How the Role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah Relates to Israel’s Developing Understanding of God.

Roger Porter
Department of Theology
Flinders University

Abstract

God’s revelation is seen here through the life of Cyrus The Great, king of Persia. The pivotal role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah illustrates how Cyrus’ actions correlated with Israel’s developing understanding of God. Isaiah viewed Cyrus, the military and political victor, as God’s instrument through the returning of captive Israel to Jerusalem and Judah. Here, God is seen as the Lord of history employed in the political actions of the day.

Introduction: The Genesis of Cyrus The Great

The prophet of the exile, Second Isaiah, saw God as the Lord of history employed in the political actions of the day. Moreover, Isaiah viewed Cyrus king of Persia, the military and political victor, as God’s instrument through the returning of captive Israel to Jerusalem and Judah. Accordingly, this essay will argue the pivotal role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah illustrating how his actions correlated with Israel’s developing understanding of God.

The relevant aspects to be addressed here on Cyrus’ role regarding Israel’s relationship with God are numerous. They include the historical setting for the role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah, God’s part in this situation, Israel’s reaction to the involvement of an outsider (such as Cyrus) in their affairs, the rebuilding of the temple, and how God’s favouring of foreign powers expanded Israel’s understanding of YHWH the God of Israel. Furthermore, clarification of the term ‘anointed’ as applied to Cyrus will be considered and a reaffirmation that YHWH’s raising of Cyrus leads to Israel’s gratuitous liberation will be addressed.¹

It will be seen how Cyrus, ‘YHWH’s servant,’ holds a unique place in the history of Israel.² Cyrus appears destined to save Israel and to fulfil Israel’s mission on behalf of the God of Israel. Importantly, Cyrus is seen as one whose edict and command served as a foundation for the return to Zion and the erection of the destroyed temple.³ It will be argued that Cyrus is

God’s chosen instrument through which God’s gracious purposes are accomplished, especially as through Cyrus God is revealed to the whole world and not solely to Israel. Hence, revelation will be seen through the life of Cyrus King of Persia, and Cyrus’ role in Second Isaiah as momentous in God’s enduring plan for Israel.

The Oracle Concerning Cyrus

The oracle concerning Cyrus is pivotal to the text of Second Isaiah (44:24-45:25). Undoubtedly, the fundamental contention of the oracle relating to Cyrus is that the fall of Babylon and the rise of Persia are God’s work, because YHWH is creator and controller of all worldly events. The prophet Isaiah’s primary purpose is not to convince the Gentiles of this fact, but the Jews. The prophet commences by asserting YHWH as Israel’s redeemer and stressing the restitution of Jerusalem and Judah (vv.44:24-28). Yet, the originality of the passage rests in the embedded assertion that Jerusalem’s rebuilding decree will arrive through Cyrus king of Persia, who appears as God’s anointed king.4

The Role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah

It can be seen that Cyrus’ role in Second Isaiah commences in verses 44:24-45:25, where a throne scene theme represents God’s rule over the earth. The themes of the individual lesser literary units are secondary to the basic notion of God’s sovereignty.5 The opening of this compositional unit is marked by the closure of the preceding description of idols and the hymn in 44:23, with the ‘Hallelujah’ being stated at the end through the verse 45:2.6

Moreover, much of the preceding prophecy relates to the theme of the Jewish people returning to their homeland, particularly Jerusalem. The passage’s main concern is with the achievement of this end. It is shown to be realized through the political realities of the day, specifically through the works of the Persian king Cyrus, who is surprisingly referred to here as YHWH’s ‘anointed’ (45.1).7 Cyrus’ reference as ‘anointed’ is noteworthy because by Judean tradition anointing occurred only when a person assumed a supreme Judean office. The term ‘the anointed’ is normally used in the Old Testament in reference to a king (e.g. ps. 2.2) and in later Judaism refers to the coming of the Messiah. Another important consideration is that Cyrus never became an Israelite king but there is validity in that he was the Lord’s vice-regent, supported by the fact he is termed ‘shepherd’ (44:28).8

Hence, the role of Cyrus in second Isaiah is crucial and relates significantly to Israel’s developing understanding of God. Leslie illustrates this in stating, ‘The opening words of The Second Isaiah are a message of comfort and assurance. The wonderful new epoch that awaits the Judean exiles is due to the policy of Cyrus, the great Persian monarch, twice mentioned by name in Second Isaiah (44:28; 45:1).9

---

8 Ibid., 55.
Who was Cyrus The Great?

Thus, who was Cyrus The Great and why does he relate significantly to Israel’s developing understanding of God? Cyrus was the grandson of Cyrus I and came to rule by ousting his grandfather, the king of the Medes. Cyrus developed an empire centred in Persia which included Lydia, Media, Mesopotamia, Ionia, Syria, and Palestine. Significantly, Cyrus conquered by diplomacy as well as by force becoming the focus of a prodigious legend in Persia and Greece culminating in his being known as Father of the Nation. He appears in the Old Testament as the liberator of the Jews held captive in Babylon. Unfortunately, Cyrus’ untimely death resulted from fighting nomads in Central Asia, with his legacy to the world constituting the founding of a culture, civilization and empire that continued after his death and lasting for two centuries.

Cyrus’s Relationship with Israel

In the context of reviewing Cyrus’s relationship with Israel, Cyrus appears in the Old Testament around 545 BCE as Judah and Jerusalem’s hope for restoration. Second Isaiah calls Cyrus the ‘shepherd’ who accomplishes YHWH’s will (Isaiah 44:28) giving Cyrus the exalted title of the ‘anointed’ of YHWH. Evidently, Cyrus’ conquests are perceived as being accomplished through the power of God, with God ordaining this in order that Cyrus may restore God’s people, Israel (Isaiah 45:1 ff).

This restoration expectation was fulfilled in 538 BCE when Cyrus allowed the Jews dwelling in Babylon to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the city and its temple (2 Chronicles 36:22f; Ezra 1:1-4). The text of Cyrus’ decree is quoted in Ezra 6:3-5. Hence, Cyrus’ handling of the Jews was in accord with his policy of returning the images of captured gods to their original temples, which he often rebuilt. And so, the Jews, who had no divine image, received instead the sacred vessels of the temple which had been looted by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezra 1:7) at the time of the exile to Babylon. Relevant to this event, Tenney notes:

Cyrus entered Babylon on October 29, 539 BCE and presented himself in the role of the liberator of the people. He allowed the images of gods to be transported back to their original cities, and instituted a kindly policy of repatriation of captive peoples. His policies of moderation naturally extended to the Hebrews whom he encouraged to return to rebuild their temple (2 Chronicles 36:22, 23; Ezra 1:1-6, Isaiah 44:27, 28; 45:1-5).

Regarding the rebuilding of the temple, Cyrus’ pronouncement for the restoration in Jerusalem heralded a significant period in the record of the Jewish nation (2 Chronicles 36:22, 23; Ezra 1:1-4; 4:3; 5:13-17; 6:3-5). Subsequently, Cyrus was to them as a ‘shepherd’ (Isaiah 44:28; 45:1) with God employing Cyrus in service to God’s people. Notably, in BCE 536 Cyrus became king over Palestine when it became part of Cyrus’ Babylonian empire.

The Situation of Israel at this Time

Accordingly, as part of Cyrus’ Babylonian empire, what was the situation of Israel at this time? The situation was such that the cities of Judah were in ruins. Nothing had been spared in the devastation by Nebuchadnezzar, including the splendid symbol of the national cult, the Jerusalem temple. The Judean leaders, in concert with the main sector of the populace, now existed as exiles under the Babylonian conquerors and the victorious Babylonian god, Marduk.  

As such, how did the Judeans respond to this state of affairs? Many among the subjugated Judeans responded by shifting their commitment from YHWH to the gods of the Babylonians (cf. Jer. 44:15-19; Ezekiel 8:7-18). Thus it can be seen, in accordance with the prevailing view of the time in the ancient Near East that the defeat of a state indicated the decline of that state’s sponsoring deity in the assembly of the gods, that these Judeans simply adhered to the norm by transferring their religious allegiances to the Babylonian conquerors.

Hence, the accepted stance of cultures adjoining Israel in believing that the interests of a god corresponded with the interests of the nation was not supported by the prophets in this instance. It was viewed by the Israelites that while God acted on behalf of Israel’s ancestors in Egypt and continued to be active in the events of Israel’s history, the divine purpose was guided by a universal plan of justice rather than a nationalistic agenda. And therefore, it signified significant growth and sustenance in Israel’s rising appreciation of God’s ways.

The Guiding Mindset of Second Isaiah

It appears the mindset that guided Second Isaiah as he faced the doubts of a people experiencing the apparent victory, first of the empire of Marduk and then of Ahura Mazda, was the same moral understanding of divine purpose that led Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah to present God’s plan of universal justice to kings and people. The faith of Israel sought a courageous option to nation-cult classification. That YHWH was implicated in this incident of history was already a theological supposition acknowledged by the Hebrews, through their exodus experience in Egypt. Notably, the tradition of probing human experience in relation to divine purpose was cultivated by the prophets. Hence, the Gnosticism vilification of the material world failed to take root in the religious communities growing out of the Bible.

Mindful of this belief, what part was there for YHWH, the God of Israel, to play in the situation of Second Isaiah? Hanson answers this question by stating:

For Second Isaiah that question was addressed by seeking to discern how those events were serving God’s universal plan of justice and God’s relentless opposition to oppression. The argument that the Babylonian conquest of Judah had cast doubt on YHWH’s sovereignty was an argument taken from the paganism of the nation-cults and was invalid with a prophetic foreign

power to punish a nation that had broken the terms of its covenant with God by repudiating justice and mercy. What the prophets had done in every other historical context Second Isaiah would do now: He would interpret the events that were unfolding in the world in relation to the universal moral purposes of the one true God.  

However, an appreciation of the role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah and how it relates to Israel’s developing understanding of God can be better appreciated in the light of the ‘second voice’ of the text. Commencing in chapter 40 it can be seen that a second voice of Isaiah starts to speak in the text. This Isaiah (called Second Isaiah or Deutero-Isaiah) extends from the time of the exile, rather than the seventh and eighth-centuries BCE. This section opens with a call to speak words of ‘comfort’ to God’s people, a meaning that was not noticeably in the narrative of First Isaiah. The prophet speaks when the exile is about to end, prompting the people to think about returning to Judah and Jerusalem.  

To this end, the most striking characteristic of this shift in Israel’s destiny appears to be the realization of God’s people having been crushed and exiled. Formerly, this would have been testimony that the God of Israel was a failure and unworthy of the people’s veneration. Through releasing them from their second period of captivity (the prophet compares the exile to the Egyptian incident, 43.3; 45.14; 52.4) YHWH now proves to the Israelites and to all the then known world that there is no God but YHWH. This event, unparalleled by other gods, marked YHWH as absolute and becomes foundational for the development of the Jewish monotheistic belief.

**The Monotheistic Belief of the Jews**

Relative to the monotheistic belief of the Jews, how did the Jews react to an outsider such as Cyrus the king of Persia being involved in their affairs? If Isaiah’s audiences were surprised at Cyrus’s being named God’s ‘shepherd’ (44:28) then there are broader implications in hearing Cyrus now being called his ‘anointed.’ Priests, prophets and kings of Israel had previously been the sole recipients of such a title. It can be hypothesised that God used only those from God’s elect to achieve God’s purposes. This is the stance Isaiah is confirming, that God is for the entire world and not for Israel alone. Israel’s election is not for itself, and neither is its salvation necessarily to be effected by itself.

Additionally, Oswald notes, ‘It is this sense in which ‘anoints’ is used here. Cyrus has been especially chosen and empowered to carry out the purposes of God. As such, Cyrus typifies the Messiah.’ Clearly, Cyrus is God’s chosen vessel through which God’s glorious purposes will be realized, especially as through Cyrus God is revealed to the world. Hence, ‘Every city will be powerless to shut Cyrus out since it is God who will go before Cyrus and prepare the

---

20 Hanson, *Interpretation*, 95.  
way for him. On arriving at the city gate by the smooth road God has prepared Cyrus will find broken open the mightiest of defences.

**Reasons for God’s Favouring Cyrus**

Appreciably, there are three main reasons for God’s favouring and empowering Cyrus. They are: firstly, that God wants Cyrus to acknowledge who favours God, in a similar way as Pharaoh came to acknowledge the God of Israel without coming to faith in Israel’s God (Ezra 1:2-4). Secondly, that God’s favouring Israel is for the sake of God’s elect, the chosen people, as previously illustrated by Moses’ clear understanding of this (Exodus 32:11-13). Likewise, God may call Cyrus by name, just as God called Jacob (43:1) but Cyrus’s calling is in order that God may keep God’s saving promises to Israel. And thirdly, that God’s choosing Cyrus is realized so that the world might know the Lord is the one and only God of Israel.

Consequently, there is a conspicuous succession in these reasons for God choosing and empowering Cyrus in Israel’s developing understanding of God. This includes (a) that Cyrus might know God (v.3), (b) that Israel might know God (v.4), and (c) that the world might know God (v.6). Furthermore, human failure to acquiesce to these truths subjects humanity to a cycle of human arrogance, oppression and cruelty. Notably, the oracle is not addressed to Cyrus, but to the despondent Israelites, who fail to see how God’s glowing promises of restoration can possibly be kept.

Evidently, the problem is persuading God’s people that God can deliver, and in God’s own way. A striking disparity from the renowned ‘Cyrus Cylinder’ is that whereas Cyrus’s virtues, strength and leadership skills are there put forward as the reasons for Marduk’s choosing him, here in Second Isaiah they are not credited. The three reasons given (vv.3, 4, and 6) are simply related to the nature and character of God. Thus salvation stands upon God’s grace and the providence and not human perfectibility. ‘Cyrus Cylinder’ merits clarification as a record of these events.

This Cyrus Cylinder record, thought to have been produced in Cyrus’ first year, claims Cyrus was chosen to rule by the Babylonian god Marduk. Moreover, it reveals how Cyrus returned the statues of the gods brought into Babylon and allowed some of the people to return to their own homes. Relevantly, in arguing the case for an expanded understanding of God through Cyrus and foreign cultures, Andre Lemaire comments, ‘The Israelite exiles survived culturally in exile probably in part because their understanding of God changed from the worship of a national deity to be served in a specific temple to a universal God who was present everywhere, even in exile.’

---

25 Ibid., 201-203.
26 Lisbeth S. Fried, ‘Cyrus the Messiah? The Historical Background to Isaiah 45:1,’ The Harvard Theological Review 95, No. 4 (October 2002): 373-393
27 Ibid., 201-202.
Conclusion

In conclusion, it has been shown how the role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah relates Israel’s developing understanding of God and God’s enduring plan for God’s people. Consideration of Cyrus’ role in Israel’s relationship with God has been appreciated via a consideration of the oracle concerning Cyrus, the role of Cyrus in Second Isaiah, Cyrus’ relationship with Israel, and the situation in Israel at the time. Furthermore, how the mindset guiding Second Isaiah, the monotheistic belief of the Jews and the reasons for God’s apparent favouring of Cyrus all contributed to Israel’s developing understanding of God through the life and times of Cyrus The Great.

Importantly, Second Isaiah (45:13) closes with a reaffirmation that it is YHWH raising Cyrus resulting in Israel’s liberation being gratuitous and benefiting neither God nor Cyrus, so that God may be acknowledged for God’s self. The restitution of the Jewish community in Palestine had a more enduring effect than all of Cyrus’s other achievements, mindful that Cyrus is a king history has titled ‘The Great.’ Ultimately, there is a daring summons for Israel to forgo its lethargy, failings and concern for the survival and preservation of heritage. Instead, there is an opportunity in the world-wide spiritual crisis of the time and the universal anxiety and insecurity created by the rise of Cyrus for Israel to discharge her historic destiny. Rather than lamenting a distressing fate and complaining of dilemma, let Israel comprehend that as a nation it is a servant of God and thus God’s ambassador to all the nations of a world hungering and thirsting for knowledge of God’s will.

In the light of consequent events, Second Isaiah demonstrates considerable insight into the significance of history. Why should this be? Because nearly one hundred and sixty years before Cyrus was born God declared to the prophet Isaiah that God would rise up Cyrus as God’s shepherd to rebuild God’s city. This was albeit at the time of Isaiah Jerusalem was prospering and would not be destroyed for another 100 years by Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon. Indeed, it can be therefore comprehended how Second Isaiah saw God as the Lord of history employed in the political actions of the day and King Cyrus The Great of Persia as God’s instrument through the returning of captive Israel to Jerusalem and Judah.
References

Appendix
NRSV Bible
The Oracle Concerning Cyrus
(44:24-28, 45:1-7)

Isa 44:24  Thus says the LORD, your Redeemer, who formed you in the womb: I am the LORD, who made all things, who alone stretched out the heavens, who by myself spread out the earth;

Isa 44:25  Who frustrates the omens of liars, and makes fools of diviners; who turns back the wise, and makes their knowledge foolish;

Isa 44:26  Who confirms the word of his servant, and fulfills the prediction of his messengers; who says of Jerusalem, "It shall be inhabited," and of the cities of Judah, "They shall be rebuilt, and I will raise up their ruins";

Isa 44:27  Who says to the deep, "Be dry--I will dry up your rivers";

Isa 44:28  Who says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and he shall carry out all my purpose"; and who says of Jerusalem, "It shall be rebuilt," and of the temple, "Your foundation shall be laid."

Isa 45:1   Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subdue nations before him and strip kings of their robes, to open doors before him--and the gates shall not be closed:

Isa 45:2   I will go before you and level the mountains, I will break in pieces the doors of bronze and cut through the bars of iron,

Isa 45:3   I will give you the treasures of darkness and riches hidden in secret places, so that you may know that it is I, the LORD, the God of Israel, who call you by your name.

Isa 45:4   For the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I call you by your name, I surname you, though you do not know me.

Isa 45:5   I am the LORD, and there is no other; besides me there is no god. I arm you, though you do not know me,

Isa 45:6   So that they may know, from the rising of the sun and from the west, that there is no one besides me; I am the LORD, and there is no other.
Isa 45:7  I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe; I the LORD do all these things.

Cyrus Bible References  
(NRSV Bible)

2Ch 36:22  In the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, in fulfillment of the word of the LORD spoken by Jeremiah, the LORD stirred up the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia so that he sent a herald throughout all his kingdom and also declared in a written edict:

2Ch 36:23  "Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the LORD his God be with him! Let him go up."

Ezr 1:1  In the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, in order that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia so that he sent a herald throughout all his kingdom, and also in a written edict declared:

Ezr 1:2  "Thus says Cyrus King of Persia: The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem in Judah.

Ezr 1:7  King Cyrus himself brought out the vessels of the house of the LORD that Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem and placed in the house of his gods.

Ezr 1:8  King Cyrus of Persia had them released into the charge of Mithredath the treasurer, who counted them out to Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah.

Ezr 3:7  So they gave money to the masons and the carpenters, and food, drink, and oil to the Sidonians and the Tyrians to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea, to Joppa, according to the grant that they had from King Cyrus of Persia.

Ezr 4:3  But Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the rest of the heads of families in Israel said to them, "You shall have no part with us in building a house to our God; but we alone will build to the LORD, the God of Israel, as King o Cyrus f Persia has commanded us."

Ezr 4:5  and they bribed officials to frustrate their plan throughout the reign of King Cyrus of Persia and until the reign of King Darius of Persia.

Ezr 5:13  However, King Cyrus of Babylon, in the first year of his reign, made a decree that this house of God should be rebuilt.

Ezr 5:14  Moreover, the gold and silver vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple in Jerusalem and had brought into the temple of Babylon, these King Cyrus took out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered to a man named Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor.

Ezr 5:17  And now, if it seems good to the king, have a search made in the royal archives there in Babylon, to see whether a decree was issued by King Cyrus for the rebuilding of this house of God in Jerusalem. Let the king send us his pleasure in this matter."

Ezr 6:3  In the first year of his reign, King Cyrus issued a decree: Concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, let the house be rebuilt, the place where sacrifices are offered and burnt offerings are brought; its height shall be sixty cubits and its width sixty cubits,

Ezr 6:14  So the elders of the Jews built and prospered, through the prophesying of the prophet Haggai and Zechariah son of Iddo. They finished their building by command of the God of Israel and by decree of Cyrus, Darius, and King Artaxerxes of Persia;

Isa 44:28  who says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and he shall carry out all my purpose"; and who says of Jerusalem, "It shall be rebuilt," and of the temple, "Your foundation shall be laid."
Isa 45:1 Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subdue nations before him and strip kings of their robes, to open doors before him--and the gates shall not be closed:

Isa 45:13 I have aroused Cyrus in righteousness, and I will make all his paths straight; he shall build my city and set my exiles free, not for price or reward, says the LORD of hosts.

Dan 1:21 And Daniel continued there until the first year of King Cyrus.

Dan 10:1 In the third year of King Cyrus of Persia a word was revealed to Daniel, who was named Belteshazzar. The word was true, and it concerned a great conflict. He understood the word, having received understanding in the vision.

Dan 6:28 So this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

Special thanks to Dr Marie Turner of the Flinders University department of Theology for inspiration and assistance in the production of this article.
The role of Israel and the Church and the relationship of the Church to Israel is where the big debate centers. That is where we are headed eventually, but first we have to lay the foundation before we get there. You could spend a lifetime studying this because there are so many issues to deal with. In practice, from Israelite perception, Gentiles were second-class citizens. They were proud that they were God’s chosen people. They forgot their role in God’s plan because they thought they were better than everyone else. Theirs was a redemptive role. He understood his role as the Savior to the world. Next, we will look at how the Church relates to these covenants. Certainly the Church is the greatest expression to date of the world-wide blessing promised in the covenants. In Second Isaiah, however, the sovereign God who is Lord of history is also the only God. This chapter hints at the call of Second Isaiah (40:3, 6), and leaves no doubt that Yahweh is again ready to intervene in Israel’s history and shake the pillars of nations. In Second Isaiah there are five references to Cyrus, and in all of them it is Yahweh who stirs him up so that he can become the instrument of God to affect Israel, even as the king of Assyria had been used by God in the eighth century. Claus Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, trans. D. M. G. Stalker, The Old Testament Library, ed. Deutero-Isaiah/Second Isaiah (chapters 40–54), with two major divisions, 40–48 and 49–54, the first emphasizing Israel, the second Zion and Jerusalem; An introduction and conclusion stressing the power of God's word over everything; A second introduction and conclusion within these in which a herald announces salvation to Jerusalem; Fragments of hymns dividing various sections; The role of foreign nations, the fall of Babylon, and the rise of Cyrus as God's chosen one; Four “Servant Songs” personalising the message of the prophet; Several longer poems on topics such as God's power and inv