evaluation of Manasseh in *Ant.* 10.37–45 is different from that in 2 Kgs 21. Since these items in Josephus are different from those in 2 Kings it makes sense that the theological links between the fall of Samaria and Jerusalem were created before the Greek-Roman period. Another element to be taken into consideration is Chronicles.[75] 2 Chr 36 contains a theological interpretation of the fall of Jerusalem that is partly different from 2 Kgs 24 (cf. 2 Kgs 24:2b–4, 13c, 20a and 2 Chr 36:12–16). This suggests that the theological links in 1–2 Kings which have parallels in Deuteronomy must have been created after the fall of Jerusalem, before the composition of Josephus' *Antiquities* and probably before that of Chronicles.[76] Moreover, these theological links do not belong to the same layer but rather to three different

[74] HOFFMANN, *Reform*, 121–139; OHM, "Manasseh", 239–252.

[75] RÖMER, "Case", 187–190.

[76] For the exilic dating see RÖMER, *Deuteronomistic History*, 158–163.

textual / theological strata, from among which only the first layer (2 Kgs 21:13) does not have a parallel in Deuteronomy.

5. Conclusions

Let me summarize the results of the previous sections. First, the historical analysis of the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem shows that both kingdoms underwent a similar process before they ceased to exist: they frequently changed their allegiances; the reigns of their kings became unstable; and their financial resources were drained by occupying powers. Moreover, neither of the kingdoms collapsed at once; they fell after repeated invasions and prolonged siege. Whereas the dynamics preceding the falls of both kingdoms were similar, the aftermaths differed significantly.

The descriptions of the two downfalls in 2 Kings likewise display a similar chronology of events and similar dynamics before the falls of both kingdoms. Moreover, 2 Kings also preserves significant differences regarding their aftermaths. At this stage of their literary formation, the biblical texts of 1–2 Kings adopted invasion literary genres. Comparing the historical analysis of both events with the investigation of these literary genres, I suggest that it was natural for two similar events to generate two similar annalistic accounts.

However, the similarities between invasion literary genres are inadequate to explain the verbatim repetitions and other literary links between the narratives in 2 Kgs 17 and 24–25. As a result of a comparative analysis I argue that, at a certain stage, the final redactor intentionally created linguistic and literary links in order to read the final days of Jerusalem in the light of the final days of Samaria and vice versa. These links were factually orientated and mainly related to the events and their chronology, dates, and the political and military dynamics of these periods.

The last category of links can be labelled as theological comments. Whereas the previous links focused on facts, the theological links do not reflect the facts but try to answer the question as to why both capitals fell. Were there other than military reasons why the capitals fell into the hands of invaders? Whereas the factually orientated links did not have parallels in Deuteronomy, most of the theological links reflect the vocabulary and themes characteristic of that book. Therefore, despite the particularity of Deuteronomy and Kings, it can be safely concluded that the final editions of Kings and Deuteronomy cannot be separated. The theological links created between the fall of Samaria and Jerusalem in 1–2 Kings betray signs of a theological interpretation similar to that of Deuteronomy.

What is, then, the connection between the fall of Jerusalem and the rise of the Torah? Thanks to the dialogue between Books of Deuteronomy and Kings the earlier, factually orientated links between the downfalls of Samaria and Jerusalem

in 2 Kings were taken to a new level. The rise of the Torah indeed meant the appearance of new theological connections between the fall of Jerusalem and that of Samaria, and vice versa: the fall of Jerusalem encouraged the creation of a theological basis for interpreting these two similar events. Both events were preceded by similar religious problems and caused by similar transgressions and sins. The rise of the Torah, in particular the Book of Deuteronomy, helped revisit the similarities between the falls of Samaria and Jerusalem, not only from a factually orientated viewpoint, but also in order to understand the similar religious dynamics that formed the basis of both downfalls.

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