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Paul M. Bretscher

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis

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Luke 17: 20-21 in Recent Investigations

By PAUL M. BRETSCHER

THIS is the significant passage recorded only by Luke and rendered in the KJ version: "When He was demanded of the Pharisees when the Kingdom of God should come, He answered them and said: The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, Lo, there! for, behold, the Kingdom of God is within you." The passage poses a number of linguistic and exegetical difficulties. It raises such questions as: What did the Pharisees believe the Kingdom of God to be? What did Jesus have in mind when He used that term? What is the precise meaning of the phrase "with observation" (μετὰ παρατηρήσεως)? What is the meaning of ἐντός ὑμῶν? What is the force of ἐστίν? Is the consideration that ἐστίν follows rather than precedes ἐντός ὑμῶν of any determining significance? Does the passage constitute a complete unit of thought permitting an interpretation which totally disregards the larger context, especially Luke 17:22-37? Who are the ὑμῶν in the phrase ἐντός ὑμῶν?

Some years ago this journal published an article of mine dealing with this same passage.¹ My chief interest in the passage at that time was the phrase ἐντός ὑμῶν. I came to the conclusion that in view of the immediate context in which the phrase occurs, it means "among," "in your midst." Since that time I gathered further data on the entire passage and enlarged the scope of my inquiry. It is the burden of this paper to present an overview of these findings, with special reference again, however, to the phrase ἐντός ὑμῶν. Following this overview, I shall list, and adduce the evidence for, various renderings of the phrase. In compiling the findings, I am mindful of the need of following sound hermeneutical principles. These are well expressed in the following summary: "Any interpretation of this saying must, if it is to be valid, satisfy four conditions: it must be philologically unobjectionable; it must not part company with the entire tradition of the Church, or, if it does so, it must be able to explain why the true rendering was so long over-

looked; it must make sense in its context; it must not contradict the whole tenor of the Gospel teaching about the Kingdom."

Colin H. Roberts, the author of the above summary, recently contributed a careful investigation of Luke 17:20-21.² He plunges into his discussion with the challenging observation:

If of all of Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom this one paragraph had alone survived, no Greek scholar would have thought of rendering the last sentence except in the way familiar by usage and sanctioned by a tradition of exegesis unbroken until modern times, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you." Equally there is hardly a modern theologian — whether reacting against the individualism of the nineteenth century or influenced by theories of "realized eschatology" or simply awake to the very real difficulties of the older view — who does not translate, "The Kingdom of Heaven is among you." And yet the objections to both renderings are substantial, if not (as I think) insuperable.

Following this introductory blast, to which one need not object too seriously — though Roberts himself admits the inadequacy of his simplification in several footnotes — the author proceeds to demonstrate, on the basis of some reasonable evidence, that the Savior's reply to the question of the Pharisees can only mean:

The Kingdom does not come at all if you strain your eyes to look for it, because it is with you, in your possession, *if you want it* [italics mine], now. To ask whether the Kingdom is external or internal, a state of mind or a state of society, a process or a catastrophic event is (in this context) to ask the wrong question; it is no wonder, then, that both answers are wrong, viz., "within you" and "among you" or rather partial and incomplete. Both may in a sense be right. It is a present reality, *but only if you wish it to be so* [italics mine]. The misconception to be removed is that the Kingdom is something external to men, independent of their volitions and actions; it is a conditional possession.

Another recent and very thorough investigation of Luke 17:20-21 is that by Bent Noack.³ This author examines interpretations of this passage which have come down to us from early Christianity, the early Middle Ages, the Reformation period, the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, and the period since 1890. A hurried glance into Noack's materials will prove helpful. He informs us, to begin with, that the Old Latin texts as well as the Vulgate from Jerome

to Clement all translate ἐντός ὑμῶν with "intra vos." The Latin translation reads: "Non venit regnum Dei cum observatione; neque dicent: Ecce hic, aut ecce illic. Ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos est." Noack contends that "intra" must mean "within." Of the Syriac translations, so Noack continues, the Peshito renders the phrase ἐντός ὑμῶν "within you," whereas the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac manuscripts render it "among you." Of the Fathers, he quotes relevant passages from Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Peter of Alexandria (d. 311), Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, and Euthymios Zigabenos. Christian writers representing the early Middle Ages are Bede, Bruno Astensis, and Strabo. The Reformation and Renaissance period is represented by Faber Stapulensis, Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and Flacius. Catholic writers of the seventeenth century quoted by Noack are Maldonatus and Cornelius a Lapide. Reformed writers of the same period include John Piscator and Hugo Grotius. The eighteenth century is represented by Hanneken, Gnilius, Limborchius, Bengel, and Koecher. The nineteenth century until 1890 comes in for only slight consideration. The period from 1890 to our day includes such well-known names as Johannes Weiss, O. Schmoller, Bousset, Loisy, M. Dibelius, H. D. Wendland, A. Schlatter, K. L. Schmidt, Rud. Otto, R. Frick, B. H. Streeter, C. H. Dodd, and C. J. Cadoux.

In the last part of the book, Noack presents his own interpretation of Luke 17:20-22. He makes much of the wider context, that is, Luke 17:22-37, and concludes (1) that ἐστίν is a real present, which means that, according to Jesus, the Kingdom has arrived and is in operation; (2) that ἐντός means "inter," that is, "among," "in the midst of." He justifies his translation with the argument: "If the meaning 'within you' were the correct interpretation, this statement could not express the opposite of v. 22. For the disciples can indeed preserve the kingdom of God 'within' themselves even though the external conditions about them might change. If, however, the Kingdom is 'among' them, it can disappear, can again become hid, or the manifestation of its powers can cease. The transition of v. 21 presupposes some such event." Noack believes that Luke speaks of the Kingdom as having arrived, as being present, and as coming in the clouds of heaven. His paraphrase of

Luke 17:20-24 shows the close connection which, according to him, exists between vv. 20-21 and vv. 22-24.

Following this brief summary of the studies by Roberts and Noack, let us now soberly face up to some of the problems which interpreters of Luke 17:20-21, both ancient and modern, have bequeathed to us. Let us, to begin with, return to the challenging statement thrown out by Roberts and quoted above. Roberts claims: "No Greek scholar would have thought of rendering the last sentence [in Luke 17:21] except in the way familiar by usage and sanctioned by a tradition of exegesis almost unbroken until modern times, 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.' . . . There is hardly a modern theologian . . . who does not translate, 'The Kingdom of Heaven is among you.'" To us this appears to be a false antithesis. Without going to the trouble of ferreting out a few Greek scholars who did not render ἐντός with "within" and a few modern theologians who do not render ἐντός with "among," one is safe in supposing that there have been Greek scholars who were also theologians and that there are some modern theologians who are also Greek scholars.

But, in all seriousness, what does "within" mean? As I tried to show in my previous article,⁴ the English "within" is a flexible term and allows for shades of meaning which come perilously close to "among." Again, what is the dividing line between "inter" and "intra" in Latin? May one say with absolute finality that "inter" suggests a partial and "intra" a complete limitation? Shall one suppose that Ethelbert Stauffer made a serious blunder when he remarks that Luther with his *inwendig in euch* set himself in direct opposition to the "intra" of the Vulgate?⁵ Shall one say that Lenski made the same mistake?⁶ For it must be remembered that the Latin "intra" is indeed the standard translation of ἐντός, but whether it always meant "within, inside of," to the Latin writers, is another question. All we know is that much evidence from Latin writers points in the direction that they understood "intra" in the Luke passage as meaning *in cordibus*.

But even this is not the most serious consideration facing the student who wrestles with ἐντός and "intra." The greatest difficulty confronts him when he considers what early Church Fathers believed the Kingdom of God to be of which they wrote that it was

"intra vos." For a discovery of differing views of the Kingdom of God held by Christians from the Apostolic age to St. Augustine, one need only consult Robert Frick's monograph.⁷ Tertullian believed the Kingdom of God to be the *praeceptum Dei*. He interprets Luke 17:21: "In praecepto est Dei regnum."⁸ In one passage, Origen suggests that the Kingdom of God in us is in opposition to the kingdom of sin in sinners.⁹ For Athanasius, the Kingdom in us is Christ. For Faber Stapulensis, the Kingdom "within us" is *fides Christi, doctrina spiritus, et nova in ipso creatura, et ipse (quod maximum est) qui per fidem jam in ipsis habitabat*.¹⁰ For Calvin, the Kingdom "within us" is *interior et spiritualis animae renovatio*.¹¹ Other interpretations of "Kingdom of God" could be cited. But these will suffice to indicate that their interpretation of the term "Kingdom of God" may well have determined, in part or wholly, for Christian writers in the early and in later periods a preference for "within."

Roberts' statement, "There is hardly a modern theologian . . . who does not translate, 'The Kingdom of God is among you,'" creates the impression that the translation "among you" is of very recent origin. As Noack shows, that translation may be traced already in Cyril of Alexandria,¹² although it seems to have become firmly established only since the seventeenth century. Noack quotes both John Piscator and Hugo Grotius as having understood ἐντός in the sense of "among."¹³ In the eighteenth century, "among" becomes a widely accepted translation. Noack quotes, as a telling instance, Limborchius, who writes: "Sensus non est: regnum Dei tantum est internum, et in cordibus vestris; sed in medio vestro, seu inter vos."¹⁴ Bengel belongs to this period. He is frequently referred to as one who favored the meaning "among." In justice to Bengel it must be said, however, that he did not deny the meaning of ἐντός to be "intra." He preferred "inter" merely because the ὑμῶν involves the Jewish people.¹⁵ In any case, a marked preference for "among" is evident throughout the eighteenth century. The reason for the shift was, as Noack indicates, an interpretation of "Kingdom of God" different from interpretations of previous centuries.

Efforts to ascertain the true meaning of ἐντός ὑμῶν was not a burning issue in the first ninety years of the last century. This may

be due largely to the fact that in this period the concept of the nature of the Kingdom of God was not closely scrutinized. There were those, of course, who favored the rendition of ἐντὸς ὑμῶν with "among you." Others, like Godet,¹⁶ defended the traditional position. A fresh interest in the meaning of ἐντὸς begins to appear, however, in the early nineties of the past century with the publication in 1892 by Johannes Weiss of his *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (2d ed., 1900). In this work, Luke 17:20-21 plays an important role. It continued to do so in the many volumes which in some way or other took up the challenge raised by Weiss. Whether one seconded the "futuristic eschatology"¹⁷ proposed by Weiss, as did Schweitzer, Bousset, and Juelicher, or whether one championed a "realized eschatology" of the Kingdom proposed by C. H. Dodd,¹⁸ or whether one took a mediating position and held that with Jesus' ministry the Kingdom of God "broke through," "dawned," and that His ministry on earth was God's way of establishing His rule over and among men, but that the full revelation of the Kingdom of God lay in the future, in any case, interpreters could not escape an encounter with Luke 17:20-21. Since the Kingdom of God came more and more to mean God's gracious rule among men and since this Kingship of God was identified with the person, life, and activity of Jesus—in particular with His casting out of demons, His preaching of the Gospel, His signs and miracles—interpreters of Luke's Gospel in ever-growing numbers adopted the interpretation "among."¹⁹ It would be a most interesting study to trace the shift from "within" to "among" in the past fifty years of leading interpreters of the Gospel of Luke. I myself have discovered this shift in Adolf Schlatter²⁰ and William Manson.²¹ Interpreters who have expressed themselves on the meaning of ἐντὸς within the last quarter century and who interpret the phrase "among" are: Walter Bauer in the 3d edition of his Greek-German dictionary of the New Testament, Ernst Lohmeyer,²² K. L. Schmidt,²³ Rudolf Otto,²⁴ Ethelbert Stauffer,²⁵ A. G. Hebert,²⁶ J. Lagrange,²⁷ K. H. Rengstorff,²⁸ and Miller Burrows.²⁹ Small wonder that the Revised Standard Version translates ἐντὸς ὑμῶν "in the midst of you." There are, of course, still those who prefer the rendering "within," as B. H. Streeter,³⁰ J. M. Creed,³¹ and Robert Frick.³² Those who are very dogmatic in their opinion that ἐντὸς cannot but mean "among,"

will do well to investigate the argument in favor of "within" advanced by F. Godet.³³ As far as I know, no one has ever successfully met Godet's arguments.

It remains now to list, and to provide the evidence for, the several interpretations of ἐντός which have been proposed. For the sake of convenience we shall present them under four headings.

1. "WITHIN"

This rendition rests on solid philological ground. The passages from classical Greek commonly adduced in support of "among" are, as Roberts shows, not altogether convincing. The two passages most often cited are from Xenophon. The first is from the chapter of the *Anabasis* describing the conduct of the Greek guards of Cyrus' camp after the defeat at Cunaxa (*Anab.* I, 10, 3). In this passage, the meaning of ἐντός may well be, however, "within their lines" or, possibly, "within their power." In the second passage, from the *Hellenica* (II, 3, 19), ἐντός has its common meaning of "within the limits of." Roberts makes bold to write, "No other passage from a classical Greek author need come into consideration." He notes also that E. Mayser, in his grammar of Greek papyri,³⁴ cites twenty examples of ἐντός, every one having the meaning "within."

The meaning "within" is supported also, as Godet points out, by the position of the phrase ἐντός ὑμῶν in the context. He also notes that ἐντός always includes a contrast to the idea "without." Who could the object of an implied ἐκτός be? Certainly not, so he argues, the Gentiles, since there is no reference to the Gentiles in the passage.

There is, finally, the weight of sacred tradition reaching all the way back to the Old Latin translations which render ἐντός with "intra," granting, of course, that "intra" was always used by the Latin writers in the sense of "within," that is, *in cordibus*.

Above all, those who favor the meaning "within" find powerful support for their position in the contrast which they maintain exists between μετὰ παρατηρήσεως and ἐντός ὑμῶν. They like to paraphrase the passage to read: "The Kingdom of God will not come in such a way that it can be observed, for the Kingdom of God is 'within,' 'in the heart,' and therefore lies outside the realm of sense experience."

2. "AMONG," "IN THE MIDST OF"

This rendering finds some support, as even Roberts admits, in the Symmachus translation of the Old Testament. Roberts cites three passages from Symmachus: Lam. 1:3; Ps. 87:16; and Ps. 140:5, which appear to require the translation "among." He concludes his investigation of these passages with the observation: "Although in all these passages ἐντός still retains something of its limiting sense, 'among' is undeniably a legitimate translation. . . . The explanation of this anomaly is probably to be found in the ambiguity of the corresponding Hebrew preposition, which may mean either 'within' or 'among' and would explain his [Symmachus'] choice of ἐντός."³⁵

Other evidence which favors "among" is the widely accepted identification of the Kingdom of God in the Synoptic Gospels with the life and ministry of Jesus. Jesus is the αὐτοβασίλεια, an expression coined by Origen.³⁶ In Him God is manifesting both His grace and His power.

The point is also made that Jesus certainly did not mean to say that the Kingdom of God is "within" the Pharisees, His bitter enemies. The attempt to universalize the ὑμῶν is ruled out, so the champions of "among" say, by the consideration that in Luke 17:22 Jesus is expressly directing Himself to His disciples.

One also frequently meets with the contention that elsewhere in the Gospel it is man who enters the Kingdom, not the Kingdom into man. This has always seemed to us a very powerful argument. It is met in part, however, by Godet, who notes: "In giving to ἐντός the meaning 'within' we are led back to the idea expressed in the answer of Jesus to Nicodemus: Except a man be *born again*, he cannot *see* the Kingdom of God."

Further evidence for the rendition "among" is supplied by Noack, who, after a thorough examination of Luke 17:21-37, concludes that the larger context demands the rendition "among."

Finally, a deep-seated prejudice obviously causes some interpreters to defend "among." They seem to be so disturbed at what happened to the "within" in the theology of Ritschl and his followers that they will have nothing to do with any interpretation which centers the Kingdom of God in man's heart. These concerns are not altogether unfounded. To appreciate what has happened

to the concept "Kingdom of God" in the course of the Church's history, one need only read Robert Frick's monograph. It is so easy, also in our own day, to forget that the emphasis in the term "Kingdom of God" lies not on "Kingdom," or, if one prefers, on "Kingship," but rather on "God." How often has man disavowed God's rule and substituted for it *man's rule* and identified, or came close to identifying, the Kingdom of God with the kingdom of man.

A final note. Those who render ἐντός with "among" are frequently much concerned about the force of ἐστίν. Some regard the ἐστίν as an "apocalyptic present" and interpret the saying of the Savior to mean: "When the Kingdom of God comes, it will be there *all of a sudden*." So Bultmann, who observes, "Die Gottes-herrschaft ist mit einem Schlage unter euch." Others regard the ἐστίν as a real present and translate the passage, "The Kingdom of God is already present among you."

3. "WITHIN YOUR POSSESSION, IF . . ."

This translation of ἐντός ὑμῶν, which Roberts favors, is not altogether new. The conditional element read into the passage is found already in Tertullian, who comments, "Quis non ita interpretabitur: intra vos est, id est in manu, in potestate vestra, si audiat, si faciatis Dei praeceptum?"³⁷ Roberts quotes other passages from the Fathers. Origen, for instance, interprets the Kingdom of God in some passages as a potentiality in the soul of man, the grain of seed which may or may not come to fruition. In a homily on Numbers, Origen writes: "Sed intra vos est salutis occasio sicut et Dominus dixit, ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos est; intra vos namque est conversionis facultas."³⁸ A passage from Cyril of Alexandria which supports Origen's interpretation is especially significant. The passage reads: μή γὰρ δὴ χρόνους ἐρωτᾶτε, φησί . . . σπουδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, ἐντός γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστι· τουτέστιν ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις προαιρέσεσι, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κεῖται τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ἔξεστι γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ παντί. . .³⁹ An interpretation of ἐντός ὑμῶν similar to that of Cyril may be found also in J. Maldonatus, the Catholic commentator, whose commentary on the Gospels appeared in 1629. Maldonatus writes: "*Qua poterant, si vellent, Christum recipere.*" Plummer, who calls attention to this interpretation, adds the laconic remark: "This is translating ἐντός ὑμῶν 'within you,' and interpreting 'within you' as much the same as

'among you.' If they had *not* received Christ or the Kingdom, it was not yet within them."⁴⁰

In further support of his position, Roberts marshals some, in any case, interesting evidence from several papyri in which ἐντός ὑμῶν may be rendered, so he believes, "in the possession of," "in the hands of," or a similar phrase.

The question is in order, "Does not this interpretation of ἐντός ὑμῶν violate the spirit of the Gospel records?" Roberts is well aware of the difficulty. He meets the argument (unsuccessfully, we believe) by saying:

Elsewhere in the Gospels the Kingdom is something that can be received; something to be sought for like the pearl of great price; something that belongs to some people and not to others. Ask and it shall be given unto you; seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you. For everyone that asks receives and he who seeks finds, and to him that knocks it shall be opened.

4. THE "ELLIPSIS" THEORY

According to this theory, which was proposed within recent years by Harald Riesenfeld and Allen Wikren,⁴¹ the phrase ἐντός ὑμῶν presupposes an ellipsis, although I have been unable to discover what the ellipsis might be. Wikren refers to the Symmachus translations of Ps. 87:5; Lam. 1:3; and Job 18:19, where ἐντός occurs and where, in his opinion, an ellipsis seems most likely. Let us examine Ps. 87:5. The LXX text reads ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος, whereas the Symmachus text has ἐντός νεκρῶν ἐλεύθερος. Wikren comments: "Since Symmachus' translation is in general characterized by a comparatively free and idiomatic Greek style, I should not hesitate to see the indicated ellipsis here. In this instance it might also have been suggested by the Common Greek phrase ἐν Ἄιδου. The emphasis in the passage is upon the place of the dead, so that a meaning like 'house,' or 'abode,' or 'circle' is entirely appropriate. While the translation 'among' is possible, it does not convey the exact force of ἐντός."

Though one might grant the possibility of an ellipsis having occurred on the Old Testament passages cited by Wikren because of the variant readings in the LXX and Symmachus, it must be remembered that there exists no variant for the phrase in Luke. To read an ellipsis into this phrase seems, therefore, to us a daring

solution of the difficulty unless one supposes that the Latin interpretation *in cordibus*, which often appears in the writings of the Fathers as an interpretation of *intra vos*, still reflects the alleged ellipsis in ἐν τῶς ὑμῶν. But this is an idle speculation.

We have come to the end of our investigation, though not, we trust, to the end of our interest in the weighty words spoken by the Savior in Luke 17:20-21. Further patient and prayerful research into the precise meaning of these words will, we are persuaded, lead us to a deeper appreciation of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God.

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8. Quoted by Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 21—22.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 26. The passage in the *Gnomon* reads: "Non debetis spectare in tempora futura, neque in loca remota, nam intra vos est regnum: sicut rex Messias est in medio vestri (Joh. 1, 26 et 12, 35). *Intra* non respectu cordis singulorum pharisaeorum — sed respectu totius populi Judaeci. Rex, Messias, adeoque regnum, est praesens: videtis et auditis."
16. F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke.* Tr. from the 2d French ed. by D. Cusin. 3d ed. Edinburgh, 1879. Vol. II, p. 194.
17. For a good summary of the interest in eschatology since the appearance of Weiss' book, see George S. Duncan, *Son of Man.* New York, 1949, p. 47 ff. Duncan avoids both extremes.
18. *The Kingdom of God and History.* Essays by C. H. Dodd, Paul Tillich, and others. London, 1938. The essay by Dodd is a clear and comprehensive statement of his position.
19. A brief but useful chapter on the meaning of "Kingdom of God" in conservative theological thought may be found in Archibald M. Hunter, *The Message of the New Testament.* Philadelphia, 1944, pp. 52—56.
20. In his *Erlaeuterungen zum Neuen Testament*, Bd. I, 2te Aufl., Calw und Stuttgart, 1918, Schlatter expressed himself as follows: "Gottes Herrschaft kommt nicht so, dass man ihr zuschauen kann, und man wird nicht sagen:

sieh! hier ist sie oder dort. Denn sieh! Gottes Herrschaft ist inwendig in euch," sagt Jesus. Die Pharisaeer fragen sehnsuechtig: wann kommt sie wohl, Gottes herrliche Offenbarung und grosse Gnadenzeit? spaeuen, ob sie sich noch nicht zeigt, und verpassen sie bei all diesem Spaeuen, Rechnen und Sehnen. Sie geschieht nicht so wie der prunkvolle Einzug eines irdischen Koenigs als ein Schauspiel, dem man zuschauen kann. Gottes Herrschen fasst den Menschen inwendig, kommt dort zu ihm und macht sich ihm dort mit seiner Gnade offenbar. Er selbst ist es, der sich dort uns gegenwaertig macht mit seiner ganzen Gottesmacht, in deren Hand Himmel und Erde, Leib und Geist leben. Aber all dies ist von seiner stillen Unsichtbarkeit umschlossen, bietet sich uns inwendig dar, regiert uns von dort und pflanzt dort in unserer verborgenen, inwendigen Gestalt das Leben. Denn Gottes Gnade kommt durch das Wort zu uns im Glauben an den Menschensohn (pp. 555—56).

In his *Das Evangelium des Lukas*, however, which appeared in 1931, Schlatter rejects the translation "inwendig in euch." He says on p. 392: "Gottes Herrschaft kommt nicht erst einst, sondern ist schon gegenwaertig mitten im Kreise derer, die noch fragen, wann sie kommt."

21. In his Bruce Lectures, delivered in 1914 and published in 1918 under the title *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God*, Manson comments: "We should understand Jesus to say: You are looking outwards for the New Heaven and the New Earth. In reality they exist within. Every man has potentially within him the New Heaven and the New Earth. The Kingdom of God is within you." (P. 82.)

In his commentary on the Gospel of Luke, published in 1930, Manson writes: "The Pharisees see no immediate sign of that divine event which Jesus declares to be at hand. Jesus' answer is that his questioners look for proofs in every direction except the right one. The Pharisees expect external signs—the Greek suggests the quest of astronomical or other evidence—by which the nearness of the end may be computed. Such methods of divination were fostered by apocalyptic literature and would be familiar to Jesus' hearers. Jesus on the other hand declares that such evidence will be forever lacking. No one will say: 'Here it is' or 'There it is,' for all this signifies a looking away from the fact that the Reign of God is in your midst." (P. 196.)

22. *Das Vater-Unser*. 2te Aufl. Goettingen, 1947, p. 70: "Das Reich Gottes ist mitten unter euch. . . . Dies Wort ist nicht zu Anhaengern Jesu, sondern zu den Pharisaeern gesagt."
23. See article on βασιλεία in Kittel's *Theo. Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. I, p. 587: "Die Gottesherrschaft ist mitten unter euch. Luther uebersetzt hier das ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν falsch."
24. *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn*. 2te Aufl. Muenchen, 1940, p. 98, where Otto writes: "Ein markantes Logion, von einer Praezision und unmittelbaren Deutlichkeit, die von keinem andern Jesusworte uebertroffen wird. Es hat eine handgreifliche gar nicht misszuverehende Pointe in den Worten: Siehe, das Reich Gottes ist in eurer Mitte."
25. *Op. cit.*, p. 103: "Menschensohn und Gottesherrschaft gehoeren bereits in Daniel 7 zusammen. Jesus nimmt den Menschensohntitel fuer sich in Anspruch. Er verkuendet den Anbruch der Gottesherrschaft (Mt. 4, 17; 11, 12). Er fasst beides zusammen und erklart: In, mit und unter dem Kommen des Menschensohn kommt die Gottesherrschaft. 'Denn siehe, das Reich Gottes ist mitten unter euch.' Es ist schon da, in seiner Person, in seinem Werk."
26. *The Throne of David*, London, 1948, p. 156, where Hebert paraphrases Luke 17:21 as follows: "You Pharisees are watching for the Kingdom of God, and you are sure that you will be the first to greet it when it comes

- and say, Lo, here! But you are wrong: not in looking for it, but in the assumption that when it comes you will be able to recognize it. And it has come and it is in your midst, and you have not had eyes to see."
27. *Evangile selon Saint Luc*, 7th ed., Paris, 1948, p. 460: "A la question: quand vient le règne? Jésus répond: il est déjà parmi vous."
 28. *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Das Neue Testament Deutsch). 5te Aufl. Goettingen, 1949, p. 195: "Dies Wort ist zu verstehen von Jesu Bewusstsein her, dass in ihm Gottes Messias bereits gekommen ist (11,20). Der Anbruch der Gottesherrschaft und das Kommen seines Verheissenen gehoeren ja untrennbar zusammen. . . . Seine Worte werden zu einer klaren Antwort . . . dass in ihm Gottes Herrschaft bereits gegenwaertig ist." Rengstorf therefore translates the passage: "Die Herrschaft Gottes ist mitten unter euch."
 29. *An Outline of Biblical Theology*. Philadelphia, 1946, p. 189: "Luke 17, 21 may have any one of three meanings: 1. It may refer to the rule of God in the individual's heart and life. But the context in which Luke presents it is distinctly eschatological, and the phrase translated 'within you' may well mean 'in your midst.' The saying may therefore mean 2. that the coming of the kingdom will be unpredictable and sudden but unmistakable when it occurs: to paraphrase, 'Even while you are looking about for signs of its approach, all of a sudden here it is in your midst, like a flash of lightning filling the whole sky.' The meaning may, however, be 3. the same as that of Mt. 12, 28: 'you are looking about for signs, but the kingdom is already here — in the midst of you.' The context favors the second of these interpretations."
 30. *The Four Gospels*. London, 1936, p. 290: "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation . . . the Kingdom of God is within you."
 31. *The Gospel according to St. Luke*. London, 1930, *ad loc.*: "The obvious translation of the phrase ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν is 'within you,' 'in your hearts.'"
 32. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6—8: "Das Reich Gottes kommt nicht unter zuwartender Beobachtung, das Reich Gottes ist inwendig in euch, d. h. es handelt sich bei der Gottesherrschaft um dies ganz persoeneliche Verhaeltnis des Menschen zu Gott, ein Verhaeltnis, das den ganzen Menschen fordert."
 33. See note 16.
 34. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemaeerzeit*. 4 Baende. Leipzig und Berlin, 1906—1934.
 35. The same explanation is offered by T. W. Manson in his *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, pp. 595—97: "The meaning 'in the midst of' rather than 'within' is possible because the same ambiguity is found in the corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic words in the Greek ἐν τῷ, and is demanded because the saying is addressed to Pharisees who do not believe."
 36. The famous passage from Origen, as quoted by Frick, *op. cit.*, p. 101, reads: κἀν ζητῆς δὲ τὸ "αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν," δύνασαι λέγειν, ὅτι "αὐτῶν" ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, καθὼ αὐτοβασιλεία ἐστὶ, βασιλεύων καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπίνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μηκέτι βασιλευμένου ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.
 37. *Adv. Marcionem*, Bk. IV, cap. 35, *Opera* (Oehler ed.), II, p. 254. The passage is quoted also by Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
 38. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
 40. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* (ICC). New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896, *ad loc.*
 41. *NUNTIUS Sodalicii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis*. No. 2 (1949) and No. 4 (1950).

St. Louis, Mo.