

LUKE 17:21: “THE KINGDOM OF
GOD IS *INSIDE YOU*”
THE ANCIENT SYRIAC VERSIONS
IN SUPPORT OF THE CORRECT
TRANSLATION*

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ABSTRACT

*In this study I contend that in Luke 17:21 the right translation of Jesus' words is not, "God's Kingdom is among you," or "in the midst of you," as modern versions into English and other languages generally render, but "God's Kingdom is inside you." Strong support for the latter comes from ancient Syriac versions of this and other Gospel passages, from a systematic investigation of the meaning of *ἐντός* in all of Greek literature anterior to, and contemporary with, Luke, and from a careful analysis of the expression *ἐντός* + genitive in the New Testament and the Septuagint. I argue that, if the evangelist had meant "The Kingdom of God is among you," he would have used, not *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν*, but *ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν*, which is widely attested in this meaning in the New Testament and especially in Luke. Moreover, the translation that I advocate and that the Syriac versions support fits better in the immediate context of an address to the*

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Pharisees and in Luke's theology and conception of God's Kingdom, and is also corroborated by a Kingdom logion in the Gospel of Thomas and by Greek and Syriac Patristic exegesis.

In Luke 17:21 Jesus is asked when the Kingdom of God will come, and he replies: Οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως, οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε, ἢ· ἐκεῖ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν, “The Kingdom of God does not come when people are spying on it, nor will they say, ‘Behold, it is here,’ or ‘there,’ for the Kingdom of God is *entos humôn*.” No variant readings are attested for ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, an expression which modern translations generally render “among you,” meaning either that the Kingdom is not in the political and military structures of the world, but only in the community of believers, or that the Kingdom is there and is represented by Jesus. But I shall argue that the right translation is “inside you,” and that the ancient Syriac versions, together with many other elements, strongly support this interpretation. This saying of Jesus may have been preserved originally in Aramaic, in which case ἐντός might be a translation of ܐܢܬܐ / ܢܐܢܐ, meaning “interior,” and, in the prepositional construct ܢܐܢܐܐ, “inside.” It is related to the Hebrew noun ܐܢܐ, ܐܢܐ, meaning “interior, inside,” and to Syriac ܐܢܐ, ܢܐܢܐ meaning “the inside, the inner parts,” which, as I shall show, also appears in the Peshitta and the Harklean version of this logion of Jesus.

Let us see, first of all, the current translations. The Revised Standard Version and the Darby Bible both render:

“For behold, the Kingdom of God is *in the midst of you*”; the New Revised Standard Version, which is highly influential, likewise translates: “For, in fact, the Kingdom of God is *among you*.” The Bible in Basic English is almost identical: “For the Kingdom of God is *among you*.” The French Bible de Jérusalem (1973) similarly runs: “Car voici que le Royaume de Dieu est *au milieu de vous*”; the Louis Segond version renders: “Car voici, le royaume de Dieu est *au milieu de vous*”; the Spanish Biblia en lenguaje sencillo (2000) offers an analogous translation: “Porque el reino de Dios ya está entre ustedes,” which is very similar to that already provided by the old Reina-Valera version: “porque he aquí el reino de Dios está entre vosotros.” The Italian CEI translation (that of the Italian Episcopal Conference, which is the standard Italian version) also has: “il Regno di Dio è in mezzo a voi.” All these modern translations fully agree in understanding the Greek as meaning: “the Kingdom of God is *among you*.” Modern commentators generally

follow this trend,¹ often without even offering an explanation for their preference.²

¹ E.g., A. Stöger, *Vangelo secondo Luca* (2nd edition; Rome: Città Nuova, 1969), 2.107–8 renders: “Ecco che il Regno di Dio è in mezzo a voi” (“Behold, God’s Kingdom is in the midst of you”) and in note 19 he remarks that most recent exegetes adopt this interpretation because only this is consistent with Jesus’ other statements concerning the Kingdom. I shall rather argue that the rendering “The Kingdom of God is inside you” is more consistent with Jesus’ presentation of God’s Kingdom in Luke. E. Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); *Il Vangelo secondo Luca*, translated by P. Floridi (Brescia: Paideia, 2000), 256, translates: “Il Regno di Dio è in mezzo a voi” (“The Kingdom of God is amidst you”), and rules out the translation, “Il Regno di Dio è in voi, cioè nel cuore degli uomini” (“The Kingdom of God is within you, that is, in people’s heart”), stating that the former interpretation is more probable (258–259). The evidence he adduces for the meaning of *ἐντός* as “amidst,” however, is only Deut 5:14 and Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 5.5.13, whereas I shall show that very many passages in the Septuagint and the only other occurrence of *ἐντός* in the New Testament (indeed, all Biblical linguistic evidence), together with the analysis of all uses of *ἐντός* in Greek literature before Luke, prove that *ἐντός* means “inside.” This is not recognized by J. Schlosser, “Le Règne de Dieu est au milieu de vous (Lc 17.20–21),” in *Le Règne*, I, 179–243.

² J. Reiling and J. L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator’s Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 586, translate: “The Kingdom of God is among you,” and list two other possible meanings (“within you, i.e., within your heart,” and “within your reach”), but they add that the first rendering “seems to be preferable,” without explaining the reason why it should be so. R. Maynet, *Il Vangelo secondo Luca. Analisi retorica* (Bologna: Dehoniane, 2003), 637, translates: “Il Regno di Dio è in mezzo a voi” (“God’s Kingdom is amidst you”) and comments: “è presente ora, in mezzo a voi” (“it is present now, among you”), with no further support for such an understanding. The only recent articles devoted to this verse, but largely incomplete in argument and evidence, are, to my knowledge: H. Riesenfeld, “Le Règne de Dieu, parmi vous ou en vous?” (*RB* 98 [1991]): 190–98; J. Lebourlier, “*Entos hymón*. Le sens ‘au milieu de vous’ est-il possible?” (*Bib* 73 [1992]): 259–62, and T. Holmén, “The Alternatives of the Kingdom. Encountering the Semantic Restrictions of Luke 17:20–21” (*ZNW* 87 [1996]): 204–29. Other articles on this passage are either very old and brief (B. C. Easton, “Luke 17,20–21: An Exegetical Study,” *AJT* 16 [1912]: 275–83; A. G. Smith, “The Kingdom of God is Within You,” *ExpT* 43 [1931/2]: 378–79; A. Sledd, “The Interpretation of Luke XVII.21,” *ExpT* 50 [1937/8]: 235–37; P. Allen, “Lk XVII.21,” *ExpT* 49 [1937/8]: 476–77; 50 [1938/9]: 233–35; C. H. Roberts, “The Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. XVII.21),” *HTR* 41 [1948]: 1–8; J. G. Griffiths, “*Entos hymón*,” *ExpT* 63 [1951/2]: 30–31; A. Rüstow, “*Entos hymón estin*. Zur Deu-

I think that the King James Version (1611), followed by the old Webster translation (1833) and by Robert Young's Literal Translation (1862), in this case was more correct ("For, behold, the Kingdom of God is within you"), just like Luther's ancient German version (1545): "Das Reich Gottes ist inwendig in euch." In fact, I contend that the correct translation is "The Kingdom of God is *inside* you." The Greek ἐντὸς ὑμῶν here cannot mean "among you" or "in the midst of you," because in Luke this would rather be expressed by means of the phrase, ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν. But before arguing on grammatical and linguistic grounds, I shall demonstrate that the ancient Syriac translations, just as the Latin, definitely point to the understanding I am proposing.

The Vulgate, the ancient Latin translation of the 4th–5th century ascribed to Jerome, renders the Greek as follows: *ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos est*, which means, "inside you."³ Differently from ἐντὸς in Greek, *intra* is unambiguous, because it doesn't mean "among" or "in the midst," but only "inside, within." In the *Vetus Latina*, represented by the old Latin versions circulating before the Vulgate, no variant readings are attested for the words *intra vos*,⁴ and also the Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis in its Latin column has the identical sentence, *ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos est*.⁵ Thus, the ancient Latin translations are all unanimous in understanding the Greek as "The Kingdom of God is *inside* you."

Now, the ancient Syriac translations, too, or at least most of them and precisely those which are closer to the Greek, support my

tung von Lukas 17,20–21," *ZNW* 51 [1960]: 197–224; R. Sneed, "The Kingdom of God is within You," *CBQ* 24 [1962]: 363–82; F. Mussner, "Wann kommt das Reich Gottes?" *BZ* 6 [1962]: 107–11) or they do not address the ἐντὸς ὑμῶν issue, e.g., A. Strobel, "Die Passa-Erwartung als urchristliches Problem in Lc 17,20f." (*ZNW* 49 [1958]): 157–96; Id., "Zu Lk 17,20f." (*BZ* 7 [1963]): 111–13; W. Grimm, *Jesus und das Danielbuch* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1984), 1.70–90.

³ Edition: R. Weber, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (4th edition; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

⁴ *Italia: Das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, Hrsg. A. Jülicher, vol. 3: *Lucasevangelium* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1954), 196, registers no variant reading.

⁵ A. Ammassari, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis. Copia esatta del manoscritto onciale greco-latino* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996), 525, with review article by I. Ramelli (*RSCI* 52 [1998]): 171–78, with further documentation on this manuscript. In fact, A. Ammassari, *Il Vangelo di Luca nella colonna Latina del Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996), 125, interprets the Latin words as follows: "Il Regno di Dio è già *dentro di voi*," i.e., "inside you."

interpretation of *ἐντός* in the verse under examination. If we compare the four main and most ancient Syriac translations of Luke 17:21b, i.e., the Vetus Syra in its earlier phases,⁶ as represented by mss. Sinaiticus and Curetonianus,⁷ the Peshitta version, and the Harklean version,⁸ we realize at once that they differ from one another precisely and exclusively in the words that render *ἐντός* (which may indicate that some difficulty was perceived in connection with this expression). Sinaiticus and Curetonianus display a text that is identical in both: ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ, “For, behold, the Kingdom of God is within you.” The preposition ܕܢܚܝܬܐ, however, is ambiguous, and may mean “within, inside,” or “between,” or “among.” It is often used with ܠܡܠܟܐ to

⁶ This is the oldest Syriac version of the Gospels after Tatian’s fragmentary *Diatessaron* (which moreover was a harmony rather than a translation of the four Gospels). The Vetus Syra, i.e., the “Gospel of the Separated” (in reference to its distinction from the *Diatessaron*), dates to the late second century in its earliest phases, and in its late phases to the fourth.

⁷ Sinaiticus, or ms. Syr. Sin. 30, is a palimpsest from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai: its original leaves date back to the fourth century, and it reflects a still earlier translation, of the second or third century; thus, it is a fundamental witness to a very early phase of the Vetus Syra. It is probable that relatively soon further parts of this translation will be available, which would be most valuable to scholars. Curetonianus (ms. Brit. Lib. Add. 14451), written in the fifth century, represents a later stage of the Vetus Syra, probably of the fourth century. It stems from the Monastery of the Deipara in the Natron Valley in Egypt. See S. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition* (2nd edition; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), 17; 19; 33–34; 111–14.

⁸ I use G. A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels, Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshittā and Harklean Versions* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 3.352 on Luke 17:21b. The Peshitta was born as a revision of the Vetus Syra aimed at a more literal adherence to the Greek; it was completed in the fifth century for the New Testament. The Harklean translation was finalized in 616 in a monastery outside Alexandria by Thomas of Harqel, who, in turn, revised the Peshitta on the basis of a former revision promoted by Philoxenus of Mabbug and completed by his chorepiscopus Polycarp in 508. The Harklean version, which, for the first time in the history of Syriac translations, covers the whole of the New Testament, is extremely literal and is based on a refined translation technique. See Brock, *The Bible*, 17–18; 34–35 (on the Peshitta, on which I do not cite scholarship, which would be extremely rich); 19–20; 35–37 (on the Harklean version). The Kiraz edition, as for the Harklean version, is based primarily on one of the earliest witnesses to this text, ms. Vat. Syr. 268, considered by Angelo Mai to have been written by Thomas of Harqel himself. In any case, the ms. dates to the eighth or early ninth century.

indicate the interiority in expressions such as “within oneself, in one’s heart.” But this ambiguity is excluded in the subsequent versions, the Peshitta and the Harklean, each of which endeavored to be closer to the Greek than the preceding version, that is, the Vetus Syra and the Peshitta itself respectively. The Peshitta translates: ܠܟܡ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܝܠܐ, “For, behold, the Kingdom of God is inside you.” And the Harklean version, which is even more literal than the Peshitta, runs as follows: ܝܠܐ ܠܟܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, “For, behold, the Kingdom of God is inside you.” Both ܠܟܡ ܠܥܝܢܐ and ܝܠܐ ܠܟܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ unequivocally mean “inside,” “on the inside of,” and derive from ܠܥܝܢܐ, ܠܥܝܢܐ, meaning “the inside, the inner parts.” ܠܥܝܢܐ is most often, and indeed virtually always, used in this sense. Only two exceptions may be adduced, but they are more apparent than substantial. In 1Cor 5:12 in the Peshitta ܠܥܝܢܐ derives from ܠܥܝܢܐ, but the Greek Vorlage is completely different: it is not ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, but τοὺς ἔσω, with an adverbial construct (not a prepositional one with a genitive) and in fact a different adverb: the Greek τοὺς ἔσω in this passage means “those inside” (*sc.* inside the community of believers; inside Christianity) as opposite to “those outside” (τοὺς ἔξω), so that the meaning “inside” for ܠܥܝܢܐ / ܠܥܝܢܐ is confirmed even here. In the Vulgate, too, the rendering is *hi qui intus sunt*, “those who are inside” vs. *hi qui foris sunt*, “those who are outside.” The second apparent exception is Heb 2:12, which in the Peshitta reads ܠܥܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ; the Greek is not ἐντὸς + genitive here (in this case, ἐντὸς ἐκκλησίας), but ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας, both here and in Ps 21:23 (LXX) of which our passage is a quotation. In the Hebrew Bible, in Ps 22:23 the preposition is ܐܝܢܐ, “within,” from the noun ܐܝܢܐ, meaning both “inside, interior” and “midst, middle.” In fact, the meaning “inside” for ܠܥܝܢܐ is present even here, and very clearly: “inside the assembly,” which in Heb 2:12 acquires a local meaning. The Syriac translator who used ܠܥܝܢܐ understood ἐκκλησία as “church” and thus felt the syntagm as meaning “inside the church” (ܠܥܝܢܐ in Syriac Christianity always means “church,” just as ἐκκλησία from the meaning “assembly” acquired the meaning “church”).

Thus, whereas the Vetus Syra is ambiguous in Luke 17:21, surely the Peshitta and the Harklean version support my interpretation, showing that their translators understood the Greek ἐντὸς in the relevant passage as “within,” not as “among.” This, to be sure, does not automatically mean per se that the former must be the right understanding, but it certainly demonstrates that it was possible to understand that expression in this way and that indeed it was

understood thusly in at least two Syriac versions, precisely those closest to the original Greek.

Moreover, there are strong grammatical, linguistic, and theological reasons that fully support my interpretation of Luke 17:21 and its Syriac translations. I shall put them forward in the following paragraphs. And we shall see that the Syriac translations again offer a crucial witness.

First of all, the only other occurrence of ἐντός in the whole New Testament is in Matt 23:26, where it undoubtedly bears the meaning, “inside.” There is no possibility of rendering it with “among” or “in the midst.” Φαρισαῖε τυφλέ, καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου, ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν, “Blind Pharisee, first cleanse the internal part of the glass, that the external part, too, may be clean.” In fact, the Latin version of the Vulgate is again unambiguous: *Pharisae caece, munda prius quod intus est calicis et parapsidis, ut fiat et id quod de foris est mundum*. There is no question that the meaning of the Latin, too, as well as of the Greek, is: “the part that is *inside*.” The meaning “among” or “amidst” is completely ruled out.

And here, again, the ancient Syriac versions—this time all of them, with no ambiguity—are extremely significant, all the more if we compare them with the Syriac translations of Luke 17:21. For Matt 23:26a only Sinaiticus is available as a witness to the Vetus Syra, since the text in Curetonianus breaks off immediately before this verse.⁹ Now, all three versions are unanimous in rendering τὸ ἐντός with ܠܐܝܢܐ, the same word that two of them, the Peshitta and the Harklean version, used in a prepositional form to translate ἐντός in Luke 17:21. All three, in fact, render τὸ ἐντός in Matt 23:26a with ܠܐܝܢܐ ܡܢܐ. They are highly consistent, and surely in the Syriac translations there is no possibility of a meaning “among,” just as there is none, at least for the Peshitta and the Harklean version, in Luke 17:21.

Furthermore, all occurrences of ἐντός in the LXX clearly mean “inside” (within a person, within a building, etc.): Ps 38:4: ἔθερμάνθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐντός μου, “My heart warmed up inside me”; Ps 102:1: εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐντός μου τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ, “Bless the Lord, my soul; all that is inside me [*sc.* my interiority, my spirit], bless His holy Name”; Ps 108:22: ἡ καρδία μου τετάρακται ἐντός μου, “My heart was frightened inside me”; Cant 3:10: ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ λιθόστρωτον, “What is inside it is all a decoration”; Isa 16:11: ἡ

⁹ See Kiraz, *Comparative Edition*, 1.358–59.

κοιλία μου ἐπὶ Μωαβ ὡς κιθάρα ἡγήσει καὶ τὰ ἐντός μου, “My belly will sound as a lyre for Moab, what is inside me”; 1 Mac 4:48: τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου, “The internal part of the building”; Sir 19:26: τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πλήρη δόλου, “What is inside him is full of deception.” Therefore, there is not even one single occurrence of ἐντὸς in the whole Greek Bible in the sense of “among, amidst, in the middle of.”

This is because, in order to express “among, amidst,” or “in the middle of,” the New Testament *always* uses ἐν μέσῳ + genitive, already employed in the Old Testament 307 times, which would be useless to list here. In the New Testament there are 27 occurrences: Matt 10:16, 18:2, 18:20; Mark 6:47, 9:36; Luke 2:46 (καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων, “sitting among the teachers”); 8:7 (ἕτερον ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν, “another fell among thorns”); 10:3 (ὡς ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων, “like lambs among wolves”); 21:21 (οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, “those who are inside Jerusalem”); 22:27 (ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι, “I am among you”); 22:55 (περιαψάντων δὲ πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς, “when they lit a fire in the midst of the court”); 24:36 (αὐτὸς ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, “he stood among them”); John 8:3; 8:9; Acts 1:15; 2:22; 17:22; 27:21; 1 Thess 2:7; Heb 2:12; Rev 1:13; 2:1; 4:6; 5:6; 6:6; 22:2. As is evident from this complete list, precisely Luke, whose occurrences I cited *in extenso*, often uses ἐν μέσῳ, even much more than the other evangelists (moreover, in Luke Acts there are four other occurrences). Now, this clearly implies that Luke would certainly have ἐν μέσῳ also in 17:21 if the meaning were “among you” also in that verse, which is not the case.

Here, again, a close investigation into the Syriac versions will provide an excellent confirmation. For they translate all the Lucan occurrences of ἐν μέσῳ + genitive in a way that is entirely different from how they translate ἐντὸς ὑμῶν in Luke 17:21. In Luke 2:46 the Greek ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων is rendered ܬܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܕܪܐܝܐ in the Vetus Syra (here represented only by Sinaiticus) and in the Peshitta, and, with just a slight alteration due to its well known hyper-literal rendering, ܬܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܕܪܐܝܐ in the Harklean version. The meaning is unequivocal: “among the teachers,” “in the middle of the teachers.” In Luke 8:7, the Harklean version, again in line with its close literal style, renders ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν again with ܬܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܕܪܐܝܐ; the other Syriac versions, i.e., the Peshitta and the Vetus Syra in both its witnesses, translate: ܬܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܕܪܐܝܐ. The meanings are almost identical, respectively “in the middle of thorns” and “among thorns.” In Luke 10:3 the Greek ἐν μέσῳ λύκων is rendered ܬܠܦܢܐ ܕܠܝܩܐ in the Vetus Syra, as represented by

Sinaiticus and Curetonianus, and in the Peshitta: this expression properly would mean both “among” and “inside,” but here the context is clearly disambiguating, and moreover the Harklean translation is unmistakable: ܠܟܝܢ ܠܚܝܬܝܗܘܢ, meaning “among wolves.” The same is the case with Luke 21:21, where οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, in the sense of “those who are within Jerusalem,” is translated ܡܠܟܬܐ in the Vetus Syra (Sinaiticus and Curetonianus) and in the Peshitta, clearly because, in the case of a city, being “in the middle of it” or “within it” is the same thing, but in the Harklean version there is the usual disambiguating expression: ܡܠܟܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܝܗܘܢ, “in the middle of it.” Exactly as in Luke 10:3, also in Luke 22:27 the expression ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν is rendered ܡܠܟܬܐ, “among you,” in the Vetus Syra (Sinaiticus and Curetonianus) and in the Peshitta, but with the unequivocal and literal form ܠܚܝܬܝܗܘܢ, “in the middle of you,” in the Harklean version. Identical is the situation also in Luke 24:36, where ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν is rendered ܡܠܟܬܐ, “among them,” in the Vetus Syra (Sinaiticus and Curetonianus) and in the Peshitta, while the Harklean version employs again the disambiguating and literal form: ܡܠܟܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܝܗܘܢ, “in the middle of them.” Finally, in Luke 22:55 all Syriac translations (the Vetus Syra is represented here by both Sinaiticus and Curetonianus) render ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς in the same way, ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ, “in the middle of the court”; only, the Harklean version, in its hyper-literalism, adds the preposition and the pronoun: ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܬܐ. To summarize the result of this examination: there is not a single case in which all the ancient Syriac versions in Luke translate the expression ἐν μέσῳ + genitive in the same way as they render ἐν τὸς ὑμῶν in Luke 17:21. This clearly means that the ancient translators understood ἐν τὸς ὑμῶν in Luke 17:21 as bearing an utterly different meaning, and precisely, not “among,” but “inside.”

The old Latin versions, too, i.e., the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate, including Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, fully confirm my contention: whereas in Luke 17:21 they all render ἐν τὸς ὑμῶν with *intra vos*, as I have pointed out, in all the Lucan occurrences of ἐν μέσῳ + genitive they always use a completely different translation. In Luke 2:46 the Vulgate renders καθηζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων as *sedentem in medio doctorum*, with no variant reading in Bezae Cantabrigiensis and no difference in the Vetus Latina. This is a clear *ad verbum* rendering of ἐν μέσῳ + genitive. In Luke 8:7 the Vulgate translates ἕτερον ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν as *aliud cecidit inter spinas*, where *inter* obviously means “among,” not “inside” like *intra*. Here there is one variant reading, in cod. Amiatinus (8th century), which reads *secus spinas*, where *secus* is a

preposition meaning “along” or “against,” as synonyms of “among,” but certainly not “inside.” Similarly, in Luke 10:3 the Greek *ὡς ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων* is rendered in the Vulgate *sicut agnos inter lupos*, with no variant reading in Bezae Codex, nor different versions in the Vetus Latina. In Luke 21:21 οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς is translated by the Vulgate *qui in medio eius*, again with a direct transposition of the Greek construct into Latin, which is present also in the translation of Luke 22:27, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι: *ego autem in medio vestrum sum*, once more with no variant reading and no difference in the Vetus Latina. Analogously, in Luke 22:55 the Vulgate renders *περιαψάντων δὲ πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς* with *accenso autem igni in medio atrio*.¹⁰ Finally, in Luke 24:36 the words *ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν* are rendered in the Vulgate *stetit in medio eorum*, without variant readings or differences in the Vetus Latina. Thus, all occurrences of ἐν μέσῳ + genitive in Luke are always and consistently translated into Latin in a totally different way from that in which ἐντὸς ὑμῶν is translated in Luke 17:21.

At this point, a systematic analysis of the use of ἐντός in all of Greek literature anterior to Luke and contemporary with this Gospel is fundamental. I have conducted it not only on the Liddell-Scott, but also on the whole TLG, taking into account first of all the prepositional use with genitive. The first and main meaning of this preposition is not “among,” which is virtually never attested, but “within, inside,” as opposite to ἐκτός, “outside,” in a spatial meaning: *Iliad* 12.374=380=22.85: *τείχεος ἐντός*; 1.432=10.125=16.324=352: *λιμένος πολυβενθέος ἐντός*; 20.258: *ἐντὸς εὐσταθέος μεγάρου*; Hesiod *Theogony* 37=51=408: *ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου* “inside Olympus”; 753: *δομοῦ ἐντός*, “inside the house”; Aesop *Fabulae* 273.3: *ἐντὸς τοῦ αἵτου*; Hellanicus fr. 89: *ἐντὸς Ἰδης*; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 77: *στέρνων ἐντός*, “inside the chest”; *Eumenides* 607: *ἐντός ... ζώνης*; Scylax *Periplus* 13: *ἐντὸς τείχους*; Herodotus 3.16: *ἐντὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θήκης*; 3.117: *ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων*; 6.133: *ἐντὸς τείχεος*; Thucydides 1.13.5: *τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω*; 2.90.4: *ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου*; 2.96.1: *ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ*; 3.94.2: *ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ*; 4.67.5: *ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν*; 4.130.3: *ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους* (see 7.5.3: *ἐντὸς λίαν τῶν τειχῶν*); 5.90.1: *ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς*; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.10=7.5.15: *ἐντὸς τοῦ*

¹⁰ The so-called Vulgata Sixto-Clementina (*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti Quinti iussu recognita et auctoritate Clementis Octavi edita* [Romae: in aedibus Vaticanis, 1592–1598]), differently from the codices, has *in medio atrii*. At any rate, this makes no difference in respect to my argument.

τείχους; *De republica Lacedaemoniorum* 3.4: ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱματίου τῷ χεῖρει ἔχειν; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 116=*Areopagiticus* 52=Ctesias, fr. 1b.329 Jacoby: ἐντὸς τείχους; Plato, *Symposium* 222A: ἐντὸς αὐτῶν γιγνόμενος; *Sophista* 263E: ὁ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν διάλογος ἄνευ φωνῆς γιγνόμενος τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἡμῖν ἐπωνομάσθη, διάνοια, where precisely the spiritual interiority is understood; *Phaedrus* 247A=*Timaeus* 40C: ἐντὸς οὐρανοῦ; *Timaeus* 25AB: ἐντὸς τοῦ στόματος; 45B: ἐντὸς ἡμῶν; 74C: ἐντὸς ἑαυτῆς; *Critias* 117D: ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, and many other occurrences in contemporary authors and in the subsequent centuries, up to Philo and Josephus.¹¹ It can also mean “within” in

¹¹ Euripides, *Medea* 353: ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός; 1312: ἐντὸς ἧ' ἔωθεν δόμων; *Hippolytus* 131: ἐντὸς ἔχειν οἴκων; *Andromacha* 1112: κρηπίδος ἐντός; *Hecuba* 1013: πέπλων ἐντός; *Electra* 94=615: τειχέων ἐντός; 394: δόμων τῶνδ' ἐντός; *Troïades* 12: πύργων ἔπεμψεν ἐντός; *Iphigenia Taurica* 1383: ἐντὸς εὐσέλμου νεώς; 1391: ἐντὸς ἦν λιμένος; *Ion* 1309: ἐντὸς ἀδύτων; *Helena* 332: ἐντὸς οἴκων; *Bacchae* 547: ἐντὸς ἔχει δώματος; *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 678: μελάθρων ἐντός; Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 495a18: Ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ὁ τ' οἰσοφάγος; Theophrastus, *De sensu et sensibilibus* 7: τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐτῆς εἶναι πῦρ, τὸ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα; Demosthenes, *De corona* 33: ἐντὸς εἰῆ Πυλῶν; *De falsa legatione* 86: ἐντὸς τείχους; *In Aristogitonem* 1 97: ἐντὸς τείχους; Aeneas tacticus, *Poliorctica* 37: ἐντὸς τοῦ τειχεος; Zeno, SVF 1.95: ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ κόσμου μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, ἔξω δ' αὐτοῦ ἄπειρον; Chrysippus, SVF 3.120: ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν συμβαινόντων παθῶν; 3.604: ἐντὸς εἶναι τῆς φύσεως τῆς θείας; Apollonius, *Conica* 1.2: ἐντὸς τοῦ κύκλου; 1.10: ἐντὸς πεσεῖται τοῦ κώνου; 1.17: ἐντὸς πεσεῖται τῆς γραμμῆς; Archimedes, *De sphaera et cylindro* 1.10.16: ἐντὸς τοῦ κώνου; *De lineis spiralibus* 2.34.14: ἐντός ἐστι τὰς ἑλικος; *De planorum aequilibriis* 2.81.1: ἐντός εἶμεν δεῖ τοῦ σχήματος; Euclides, *Catoptrica* 12: ἐντὸς τῆς συμπτώσεως κείται τῶν ὀψεων; Polybius 1.40.4=8.28.9: ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν; 2.55.3: ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν; 8.3.5: ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως; Hipparchus, *In Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena* 1.4.9: ἐντὸς τοῦ κόσμου; Apollonius Paradoxographus, *Historiae mirabiles* 5.2: ἐντὸς τοῦ λιμένος; Posidonius fr. 8 Theiler: τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάττης καὶ τῆς ἐκτός; fr. 194b: ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν; Philo, *Legum allegoriae* 1.60: οὔτε εἰ ἐντός οὔτε εἰ ἐκτός ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου; *De somniis* 1.184: ἢ ἐντός τοῦ κόσμου ἢ ἐκτός αὐτοῦ μετακόσμιόν τινα; *De vita Mosi* 2.34: ἐντός τείχους; *De Decalogo* 43: ἐντός τῆς φύσεως; *De specialibus legibus* 2.116: αἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεις ἐντός τειχῶν εἰσιν, αἱ δ' ἐν ἀγροῖς ἔξω τείχους; 4.21: ἐντός τοῦ τείχους; *De Providentia* fr. 2: τειχῶν ἐντός; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 3.114: ἐντός δὲ τῶν πυλῶν; 8.376: ἐντός τῶν τειχῶν; 14.470=*Bellum* 4.8: ἐντός τοῦ τείχους; Plutarch, *Numa* 10.4: ἐντός τῆς πόλεως; *Publicola* 23.5: ἐντός ἄστεος.

the sense of “on this side, closer than,” as *citra*, *citerior* in Latin (as opposed to *ἐκτός* = *ultra*, *ulterior*), e.g., in Hecataeus fr. 119 Jacoby: τὰ ἐντός Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐκτός; Herodotus 1.6=1.28=5.102=Thucydides 1.16=Isocrates *Panegyricus* 144: ἐντός Ἄλυσος, and a number of other occurrences over the centuries.¹² It can also correspond to *interior*, e.g., in Strabo 1.1.10: τῆς θαλάττης τῆς ἐντός. The same meaning, “within, closer,” but transposed to time is “within, before,” e.g., in Herodotus 2.11: ἐντός γε δισμουρίων ἐτέων; Thucydides 4.28.4 and 4.39.3: ἐντός εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν, “within twenty days”; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.5.9: ἐντός ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, and very many other occurrences up to the first century A.D.¹³ With numbers or measures, “within” assumes the meaning of “under, less than:” e.g., ἐντός εἴκοσιν in Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 984; ἐντός ἀκοντίσματος in Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.4.16; ἐντός πολλῶν σταδίων in *Cynegeticus* 12.7;

¹² See Herodotus 8.47; 4.46: ἐντός τοῦ Πόντου; 4.173: ἐντός τῆς Σύρτιος; Thucydides 2.9.2: ἐντός Ἰσθμοῦ; Plato, *Timaeus* 25C: ἐντός ὄρων Ἡρακλείων; Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 354a11: ἐντός Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν; Polybius, *Historiae* 10.6.7: ἐντός τοῦ ποταμοῦ; 10.7.3=10.35.3: ἐντός Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ; 10.7.5: ἐντός Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν; Posidonius fr. 27 Theiler: τῆς ἐκατέρωθεν θαλάττης, τῆς τε ἐντός καὶ τῆς ἐκτός; Philo, *De Abrahamo* 226: τὰ τε ἐκτός καὶ ἐντός Εὐφράτου; *De specialibus legibus* 1.158: αἱ μὲν ἐκτός αἱ δὲ ἐντός Ἰορδάνου τοῦ ποταμοῦ; Strabo 1.2.10: ἐντός τοῦ Ταύρου; 2.5.24=2.5.31=15.3.23=17.3.25: ἐντός Ἄλυσος; 3.3.2=3.5.3: ἐντός στηλῶν; 3.4.10: ἐντός τῶν τε Πυρηναίων ὄρων; 4.3.4: ἐντός τοῦ Ῥήνου; 5.1.3: ἐντός Ἀλπεων; 5.1.11: ἐντός τοῦ Πάδου; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 15.95=*Bellum* 1.362: ἐντός Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ; Plutarch, *Cato Maior* 10: ἡ ἐντός Ἰσπανία = *Hispania Citerior*.

¹³ Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 4.11: ἐντός ἐσπέρας “within the evening” “before (the end of) the evening”; Antiphon, *De caede Herodis* 69 = Cratinus fr. 189.1: ἐντός οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου; Plato, *Timaeus* 18D: τῆς πρεπούσης ἐντός ἡλικίας; Hippocrates, *De purgantibus* 72=*De diebus iudicatoriis* 9: ἐντός τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν; Isocrates, *Aegineticus* 22: ἐντός τριάκονθ' ἡμερῶν; *Evagoras* 64: ἐντός τριῶν ἐτῶν; *Archidamus* 46: ἐντός τριῶν μηνῶν; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.3.4: ἐντός πένθ' ἡμερῶν; *Athenaion Politeia* 48.4: ἐντός γ' ἡμερῶν; 49: ἐντός τριῶν μηνῶν; Plato, *Timaeus* 18D: τῆς πρεπούσης ἐντός ἡλικίας, “within the fitting limits of age”; *Leges* 914E: ἐντός τριῶν ἡμερῶν; Philo, *De specialibus legibus* 2.121=*Quaestiones in Genesim* 2 fr. 5b=*De numeris* fr. 122: ἐντός ἐνιαυτοῦ; 3.205: ἐντός ἡμερῶν ἐπτά; 4.4: ἐντός ἐπταετίας; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 16.344: ἐντός ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα; Plutarch, *Camillus* 31.3: ἐντός ἐνιαυτοῦ.

ἐντὸς δραχμῶν πενήκοντα in Plato, *Leges* 253B, etc.¹⁴ Likewise, with degrees of relationships “within” assumes the meaning of “closer than,” e.g., in Plato, *Leges* 871B ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος, “closer than cousins,” literally “within the relationship of cousins.” And being ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ (e.g., Herodotus 1.119; 7.47; Demosthenes, *Contra Phormionem* 35 and 49; Philo, *De gigantibus* 38) means being “in one’s mind, in one’s senses or capacities,” as opposed to being “out of one’s mind, mad,” or “terribly scared.” With double genitive, ἐντός means “within” in the sense, “between one thing and another,” e.g., in Herodotus 8.47: ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ. There seems to be a strong coherence in the meaning of ἐντός as “within,” and substantially no development along the centuries: the sense “among” is practically unattested,¹⁵ whereas the main and most important meaning of ἐντός is surely “within, inside.” I have already demonstrated in section [9] that this is also the only meaning that ἐντός bears in the LXX and indeed in the whole Bible. Also, it is revealing that τὰ ἐντός means “the inner parts,” those which are *within* a person (e.g., Thucydides 2.49), and that as an adverb ἐντός always means “within, inside,” including those cases in which it assumes the function of an adjective or a noun: *Iliad* 10.10: τρομέοντο δὲ οἱ φρένες ἐντός; 12.8: ἐντὸς ἔχον; 18.512: ἐντὸς ἔργεν; 24.544=22.121=2.845=2.617= Hesiodus, *Opera et dies* 269 and *Theogonia* 751: ἐντὸς ἔργει; *Iliad* 2.845: ἐντὸς ἔργειν; *Odyssey* 2.341: ἐντὸς ἔχοντες; 7.88: ἐντὸς ἔργον; 12.225: ἐντὸς δὲ πυκάζοιεν σφέας αὐτούς; 17.11: πλήσθεν δ’ ἄρα οἱ μέλ’ ἐντός; Hesiod, *Theogonia* 159: ἐντὸς στοναχίζετο; fragment 343.18: αἰγίδα ποιήσασα φοβέστρατον ἐντος; *Hymn to Hermes* 251: ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν; *Hymn to Apollo* 30: ἐντὸς ἔχει, and so on, with a great many occurrences, until the first century A.D., where ἐντός is often opposed to ἐκτός and ἔξω.¹⁶ Likewise, it is signifi-

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Metaphysica* 1084a34: ἐντὸς τῆς δεκάδος; Demosthenes, *De corona* 38: ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι; Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo* 26: οἱ ἐντὸς τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, “those who are less than thirty”; Philo, *De opificio mundi* 91=*Legum allegoriae* 1.15=*De numeris* fr. 40=43b: ἐντὸς δεκάδος; Strabo 16.2.36.

¹⁵ One apparent exception is Xenophon, *Hipparchicus* 5.13: ἔστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐντός ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀπισθεν ἱππέων ἀποκρύψασθαι. However, here “among the knights” is understood as “inside the cavalry,” as is often the case in Greek (where “cavalry” is expressed by ἱππεῖς more often than with singular abstract nouns, which are much rarer).

¹⁶ Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas* 968: ἐντὸς δὲ καρδία στένει; Empedocles fr. 86: τὸ ἐντὸς φῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκτός; Herodotus 3.116:

χώρην ἐντός ἀπέργειν; 6.79: οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντός τοὺς ἐκτός ὅ τι ἐπρήσσον; 6.134: ὅ τι δὴ ποιήσουντα ἐντός; 9.22: ἐντός θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον; Thucydides 1.93.5: ἐντός δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν; 2.78.1: τάφρος δὲ ἐντός τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν; 5.2.4: ἐντός βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι; 6.75.1: ἐντός ποιησάμενοι; 6.100.2: ἐντός ποιησάμενοι; 7.25.5: ἐντός ὁρμοῖεν; 7.78.2: ἐντός εἶχον; Ctesias, fr. 1b.465 Jacoby: ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων εἶχεν ἐντός ἄνδρα; Democritus, fr. 135: ὅταν δὲ ἐντός γένηται ... ἐκτός ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐντός; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.4.41: τὰ ἐντός ἔτεμνε καὶ ἕκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως; *Cyropaedia* 7.5.24: ὅταν δ' ἐντός γενώμεθα; *Corpus Hippocraticum, De natura ossium* 18: κατεδύσατο ἐς τὸ ἐντός; 19: ἐς τὰ κοῖλα τὰ ἐντός; Plato, *Protagoras* 334C; *Symposium* 216E: τὰ ἐντός ἀγάλματα, meaning “the statues in their inside”; *Sophista* 230C: τὰ ἐμποδίζοντα ἐντός τις ἐκβάλλει; 252C: ἐντός ὑποφθεγγόμενον; *Meno* 85A: ἀποτετέμνηκεν ἐντός; *Timaues* 45E: τὰς ἐντός κινήσεις; 85C: καθειργνυμένη δ' ἐντός; 85E: τρόμον ἐντός παρέχει; 86E: ἐντός δὲ εἰλλόμενοι; 91D: ἐντός ἐκθρέψονται; *Phaedrus* 279B, where ἐντός is opposed to ἔξωθεν, as in *Critias* 116A; *Cratylus* 432B: τὰ ἐντός; 427C, where ἐντός is equated with ἔνδον, and *Parmenides* 138E, where it is opposed to ἔξω as in *Philebus* 46E (τοῖς ἐντός πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἔξω), in *Timaues* 46A, in *Respublica* 588D, and in *Respublica* 414B, where it is opposed to ἔξωθεν; *Timaues* 88E, where it is opposed to ἐκτός, “outside”; *Respublica* 414D: ὑπὸ γῆς ἐντός πλαττόμενοι καὶ τρεφόμενοι; 401D, where τὸ ἐντός τῆς ψυχῆς is the innermost soul; Aristotle, *Analytica* 66a14 Bekker, where ἐντός is opposed to ἐκτός; *De caelo* 272b15 Bekker: περίεσιν ἅπασαν τὴν ἐντός; 281a10: τὰ μόρια τὰ ἐντός; *De generatione animalium* 716b18–23: ἐντός δ' ἔχει τούτους ... ταῦτα πάντα ἐντός ἔχει; 717b33, where ἐντός is opposed to ἔξω; 719a31, where it is opposed to ἐκτός, as in 741b25, 753a4, and 757a29; 728b9: κάμπτει τὰ ὀπίσθια σκέλη ἐντός; *Historia animalium* 492a9: ἢ ἐκτός σφόδρα ἢ ἐντός ἢ μέσως; 497b1: Τὰ μὲν οὖν μόρια καὶ τὰ ἐντός καὶ τὰ ἐκτός; 502a4: γλῶτταν δ' ἔχει μικράν τε σφόδρα καὶ ἐντός, ὥστε ἔργον ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν; 504b18: οὐτ' ἐντός οὐτ' ἐκτός; 528a4: τὸ δ' ὄστρακον ἐκτός, ἐντός δ' οὐδὲν σκληρόν; 559a18: ἐκτός μὲν τὸ λευκόν, ἐντός δὲ τὸ ὠχρόν; 621a7: ἐκτρέπεται τὰ ἐντός ἐκτός ... εἴθ' οὕτως εἰστρέπεται πάλιν ἐντός; *Magna moralia* 1.15.1: ὦν δ' ἐντός καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ αἰτία, οὐ βία, where ἐντός means inside, in the interiority of one's soul and will; *Mechanica* 856b24: ἢ μὲν ἐκτός, ἢ δὲ ἐντός; Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* 1.1.4: ἢ κατὰ τὰ ἔξω μόρια καὶ τὴν ὅλην μορφήν ἢ κατὰ τὰ ἐντός; 4.7.5: τὸ δ' ἐντός συνελίττεται; 6.6.4.11: τὰ μὲν ἐκτός τὰ δ' ἐντός; *De sensu et sensibilibus* 8: ἐπανισοῦσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐντός φῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκτός; *De causis plantarum* 6.10.7: ἐκκρινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐντός; Archimedes, *De conoidibus et sphaeroidibus* 1.190.2: αἱ μὲν ... ἐκτός πίπτουσι, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐντός; Euclides, *Elementa* 1 demonstratio 18: ἐπεὶ τριγώνου τοῦ ΒΓΔ ἐκτός ἐστὶ γωνία ἢ ὑπὸ ΑΔΒ, μείζων ἐστὶ τῆς ἐντός; 1 demonstratio 28: εὐθεῖα ἐμπίπτουσα τὴν ἐκτός γωνίαν τῇ

cant that all other derivatives from ἐντός have meanings that are connected, not with “among,” but with “within.” ἐντόσαρκες, according to Hesichius, s.v., are the fleshly parts *inside* the body and correspond to τὰ ἐντός (which in Thucydides 2.49.2 and Aesop *Fab.* 89.1; 188.1–3 precisely indicates the inner parts of the body); ἐντοσθε and ἐντοσθεν always mean “from within” or “from the inside,” not “from among” (e.g., *Iliad* 22.237; *Odyssey* 1.380; 2.424; Lucian *Vera Historia* 1.24). The nouns ἐντοσθίδια and ἐντόσθια (or ἐνδόσθια) and the adjectives ἐντοσθίδιος and ἐντόσθιος respectively mean “entrails” and “intestine” (e.g., Aristotle *De Partibus Animalium* 684b32; 685a3; Timaeus of Locris 100b; Galen 14.42; Hesychius, *Etymologicum Magnum* 345.21). Of these, ἐνδόσθια is also attested in the Septuagint (Ex 12:9), like ἐντότερος, “inner,” in Es 4:11: τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἐντοτέραν. Therefore, in the light of the meaning of ἐντός in all of Greek literature preceding the New Testament and contemporaneous with it, it is clear that it means “within, inside,” and not “among” (which, as I have shown, in the New Testament is always expressed with ἐν μέσῳ + genitive). Thus, it comes as no surprise that in Liddell-Scott, p. 577a, precisely for Luke 17:21 the translation of ἐντὸς ὑμῶν that is offered is: “in your hearts.” Thus, not “among you,” but “*inside* you.” Indeed, the reason for the modern translation “the Kingdom of God is among you,” against most ancient and early modern versions and interpretations, seems to be first of all the lack of consideration for the meaning of ἐντός in the Bible and in Greek literature.

Moreover, some contextual, conceptual, and theological arguments further support the interpretation of Luke 17:21 I advocate.¹⁷ First of all, the fact that in Luke 17 Jesus is addressing the

ἐντός; 3 demonstratio 13: εἴαν τε ἐντὸς εἴαν τε ἐκτὸς ἐφάπτηται; Nicander, *Alexipharmaca* 287: πνεῦμα ἐντὸς ὑποβρομέει; Posidonius fr. 463 Theiler: ἡ μὲν ἐντός, ἡ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἔσται; *Oracula Sibyllina* 8.370: ἐντὸς ἐὼν σιγῶ; Philo, *De opificio mundi* 118: τὰ τ' ἐκτὸς καὶ ἐντὸς μέρη ... τὰ δ' ἐντὸς λεγόμενα σπλάγχνα; *De plantatione* 30: ὅσα ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός; *De aeternitate mundi* 22: διττῶν οὐσῶν φθορᾶς αἰτίων, τῆς μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς δὲ ἐκτός; *Quaestiones in Exodum* fr. 32: Ἐντὸς φέρει τὸν ὀλεθρον ὁ τῇ κακίᾳ συζῶν; Strabo, 1.3.6: τὸ ἔξω πέλαγος τῷ ἐντός; 1.3.17: τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλατταν τῇ ἐντός; see also 3.1.7; Josephus, *Antiquitates* 2.250: ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἐντὸς οὐσα; 2.304: τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθειρομένων; 2.343: ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στρατὸς ἅπας ἐντὸς ἦν; 3.135: χρυσῷ δὲ τὰ τ' ἐντὸς καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν περιελήλατο πᾶσα; 14.60: τοῖς ἐντός, “those who were inside.”

¹⁷ On Luke's theology see most recently J. B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995); P. Pokorny, *Theologie*

Pharisees fits perfectly well with Jesus' declaration that the Kingdom is an interior reality (ἐντὸς ὑμῶν) rather than a visible and exterior one, and thence it is impossible to say that it is here or there and to spy on its coming, because it is a spiritual and interior reality, already present in the spiritual dimension and to be completely fulfilled in the *eschaton* (as is strongly suggested by the immediately following Luke passage, which is eschatological). Indeed, this stress on interiority is perfectly appropriate to the addressees of this logion, since the Pharisees are notoriously accused by Jesus precisely of giving importance only to exteriority and ostensibility, formal practices and human glory. Jesus, instead, emphasizes that God's Kingdom is interior, invisible, impossible to locate in one place or another, in that it is of a spiritual nature (compare also John 18:36: "My Kingdom is not of this world"). What is more, as I have pointed out, the only other occurrence of ἐντὸς in the New Testament, in Matt 23:26, is precisely found in an exhortation addressed by Jesus to the Pharisees, and focused precisely on the contrast between interiority and exteriority, ἐντὸς vs. ἐκτός ("Blind Pharisee, first cleanse the internal part [τὸ ἐντὸς] of the glass, that the external part [τὸ ἐκτός], too, may be clean."). This seems to me highly significant and further supports my contention.

Luke repeatedly contrasts this world with the Kingdom;¹⁸ as a consequence, it is perfectly consistent with the Lucan opposition between this world and the Kingdom that the latter is said by Jesus to be "inside you, in your spirit." In fact, especially in Luke 16—the chapter that immediately precedes the one in which Luke 17:21 is located—the Kingdom of God seems to be contrasted with this

der lukanischen Schriften (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); documentation in F. Bovon, *Luc le théologien* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2006), who offers an overview of the last fifty years of scholarship, including a great deal on soteriology in Luke.

¹⁸ On the Kingdom of God in Luke and in the Gospels I refer to Y. Cho, *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile these Concepts* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2005), to Y.-S. Ahn, *The Reign of God and Rome in Luke's Passion Narrative* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), and to the documentation collected by L. D. Chrupkala, *The Kingdom of God: A Bibliography of Twentieth-Century Research* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2007). The Kingdom of God is characterized by peace, on which Luke's theology is focused, according to J. Grassi, *Peace on Earth: Roots and Practices from Luke's Gospel* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2004). On the peculiarities due to Luke's own source (called L in the Q hypothesis) see K. Paffenroth, *The Story of Jesus According to L* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997); see also B. Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources and Literary Context* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

world, with its cleverness and its richness.¹⁹ This is clear in particular in the contrast between the “children of this world” and the “children of light,” in the saying about serving two masters, in the opposition between God and mammon (v. 13) and Dives and Lazarus (v. 19ff.), and in the remark on the Pharisees who love richness (v. 14). The polarity between this world and God’s Kingdom is insisted on in many other Luke passages, such as 18:16—notably, in the chapter that immediately follows that of Luke 17:21—where the Kingdom of God is said to belong to those who are like children, or 4:6, where the power, glory, and richness of this world are said to be in the hands of the devil. The opposition between this world and the Kingdom is patent in Luke 12:31, with the exhortation to pursue the Kingdom of God rather than the things of this world, and in the beatitudes, where, in Luke’s account (6:20ff.), Jesus systematically contrasts this world with the Kingdom, which belongs to the poor, to those who are starving, who cry, who are hated and insulted, in opposition to the rich, to those who are sated, who laugh, who enjoy glory from this world. A similar antithesis is clear in Luke 8:25 between acquiring the whole of this world (κόσμος) and losing oneself, and in 8:29–30 between God’s Kingdom and all the rest: in order to enter the Kingdom one must leave everything else. Luke stresses Jesus’ work of announcing the good news of God’s Kingdom. So, for example, in Luke 4:43 Jesus declares, εὐαγγελίσασθαι με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, “I must spread the Good News of the Kingdom of God” (cf. also Luke 16:16, which corresponds to Luke 4:43 but in the passive); in Luke 8:1 Jesus is κηρύσσων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, “announcing and proclaiming the Good News of the Kingdom of God,” and in 7:23: πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται, “the poor are announced the Good News” by Jesus.²⁰ The proclamation of the Kingdom is also extended to the Twelve (Luke 9:2) and the Seventy-Two (Luke 10:9), and is a work of Jesus’ disciples (in Luke 9:60 Jesus says to a man whom he wants to be his disciple: διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, “proclaim the Kingdom of God!”). There seems to be not only an opposition between this world and the Kingdom, but also a tension,

¹⁹ Attention to the proclamation of the Kingdom by Jesus precisely in these chapters of Luke is paid by F. Bovon, *L’évangile selon saint Luc 15,1–19,27* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2001).

²⁰ On Jesus’ proclamation of the Kingdom see E. P. Meadors, *Jesus the Messianic Herald of Salvation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995). Also, M. Parsons, *Luke: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2007).

or better a complementarity, between present and future in respect to the realization of God's Kingdom: whereas in Luke 17:21 it is said to be already present (but in spirit, as I argue²¹), in Luke 13:28 the accent seems more on eschatology: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the prophets, and the gentiles will be in God's Kingdom.²² Thus, if the Kingdom is presented by Luke as something that is to be fully realized in the other world, and if it is often contrasted with this world,²³ it is all the more probable that in Luke 17:21 the Kingdom of God is said by Jesus to be "inside you," i.e., in your spirit, not in this world. Even if the alternative interpretation "among you" does not automatically mean "in this world," the representation of the Kingdom as opposed to this world and oriented to eschatology fits better with the declaration that the Kingdom is inside the believers, in their spirit. Indeed, in the Lucan context the Kingdom of God is presented as a spiritual reality, as opposed to this world, and as eschatologically oriented.

An important parallel to my interpretation also comes from the above-mentioned *Gospel of Thomas*, which is composed of a series of *logia* of Jesus, and is often related by scholars to the Q source of the synoptic gospels²⁴ (at least in the Q hypothesis, which in source

²¹ The spiritual life depicted by Luke and analyzed by J. L. Resseguie, *Spiritual Landscape: Images of the Spiritual Life in the Gospel of Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004) is precisely the dimension of the Kingdom.

²² On the eschatological and, at the same time, present nature of the Kingdom in Luke see L. D. Chrupkala, *Il Regno opera della Trinità nel Vangelo di Luca* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1998), 192; 198. Cf. also B. Noack, *Das Gottesreich bei Lukas* (Lund-Uppsala: Gleerup, 1948); G. F. Hawthorne, "The Essential Nature of the Kingdom of God" (*WestmTJ* 25 [1963]): 35–47; H. Hartl, "Die Aktualität des Gottesreiches nach Lk 17,20f." in H. Merklein & J. Lange (Hrsg.), *Biblische Randbemerkungen. Schülerfestschrift für R. Schnackenburg zum 60. Geburtstag* (Würzburg: Echter, 1974), 25–30; A. Feuillet, "La double venue du règne de Dieu et du Fils de l'homme en Luc XVII,20–XVIII,8" (*RTThom* 81 [1981]): 5–33.

On Lukan eschatology see, e.g., E. E. Ellis, "La fonction de l'eschatologie dans l'évangile de Luc," in F. Neirynck (ed.), *L'évangile de Luc* (Leuven: University Press / Uitgeverij Peeters, 1989), 51–65; S. L. Bridge, *Where the Eagles are Gathered: The Deliverance of the Elect in Lukan Eschatology* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 2003).

²³ On the theology of the Kingdom in Luke and its relation to eschatology see I. Ramelli, "Luke 16:16: The Good News of the Kingdom is Proclaimed and Everyone is Forced into it" (*JBL* 127,4 [2008]): 747–68.

²⁴ See G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament" (*VC* 11 [1957]): 189–207; R. McL. Wilson, review of W. Schrage, "Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition" (*VC* 20

criticism flanks the Farrar-Goulder and the Griesbach hypotheses, and other minor ones).²⁵ Moreover, it shows a particular closeness to the materials that are peculiar to Luke, among which there is also Jesus' statement ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστι.²⁶ Its Syriac, and specifically Edessan origin, is debated.²⁷ In Logion 3

[1966]: 118–23; J.-D. Kaestli, “L'évangile de Thomas: son importance pour l'étude des paroles de Jésus” (*ETR* 54 [1979]): 375–96; M. Lelyveld, *Les Logia de la Vie dans l'Évangile selon Thomas* (Leiden: Brill, 1987); H. Koester and S. J. Patterson, “The Gospel of Thomas: Does it Contain Authentic Sayings of Jesus?” (*BRev* 6 [1990]): 28–39; H. MG. Ross, *Thirty Essays on the Gospel of Thomas* (Longmead: Element Books, 1990); K. R. Snodgrass, “The Gospel of Thomas: A Secondary Gospel” (*SecCent* 7 [1990]): 19–38; C. M. Tuckett, “Q and Thomas: Evidence of a Primitive Wisdom Gospel?” (*ETbL* 67 [1991]): 346–60; Id., “Das Thomasevangelium und die synoptischen Evangelien” (*BTbZ* 12 [1995]): 186–200; R. Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas* (London-New York: Routledge, 1997); R. Uro, *Neither Here Nor There. Lk 17.20–21 and Related Sayings in Thomas, Mark, and Q* (Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1990); Id., “Thomas and the Oral Gospel Tradition,” in Id. (ed.), *Thomas at the Crossroads* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 33–64; H. M. Schenke, *On the Compositional History of the Gospel of Thomas* (Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1998). N. Perrin, *Thomas, The Other Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007) also offers a good overview of major scholarship on Thomas, like S. J. Patterson, “The Gospel of Thomas and Historical Jesus Research” in *Coptica-Gnostica-Manichaica* (eds. L. Painchaud-P.H. Poirier; Québec: Université de Laval / Louvain: Peeters, 2006): 663–684.

²⁵ For a useful summary of these source-critical hypotheses see L. M. White, *From Jesus to Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2004), 112–15.

²⁶ See especially H. Schürmann, “Das Thomasevangelium und das lukanische Sondergut” (*BZ* 7 [1963]): 236–60; B. Dehandschutter, “L'évangile selon Thomas: témoin d'une tradition prélucaienne?” in F. Neirynck (ed.), *L'évangile de Luc* (Leuven: University Press / Uitgeverij Peeters, 1989), 197–207.

²⁷ See B. Ehlers, “Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen?” (*NovT* 12 [1970]): 284–317; A. F. J. Klijn, “Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas” (*NovT* 14 [1972]): 70–77; B. Dehandschutter, “Le lieu d'origine de l'Évangile selon Thomas” (*OLP* 6 [1975]): 125–31. Elaine Pagels thinks that the Gospel of John was written as a response to that of Thomas, which dates back to the 1st century; Perrin argues for the late 2nd century, and for a Syriac original version, depending not on the Synoptic Gospels, but on Tatian's *Diatessaron*: see his *Thomas, The Other Gospel* and already his *Thomas and Tatian* (Atlanta: SBL, 2002), and: J. Helderman and S. J. Noorda (eds.), *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus. Thomas, Tatian, and the Text of the New Testament* (Amsterdam: VU Uit-

Jesus is speaking precisely of the Kingdom of God, and he says: "It is *inside* you." The whole *logion* reads: "Jesus said: If those who lead you should say to you, 'Behold, the Kingdom is in heaven,' then the birds of heaven will precede you.' If they say to you, 'It is in the sea,' then the fish will precede you. But the Kingdom is *inside* you, and it is <not> *outside* you. If you know [*sc.* recognize] yourselves, you will be recognized, and you will understand that you are the children of the Living Father. If, instead, you will not know yourselves, you dwell in poverty and it is you who are that poverty." Another Kingdom *logion* in the same writing points to the same understanding of the Kingdom of God, which Jesus here calls "the Kingdom of the Father," as an interior reality. For Jesus, when asked when the Kingdom will come, makes it clear that the Kingdom is not in time or space ("It will not come by waiting, nor will it be a matter of saying, 'Here it is,' or 'There it is'"), and that, although it is already present, it is invisible: "People do not see it" (Logion 113).²⁸ Now, lack of dimensionality and invisibility are typical of a spiritual reality. And when Jesus says, "The Kingdom of God is inside you," he is certainly indicating a spiritual reality.

Strong additional support to the interpretation of Luke 17:21 I advocate also comes from Syriac and Greek Patristic exegesis. The ancient Fathers of the Church who comment on this passage are unanimous in understanding it as meaning, "The Kingdom of God is inside you." Again, this *per se* does not necessarily demonstrate that this must be the right translation, but it certainly demonstrates that it was possible to understand the expression under investigation in the way I propose to understand it, and that it was indeed understood in this way by virtually all Syriac and Greek ancient exegetes who commented on this passage. Among them, especially the Greek exegetes knew Greek very well, were Greek-speaking, steeped in ancient rhetorical culture, and much closer than we are to *koine*. The so-called Ephraem Graecus (a Greek translation of works by Ephrem, stemming from the fourth century, although not

geverij, 1983); M. Desjardins, "Where Was the Gospel of Thomas Written?" (*Toronto Journal of Theology* 8 [1992]): 121–33. A high dating of the Gospel of Thomas is supported by P. J. Williams, "Alleged Syriac Catchwords in the Gospel of Thomas," *VigChr* 63 (2009) 71–82, who denies that it depends on Tatian's *Diatessaron* and thinks it may be much earlier.

²⁸ On the Kingdom parables in the Gospel of Thomas see L. Cerfaux, "Les paraboles du Royaume dans l'Évangile de Thomas" (*Mus* 70 [1957]): 311–27.

always reliable from the point of view of Ephrem's paternity)²⁹ in *Consilium de vita spirituali ad monachum novitium*, 55,³⁰ states that divine activity, as opposed to spiritual laziness, does not consist in bodily movement, "because the Kingdom of God is inside us," that is, an interior and spiritual reality. And in his *Institutio ad monachos*, 343.12,³¹ he comments that "the very fact that God's Kingdom is inside us" means "the heavenly joy of the Spirit being active in the soul that is worthy of it." Among the Greek Fathers, Origen interprets the indwelling Kingdom of God as the Logos that the Christian has in him/herself everywhere: τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ τὸν λόγον τὸν πανταχοῦ ὁ ἅγιος δύναται ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ; ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστὶ (Homilies on Jeremiah, 18.2). The same exegesis is maintained in his *Commentary on John*, 19.12.78: the Kingdom of God is inside us when "we keep in ourselves the seeds and principles of truth that have been sowed in our soul" (Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν· καὶ ὅσον γε σώζομεν τὰ ἐνσπαρέντα ἡμῶν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ἀληθείας σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς, οὐδέπω ἀπεληλυθεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος). Thus, ἐντὸς ὑμῶν is understood as "in the interiority of your soul." In his *Homilies on Luke*, 36, preserved in Latin, Origen specifically deals with Luke 17:21 and interprets ἐντὸς ὑμῶν as "inside you," and precisely "in your heart." *Non omnibus Salvator dicit: Regnum Dei intra vos est, siquidem in peccatoribus regnum peccati est et absque ulla ambiguitate aut regnum Dei in corde nostro imperat aut peccati ... videbimus utrum Dei imperium regnet in nobis aut imperium delictorum*. Didymus the Blind, who was deeply influenced by Origen, in *Fragments on Psalms*, 977.17, equates the indwelling Kingdom of God with the rational faculty of the human being, or, as an alternative, with the tranquil condition of the inner faculties,³² with virtue and knowledge of God and the image of God in us, the true Good: ὁ σωτὴρ τοῖς δύναμιν ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως θείας μεταλαβούσιν ἔφη· Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστὶ,

²⁹ On the so-called Ephraem Graecus see D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Ephrem Grec," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 6, 800–19.

³⁰ Edition in K. G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, vol. 2 (Thessalonica: To Perivoli tis Panagias, 1989): 209–51.

³¹ Edition in K. G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, vol. 5 (Thessalonica: To Perivoli tis Panagias, 1994): 300–70.

³² Ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ καλεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δύναμιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἀκουστέον καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος λέγοντός τισιν Ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστὶ. καὶ οὕτω θεώρησον τὰ ἐντὸς κατὰ διάνοιαν ἄλλην· ὅταν τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχωμεν ἡσυχάζουσας.

μονονουχὶ λέγων· Ἦς ζητῶ παρ' ὑμῶν πίστεως καὶ ἀρετῆς τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχετε, λογικοὶ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγεννημένοι· ὅθεν μὴ ἔξω ἑαυτῶν ζητεῖτε τὸ ἀγαθόν (977.23). Here ἐντὸς ὑμῶν is explicitly equated with ἐν ἑαυτοῖς and opposed to ἔξω ἑαυτῶν, thus denoting a completely interior and spiritual reality. And in his *Commentary on Job* (5.1–6.29), 141.23, Didymus identifies the indwelling Kingdom of God with each one's attitude to virtue: ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν· ἔχομεν γὰρ ἐπιτηδεϊότητα πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἣντινα βασιλείαν κέκληκεν. Hippolytus in his *Refutatio* 5.7.20 clearly interprets ἐντὸς ὑμῶν as meaning “in the interiority of the human being,” where he posits the Kingdom of Heaven: μακαρίαν κρυβομένην ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερούμενην φύσιν, ἥνπερ φασὶν τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην. Athanasius of Alexandria is clear that ἐντὸς in Luke 17:21 is equivalent to ἔνδον, “inside, on the inside,” and that the Kingdom of God in each person is the faith dwelling in that person's soul (an idea that will be taken over by Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John*, 1.696.20, and Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 33.13): Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν· ἔνδον γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, δυνάμεθα ταχέως θεωρῆσαι καὶ νοῆσαι τὸν τοῦ παντὸς βασιλέα (Athanasius, *Contra gentes* 30.10). Likewise, in his biography of St. Anthony, PG 26.873.7, he interprets the indwelling Kingdom of God as the virtue (ἀρετὴ) that is in us (ἐν ἡμῖν). Basil of Caesarea, *Ep.* 8.12.13, interprets Jesus' statement, “The Kingdom of God is inside you,” as referring to the interior man (ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος). He uses precisely ἐντὸς, thus leaving no doubt that he understood ἐντὸς ὑμῶν as “inside you,” “in your spiritual interiority.” Moreover, this is the expression of Plato, *Republic* 9.589B (ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται ἐγκρατέστατος) and 588C (τὰ ἐντὸς vs. ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος), which Basil seems to have echoed, not that of Paul (ἔσω vs. ἔξω),³³ which was influential upon Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 3.4.34.2: τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον πεποιηκέναι), Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses* 1.7.2: Χάρις πληρώσαι σου τὸν ἔσω

³³ Rom 7:22–23: συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας; 2Cor 4:16: εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινύεται ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα; Eph 3:16: κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον.

ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πληθύναι ἐν σοὶ τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῆς), and Pseudo-Justin (*Expositio rectae fidei* 376D, with a quotation of Eph 3:16). Basil is not the only Father to resume Plato's terminology for the "inner human:" there are also other Fathers who were influenced by Platonism, such as Clement of Alexandria—who thus takes up both Plato's and Paul's expressions³⁴—Eusebius,³⁵ and above all Gregory Nazianzen,³⁶ as well as Procopius of Gaza.³⁷ Gregory of Nyssa takes the words, "God's Kingdom is inside you," as indicating that the soul's original beauty, which is God's image, is always present in each of us, blurred and covered as it may be by sin, but it is sufficient that one wishes to discover it and it will become evident (*De Virginitate*, 2.3).³⁸ Therefore, it is evident that he took ἐντὸς ὑμῶν in the sense, "in your spiritual interiority, in your soul as an image of God." Also in his *De Beatitudinibus* Gregory quotes Jesus' words interpreting ἐντός as "inside," and comments on that, once one has cleansed one's heart (i.e., spirit) from pas-

³⁴ *Paedagogus* 2.5.45.4: πῶς ἂν εἰκότως τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὸ γελοιότερον σχηματιζόμενον ἀνασχοίμεθα;

³⁵ *Praeparatio Evangelica* 12.46.6: ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται ἐγκρατέστατος, with a quotation of the above-mentioned passage from Plato's *Republic*.

³⁶ Letter 32.9: ὁ ἐκτὸς καὶ ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος; Letter 34.4: τῷ ἐκτὸς καθαίρεις τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων διεξάγεις ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τέλος; *Contra Julianum* 1, PG 35.652.35: ἡ πλείων δὲ πραγματεία περὶ τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον, καὶ μετέλκειν τὸν θεατὴν ἐπὶ τὸ νοούμενον; *In seipsum cum rure rediisset*, PG 35.1244.6: μεταστρέφων τὸν θεατὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον; *In sancta lumina*, PG 36.341.38: δαπανώντων τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον. Likewise, the Platonic expression appears in two spurious works ascribed to Nyssen, *De creatione hominis sermo alter, recensio C*, 47a.12: τελείωσιν τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον, and *De occursu Domini* PG 46.1153.40: τοῦ ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων κάθαρσιν.

³⁷ *Catena in Canticum* 1608.2: τείχισμα, τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον· προτείχισμα δὲ τὸν ἐκτός.

³⁸ Τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης σπουδῆς τοσοῦτον ἂν εἴη, ὅσον ἐκκαθᾶραι μόνον τὸν ἐπιγινόμενον ἀπὸ κακίας ῥύπον αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ κεκαλυμμένον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κάλλος διαφωτίσαι. Τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον δόγμα καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διδάσκειν οἶμαι τὸν κύριον λέγοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν δυναμένους τῆς ἐν μυστηρίῳ λαλουμένης σοφίας, ὅτι Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν. Ἐνδείκνυται γάρ, οἶμαι, ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθὸν οὐ διώρισται τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν οὐδὲ πόρρωθέν που τῶν ζητεῖν αὐτὸν προαιρουμένων ἀπώκισται, ἀλλ' αἰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἐστίν, ἀγνοούμενον μὲν καὶ λανθάνον ... εὕρισκόμενον δὲ πάλιν, ὅταν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν ἐπιστρέψωμεν.

sions and sins, one will find God's Kingdom inside, i.e., the image of God in which all human beings are created.³⁹ Again in *De Instituto Christiano*, GNO 8/1.78.20, he meaningfully equates ἐντὸς ὑμῶν with εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου, clearly denoting human interiority. Cyril of Alexandria, in his *Commentary on Luke* as preserved in the Catenae (PL 72.841), explains that the Kingdom of God is in us in that it is in our freewill and choices, and it depends on every human being to take possession of it: Ἐντὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ· τουτέστιν ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέροις προαιρέσεσι καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κεῖται τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ἔξεστι γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ παντί. Once again, ἐντὸς ὑμῶν is taken to indicate the interiority of our rational soul, which is the dwelling place of human freewill. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 2.110, also paraphrases Jesus' words, Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν, with Ὁφείλετε κατὰ ψυχὴν αἰεὶ ἔχειν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, "You must always have God's Kingdom inside yourself, in your soul." In sum, no Father at all takes ἐντὸς ὑμῶν as meaning "among you," but all ancient exegetes are unanimous in interpreting it as "inside you."

As I have observed, ancient versions and interpretations do not necessarily demonstrate, one by one and per se, that their understanding is right, but they surely demonstrate that it was possible to understand the expression under investigation in the way I propose to translate it, and that it was indeed understood in this way by the Latin translators, by most or all Syriac translators (and, in the former case, precisely those who were more adherent to the Greek), and by virtually all Syriac and Greek ancient exegetes who commented on this passage. They had the same cultural, rhetorical, and linguistic background as the Greek New Testament. Their total agreement can hardly be accidental. And it becomes all the more significant in the light of the grammatical, linguistic, and contextual arguments that I have adduced. Indeed, as I have argued, everything points to the understanding of Luke 17:21 as "The Kingdom of God is *inside* you:" the ancient Syriac versions of this verse, of Matt 23:26a, and of all the occurrences of ἐν μέσῳ + genitive in Luke; also, the Latin translations, a systematic investigation of the meaning of ἐντός in all of Greek literature anterior to, and contemporary with, Luke; Biblical linguistic usage, where ἐντός always means "inside"; a similar logion in the *Gospel of Thomas*; and Greek

³⁹ PG 44.1269: ἐντὸς ὑμῶν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰπών· ἵνα διδαχθῶμεν, ὅτι ὁ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως καὶ ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καρδίαν ἀποκαθήρας, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κάλλει τῆς θείας φύσεως καθορᾷ τὴν εἰκόνα.

and Syriac Patristic exegesis. Additionally, this rendering also seems to fit much better in the context of an address to the Pharisees with a contrast between interiority and exteriority, all the more in that it is the very same context of the only other occurrence of *ἐντός* in the whole New Testament: another address to the Pharisees with the same opposition between interiority and exteriority, *ἐντός* vs. *ἐκτός*.

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