CINEMATIC CHILDHOOD(S) AND IMAG(IN)ING THE BOY JESUS: ADAPTATIONS OF LUKE 2:41-52 IN LATE TWENTIETH-CENTURY FILM

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Abstract

Despite sustained academic examinations of Jesus in film over the past couple of decades, as well as biblical scholars' multidisciplinary work in the areas of children's and childhood studies, the cinematic boy Jesus has received little attention. This thesis begins to fill the lacuna of scholarly explorations into cinematic portrayals of Jesus as a child by analyzing two adaptations of Luke's story of the twelve-year-old Jesus in late twentieth-century film. Using methods of historical and narrative criticism tailored to the study of film, I situate the made-for-television movies *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977) and *Jesus* (2000) within the trajectories of both Jesus films and depictions of juvenile masculinity in cinema, as well as within their respective social, cultural and historical contexts. I demonstrate how these movie sequences are negotiations by their filmmakers between theological and historical concerns that reflect contemporary ideas about children and particular idealizations about boyhood.

For Michael

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1895	*Mille huit cent quatre-vingt-quinze: Revue de l'association française de recherché sur l'histoire du cinéma*
AAJ	*The American Art Journal*
AAP	Associated Artists Production
AARCC	American Academy of Religion Cultural Criticism Series
AB	The Anchor Bible
ABC	American Broadcasting Company
Abot R. Nat.	*Avot of Rabbi Nathan*
ABRL	The Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
ACH	*American Communist History*
ACR	American Cinema Releasing
ACSS	Adolescent Cultures, School & Society
Acts Pet.	*Acts of Peter*
ADC	*Archives of Disease in Childhood*
AE	Australian Encounters
AFD	Associated Film Distribution
AFI	American Film Institute
AFR	AFI Film Readers
Ag. Ap.	*Against Apion* (Josephus)
AHC	American History and Culture
AIP	American International Pictures
AIP-TV	American International Television
AJHB	*American Journal of Human Biology*
Alex.	*Life of Alexander* (Plutarch)
ALR	*American Literary Realism*
Am. Cult.	American Culture
Am. Lit.	*American Literature*
AMEK	Arthur Mayer-Edward Kingsley
AMP	AltaMira Press
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities* (Josephus)
Ant. Class.	*L'Antiquité Classique*
Anth. Children	*Anthropology of Children*
APA	The American Psychiatric Association
APC	Astor Pictures Corporation
Apoll.	*Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (Philostratus)
ARAD	Advancing Responsible Adolescent Development
ARC	Atlantic Releasing Corporation
ASCSA	American School of Classical Studies at Athens
ASJC	Attitudes towards Sexuality in Judaism and Christianity in the Hellenistic Greco-Roman Era
ATL	America through the Lens
AUP	Amsterdam University Press

AV	audio-visual
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
b.	Babylonian Talmud
B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*
B&S	*Body & Society*
BAC	Bible in Ancient Christianity
BAM	Boys Advocacy and Mentoring
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BC	British Columbia
BC&C	Belford, Clarke & Co.
BCLC	Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture
BCR	Blackwell Companions to Religion
BDAG	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*
Ber.	*Berakhot*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridium Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFC	BFI Film Classics
BFI	British Film Institute
BGP	Broadgreen Pictures
BHV	Brentwood Home Video
BiAS	Bible in Africa Studies
Bib.	*Biblica*
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
Bio.	*Biography*
Bio. Quar.	*Bioethics Quarterly*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
Bkb	*Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature*
BMPA	Bureau of Motion Picture Affairs
BMSEC	Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
BMW	The Bible in the Modern World
BNC	Barnes & Noble Classics
Bookman	*The Bookman*
Boy St.	*Boyhood Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*
BPHUP	The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
BRA	Boy Rangers of America
Brian	*Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979)
BSA	Boy Scouts of America
BSM	Bedford/St. Martin's
BSNA	Biblical Scholarship in North America
BSSS	Biosocial Society Symposium Series, The
BTP	Boys Town Press
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BUP	Baylor University Press
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die altestamentliche Wissenschaft
C&S	Cinema & Society
C&S	*Children & Society*
CACL	Critical Approaches to Children's Literature
CAFTS	Contemporary Approaches to Film and Television Series
CAP	Carolina Academic Press

Carleton	Carleton University (Ottawa)
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Company
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CC	*Cross Currents*
CCC	Collection des Cahiers de la Cinémathèque
CCC	*Communication, Culture & Critique*
CCJ	*Criminology & Criminal Justice*
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum
CCT	Communication, Culture, Theology
CEG	Cinedigm Entertainment Group
CESFF	Critical Explorations in Science Fiction and Fantasy
CFD	Cannon Film Distributors
CFF	Children's Film Foundation
CFP	Cinépix Film Properties
CG	Critical Geographies
CGD	Citizenship, Gender and Diversity
CHCF	Cultural History of Childhood and Family, A
Childhood	Childhood: The Series
CIFF	Chicago International Film Festival
CIP	Crown International Pictures
CJ	*Cinema Journal*
CJAS	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series
CJC	*Canadian Journal of Communication*
CJILS	*Canadian Journal of Information & Library Sciences*
CL	*Children's Literature*
CLACS	Children's Literature Association Centennial Studies
CLAQ	*Children's Literature Association Quarterly*
CLC	Children's Literature and Culture
CLE	*Children's Literature in Education*
CLR	*Columbia Law Review*
CMCS	Commerce and Mass Culture Series
CMP	Collier Macmillan Publishers
CMPC	Chesterfield Motion Pictures Corporation
CNN	*Cable News Network*
Comm.	Communication & Society
Concordia	Concordia University of Edmonton
CoUP	Columbia University Press
CorUP	Cornell University Press
CPPR	*Child Psychology & Psychiatry Review*
CQR	*Congressional Quarterly Researcher*
CRC	(United Nations) Convention on the Rights of the Child
Creation	*On the Creation of the World* (Philo)
CRNT	Conversation on the Road Not Taken
CSA	child sexual abuse
CSBS	Canadian Society of Biblical Studies
CSCC	Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism
CSID	Cinema Shares International Distribution
CSLL	*Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature*
CSLS	Cambridge Studies in Law and Society
CSP	Cambridge Scholars Publishing

CSqP	Cooper Square Press
CSS	Charles Scribner's Sons
CT	Colección Támesis: Serie A: Monografías
CU	close-up
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CUPA	Catholic University Press of America
CYPC	Children and Youth in Popular Culture
DBC	Dress, Body, Culture
DC	Directors' Cuts
DCA	Distributors Corporation of America
DCP	David Campbell Publishers
DEG	De Laurentiis Entertainment Group
DeMille's *Kings*	Cecil B. DeMille's *The King of Kings* (1927)
Dev. Rev.	*Developmental Review*
DK	Dorling Kindersley
DLD	Documenting Life and Destruction: Holocaust Sources in Context
DSM-5	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th edition
DUP	Duke University Press
DVD	Digital Video Disc, or Digital Versatile Disc
EANEC	Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations
EB	*Estudios Bíblicos*
EC	Engaging Culture
ECF	The Early Church Fathers
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
ELS	extreme long shot
Embassy	*On the Embassy to Gaius* (Philo)
Eng. J.	*The English Journal*
EMP	Edwin Mellen Press
ÉPL	Éditions Payot Lausanne
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ESFH	Exeter Studies in Film History
ESTPHR	European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions
EUP	Edinburgh University Press
FAF	Fine Arts Films
F&CS	Film and Culture Series
F&H	Film and History
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCS	The Future of Childhood Series
FCSMPC	Feminist Cultural Studies, the Media, and Political Culture
FCT	Film Culture in Transition
FFCA	Feature Film Corporation of America
FJ	*The Faulkner Journal*
FLF	Fine Line Features
FM	*Film Matters*
FMD	Facets Multimedia Distribution
FNP	First National Pictures
FQ	*Film Quarterly*
FSG	Farrar Straus Giroux
FSP	Fox Searchlight Pictures
FTS	Fox Television Studios
FUP	Fordham University Press

G	General
G&S	*Gender and Society*
GC	Global Cinema
GCP	Grand Central Publishing
GCT	*Gifted Child Today*
Gen. Rab.	*Genesis Rabbah*
GFD	General Film Distributors
GFE	Goldstone Film Enterprises
GFI	Global Film Initiative
GFS	General Foreign Sales
GLQ	*GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*
GNP	Grand National Pictures
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel of Thomas*
GPC	*Gender, Place and Culture*
Greatest Story	*The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965)
GRP	The Griffith & Rowland Press
GRS	George Routledge and Sons
HAC	History of the American Cinema
Hag.	*Hagigah*
HALOT	The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HAS	high-angle shot
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBO	Home Box Office
HBW	Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
HC	Horizons of Cinema
HCM	Handbooks in Communication and Media
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
Herm.	Hermeneia – A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HespSup	Hesperia Supplement
HGLS	HAWORTH Gay & Lesbian Studies
HMSLJS	The Helen and Martin Schwartz Lectures in Jewish Studies
Horn	*The Horn Book Magazine*
HRC	The History of Retailing and Consumption
HRQ	*Human Rights Quarterly*
HUAC	House Un-American Activities Committee
HUP	Harvard University Press
ICMS	Issues in Cultural and Media Studies
ICTS	The Iowa Center for Textual Studies
IEP	Institute of Education Press
IFC	International Film Circuit
IFEX	International Film Exchange
IHC	International Home Cinema
IJCR	*International Journal of Children's Rights*
IJO	*International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*
IJS	*International Journal of Sociology*
IJV	Institut Jean Vigo
ILL	interlibrary loan
IM	Italian Modernities
IMDb	Internet Movie Database
Int.	*Interpretation*
Intolerance	*Intolerance: Love's Struggle throughout the Ages* (1916)

IPSC	The International Picture Show Company
Iss.	Issues in Society
IUCW	International Union for Child Welfare
IUP	Indiana University Press
JAAC	*Journal of Aesthetics & Art Criticism*
JAC	*Journal of American Culture*
JBA	Joseph Brenner Associates
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JDC	The John Day Company
Jesus Film	*The Jesus Film* (1979)
JFD	Jerand Film Distributors
JFSR	*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*
JGRCJ	*Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
JHP	Joseph Henry Press
JHUP	Johns Hopkins University Press
JIGS	*Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies*
JKP	Jessica Kingsley Publishers
JLS	*Journal of Law and Society*
John	*The Gospel of John* (2003)
JPC	*The Journal of Popular Culture*
JPS	The Jewish Publication Society
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRF	*Journal of Religion and Film*
JRPC	*Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*
JSH	*Journal of Social History*
JSHJ	*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSS	*Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
J.W.	*Jewish Wars* (Josephus)
JW&S	John Wiley & Sons
Ketub.	*Ketubbot*
KINO	KINO: The Russian and Soviet Cinema Series
KIP	Kingsley-International Pictures
KJV	King James Version
L&U	*The Lion and the Unicorn: A Critical Journal of Children's Literature*
LAC	Littlefield, Adams & Co.
LAQB	Littlefield, Adams Quality Paperbacks
LAS	low-angle shot
Last Temptation	*The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988)
LBC	Little, Brown and Company
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
Lec. Div.	Lectio Divina
LFDC	Lux Film Distributing Corporation
LFI	Lyric Films International
LFQ	*Literature/Film Quarterly*
LGP	Lightship Guides & Publications
LHJS	Library of Historical Jesus Studies
LLCAS	Landmark Law Cases & American Society

LMR	Literatur - Medien - Religion
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
Loc.	Locations
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LUP	Leuven University Press
LXX	Septuagint
m.	Mishnah
Manger to Cross	*From the Manger to the Cross* (1912)
MCU	medium close-up
Meg.	*Megillah*
Messiah	*The Messiah* (1975)
MeUP	Mercer University Press
MFF	Moscow Film Festival
MFV	Milestone Film & Video
MGM	Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
MGM/UA	Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer/UA Entertainment Co.
MHHE	McGraw-Hill Higher Education
WHV	Warner Home Video
Mid.	*Middot*
Milky Way	*The Milky Way* (1969)
MIP	Merchant Ivory Productions
Miracle Maker	*The Miracle Maker: The Story of Jesus* (2000)
Miss. Quar.	*Mississippi Quarterly*
MLS	medium long shot
Mod. Film.	Modern Filmmakers
Montreal	*Jesus of Montreal* (1989)
Moses	*On the Life of Moses* (Philo)
MPAA	Motion Picture Association of America
MS	medium shot
MSR	Mulberry Square Releasing
MSS	Media and Society Series
MTSO	Methodist Theological School in Ohio (Delaware)
MUP	Manchester University Press
MWP	Michael Wiese Productions
MWS	Modern War Studies
MY	Mediated Youth
NA28	Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28th Revised Edition)
NAB	New American Bible
NAFG	New Approaches to Film Genre
NAL	New American Library
NASB	New American Standard Bible
Nazareth	*Jesus of Nazareth* (1977)
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NC	New Childhoods
NCBC	New Cambridge Biblical Commentary
NCC	*Nineteenth-Century Contexts*
NCE	A Norton Critical Edition
NCWH	The New Cold War History
NEB	New English Bible
NECSUS	*NECSUS – European Journal of Media Studies*
Neot.	*Neotestamentica*

NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NFB	National Film Board of Canada
NGC	National Geographic Channel
NGO(s)	Non-Governmental Organization(s)
NGP	National General Pictures
NGR	A National General Release
NHP	New Holland Publishers
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NKJV	New King James Version
NMA	The New Middle Ages
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
N.S.	*Nuestro Señor* (Our Lord)
NSFI	National Symposium on Family Issues
NTL	The New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
NUP	Northwestern University Press
NYF	New Yorker Films
NYRB	New York Review Books
NYUP	New York University Press
OCC	Oxford Children's Classics
OE	Ontological Explorations
OPR	Oxford Paperback Reference
OpUP	Open University Press
OSB	Order of Saint Benedict
OUP	Oxford University Press
OWC	Oxford World's Classics
Paed. Hist.	*Paedagogica Historica*
Passion	*The Passion of the Christ* (2004)
PBS	Public Broadcasting Service
PCA	Production Code Administration
PCF	Pathé Contemporary Films
PCI	Post-Contemporary Interventions
PCR	*Popular Culture Review*
PEL	Pearson Education Limited
PFE	Pure Flix Entertainment
PFP	Pine Forge Press
PG	Parental Guidance or Patrologia graeca[1]
PHC	A People's History of Christianity
PHP	Polperro Heritage Press
PHR	*Pacific Historical Review*
PRC	Producers Releasing Corporation
PrUP	Princeton University Press
PSA	Public Service Announcement
PSAVC	Palgrave Studies in Adaptation and Visual Culture
PSB	Pocket Star Books

[1] The first is used in chapter 4 in the context of film ratings and the second in chapter 5 in the context of a patristic citation.

PSFHIS	Palgrave Studies in the Future of Humanity and Its Successors
PSHC	Palgrave Studies in the History of Childhood
Pysch. Quar.	*Psychoanalytic Quarterly*
Psych. Rev.	*Psychoanalytic Review*
PUL	Les Presses de l'Université Laval
PUP	Purdue University Press
Q	Quelle
Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
QRFV	*Quarterly Review of Film and Video*
Queen's	Queen's University (Kingston)
R&D	Religions and Discourse
RAI	Radiotelevisione Italiana (formerly Radio Audizioni Italiane)
RAS	Routledge Advances in Sociology
RBC	Rethinking British Cinema
RC	Rethinking Childhood
RCC	Religion/Culture/Critique
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RCSGSE	Routledge Critical Studies in Gender and Sexuality in Education
RDF	Rutgers Depth of Field Series
REA	*Revista Espaço Acadêmico*
Rel. Comp.	*Religion Compass*
RFA	Religious Film Association
RFDA	Rank Film Distributors of America
RFI	Royal Films International
RH	Routledge Histories
RILP	Roehampton Institute London Papers
RKG	Routledge Key Guides
RKO	Radio-Keith-Orpheum
Robe	*The Robe* (1953)
RPC	Regent's Park College
RRCMS	Routledge Research in Cultural and Media Studies
RSCPBM	Routledge Series on Counseling and Pyschotherapy with Boys & Men
RSCS	Rutgers Series in Childhood Studies, The
RSG	Regent's Study Guides
RSRF	Routledge Studies in Religion and Film
RUP	Rutgers University Press
S. Num.	*Sifre to Numbers*
Šabb.	*Šabbat*
SAP	Sheffield Academic Press
SASLJS	The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies
SB	The Scholars Bible
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SC	Short Cuts: Introductions to Film Studies
SCFC	Studies in Childhood and Family in Canada
Sci.	*The Sciences*
Screen Ed.	*Screen Education*
SCR	Slowhand Cinema Releasing
SD	Screen Decades: American Culture / American Cinema
SDC	Superfilm Distributing Corporation
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies

SFA	Shochiku Films of America
SFFT	*Science Fiction Film and Television*
SGC	The Samuel Goldwyn Company
SGLLC	Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture
SGP	Screen Guild Productions
SH	Sciences humaines
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SHP	Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc.
SIP	Springer International Publishing
SIUP	Southern Illinois University Press
S.J.	The Society of Jesus
SJC	Studies in Judaism and Christianity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SKC	SAGE Key Concepts
SLJ	*Southern Literary Journal*
SLS	*Social & Legal Studies*
SMF	Screen Media Films
SMG	St. Martin's Griffin
SMH	Studies in Modern History
SMP	St. Martin's Press
SNC	Sociology for a New Century
SPC	Stratford Pictures Corporation
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SPE	Sony Pictures Entertainment
SPP	Sheffield Phoenix Press
SPS	Sacra Pagina Series
SQ	*The Southern Quarterly*
SR	*Studies in Religion*
SR&A	Studies in Religion and the Arts
SRA	satanic ritual abuse
SRC	Studies in Religion and Culture Series
SRO	Selznick Releasing Organization
St. Matthew	*The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (1964)
St. Nicholas	*St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks*
St. Th.	*Studia Theologica*
STC	Standard Television Corporation
STPS	Studien zur Theologie und Praxis der Seelsorge
StR	*Studies in Romanticism*
SUNYP	State University of New York Press
SUP	Syracuse University Press
Superstar	*Jesus Christ Superstar* (1973)
Synk.	Synkrisis: Comparative Approaches to Early Christianity in Greco-Roman Culture
TCFHE	Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment
TDFC	Twentieth-century Developments in Fashion and Costume
TEC	Taurus Entertainment Company
TFC	Times Film Corporation
THYMOS	*THYMOS: Journal of Boyhood Studies*
TML	The Modern Library
TNT	Turner Network Television
TPI	Trinity Press International

TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TSS	Transformations of the State Series
TTS	The Talmud Society
TWCS	Tauris World Cinema Series
TWU	Trinity Western University (Langley)
UA	United Artists
UAP	University of Alabama Press
UAbP	University of Alberta Press
UBP	University of Bamberg Press
UBS	United Bible Societies
UCP	University of California Press
UChP	University of Chicago Press
UEP	University of Exeter Press
UFC	UFA Film Company
UGP	University of Georgia Press
UHE	Universal Home Entertainment
UIP	University of Illinois Press
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UMP	University of Minnesota Press
UN	United Nations
UNCP	University of North Carolina Press
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	University of Notre Dame Press
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNP	University of Nebraska Press
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency
uOttawa	University of Ottawa
UPA	University Press of America
UPK	University Press of Kansas
UPKy	University Press of Kentucky
UPM	University Press of Mississippi
UPNE	University Press of New England
UPP	University of Pennsylvania Press
US	United States (of America)
USCP	University of South Carolina Press
UToP	University of Toronto Press
UTP	University of Tennessee Press
UTxP	University of Texas Press
UVP	University of Virginia Press
UWaP	University of Washington Press
UWP	University of Wisconsin Press
VC	Vintage Classics
VCR	Videocassette Recorder
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
Vg	Vulgate
VHS	Video Home System
vols	volumes
VSI	Very Short Introductions
VST	Vancouver School of Theology, The
W&W	*Word & World: Theology for Christian Ministry*

WCC	Winchester Cathedral Choir
WCSC	William Collins Sons & Co.
WFMD	World Film Magic Distribution
WJC	*Western Journal of Communication*
WJKP	Westminster John Knox Press
WLUP	Wilfred Laurier University Press
WSC	Wisconsin Studies in Classics
WSUP	Wayne State University Press
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
y.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
YA	young adult
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
York	York University (Toronto)
YUP	Yale University Press
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Chapter 1

Searching for the Boy Jesus: A Neglected Area of Jesus-in-Film Scholarship[1]

"Ecce homo." Glancing toward Zerah and the other leading members of the Sanhedrin, presumably as unfamiliar with Latin as the majority of viewers watching the drama unfold on their television screens, Pilate translates: "Behold the man." Jesus, a tattered scarlet robe draped over his whip-scarred torso and blood running down the sides of his face from where thorns have punctured the skin beneath his matted hair, has just reentered Pilate 's chambers bearing brutal "token[s] of Roman justice." With piercing blue eyes cast heavenward, Robert Powell strikes what is perhaps the most iconic pose of any cinematic Jesus in the relatively brief history of film. This memorable scene from the made-for-TV miniseries *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977) is, for Jesus movie buffs, one among many unforgettable moments in film adaptations of Jesus' life. A short list of these would likely include such images as Max von Sydow presiding over a Da Vinci-like 'Last Supper' in *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965) and Jeffrey Hunter delivering a 'Sermon on the Mount' before a throng of extras in *King of Kings* (1961). The names Willem Dafoe and James Caviezel would elicit their share of knowledgeable nods,[2] joining the ranks of Powell and company as widely familiar faces of the cinematic Jesus.

Names such as Lorenzo Monet, Jonathan King and Adam Greaves-Neal, however, are likely to stump even some of the most erudite Jesus-in-film fans, each of these actors no less a cinematic Jesus than the preceding others. With the exception of Greaves-Neal, who played a starring role in his movie, the sequences in which these actors feature are relatively brief. King's on-screen time runs little more than a minute! None of them bears the customary short beard that has become the hallmark of many a cinematic Jesus.[3] Indeed, none were, at the time of their pertinent acting stints, at an age whereby they might want to shave, let alone be able to grow a beard out for the part! Fortunately, such was not requisite for the role each actor landed in his respective film, namely that of Jesus *as a child*. While Greaves-Neal

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[1] An early version of this study was developed and presented while auditing Harry O. Maier's graduate course "Creating Jesus: The Historical Jesus in Scholarship, Film and Fiction" during the spring semester 2014 at VST. I am grateful to him and my fellow students for their feedback and suggestions. The thesis in miniature was then presented in the "Social World and the Historical Jesus" seminar at the annual meeting of the CSBS at Brock University (May 25) and I am also grateful for the feedback and suggestions of those in attendance who offered them, both during the Q&A session and in subsequent e-mail correspondence, particularly Richard Ascough (Queen's), Zeba Crook (Carleton), Tony Burke (York) and last, but certainly not least, my thesis supervisor Dirk Büchner (TWU).

[2] Dafoe and Caviezel star in *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988) and *The Passion of the Christ* (2004) respectively.

[3] On the significance of the bearded Jesus in early Christian iconography, from which later art and eventually the cinema drew, as well as the competing image of Jesus as a beardless young man, see Matthews (1999), Jensen (2005) and Taylor (2018).

played Jesus in early childhood, the others played Jesus in late childhood. Such depictions will serve as the primary source material for the present study, which is an attempt to begin filling the lacuna of detailed scholarly explorations into cinematic portrayals of Jesus as a child.

This current state of affairs, while regrettable, is not altogether unexpected given the scarcity of sequences devoted to Jesus' childhood in even those films that touch on this period of his life. Still, with sustained scholarly examination of Jesus in film over the past couple of decades,[4] and growing interest in and use of the burgeoning discipline of childhood studies by scholars of the Bible and early Christianity,[5] a blending of these interests and approaches is timely, if not overdue. That is not to say that Jesus-in-film scholars have altogether neglected the boy Jesus, but they have tended to pass over his sequences with only brief and descriptive comments. Adele Reinhartz is an exception, devoting a bit more space to them in her monograph *Jesus of Hollywood* (2007, 47, 68-74, 91, 93). She primarily does so, however, in her chapters on Mary and Joseph, reflecting concern for how the mother-son and father-son relationships are depicted in the various films she covers, not Jesus as a child therein *per se*.[6]

If the aforementioned paucity of attention to Jesus' childhood in film owes, at least in part, to scholarly interests that are located elsewhere and a relative dearth of cinematic material to work with, screenwriters for Jesus films similarly take their cue from their primary source texts, the New Testament gospels, whose authors' interests also lie elsewhere. Mark and John begin their respective narratives with the ministry of John the Baptizer, when Jesus is already an adult, passing over any events connected to his birth, infancy or childhood. Matthew and Luke fill in, imaginatively, some of the details. While the Jesus who is taken by Joseph from Judea into Egypt to escape Herod's murderous wrath in the early part of Matthew's gospel appears to be an infant (2:13-16), his age upon their return to the land of Israel (2:19-21) is open to some interpretation,[7] giving screenwriters license to imagine Jesus as a child well beyond

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[4] Forshey (1992, 83-121), Kinnard and Davis (1992), Babington and Evans (1993, 98-168), Baugh (1997), Graham (1997), Malone (1997; 2012) Telford (1997), Thompson (1997), Zwick (1997), Stern et al. (1999), Brunstad (2001), Solomon (2001, 176-223), Walsh (2003), Humphries-Brooks (2006), Langkau (2007), Staley and Walsh (2007), Reinhartz (2007; 2009a; 2009b; 2011; 2013, 57-82), Ascough (2009), Bakker (2009, 13-77, 215-45), Nguyen (2010), Tatum (2013), Walsh et al. (2013b), Burton (2014), Holderness (2015), Jones and Tajima (2015), Taylor (2015), Shepherd (2016).

[5] Strange (1996), Balla (2003), Gundry-Wolf (2003), Guroian (2003), Stortz (2003), Bakke (2005), Francis (2006), Bunge (2008), Horn and Martens (2009), Osiek (2012), Elkins (2013), Koepf-Taylor (2013), Leyerle (2013), Murphy (2013), Parker (2013), Steinberg (2013), MacDonald (2014), Togarasei and Kügler (2014), Betsworth (2015), Dewrell (2017), Punt (2017), Flynn (2018; 2019), Garroway (2018), Betsworth and Parker (2019).

[6] Reinhartz's interest in Jesus' cinematic childhood is found at the beginning of her chapter on Mary where she proposes that "the films ask…what [her] role [was] in Jesus' infancy and childhood" (2007, 68). This, however, is a question that *Reinhartz* brings to these films, a concomitant concern given her expressed interest in how women are depicted in Jesus movies (ibid, 7). While her question is valid and undoubtedly one that resonates strongly with those among her readers in parental roles, it is not the only question that can be asked of matters relating to Jesus' childhood in film. Other questions, those reflecting the interests and perspectives of children more directly, may be ventured. This study aims to be one such exploration.

[7] The Greek in both sets of passages is παιδίον, a diminutive of παῖς, and can refer to any person below the age of puberty, but used by some writers to designate specifically those very young children up to the age of seven (BDAG).

infancy in some or all of these episodes when adapted to film.[8] Matthew's references to Jesus as a child, however, are passing ones and in which he is given neither voice nor agency.

Luke, alone among the New Testament gospel authors, includes an episode in which Jesus is a child – specifically a boy of twelve – and in which he both speaks, however briefly, and exercises agency. Accompanying his parents from Nazareth to Jerusalem for the annual Passover feast, Jesus stays behind after the festival, unbeknownst to them (2:41-43). Discovering their son absent from the caravan while journeying back to Nazareth, Jesus' parents return to the city in search of him and find him three days later in dialogue with teachers in the temple (44-47). After a brief confrontation, Jesus returns with them to Nazareth (48-52). As the only story of an active boy Jesus to find its way into the pages of the New Testament, Luke 2:41-52 has, unsurprisingly, been adapted to the screen in most of the Jesus films that incorporate moments of his childhood. These particular sequences, as well as those created to introduce and provide a level of commentary on them, will be the focus of the present study.

Contemporary filmmakers have not been the only ones to either show some interest in Jesus' childhood or supplement the Lukan narrative with other material. In the second century, a collection of stories about the boy Jesus between the ages of five and twelve emerged, concluding with a reworked version of Luke 2:41-52.[9] This compilation was regrettably dubbed the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*[10] by scholars even though the authorial ascription is, quite apart from its spurious nature, a much later element in the composition's textual history and the stories included have nothing to do with Jesus' infancy.[11] I follow those scholars who resist this ill-suited conventional title and more appropriately refer to the work as the *Paidika*, the 'boyhood deeds' of Jesus.[12]

Undoubtedly the most memorable story among those collected in the *Paidika*, situated near its beginning, is where the five-year-old Jesus fashions twelve sparrows from clay and, when rebuked for doing so on the Sabbath, claps his hands and orders the birds to animate and fly away, which they do

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[8] See *Appendix A* for synopses of those films that imagine Jesus as a juvenile in their adaptations of Matthew 2.

[9] On the dating of this collection, see Hock (1995, 91-92) and Burke (2010, 201-5). On a supplemental relationship with the Lukan writings in particular, see Chartrand-Burke (2008). Drawing on the work of Aasgaard (2010, 113-36), Van Oyen critiques Chartrand-Burke's emphasis on the Lukan writings, expanding it to include, in particular, the Johannine tradition (2011). Chartrand-Burke's position on the unique connection with the Lukan writings, however, concerns the collection in its earliest recoverable form (2008, 102), which will continue to provoke debate given the fluidity of content in the extant versions (on which history of transmission, see Burke 2010, 173-222).

[10] This was to distinguish it from the *Gospel of Thomas* found at Nag Hammadi.

[11] For the most thorough history of scholarship on the so-called *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, see Burke (2010, 45-126).

[12] τὰ παιδικὰ occurs in the title of recensions Gs and Ga, as well as in the opening sentence of Ga and Gb, the Greek synopsis for the title and first few sentences of all four major recensions (Burke 2010, 293-99, 466). In addition to Kaiser (2011, 460), Van Oyen (2011, 482) and Cousland (2018, vii), Davis advocates for *Paidika* as the more suitable title of the collection and provides an extended discussion on its meaning, uses by early Christian authors, and examples in wider Graeco-Roman sources (2014, 22-25). For a short summary of the *Paidika*'s contents, see Hock (1995, 85-90).

(2:2-4). This lively little tale of Jesus and the birds is key in Stephen Davis' exploration of the *Paidika*'s reception in Christian, Jewish and Muslim imagination.[13] Davis surveys adaptations of the story not only in texts such as the medieval *Sefer Toledot Yeshu* and the Qur'an (*Suras* 3:49 and 5:110), but in visual art media such as the line drawing in a thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*[14] and a twelfth-century painting on the ceiling of St. Martin's Church in Zillis, Switzerland (2014, 145, 162, 194-95, 197). "In such visual representations," Davis remarks, "the Christ child was reshaped and refigured for new eyes" (ibid, 197).

This process of refiguring the *Paidika*'s story of Jesus and the birds in art continued with the advent of film. The made-for-TV Italian movie *Un bambino di nome Gesù* (1987) – broadcast on North American television two years later with English dubbing as *A Child Called Jesus* – includes a series of sequences loosely based on the story.[15] Upon his arrival in Alexandria, Jesus encounters a group of boys fashioning a dove out of clay (Figure 1.1). Sometime later, Jesus and his father are in the marketplace and come across a man selling doves (Figure 1.2). Joseph stops to buy one and when the boy discovers its fate is to be sacrificed, he asks "Doesn't Almighty God prefer to hear his birds alive greeting the morning?" His father, apparently cut to the heart, abandons the purchase. Later on, Jesus is with a smaller boy who is fashioning doves from clay (Figure 1.3) and he surprises his companion when, from the clay figurine, he produces a live bird that flies away (Figure 1.4). Mary is later accosted by the boy's mother who accuses Jesus of teaching her son to steal, assuming the bird he returned home with was lifted from the market rather than created by Jesus. Watching her son from an upper window, Jesus' mother witnesses him animate a third bird (Figure 1.5) and later asks the local rabbi if such a thing is possible. The man tells Mary to keep these mysteries to herself, noting that only God has the power to create from nothing and such is "an act of infinite love toward all creatures."

Jesus and the Birds in *A Child Called Jesus* (Tribune Entertainment, 1989)

Figure 1.1

Figure 1.2

Figure 1.3

Figure 1.4

Figure 1.5

[13] Davis (2014, 8-14) situates his book within work on the *Paidika* from Hock to Burke and utilizes insights drawn from the field of social (or cultural) memory studies (ibid, 14-19) to analyze how these events from Jesus' childhood were 'remembered' by successive authors and readers in representative communities from each of these three religious traditions.

[14] This gospel, dating to the eighth or ninth century, appended stories from the *Paidika* to material from the *Proto-Gospel of James* and other tales about Jesus as a child, many of them set during his sojourn in Egypt. Both Burke (2010, 166-67) and Elliott (2006, xvii) provide brief introductions to the text. Davis includes a translation of those chapters paralleled in the *Paidika* as *Appendix B* of his book (2014, 205-10).

[15] The role of Jesus in this film was played by Matteo Bellina.

This film adaptation of the *Paidika*'s tale includes the basic plot feature of Jesus animating a bird from clay, but little else. Gone is the disputation, familiar also from New Testament traditions, concerning what is or is not lawful to do on the Sabbath.[16] In its place appears a veiled discussion of animal rights with a caricature sacrificial system implicitly critiqued by a divine child's "infinite love toward all creatures," expressed not only through his creation of birds, but his earlier apothegm that saved an existing one from imminent death. It is perhaps no coincidence that animal rights activism was on the rise in Europe, Italy in particular, in the decade leading up to the film's release.[17]

A decade later, the *Paidika* tale of Jesus and the birds was refigured in another made-for-TV movie, this one titled, unimaginatively though appropriately enough, *Jesus* (2000). Mary reminisces with her son about their life in Egypt and the audience is taken in a flashback to when Jesus was six years old[18] and joining in with a group of boys throwing rocks at a bird (Figure 2.1), one of which finds its mark. While the others run off cheering – just another day's fun, it would seem – the boy Jesus scoops up the dead creature and runs home to his mother (Figure 2.2). With a tear upon his right cheek, the child explains he was just playing and does not want the bird to be dead (Figure 2.3). Upon hearing from his mother that all things must die, the boy protests and paces outside with the bird cupped in his hands (Figure 2.4). With a power it would seem even he was unaware of, Jesus resuscitates the bird and it flies away (Figure 2.5), shocking Mary who is watching from the window.[19]

Jesus and the Bird in *Jesus* (CBS, 2000)

Figure 2.1 Figure 2.2 Figure 2.3 Figure 2.4 Figure 2.5

Similar to *A Child Called Jesus*, the bird sequence in *Jesus* is situated in Jesus' young childhood and in Egypt. Here the similarities end. While the former film sticks more closely to the *Paidika*'s plot of Jesus

[16] On Chartrand-Burke's hypothesis of the *Paidika* supplementing the Lukan writings, these would include Luke 6:1-11, 13:10-17 and 14:1-6 in particular.

[17] Italy's *Lega Antivivisezione* (Anti-Vivisection League) was formed in 1977 by Alberto Pontillo with landmark legislation following in 1981 that prohibited the mistreatment of animals and in 1993 that allowed for the conscientious objection to animal experimentation (Tonutti 2013, 13-14).

[18] Jesus' age in the flashback to Egypt is gleaned from the film's end credits in which the actor, Miles C. Hobson, is listed as playing 'Jesus 6 years old'. Jesus' age in the story of the birds is elastic in both its literary and filmic metamorphoses, ranging from ages four to eight.

[19] The sequence involving Jesus and the bird is omitted from the version of the film that was broadcast on European television in November of 1999. Numerous other differences exist between these two versions of the film, one list of which can be found online at http://www.hollywoodjesus.com/jesus_series3a.htm.

animating from clay, the latter has the boy revivify a bird killed in an act of animal cruelty, one in which he himself was a participant. The year of the first movie's release saw the addition of cruelty to animals as one of the criteria, three of which need to be present, for a diagnosis of Conduct Disorder (Ascione 2005, 31).[20] Preceding this and over the next decade there was much discussion over the link between cruelty to animals in childhood and other forms of violence later in adulthood (Lockwood and Ascione 1998). Mustering requisite empathy for the deceased bird, acknowledging and disclosing his role in its death, and restoring it to life, Jesus demonstrates that the future savior of the world is not a budding sociopath.[21] Reinhartz has rightly remarked that Jesus movies contain "reflections, however imperfect or dim, of trends within our own society and culture" (2007, 7).

To reach shamelessly for a cinematic metaphor, this exploration into the *Paidika*'s story of Jesus and the birds in two made-for-TV movies is a preview of things to come. Though only in rudimentary fashion, I have touched upon examples of how, as Davis describes, "the young Jesus [was] eminently malleable" (2014, 7), not only in the hands of those who relayed the various *Paidika* traditions through oral retellings, on parchment, and through visual art in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, but contemporary filmmakers as well. "Almost like Silly Putty," Davis continues, "[young Jesus] took on the unmistakable imprint of any cultural object or data with which he came into contact" (ibid, 7). In this thesis I will be examining depictions of the boy Jesus in film, looking specifically at adaptations of Luke's temple story, in order to further illustrate this pliability. I will argue that these movie sequences are negotiations by filmmakers between theological and historical concerns that reflect contemporary ideas about children and certain idealizations of childhood.

I have imposed further restrictions on the film sequences for analysis in order to keep my thesis at a reasonable length. The first is to include only movies that were primarily intended for North American audiences. This is not to take a step backward or marginalize the contributions of world cinema,[22] but to acknowledge the present study as preliminary and one with some necessary limitations.[23] The second

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[20] Conduct disorder is defined in DSM-5 as "a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate societal norms or rules are violated" (APA 2013, 469).

[21] Tallichet and Hensley concluded from research with 110 incarcerated individuals in the American south that "only inmates' concealment of their animal cruelty was a significant predictor of later adult violence" (2009, 604). If methodological concerns identified (ibid, 604-5) are addressed and the findings replicated, it would appear that the boy Jesus' immediate disclosure of his participation in the killing – to absorb oneself completely into the cinematic story world – is the most significant predictor of non-violence later in life. In any case, further analysis of both this and Jesus' expressed compassion for the creature would be worthwhile contributions to more general discussions of the theme of non-violence in the film.

[22] Shepherd has properly recognized that "scholarship can no longer afford to ignore the cultural and aesthetic impact of the Bible's cinematic interpretation beyond Hollywood" (2008, 5). Similar to Reinhartz (2007, 11), Shepherd uses 'Hollywood' as shorthand for those studios and productions influenced by the Hollywood 'cartel' without homogenizing the North American film industry where Hollywood has its base (2008, 1-6). See also Plate's short discussion on 'Hollywoodcentrism' in scholarship on religion and film (2003, 9).

[23] See *Appendix B* for summaries of the sequences based on Luke 2:41-52 from world cinema.

restriction is a chronological and, by extension, technological one. The first three decades of film history are frequently referred to as the 'silent era', the period during which matching soundtracks for movies were lacking.[24] While several of these early attempts at screening the life of Jesus include adaptations of Luke's story,[25] their distinctive features warrant a focused exploration beyond what I can here attempt.[26]

The third and fourth exclusions are those of visual Bibles[27] and animated films[28] respectively. This is not to dismiss the importance of either medium for the portrayal of Jesus in film, particularly as it concerns children as the primary target audience of the latter,[29] but to acknowledge the unique aspects of each as worthy of concentrated study before comparative analysis is undertaken. Finally, while there are several Jesus movies that have garnered widespread scholarly attention, others have not.[30] To adequately contextualize these less-studied Jesus films would require original research well beyond the scope of this thesis. I will therefore include only those films for which there is some scholarly commentary.[31] These constraints leave only the made-for-TV movies *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977) and *Jesus* (2000) for analysis.

Before conducting these analyses, however, several matters related to method must be explored. Academic study of the Bible has become increasingly interdisciplinary and the present thesis is located at the intersections of biblical studies with both film studies and childhood studies, each a vibrant academic discipline in its own right. Film studies will be the focus of the next chapter and childhood studies of the chapter following that. In chapter two, I will situate the thesis within the scholarly work on Jesus movies, focusing on how these films have been classified by scholars. This exploration into the categorization of Jesus movies will touch on the issue of cinematic genre, a foot in the door to the academic study of film. Interspersed with methods more familiar to students of the Bible, I will introduce other areas of scholarly

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[24] Early cinema viewings were not silent experiences insofar as the moving images were often accompanied by live music and/or *ad hoc* sound effects (Chion 2009, 7-10).

[25] See *Appendix C* for summaries of the sequences based on Luke 2:41-52 from the 'silent era'.

[26] I presented some of my initial research into promulgations and contestations of childhood innocence in the 'silent' Jesus films at the "Gospel Studies" seminar of the 2016 meeting of the CSBS held at the University of Calgary (May 28) in a paper titled "*Silence of the Lamb(s)*: Innocent Children from Jesus to the Waif Evangelist (aka Mark) in the Silent Cinema". I am grateful for the thoughtful engagements and feedback given during the Q&A, particularly from Adele Reinhartz (uOttawa), Steven Muir (Concordia) and Ryan Schellenberg (MTSO).

[27] By 'visual Bibles' I mean those films that are based on particular biblical books and, in most cases, there is an attempt to render them 'word for word', typically with the use of a narrator to a small or large degree.

[28] On the different types of and recent theorizing on animation, as well as its history in the cinema, see Wells (2002), Cavalier (2011) and Buchan (2013).

[29] On the dearth of scholarly interest in children's Bible films, the majority of which are animated, see Scholz (2012, 99-100).

[30] The reasons for this lack of attention vary. *Mary, Mother of Jesus* (1999), for example, focuses on the character of Jesus' mother rather than on Jesus himself. *The Young Messiah* (2016) is the first full-length English film devoted to Jesus as a child, but is too recent to have entered scholarly discourse. The novel on which this latter movie was based – Anne Rice's *Christ the Lord: Out of Egypt* (2005) – has, however, drawn some scholarly engagement (Ramey 2013, 27-56).

[31] See *Appendix D* for summaries of the sequences based on Luke 2:41-52 found in these final three types of films.

film analysis such as *montage* editing and spectatorship, all of this with a view to critically examining cinematic portrayals of the boy Jesus.

Chapter 2

Viewing the Boy Jesus: Navigating the Intersections of Biblical and Film Studies

The two films that will be analyzed in this thesis may be situated within the history of the cinematic Jesus in a number of different ways. Adele Reinhartz presents a taxonomy of Jesus movies that is loosely based on genre (2007, 12-20). Commonly understood, genres serve as empirical categories for classifying films based on shared formal or thematic elements (Moine 2008, 2).[1] Attempts at classification, constituting choices that simultaneously include and exclude (ibid, 4), break down quickly since a purity of genre is rare (ibid, 116-17). Indeed, Reinhartz assigns Jesus films to a number of conventional genres such as the 'epic',[2] 'musical'[3] and 'drama'[4] while at the same time arguing these movies, with rare exception, are representatives of the 'biopic' genre (2007, 12, 15-18).[5] She refers directly to this blending of genres in

[1] Moine suggests five different levels of categorization and pairs each of them with a question: *enunciation*, 'who speaks?' (ex. documentary), *destination*, 'to whom?' (ex. children), *function*, 'with what effect?' (ex. comedy), *semantic*, 'What is said?' (ex. fantasy), and *syntactic*, 'How is it said?' (ex. musical). Genres are thus not always distinguished from each other by invoking the same level (2008, 13-17; cf. Grant 2012, 23).

[2] Beaver identifies the 'epic' as "[a] motion picture characterized by its extensive narrative form and heroic qualities" and notes how it "generally covers a large expanse of time as it follows in an episodic manner the continuing adventures of a hero or set of heroes" (2015, 99). Kuhn and Westwell complicate identification by referring to the epic not as a genre but a *mode* that the history, fantasy, science fiction, war and western genres utilize (2012, 141). Reinhartz classifies *King of Kings* (1961) and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965) as epics. After witnessing a boom in the early Cold War period (1950s through the mid 1960s), followed by a decline of several decades, the epic staged a come-back around the turn of the 21st century and it remains a popular and profitable genre (Russell 2007; Santas 2008; Elliott 2014). Too late for either of Reinhartz's monographs was the 2014 *Son of God*, which was abridged from *The Bible*, a ten-episode 'epic miniseries' that was airing in the spring of 2013 as she was writing her book on the Bible and film (2013, 13-14 n.10). Even more recent Jesus films that have been marketed as epics are *Killing Jesus* (2015) and *Risen* (2016).

[3] Kuhn and Westwell (2012, 274), Hayward (2013, 254) and Beaver all agree that the 'musical' is a genre with the latter identifying such films by their "liberal use of musical numbers, choreographed dance, expressive costuming, scenery, color and lighting" (2015, 189). Reinhartz classifies two Jesus films as musicals – *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Godspell* – both released in 1973. A made-for-TV remake of *Superstar* in 2000 did not enjoy the accolades of its predecessor and Reinhartz refers to it only in her end-notes (2007, 259 n.36). Indeed, following a period of success varyingly pinpointed in the 1950s or mid 1960s, the Hollywood musical has not resurfaced as a popular contemporary genre, though some of its distinctive formal elements were successfully integrated into a cycle of animated hit movies of the 1990s (Langford 2005, 95-99; Grant 2012, 19-37).

[4] The Hollywood films Reinhartz categorizes as dramas include the two films singled out for in-depth exploration, as well as *The Jesus Film* (1979) and *The Miracle Maker* (2000). Reinhartz touches on several films outside Hollywood in her study, two of which – *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (1964) and *Il Messia* (1975) – she designates as dramas (2007, 17-18). The first was released in North America with English subtitles as *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, but the second, translated *The Messiah*, has not yet seen North American distribution or subtitling in English. *Last Days in the Desert* (2016) could be classified as a drama.

[5] Beaver describes the 'biopic' as "[a] motion picture based on the life of a public figure, most commonly an individual struggling to achieve goals against considerable odds…or to recover from a major setback that threatens an already successful career" (2015, 29). The films that Reinhartz excludes from the biopic classification are *Superstar* and the 1989 French-Canadian film *Jesus of Montreal*, though a few pages later she seems to identify this latter film as an allegorical biopic (2007, 19). Critical of Reinhartz's proposals concerning Jesus films and the biopic genre, Grace proposes a new genre called the *hagiopic*, which she

her most recent monograph on the subject of the Bible and film, noting how the Jesus movies are sometimes considered a genre in their own right (2013, 63).[6]

One scholar who refers to a 'Jesus film genre' is Reinhold Zwick, though he uses the term in two distinct but overlapping ways. He uses it first to designate a macro genre of movies united thematically by the figure of Jesus (1997, 36).[7] He also uses it in a narrower sense to refer to a sub-genre of Jesus films that meet the following criteria: (1) Jesus is a character seen directly,[8] (2) he is the plot's main focus,[9] (3) the New Testament gospels serve as the primary source,[10] and (4) there is an attempt to reconstruct the historical context of Jesus' life (55).[11] Zwick's project of isolating 'historicizing' movies about Jesus[12] and applying a generic label to them illustrates well how genre is a process (Langford 2005, 5), one that involves *a posteriori* designation rather than identification of an embedded attribute (Moine 2009, 118, 128). Genre is also functional (ibid, 63-95), in Zwick's case to produce a film corpus of direct relevance to theologians exploring questions about the Jesus depicted in the New Testament gospels (1997, 49). To

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argues differs from the biopic in its embrace of supernatural elements and a focus on the protagonist's relationship with the divine (2009, 1-2, 57-58). Since there is nothing in the various definitions of biopic offered by contemporary film scholars that necessarily excludes either of these aspects – see Custen 1992, 5; Bingham 2010, 10; Vidal 2014, 3 and Cheshire 2015, 1 in addition to Beaver's description – the hagiopic would seem best understood as a type of biopic, a sub-genre in much the same way the biopic itself stands in relation to the historical film. Reinhartz leaves four films unclassified, grouped under the heading 'Recent Contributions' even though two of them are older than films she *does* classify (2007, 17-20). In addition to *Montreal*, these are *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), *The Gospel of John* (2003) and *The Passion of the Christ* (2004).

[6] The conventions of Jesus films can be identified and effectively parodied like those of other genres (Grant 2007, 35; Moine 2009, 126). The most well-known parody of the Jesus film tradition is the 1979 *Monty Python's Life of Brian*, which was the subject of a recent collection of essays (Taylor 2015). Satirical treatment of Jesus films also appears in the 1969 French film *La voie lactée*, released on DVD in 2016 with English subtitles as *The Milky Way*.

[7] Telford refers to a similar corpus of movies as 'the Christ film', which he also refers to as a genre (1997, 116).

[8] Using this criterion, Zwick disqualifies *Montreal*, a movie that revolves around the staging of a Passion play in a contemporary context (1997, 40).

[9] Zwick identifies two ways in which the character of Jesus can be sidelined in a film. First, he can appear at the edges of a plot that is dominated by other protagonists (1997, 42). Three films of this type appeared among the epics of the 1950s: *Quo Vadis* (1951), *The Robe* (1953) and *Ben-Hur* (1959). The last of these was a remake of an earlier 'silent' version titled *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1925) and, with the resurgence of the epic in the 21st century, it has been remade twice more (2010; 2016). It has also inspired a spin-off story called *In the Name of Ben-Hur* (2016). A second way of sidelining Jesus is by giving him only episodic treatment in a film (ibid, 42-43). In addition to *Milky Way*, Zwick offers the 1916 'silent' movie *Intolerance: Love's Struggle throughout the Ages* as an example. In this film there are four interlaced episodes, only one of which involves Jesus.

[10] Two films Zwick identifies as departing significantly enough from the New Testament gospels so as to disqualify them from inclusion are *A Child Called Jesus* (1987) for its imaginative expansions of the young Jesus' sojourn in and return from Egypt and *Last Temptation* for its reliance on the 1955 Nikos Kazantzakis novel of the same name (1997, 46).

[11] Zwick identifies *Superstar* and *Godspell* as films that lack this 'historicizing' element, both movies 'updating' the Jesus story by means of a contemporary setting (1997, 44-45). A fifth criterion Zwick uses is that the film must cover Jesus' life more or less comprehensively (ibid, 55), however, he both makes an exception for those movies that focus exclusively on the Passion event and offers no example of a film disqualified using this criterion alone.

[12] The four 'historicizing' films that Zwick focuses on are *St. Matthew*, *Greatest Story*, *Messiah* and *Jesus of Nazareth*, citing their frequent television rebroadcast (at least in his European setting at the time of his writing) and thus importance to religious educators among his intended audience (1997, 49-50).

the extent a given community finds use for a genre, it will be recognized within that particular context (Moine 2009, 63).

Genre is not the only way of carving up the landscape of Jesus films.[13] Richard Ascough, writing for an audience working with such movies in the context of Christian ministry, developed a seven-point taxonomy focused on how Jesus is presented in each movie (2009, 180-83). Pertinent to the present study are his final four categories,[14] the first of which is 'The Countercultural Jesus' of the sixties and seventies. Ascough sees the Jesus of each film in this category as reflecting broader cultural challenges, the precise associations being less important than the observation of such connections to culture.[15] Countercultural portrayals partially overlapped with but were primarily followed by 'The Conservative Jesus' of the late seventies.[16] The eighties saw depictions of what Ascough calls 'The Human Jesus', films construed as indirect responses to the earlier conservative movies.[17] Films of the next two decades comprise his last category: 'The Evangelical Jesus'.[18] By this Ascough does not mean they are the work of evangelical filmmakers (though some are), but that each movie openly declares its particular Christological stance.

One final sketch of the history of Jesus movies is that of Richard Walsh, who outlines five eras in the depiction of religion in film (2003, 4), only the last three of which are relevant to the present study.[19]

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[13] Moine points to other ways of classifying films such as by shared country of origin, director or actor (2009, 4-5).

[14] Ascough's initial three categories are 'The Passive Jesus', 'The Absent Jesus' and 'The Epic Jesus'. He argues that the films in the first category portray a Jesus who lacks emotion and appears detached from his surroundings, all examples provided from the 'silent' era – also one of Reinhartz's categories (2007, 13-14) – even though he seems to infer (erroneously) that *The King of Kings* (1927) comes from the period of matching soundtracks. Ascough's second category involves the 'hiatus' – as Reinhartz refers to it (2007, 14) – of Jesus as the central character from any major film made in the 1930s through 1950s. The popularity of the 1927 *Kings*, the ongoing presence in Hollywood of its director Cecil B. DeMille (1881-1959), and the censoring influence of the Production Code in the period 1934-1968 were all factors contributing to Jesus' absence from the cinema (Reinhartz 2007, 14-15; Ascough 2009, 180; Tatum 2013, 63-65). Doherty reproduces a version (there is no definitive one) of the Production Code (2007, 351-63) and Quicke explores the role that various religious groups played in its creation, enforcement and eventual demise (2009). Ascough's third category is identical to Reinhartz's epics (*King of Kings* and *Greatest Story*), but from here the two scholars depart significantly in how they categorize Jesus films.

[15] The films in this category number four: The director of *St. Matthew* – Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922-1975) – was an atheist Marxist (Tatum 2013, 109) and his cultural critique may be situated within the continuing thought of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) in what Staley and Walsh refer to as a 'Gramsci Gospel' (2007, 46). While not appearing until the early seventies, both *Superstar* and *Godspell* were examples of the youth rock cultures that arose in the sixties (Tatum 2013, 125). *Brian*, with its comedic critique of Christendom and the Jesus film tradition, rounds out Ascough's 'Countercultural Jesus'.

[16] The two films Ascough includes in this category are *Nazareth* and *Jesus Film*.

[17] This category is also represented by two films: *Last Temptation* and *Montreal*.

[18] Included in this category are the films *Mary, Mother of Jesus*, *Jesus, Miracle Maker*, the 2000 version of *Superstar*, *John*, *Passion* and the 1995 *Matthew*, which was part of the Visual Bible series along with *John*.

[19] Walsh's first era is one of reluctance in depicting religion and corresponds to the 'silent' era in the taxonomies of both Reinhartz and Ascough. It includes *Intolerance*, DeMille's *Kings* and *From the Manger to the Cross* (1912). While Walsh refers to a group of films in which Jesus functions as a 'structuring absence' in tales revolving around some of his early followers (*Ben-Hur*, *Robe*), he does not conceive of this as a distinct era in the history of Jesus in film as do Reinhartz and Ascough. His second era, therefore, is that of the religious 'epics', which includes *King of Kings* and *Greatest Story* just as in the other two scholars' taxonomies.

Walsh connects the first of these to countercultural shifts in the sixties (ibid, 5), then sees the Jesus films entering an iconoclastic phase that was, at the time of his writing in the early millennium, shifting to a period marked by metaphysical anxiety (ibid, 5-7).[20] Walsh acknowledges exceptions to these trends, movies that he refers to as "overwhelmingly nostalgic" (ibid, 8),[21] the purported blueprint for which was *The King of Kings* (1927).[22] This 'silent' film portrays children as vulnerable dependents in a patriarchal domestic sphere,[23] particularly Mark of later gospel-writing fame, here imagined as an orphaned boy who comes under the protection of Jesus and his followers after he is healed.[24] *Jesus of Nazareth* and *Jesus* are among the movies that Walsh identifies as being nostalgic,[25] but while he sees *Nazareth* as an anomaly in its historical context, it belongs in a distinct conservative category for Ascough; in both their taxonomies, however, the film is reactionary.

Walsh is not the only scholar to group the two movies to be analyzed here in this thesis together. Reinhartz classifies them both as dramas,[26] a genre inherited from nineteenth-century theatre productions of 'serious' and pathos-driven subjects (Moine 2009, 17-18). Among pathetic film plots, Barry Langford refers to an oft-recycled "contest…waged over the symbolic terrain of an 'innocent' woman or *child*… motivated by a nostalgic reaction against…perceived challenge[s] to traditional models of gender and the family" (2005, 41; italicized emphasis mine).[27] Furthermore, the connection of most dramatic stories to concrete historical contexts (Moine 2009, 18) reveals another common element of the two films. Zwick

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[20] Walsh's third era overlaps considerably with Ascough's 'Countercultural Jesus', the only difference being the placement of *Brian* in the iconoclastic category that follows along with *Last Temptation* and *Montreal* (2003, 5-6). Walsh nonetheless sees this latter film as anticipating the emergent era of metaphysical anxiety and associates it with this category rather than the former in his summary chart of the history, tradition and ideology of Jesus films (ibid, 7-8).

[21] Jameson defines the process and purpose of nostalgic filmmaking as "reinventing the feel and shape of characteristic art objects of an older period [in order] to reawaken a sense of the past associated with those objects" (2011, 1037). Since Jameson proposes that nostalgia movies may be considered a film genre, the discussion has come full circle.

[22] On DeMille's *Kings* as a model for later Jesus films, see also Humphries-Brooks (2006, 9) and Westbrook (2016, 257).

[23] On the central role given to children in this cinematic telling of the Jesus story, see Babington and Evans (1993, 110-13), Stern et al. (1999, 31) and Humphries-Brooks, who refers to the viewer's first glimpse of Jesus through the restored sight of a blind girl as "a brilliant cinematographic move" (2006, 15).

[24] The presence in DeMille's *Kings* of a prominent young character – played by Mickey Moore (1914-2013; cf. Holmstrom 1998, 73-74) – reflects the period's fascination with child stars (Jackson 1986, 56-72; O'Connor 2008, 50-56), an era that was inaugurated by the breakout performance of Jackie Coogan (1914-1984) in *The Kid* (1921). The boy's waif persona was recycled in a number of his other films and was arguably an inspiration for Mark's character in DeMille's *Kings*.

[25] Walsh's other 'nostalgic' movie is *Jesus Film*, which also includes an adaptation of Luke 2:41-52. The two films that will be analyzed in this thesis may be compared to DeMille's *Kings* to see if their depictions of Jesus as a child reflect nostalgia for the portrayal of children in this earlier film, for some other movie(s) or not at all.

[26] Of the other four films Reinhartz classifies as dramas, three include an adaptation of Luke's story of the boy Jesus (*Messiah*, *Jesus Film* and *Miracle Maker*). The single exception is *St. Matthew*, which is restricted by its reliance on Matthew for its script.

[27] Langford's discussion concerns 'melodrama' (2005, 29-50), which is sometimes distinguished from more 'serious' drama (Moine 2009, 178), though not by Langford who views it rather as a 'mode' that is utilized by various film genres.

includes *Nazareth* in his list of 'historicizing' Jesus films and while *Jesus* postdates his study, the movie meets all four of his pertinent criteria for inclusion in the category.

The *historical* is one of seven 'perspectives' from which Ascough analyzes Jesus films (2009, 184-85).[28] Reinhartz identifies a fixation with historicity among the viewers of Jesus movies, this despite the films' overall fictitiousness (2007, 3-4). Just how aware some spectators are of the imaginary in Jesus movies is a matter of some debate, as is what distinguishes 'history' from 'fiction' (Crook 2007, 35), but it cannot be denied that historical concerns often dominate. Sometimes a focus on the historical aspects of Jesus movies is actively promoted (Reinhartz 2007, 4) with a film's fidelity to the biblical text equated to achieving historical accuracy.[29] This approach "might be regarded as good theology in some camps, but in no quarter would it be regarded as good history" (Powell 2013, 5). The Jesus of history must instead be reconstructed after a 'sifting' of both biblical and non-biblical materials[30] uncovers the "content that can be judged reliable from the perspective of modern historical science" (ibid, 5).[31] Of the various portraits suggested, I find that of an apocalyptic Jewish prophet (Allison 1998; Ehrman 1999) the most persuasive.

This process brings the historical into contact with the *intertextual*, the primary source for Jesus movies being the New Testament gospels (Ascough 2009, 184). In the case of the present study, which will focus on the cinematic adaptations of a particular passage, that is Luke 2:41-52.[32] The story appears to have been inherited by Luke and adapted with some difficulty to the immediate context, both in terms of what precedes it and what follows it.[33] While its depiction of Jesus as preternaturally wise relies on a

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[28] In the order Ascough introduces them, they are: (1) narrative, (2) artistic, (3) historical, (4) intertextual, (5) cultural, (6) ideological and (7) theological. The remainder of the chapter will explore all of these 'perspectives' and their relevance to the current study, only in a slightly revised order.

[29] A good example of this is *Jesus Film*, which is advertised on the back of the 35th Anniversary Edition DVD as having been "taken directly from the Book of Luke" and touted in the film itself as "a documentary taken from the Gospel of Luke" (cf. Staley and Walsh 2007, 96). A "[d]ocumentary is, broadly speaking, a subcategory of nonfiction – it is a form that tells stories, makes assertions or observations about the real historical world, rather than the fabricated worlds of fiction" (Ward 2012, 211).

[30] These non-biblical materials include early Christian gospels that were not included in the Bible (Powell 2013, 54-58) and other pertinent texts from the wider Roman world (ibid, 37-41), as well as the relevant archaeological data (ibid, 35-37).

[31] The various portraits of Jesus that emerge from historical-Jesus scholarship reflect the different textual and material sources used in the reconstruction, as well as the differing criteria used to determine their level of authenticity (Powell 2013, 59-70).

[32] The Greek text (NA28), together with variants and my English translation, is included as *Appendix E*. For a range of the scholarly views on the Lukan story, see Van Iersel (1960), de Jonge (1978), Fitzmyer (1979, 434-38), van der Horst (1980), Schüssler Fiorenza (1982), Kilgallen (1985), Legrand (1985), Sylva (1987a), Goulder (1989, 264-69), Johnson (1991, 58-62), Carmona (1992), Valentini (1992), Brown (1993, 471-96), Strauss (1995, 120-23), Green (1997, 152-58), Chakoian (1998), Derrett (2000; 2012), Freed (2001, 146-51), Bovon (2002, 108-15), Krückemeier (2004), Heininger (2005), Billings (2009), Carroll (2012, 82-87), Adamczewski (2016, 62-65), Wolter (2016, 147-54), Levine and Witherington (2018, 70-72).

[33] In terms of the former, the ignorance of Jesus' parents following the boy's veiled declaration of divine origin (2:49-50) is difficult to reconcile with the supernatural circumstances of his conception that were previously narrated (1:34-35). This matter will be treated further in chapters 5 and 7 since both films attempt to resolve this conflict in the source text. In terms of the latter, the image of Jesus as one who astounds with his intelligence (2:47) clashes with the story of his rejection at Nazareth as an adult, the man appearing to amaze his own townsfolk only after being filled with the Holy Spirit (3:22; 4:1, 22). This matter can be

trope common in the ancient world (Freed 2001, 148), thereby giving the story a legendary quality,[34] it is presented in Jesus movies *as if* it happened. Filmmakers' attempts to situate the story in the context of early first-century Palestine expand the question of historicity beyond facile dichotomies of whether or not Luke recounts an actual event from Jesus' childhood.

Of particular importance to the present study is the degree to which filmmakers' depictions of Jesus as a child reflect what we know (or think we know) about children's lives in antiquity. There has been a growing body of secondary literature on various aspects of children's lives in the Graeco-Roman world,[35] and while New Testament scholars with an interest in children's and childhood studies have now begun to tap into this material, Lukan scholars generally have yet to avail themselves of it in commenting on the story of the twelve-year-old Jesus. Perhaps because of more stories to work with than simply this one, *Paidika* scholars have utilized this academic corpus to varying degrees to explore how the *Paidika*'s portrayal of the boy Jesus relates to the everyday lives of children in antiquity.

Two scholars in particular have led the way with this approach. The first is Tony Burke, whose critical edition of the Greek *Paidika* texts includes a chapter devoted to situating the collection of stories in its ancient contexts (2010, 223-89). To do this he sketches the lives of children in Roman antiquity (ibid, 225-47),[36] explores ancient biographies (ibid, 247-61)[37] and analyzes the depictions of children in funerary art (ibid, 261-68). From this evidence Burke posits 'real' and 'ideal' depictions of children intertwined. While he acknowledges there are some realistic elements in the *Paidika*'s stories about the boy Jesus in the areas of education and apprenticeships (ibid, 285), the image he sees as dominant is the *puer senex* (old child; cf. Carp 1980). For Burke, Jesus of the *Paidika* "is consistent with the idealized portrayals of children found in the comparative literature, inscriptions, and images" and "does not play, speak or act like [real] children do" (ibid, 289).[38] Reidar Aasgaard is critical of Burke's emphasis on the

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treated briefly here: Only *Nazareth* includes an adaptation of the story from Luke 4 and its filmmakers script no amazement on the part of the city's inhabitants, thus avoiding any tension.

[34] While Jesus *could* have possessed prodigious abilities as a child, such attributions seem beyond the grasp of historians to establish with an acceptable level of probability. See Sternberg et al. (2011) for some of the theoretical issues related to defining 'giftedness' in children, as well as the concept of 'giftedness' across different cultures.

[35] Key monographs and edited collections from the turn of the millennium onward include Dixon (2001), Rawson (2003), Uzzi (2005), Cohen and Rutter (2007), Harlow and Laurence (2010), Dasen and Späth (2010), Laes (2011), Mander (2013), Grubbs et al. (2013), Laes and Vuolanto (2017), Aasgaard et al. (2018), Carroll (2018), Sivan (2018).

[36] Burke notes that children's lives were characterized by a "push toward adulthood," which he argues led to "idealized representation[s] of praiseworthy children as possessing a maturity that belied their years" (2010, 246-47).

[37] Burke concludes that this literature focuses on the *consistency* of positive or negative qualities over the course of an individual's life, thus childhood "becomes a choice time in a person's life for exploitation in propaganda" (2010, 260).

[38] Burke notes that in idealized portrayals of Roman children, "[t]he qualities one would expect to see associated with [them] – playfulness, innocence, impulsiveness, disobedience – are absent, replaced by qualities valued in adults – wisdom, maturity, conformity, composure" (2010, 247).

puer senex motif (2010, 92).[39] After conducting his own survey of children's lives in Roman antiquity (ibid, 92-99),[40] Aasgaard claims that aspects of the *puer senex* are present only in Jesus' interactions with adults, his behavior is otherwise childlike (ibid, 99-101). Aasgaard concludes that the *Paidika*'s "Jesus [is] a fairly true-to-life portrait of a late antiquity child – with the physical and mental traits, and the doings and relationships typical of such a child" (ibid, 101).[41]

This reprise of *Paidika* scholarship serves to highlight some of the methodological difficulties inherent in pursuing questions related to children's lives in antiquity. Both Burke and Aasgaard agree that the extant sources contain a mixture of realistic and idealized portraits of children, but differ as to where the emphasis lies: Burke places it on the latter, Aasgaard on the former.[42] Burke is thus highly skeptical of any correlation between the stories of Jesus in the *Paidika* and children's lived experiences in the second century, Aasgaard much less so.[43] It is beyond the scope of the present study to unravel these complicated issues; I raise them to show how the question of the historical verisimilitude of Jesus' childhood in film, even in general terms, is not easily answered given the idealized – to whatever degree – nature of sources available for reconstructing children's lives in antiquity, which constitute another body of 'texts' within the intertextual perspective.

Having touched on various aspects of the historical-critical method[44] to explore issues related to the historical and intertextual perspectives, I turn now to the *narrative*, which Susan Hayward defines as "the strategies, codes and conventions…employed to organize a story" (2013, 268). The movie sequences

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[39] Aasgaard interacts with Burke's earlier doctoral thesis (Chartrand-Burke 2001).

[40] Aasgaard argues that Burke's "'push toward adulthood'…need not be seen primarily as a sign of disparagement of childhood as such, but as evidence of concern for children and their ability to handle future demands of life" (2010, 94).

[41] Aasgaard elsewhere points out that the lived experiences of childhood differed according to culture and geography, thus "growing up as a Jewish peasant boy in Palestine was quite different from a boy's life among the urban poor in Rome or in a fishermen's village of coastal Spain" (2009, 4).

[42] It is not only a matter of differing emphases and thus interpretations of the data, but the nature of the sources themselves that contribute to the difficulties. Predominantly reflecting the perspectives of elite men from certain geographical centres within the Roman Empire, typically writing about childhood with only passing concern, children themselves are marginalized as social actors and their own voices muted in the sources. Both Burke (2010, 225-27) and Aasgaard (2006, 24-25) recognize the problem, though the latter suggests that the passing nature of references to children are less rhetorically- or ideologically-charged and thus better-suited for research purposes.

[43] Other scholars are open to such correlations. Kaiser writes that "[u]ndoubtedly the child Jesus already has the miraculous power and deep foreknowledge of the adult Jesus. But he is otherwise portrayed *as a child*" (2010, 267; italics in original). She goes on to provide the examples of playing in the mud, having outbursts of anger, doing chores such as fetching water for his mother, and working alongside his father in the carpentry shop (ibid 267-68). Cousland, who is also critical of Burke's reliance on the *puer senex* model (2018, 54-58), identifies Jesus' interactions with both peers and adults as characteristic of children in antiquity (ibid, 50-51) and concludes that "notwithstanding Jesus's divine attributes, the author has endeavoured to portray him as acting as a young boy would" (ibid, 52).

[44] The goal of historical criticism, namely "to understand the ancient text in light of its historical origins, the time and place in which it was written, its sources, if any, the events, dates, persons, places, things, customs, etc., mentioned or implied in the text" (Soulen and Soulen 2011, 89), is laudable even if several of its earliest theoretical underpinnings are no longer tenable (ibid, 88-89). Supplemented with other approaches, the historical-critical method is still a useful enterprise in biblical studies.

that will be the focus of the present study use Luke 2:41-52 as a narrative skeleton, which is 'fleshed out' by scriptwriters and directors along both visual and audio tracks (Speidel 2012, 80). Peter Verstraten argues for different narrators along each of these tracks, suggesting that "the narrator on the visual track is essentially deaf to all sounds, just as the narrator on the auditive track is blind to all visual influences" (2009, 7). Verstraten proposes a 'filmic narrator' who controls points of contact between the two tracks and that "[b]ecause of this specific (and layered) 'identity' of the filmic narrator, the narrative techniques and stylistic procedures in cinema are inevitably fundamentally different from those in literature" (ibid, 7-8).[45] Just as a form of the historical-critical method will be applied in this thesis to the analysis of films,[46] it will be supplemented by narrative criticism[47] tailored to the unique ways of cinematic storytelling.

The narrative perspective "segues nicely" – as Ascough puts it – into the *artistic* (2009, 184).[48] The visual and audio tracks may be broken down into three 'codes': *mise-en-scène* and editing for the visual and soundtrack for the audio (Speidel 2012, 87). *Mise-en-scène* refers to everything "staged in front of the camera at the time of filming,"[49] the five key elements being "setting, props, costume and make-up, lighting and performance" (ibid, 87-88). The 'setting' is "the location where the action takes place," which "can be artificially constructed…or natural" (Hayward 2013, 326). Suzanne Speidel adds that "[i]n many instances the primary aim of the setting is to suggest authenticity, and the content and style of the set are dictated by what is appropriate to the story's time and place" (2012, 88). The 'props', "short for 'property', [are the] movable objects within the set [that] take on a significant function within the story" (ibid, 89). Closely related is 'costume', "the clothing worn by an actor" (Barsam and Monahan 2013, 188),[50] and to 'make-up' may be added 'hair'.[51] 'Lighting' "establishes mood and directs attention

[45] For further information on the narrative aspects of film, see the dedicated chapters in Bordwell (2008, 85-133), Dix (2008, 101-30), Phillips (2009, 254-306), Sikov (2010, 89-102), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 65-90), Barsam and Monahan (2013, 121-69), Bordwell and Thompson (2013, 72-110), as well as the monograph-length treatment of Cook (2004).

[46] Films of the late-twentieth century, no less than ancient texts, may be illuminated by an examination of their historical contexts and intertextual references. While attention to these details is evident in most academic writing on film, theoretical consideration appears generally lacking. Pramaggiore and Wallis devote some space to these issues (2011, 20-23, 25-26), but leave, for example, the matter of potential anachronisms unexplored.

[47] Soulen and Soulen note how "[n]arrative criticism concentrates on the story being told, on the events that occur within it, the spatial and temporal settings of these events, and the characters who inhabit the story, including their social location, values, etc" (2011, 134).

[48] Monaco's chapter "Film As Art" is a helpful introduction to the history of art and film (2009, 24-73) and Dahnke's short monograph explores the major theories of art using cinematic examples (2007).

[49] The French term literally means 'putting into the scene' (Speidel 2012, 87).

[50] Nichols (2010, 510) includes clothing under his definition of 'prop' and Kuhn and Westwell (2012, 97) note that actors sometimes wear props.

[51] Villarejo groups these two together as distinct from costume in her breakdown of *mise-en-scène*'s components (2013, 32).

to detail" (ibid, 35), "[c]rucially, [it] also creates shadows" (Speidel 2012, 92).[52] Finally, Speidel refers to performance 'signs' such as "facial expression[,] voice[,] gestures[,] body posture [and] body movement" (ibid, 91), noting how "our decoding of them are shaped by our everyday shared understanding of human body language" (ibid, 92).[53]

All these various aspects are captured by a camera, which prompts some, including Speidel, to see cinematography as an extension of *mise-en-scène* (ibid, 88).[54] 'Cinematography', "the process of capturing moving images on film[,] contribute[s] to a movie's overall meaning…[with] the angles, heights, and movements of the camera function[ing] both as a set of techniques and as expressive material" (Barsam and Monahan 2013, 226). Speidel notes that "[t]he basic component of film is the shot," which may be defined as "[o]ne uninterrupted (uncut) image on-screen" (2012, 93). This leads to her second 'code', namely editing, which she defines as "the [process of] joining together…separate pieces of film" and its purpose is "to create juxtapositions, which in turn may change the impact and meaning of each individual shot" (ibid, 97). The resulting scene, "defined by the unity of time, space, and action" (Sikov 2010, 94), may be combined with other scenes to form a film sequence, "which maintains one or more of these unities while introducing a discontinuity" (ibid, 95). Shots can be edited together directly into a sequence, such as in *montage*,[55] "a film sequence that relies on editing to condense or expand action, space, or time" (ibid, 58).[56]

Speidel's third 'code' is the soundtrack, broken down into the diegetic and non-diegetic (2012, 100). The first refers to sounds that belong to the story world such as spoken dialogue and the second to those external to it such as the musical score. David Sonnenschein identifies four primary functions of the score: (1) to draw viewers into the film's story world, (2) to produce continuity over discordant shots, (3) to provide unity to the film as a whole, and (4) to orient viewers to character's particular moods (2001,

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[52] Villarejo suggests that "[p]erhaps because spectators frequently know little about how lighting works, or perhaps because filmmakers now manipulate it so effectively that we are drawn in by the illusion, we frequently overlook its power in the experience of cinema" (2013, 35).

[53] Kuhn and Westwell refer to another relevant use of the term, "the performance of gender [as] something created by actors playing male or female characters" (2012, 307), an issue that will be explored toward the end of the next chapter.

[54] Speidel also includes in this extension 'special effects', which she notes "is a broad term referring to image manipulations that change the appearance of other aspects of mise-en-scène" (2012, 95). Since these techniques play no discernible role in the film adaptations central to this thesis, I will focus only on issues related to *mise-en-scène* and cinematography, on which see the pertinent sections in Dix (2008, 9-42), Phillips (2009, 11-112), Sikov (2010, 5-54), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 91-190), Barsam and Monahan (2013, 171-286), Bordwell and Thompson (2013, 112-217).

[55] From the French *monter*, meaning *to assemble*, it "describes the various ways in which filmmakers string individual shots together to form a series" (Sikov 2010, 57). This basic meaning of *montage* as editing is the extent in France, but in filmmaking in North America, it carries the specific connotation of "a rapid-fire series of interrelated images" (ibid, 57-58).

[56] For further information on the various aspects of film editing, see the corresponding chapters in Dix (2008, 43-73), Phillips (2009, 113-56), Sikov (2010, 55-73), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 191-226), Barsam and Monahan (2013, 339-86), Bordwell and Thompson (2013, 218-65), as well as the fuller treatments of Fairservice (2001), Murch (2001) and Orpen (2003).

155). Sonnenschein refers to this latter purpose as 'narrative cueing' and that "[b]y giving an emotional interpretation to the image it can cue the narrative to give, for example, advance knowledge of a threat" (ibid, 155).[57] Attention will be paid to all three of these 'codes' when it comes time to analyze the two films central to this thesis.

The final three 'perspectives' are united by their close connection to meaning-making not at the level of cinematography, but in terms of the movie as a whole. As this is linked to debates surrounding authorship and spectatorship, I will explore these two issues before continuing. Throughout this thesis I avoid referring to any movie as belonging in an authorial sense to its director(s) in deference to the complexities involved in the creation of a given film.[58] Who ought to be credited with the authorship of a movie has been a contentious issue since the early days of cinema,[59] but has been most vigorously argued by and on behalf of directors.[60] In defense of the director as author, Ed Sikov points to this individual's pervasive presence throughout the process of filmmaking and the substantial amount of creative control he or she often wields (2010, 118). Others involved in the filmmaking process, however, have substantial roles as well, the producer being chief among them since she or he is responsible for the idea of a movie, financing its production and putting together the creative team that includes director and scriptwriter (ibid, 122).[61] Given these kinds of collaborative efforts involved in filmmaking, Paul Watson asks "is it possible, or indeed plausible, to attribute [film] authorship to a single creative source?" (2012, 144).[62]

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[57] For further information on sound in cinema, see the relevant sections of Dix (2008, 74-100), Phillips (2009, 157-92), Sikov (2010, 74-88), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 227-74), Barsam and Monahan (2013, 387-430), Bordwell and Thompson (2013, 266-307), the monograph-length publications of Lastra (2000), Cooke (2008) and Chion (2009), as well as the theoretical essays of Donnelly (2001), Neumeyer and Buhler (2001) and Buhler (2001) that are specific to film music.

[58] The single exception to this is my shorthand "DeMille's *Kings*", which differentiates it from the anarthrous movie of the same name three decades later. It should be noted that the earlier film both opens and is marketed with this authorial designation.

[59] Scriptwriters, for example, pressed for authorial rights to the completed films in the 1910s (Hayward 2013, 27).

[60] The term associated with this is auterism and while ideas of the director as *auteur* (author) of a particular film arose in France as early as the twenties (Hayward 2013, 27-28), it was in the fifties and onward, particularly in the French journal *Cahiers du cinéma*, that it was most energetically advanced. The American film critic Andrew Sarris transformed these ideas into 'auteur theory' or auterism in the sixties (2009, 451-54; 2011, 355-61).

[61] Tatum, for example, credits producer John Heyman with *Jesus Film*, referring to it on several occasions as "the Heyman film" and making only passing mention of the directors Peter Sykes and John Krisch (2013, 177-78). Conversely, Staley and Walsh refer to the film as "Sykes and Krisch's rendering of Luke's Gospel" (2007, 90) and refer to this directing duo often in their review while making only passing mention of Heyman's contributions as producer (ibid, 96). Similarly, Tatum credits producer Samuel Bronston with *King of Kings*, self-consciously defending his decision by noting the movie "was edited without [director Nicholas] Ray's having the final cut" (2013, 79-80). Tatum refers to the movie as "the Bronston film" (ibid, 79, 83, 85) or "the Bronston epic" (ibid, 83) whereas Staley and Walsh refer to it as "Ray's film" (2007, 37). While these two scholars make dozens of references to Ray throughout their review, they make no mention whatsoever of Bronston! Tatum elsewhere credits directors – for example, Franco Zeffirelli for *Nazareth*, which was produced by Vincenzo Labella (2013, 143) – so his approach appears to be one of ascribing authorship to whomever he feels exerted the most creative control over the film, whereas Staley and Walsh default to the director(s) in every case. These differences within Jesus-in-film scholarship illustrate well how the issue of cinematic authorship remains highly contentious.

[62] Whatever difficulties there may be in ascribing authorship to directors, it is widespread within the film industry, leading to what Watson refers to as the "*auteur as star*" (2012, 153, italics in original). A director's celebrity status prompts interviews,

Collaborative filmmaking complicates the meaning-making process, which is often simplified by granting authorship and the attendant arbitration of meaning to directors (Sikov 2010, 118). Singularities of meaning flowing from an author and the passive role of the cinematic viewer, however, are ideas that have been challenged in theorizing about and through empirical studies conducted into spectator and audience reception.[63] Patrick Phillips argues that "[e]ach of us comes to a film with our own personal 'formation' – the result of all our life experiences…[which] predispose us to certain interpretations of character, certain attitudes towards moral and political issues and certain emotional responses to events" (2012, 130).[64] The 'readings' I offer in this thesis arise from a particular social context and configuration of life experiences that are my own.[65] I make no pretense that this lens of interpretation provides *the* way to 'read' the two films in question, but I do hope my negotiated responses[66] resonate strongly enough to stimulate further thought about and research on depictions of Jesus as a child in film and portrayals of children in cinema more generally.[67]

Having explored some of the theoretical issues related to movie authorship and how meaning emerges from a fusion of the collaborative efforts involved in filmmaking with a spectator's particularly-situated response, I turn to Ascough's final three 'perspectives', the first of which is the *theological*. For Ascough, this is where "[s]ome of the most interesting discussions arise," by means of "probing [a] film's Christology or soteriology" (2009, 185).[68] This expressed viewpoint is understandable given his mission-oriented audience, but implicitly conflates two distinct approaches to film and theology. The first, which

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biographies and autobiographies with a public eager to consume them in order to gain further insight into the films they were involved in. Zeffirelli emerges as one such figure in the history of Jesus films. His 1984 book *Franco Zeffirelli's Jesus: A Spiritual Diary* contains numerous personal anecdotes about his work on *Nazareth*, sketches of scenes and sets, and colour photographs taken during production, which material functioned in its time in much the same way as a director's commentary and other special features included with the DVD release of many films do today (Parker and Parker 2004, 13-22). On the commercial aspects of *auterism*, see Corrigan (2011, 418-29), and for further information on film and authorship, see the pertinent chapters in Lapsley and Westlake (2006, 105-28), Dix (2008, 131-61), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 407-28) in addition to the theoretical essays of Gerstner (2003) and Staiger (2003).

[63] Phillips points to a distinction in film studies between the individual 'spectator' and the collective 'audience' (2012, 114).

[64] Hayward also lists class, age, race, creed, sexuality, gender and nationality as identity markers that contribute to an "eclecticism of viewers" (2013, 352).

[65] It would be a mistake, however, to assert that the number of 'readings' of a film equals the number of spectators. Phillips argues that similarities in what draw audiences to particular films, the typical reflection in those films of 'common sense' values and attempts in the same to trigger common cognitive reactions are "factors [that] work against [a] diversity of response[s in] mainstream commercial cinema" (2012, 130).

[66] Phillips proposes four possible responses to a film. The 'preferred' and 'oppositional' responses are 'readings' in which a viewer's reconstruction of the filmmakers' intended meaning(s) are accepted and rejected respectively; the 'negotiated reading' merges aspects of both these responses. Where the viewer's understanding of the intended meaning(s) has significantly missed the mark, this gives rise to an 'aberrant reading' (Phillips 2012, 131-32).

[67] See Campbell (2005) for more information on the theories of viewing movies.

[68] Migliore, from the perspective of a confessing Christian, describes Christology as "the doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ" and soteriology as "the doctrine of his saving work" (2014, 168-69).

will be taken up in the thesis, is the Christology reflected in each movie, particularly as it relates to (1) how the 'orthodox' Christian belief in Jesus as *both* human *and* divine is played out in these depictions of the boy Jesus,[69] and (2) to the idea of divine sonship reflected in the source text.[70]

The second approach to theology and film, one which will *not* be taken up in the present study, is a theological 'reading' of these films.[71] Robert Johnston identifies three focuses in such approaches to film: (1) theological reflection, (2) church education and mission, and (3) divine revelation (2009, 315). None of these concerns are of personal interest to or practical value for me as an agnostic,[72] though I am of a kindred spirit with many liberationist theologians in terms of their sociopolitical aims,[73] as well as with those theologians who include advocacy on behalf of children as part of their religious thinking and practices.[74] If Johnston's first point is expanded to the generally philosophical, film does provide ample opportunities for such reflection, particularly as it concerns topics related to children and childhood in contemporary culture.[75]

This approach leads into the *cultural* perspective. Margaret Miles points out that "[f]ilms…arise in, and respond to, concrete historical circumstances" and so "they cannot be adequately analyzed without

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[69] This alleged fusion of the human and the divine in the person of Jesus is referred to by the term *hypostatic union*, which was the subject of fierce debate in the first several centuries after the advent of Christian movements in the Mediterranean East and was a focus at several ecumenical councils, chiefly Chalcedon (451 CE), Constantinople (553 CE) and Constantinople (681 CE). I place 'orthodox' in quotations because of its use as a polemical weapon over and against 'heresy', both terms being situational and interchangeable depending on which side of the debate one is on. See Migliore (2014, 175-78) for a brief description of these Christological controversies from an insider's perspective and Ehrman (2003) for an outsider's perspective, a monograph-length treatment that explores some of the alternative Christological perspectives that were lost to history and that involved the denial of either the human or divine aspects of Jesus' person.

[70] Tuckett suggests that "insofar as theology (and Christology as a subset of the broader category of theology) represents a second order attempt to stand back from the primary first order evidence, or phenomena, or formulations of belief, and to seek to rationalise and synthesise such data into a coherent whole, then it is not at all clear that Luke ever makes this attempt" (1999, 137). Looking at the entirety of Luke's work in the gospel and Acts, Tuckett writes that it "does not present a single Christology but rather a whole variety of Christologies" (ibid, 139), thus he questions "whether it is…appropriate to think of Luke as having 'a Christology' at all" (1999, 136). Consequently, the divine sonship Christology suggested for the Lukan story is drawn from the apothegm of 2:49 alone with the understanding that (1) the story was inherited by Luke and (2) divine sonship does not carry any of the theological baggage it attracted in the Nicene period (Peppard 2011, 9).

[71] Numerous monographs and edited volumes have appeared on (Christian) theological 'readings' of films, including the following from the turn of the millennium onward: Johnston (2000; 2007), Stone (2003), Marsh (2004), Clarke and Fiddes (2005), Christianson et al. (2005), McNulty (2007), Deacy and Ortiz (2008), Fraser (2015), Deacy (2016).

[72] By which I mean the existence of a deity (or deities) is an open and perhaps unanswerable question, one I am not actively pursuing and toward which I am essentially apathetic. See Le Poidevin (2010) for a brief sketch of contemporary agnosticisms.

[73] See Rowland (2007) and Guitiérrez (2007) for brief overviews of liberation theology.

[74] Bunge is representative when she argues that "child theologies have as their task not only to strengthen the commitment to and understanding of a group that has often been voiceless, marginalized, or oppressed…but also to reinterpret Christian theology and practice as a whole" (2006, 554).

[75] Wright distinguishes between theological 'readings' of film and those that emerge from a religious studies perspective, which "does not assume a particular faith stance" (2008, 5). See Plate (2008) for an exploration of the various aspects involved in the theoretical intersections of religion and film.

reference to the social anxieties and aspirations that prompted their production" (1996, 18).[76] Matthew Tinkcom and Amy Villarejo identify 'cultural studies' as "an umbrella term for a host of imbricated critical projects such as feminism, queer theory, race studies, poststructuralisms, and materialist analyses" (2001, 1). The cultural thus overlaps with one final 'perspective', the *ideological*, which, according to Ascough, "pushes deeper to examine [depictions] of gender, race, sexuality, religion, and the like" (2009, 185).[77]

Bill Nichols defines 'ideology' as "the lens through which individuals see and understand how they fit into the social world around them" (2010, 287), noting how complex societies have a prevailing ideology and several alternative ideologies that support and contest respectively existing power structures (ibid, 289).[78] Because films are often implicated in the maintenance of dominant ideologies (Pramaggiore and Wallis 2011, 309-11), Miles along with Brent Plate advance a viewing strategy called 'hospitable vision' to "open up space for otherness" (2004, 23). Plate elsewhere defines 'otherness' as "that which resides outside the margins of the dominant cultural representations, outside the social-symbolic order" (1999, 4). Resisting the urge to transform the Other into the Same, he advocates for "non-hierarchical difference" and to expand the categories of otherness beyond those of race, class, gender and sexuality (ibid, 5, 7).

One category of otherness routinely overlooked is that of *age*.[79] Debbie Olson and Andrew Scahill's exploration of othered children in cinema involves only images of *non-normative* childhood (2014b, ix-x), but I push this one step farther to argue that so-called 'normative' childhood is a space of marginalization. In delineating 'normative' childhood, Olson and Scahill characterize it as a time of vulnerability, dependency, innocence and asexuality (ibid, x). Interrogating why these particular aspects are so strongly associated with contemporary childhood and the ramifications of these for children's lived

[76] Both Miles (1996, 5-25) and Wright (2008, 25-30) situate their monographs within a cultural studies approach to film. See Lynch (2009, 275-91) for further information on the use of cultural studies in writing on religion and film and Turner (2000,193-9) for the same on cultural studies and film more generally.

[77] Acknowledging the insufficient coverage of ideologies that the term provides, Dix nonetheless coins the polysyllabic 'gendersexualityraceclass' (2008, 226). The scholarly literature on these individual topics is voluminous and what follows are the essays, entries and chapters in the major collections, resources and monographs used as the theoretical basis for this thesis, divided by subject. Gender and Sexuality: Doty (2000), Smelik (2000; 2007), White (2000), Stacey (2007), Benshoff and Griffin (2009, 211-355), Nichols (2010, 359-431), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 327-36), Jones (2012), Kuhn and Westwell (2012, 156-58, 193-94, 341), Nelmes (2012), Hayward (2013, 137-49, 176-82, 306-10, 326-30); Race: Wiegman (2000), Nichols (2010, 325-58), Benshoff and Griffin (2009, 45-163), Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 322-27), Francis (2012), Kuhn and Westwell (2012, 34-36), Hayward (2013, 36-56); Class: Kleinhans (2000), Benshoff and Griffin (2009, 165-209), Hayward (2013, 75-80). Benshoff and Griffin (2009, 357-84) and Pramaggiore and Wallis (2011, 336-40) devote sections of their monographs to 'disability', but none of the above address ideologies surrounding age or childhood specifically.

[78] Nichols argues that in order to maintain the *status quo*, the prevailing ideology represses any threatening ideologies directly through censorship or indirectly through misrepresentation, but social change remains possible to the extent a repressed view can circumvent these obstacles and present itself to a wider audience as a viable and beneficial alternative (2010, 290-91).

[79] Macnicol's 2006 monograph on age discrimination provides a starting point to expose age as a basis for negative othering.

experiences will be taken up in the following chapter, thereby completing the set of lenses through which depictions of the cinematic boy Jesus will be examined in this thesis, an example of cultural analysis that 'borrows' methods of historical criticism and narrative criticism from the field of biblical studies and adapts them to the specific task of viewing films.[80]

[80] On a general lack of attention to methodology within cultural studies and the subsequent 'borrowing' of methods from other disciplines, see Pickering (2008, 1-5).

Chapter 3

Deconstructing the Boy Jesus: Interrogating Idea(l)s of Childhood

At the end of the first chapter I pointed to the increasing interdisciplinary nature of biblical scholarship and to the two academic fields with which this thesis in particular intersects: film studies and childhood studies. In the second chapter I introduced those aspects of the academic study of film that will be used in the forthcoming explorations into the cinematic boy Jesus, concluding with the observation that several qualities – vulnerability, dependency, innocence, asexuality – are often associated with contemporary depictions of childhood. In the present chapter, I will explore each of these ideas – some might say *ideals* – about children and their impact on contemporary constructions of childhood, or better, and as the title of this thesis acknowledges, *childhoods*. Academic studies of childhood inform my cultural studies approach to the depictions of children in film beginning in the next chapter and throughout the rest of this thesis.

I utilize the term 'childhood studies' in the inclusive sense that Martin Woodhead does, referring both to "studies of real embodied 'children' growing, learning, working and playing" and "studies of 'childhood' as a social institution, cultural representation, discourse and practices" (2009b, 17).[1] These studies themselves are of an interdisciplinary nature, touching upon as many areas of human inquiry as children themselves do.[2] Woodhead offers the helpful metaphor of a wheel's hub "held in place by the tensions of multiple radiating spokes of inquiry", the hub being "[c]hildren and young people" and "reflecting the core interest in their experiences, status, rights and well-being" (ibid, 31).[3] Woodhead's unqualified differentiation between 'children' and 'young people', however, touches on the matter of terminology and the importance of defining the 'child' who is central to this thesis. While it may present as a simple task, my working definition will take the remainder of the chapter to establish and, along the

[1] I am not in agreement with Woodhead, however, when he argues that childhood studies should not be advanced as its own discipline in order to (1) maintain credibility in academia generally and (2) not become so focused that it loses touch with that larger body of work (2009b, 30). Woodhead's second point is a valid concern, though it is one that can be alleviated by scholars of childhood mastering related disciplines. His first point acquiesces to a marginalization of children and continues to facilitate their dismissal as worthy subjects of academic inquiry in their own right. Woodhead's view notwithstanding, childhood studies has continued to gain momentum as its own vibrant academic field within the social sciences since the mid-eighties (Qvortrup et al. 2009, 1), a brief history of which is provided by Mayall (2013). Smith and Greene have recently published a compilation of interviews with twenty-two individuals they consider to have been the key scholars in shaping the field (2015).

[2] Bowman and Spencer situate these studies within a trajectory of other interdisciplinary endeavors including American studies, African American studies and women's studies (2007, 3-9).

[3] Similarly, Bowman and Spencer argue that "[t]he unique perspective that [childhood studies] brings to the academic community is an underlying advocacy of children and the issues affecting their lives and well-being" (2007, 12). Alderson, critical of 'well-being' discourses and their exclusion of those children living with permanent disabilities and disadvantages, advances the concept of 'flourishing' in their place (2013, 130-31).

way, I will challenge many "taken-for-granted ideas about children and childhood" (James and James 2012, x).[4]

I will start with the definition of 'child' that is provided in the first article of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC):[5] "a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier." Wendy Stainton Rogers invokes the UNCRC in defining 'childhood' for the Open University's four-volume textbook series on the topic[6] as "the period from birth to the age of eighteen", subsequently referring to this as "an internationally agreed definition of childhood" (2003b, 5). In this alleged universal understanding of the temporal space that children inhabit,[7] Stainton Rogers oversteps her own source text, which leaves the beginning of childhood ambiguous.[8] The 'unless' clause of the convention, even as it *attempts* a universal definition, acknowledges some cultural variation on when childhood ends.[9] While those who drafted the UNCRC allow the particular age at which childhood ends to be determined by local custom, so long as it does not extend to age eighteen or over, one's childhood ends, in any case, when he or she has attained *majority*, the "age at which an individual gains adult status" (ibid, 9).[10]

If one ceases to be a child when she or he becomes an adult, these two concepts, so understood, exist in binary opposition (Jenks 2005, 3). Indeed, Diana Gittins argues that "[t]he concept of 'child'

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[4] On the problems with 'familiar' ideas about children and childhood, as well as the need to interrogate them, see also Jenks (2005, 7), Honig (2009, 64) and Stainton Rogers (2009, 142).

[5] According to its promoters, the UNCRC is a "[h]uman rights treaty adopted in 1989, which contains civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights for children. The rights it enshrines have been classified as promotion, protection and participation" (UNICEF 2013, xi). For further information on the convention, its history and the drafting process, see Detrick (1992), and for its full text – preamble and fifty-four articles – see either Detrick (ibid, 3-18) or the website of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf.

[6] Vol. 1: Woodhead and Montgomery (2003), Vol. 2: Maybin and Woodhead (2003), Vol. 3: Kehily and Swann (2003), Vol. 4: Montgomery et al. (2003). That a legal document such as the UNCRC was given pride of place in this multi-volume textbook supports James and James' contention that law is instrumental in social constructions of childhood (2004, 7). The authors later explain that law refers both to formal and informal institutions (ibid, 49) and that economics and politics are other key structures in this process (ibid, 76).

[7] James writes that "the concept of childhood works as an analytical term to mark out a particular space in the life course, the temporal space that follows infancy and precedes adulthood. The term *children*, then, is the classificatory label given to the category of people who inhabit that temporal space or time of life called childhood" (2004, 33-34; italics in original).

[8] The working text of the UNCRC included a clause "from the moment of…birth," but it was later dropped (Detrick 1992, 115). Hodgkin and Newell note that the resultant ambiguity allowed for the acceptance of the UNCRC without debate over the contentious issue of abortion (2007, 2). See Alston (1990) for a focused exploration of this issue.

[9] Hodgkin and Newell refer to unsuccessful debates during the drafting of the UNCRC for an age lower than eighteen (2007, 4). Detrick also notes that a representative of the IUCW – one of the NGOs that participated in the drafting process – proposed no upper age limit and thus: "a child is every human being who has not attained the age of majority in conformity with the law of his [sic] state" (1992, 116). Objections came, ironically, both from those who felt 'age of majority' varied too widely between nation states and from those who felt reference to 'differing national legislation' sufficed in this regard. The final text adopted in the UNCRC retains reference to 'majority' despite its fluid application both between and within different nation states.

[10] Hodgkin and Newell point out that, despite the UNCRC's 'unless' clause, nation states were encouraged to review their respective ages of majority and, in particular, their protective ages if lower than eighteen (2007, 3-4).

concerns an embodied individual defined as non-adult" (2009, 37). In this context of a child-adult bifurcation, Stainton Rogers sees 'age of majority' as "a useful [convention that] clarifies what an individual can do, and what their entitlements are" (2003b, 9). A singular *age* of majority, however, is often a fiction, since a *range of ages* are typically set, even within the same cultural context, for various adult 'entitlements'.[11] A Canadian citizen, for example, is entitled to vote in a federal election once he or she has reached the age of eighteen,[12] but in some provinces may not legally purchase or consume alcohol for another year after that, thus continuing in the status of a 'minor' for such purposes until the age of nineteen.[13] These age-related boundaries, so valuable to Stainton Rogers for distinguishing between the statuses of childhood and adulthood, appear arbitrarily set and blurry even before historical and cross-cultural comparisons are considered.

In his study of age consciousness in contemporary Western culture, Howard Chudacoff argues that an accumulation of years lived has supplanted ritual in determining one's status, referring to social mobility that is gained or sometimes lost as one ages (1989, 4). The transition from the status of child to that of adult is often seen – particularly by children themselves – as a welcome one (Jenks 2005, 8, 53), bringing with it access to privileges withheld at earlier ages (Chudacoff 1989, 4). 'How old are you?' is a question frequently posed to 'children'[14] and so, too, is 'What do you want to be when you grow up?' Embedded within this second query is a privileging of adult status, construed as the "pinnacle to which children…aspire" (James et al. 1998, 71).[15]

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[11] James et al. provide a list of related age limits that include "school attendance, access to work, voting rights, TV and film viewing, leisure activities, geographical mobility, financial transactions, sexual intimacy, property ownership, independent decision-making, criminal blame and personal responsibility" (1998, 75). James and James acknowledge a lack of coherence in the ages set for each of these, but justify this situation on the basis society is complex (2004, 80), too complex apparently to work out a more coherent system. Wells is similarly content with the present incoherence, proposing an adulthood that is accrued over time and therefore there is a point where one becomes *fully* adult (2009, 3). In a much broader discussion on childhood's end, Archard proposes inconsistencies be treated *as if* they were consistent by choosing one termination point and making all others conform to it (2004, 32-33; italicized emphasis in original). This is essentially the 'solution' of Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, who equate 'age of majority' with voting privileges (1992, 146). With Fionda, I see "contradictions and nonsensical paradoxes" in the varying age limits (2001, 16) that need critical reflection and, as a first step, revision toward better coherency. As the chapter unfolds, however, a status-based definition of childhood will be rejected altogether and its contradictory system of age limits implicitly along with it.

[12] For a full description of federal voting qualifications in Canada, see the "Electoral Rights" section of the Canada Elections Act, available on-line at http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=loi/fel/cea&document=part01&lang=e#sec3. Eligibility for voting in provincial elections within my home province is similarly set at eighteen years, see the Elections BC website: http://www.elections.bc.ca/index.php/voting/who-can-vote.

[13] The BC provincial government website states that "the legal drinking age in B.C. is 19 and anyone under that age is considered a 'minor' under the law": http://engage.gov.bc.ca/liquorpolicyreview/who-can-drink. Three provinces – Alberta, Manitoba, Quebec – set their legal drinking age at eighteen; see the section on laws related to alcohol on the RCMP website: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/cycp-cpcj/dr-al/al-eng.htm#law.

[14] The eagerness of many children to reach adulthood is evident in the maximizing exactness typical of their replies to this question; for example, "I'm ten and a half!" or "I'm almost twelve!" (Hockey and James 2003, 111).

[15] Archard refers to a minority who challenges this viewpoint and instead "celebrate[s] childhood against adulthood, seeing in the passage from the first to the second an irretrievable loss" (2004, 29). My own position is that neither childhood nor adulthood

This understanding of childhood as a *process* of growth to adulthood (Alderson 2013, 4) – the child not as 'being' but as 'becoming'[16] – is inextricably linked to the concept of 'developmentalism',[17] which dominates contemporary ideas about childhood here in the West (Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers 1992, 37-38)[18] and implies not only process but *progress* (Aldgate 2006, 20; Smith 2010, 42; Barnes 2012, 396). Michael Wyness connects theories of child development to age consciousness in what he refers to as the "ages and stages" model of childhood, a "gradated hierarchy"[19] upon which "[c]hildren are routinely positioned along the pathway to completion by connecting their chronological age with a clearly defined stage of development" (2012, 85).[20] Developmental researchers, often claiming 'scientific

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should be privileged over the other, but each celebrated for its unique place in the life course. I use 'life course' instead of the 'life cycle' since the former "envisage[es] the passage of a lifetime less as the mechanical turning of a wheel and more as the unpredictable flow of [a] river" (Hockey and James 2003, 5).

[16] The debate of children as 'being' or 'becoming' is a critical one in contemporary childhood studies (Prout 2005, 66). In critiquing the widespread notion of children as 'becoming' – that is, viewing them in terms of who they will become (i.e. adults) – Prout argues that scholars of childhood acquiesce to "the myth of the autonomous and independent person" (ibid, 66) Lee, cited approvingly by Prout, questions whether 'being' is applicable to *either* children *or* adults (2001, 37). He dismantles "convenient fictions about adulthood" (ibid, 9) by demonstrating that "[a]s adulthood is led into flexibility by socio-economic and cultural change across the globe, it is clear that stable, complete, standard adulthood can no longer be presumed to exist" (ibid, 19). Lee thus reframes the entire discussion and proposes that we "see all humans, adults and children alike, as fundamentally dependent and incomplete," and thus "'multiply' becoming beyond the limits that the dominant framework, the developmental state and the figure of the standard adult have together set around it" (ibid, 103). While appreciative of Lee's ideas, Uprichard criticizes his failure to address temporality, arguing that "however we construct children and childhood, 'children' become 'adults' (assuming they do not die before this)" (2008, 308). While Uprichard seems to accept that adults, too, are 'becoming', who *they* become is never explored; indeed, she says only that adults "were children but are now adults" (ibid, 309). If adults can still be considered 'becoming' under this model, they are not so in a way comparable to that of children, thus leading the discussion back to another variation of the 'being' versus 'becoming' dichotomy with children emphasized in their 'becoming' and adults in their 'being'. My sympathies lie rather with Lee's model.

[17] 'Developmentalism' is defined by Cregan and Cuthbert as "the broad understanding of the individual child's or youth's mind (and body) as something that is in the *process* of being formed" (2014, 10; italicized emphasis mine). Smith et al. define 'development' as "the *process* by which an organism (human or animal) grows and changes through its life-span," adding that "[i]n humans, the most dramatic developmental changes occur in prenatal development, infancy and childhood, as the newborn develops into a young adult capable of becoming a parent himself or herself" (2011, 6; italicized emphasis mine). Adults are here defined by the ability to sexually reproduce, a capability implicitly lacking in children. I will return to this point toward the end of the chapter in presenting my working definition of 'child'.

[18] The Stainton Rogers refer to the 'story' of developmentalism that "has overwhelmingly acquired the seeming status of incontrovertible truth – …the way things *really* are" (1992, 39-40; italics in original).

[19] Barnes exposes the hierarchical underpinnings of developmental theory in her critique of the UNCRC, arguing that the convention's emphases on development and the family bolster and justify state and parental authority over children (2012, 401). She concludes that the UNCRC is, ironically, "not about 'protecting' children or providing children with rights, but rather portraying a particular 'truth' about children to enable the sustainment of status quo, propping up the adult-child binary opposition where children are the Other" (ibid, 417).

[20] The most well-known of these is the four-stage scheme of cognitive development proposed by Jean Piaget (1896-1980). Born in Neuchâtel in Switzerland and trained as a biologist, Piaget took up clinical psychology at Sorbonne University in Paris where he also pursued an interest in epistemology, eventually turning to an integration of these three disciplines by looking at how children acquire knowledge. Piaget's four stages, together with the approximate ages of the children who pass through them in square brackets, are as follows: sensori-motor [0-2], pre-operational [2-7], concrete operational [7-12] and formal operational [12+] (Smith et al. 2011, 442-43, 445).

objectivity',[21] present children as incapable and the adults they will develop into as capable.[22] Because of this tendency to underestimate the capabilities of children and overestimate those of adults, Woodhead advocates to "consign cruder versions of developmentalism to the dustbin of history" (2009a, 56). He nonetheless argues that developmental theories should continue to inform childhood studies, this because "children are…relatively more vulnerable, dependent and inexperienced [than adults]" (ibid, 57).[23] This continues to assume, however, an adult end point whereas children and adults *both* change biologically and psychologically over time; I therefore remain unconvinced about the usefulness of developmental theories in thinking about children or childhood.[24]

Children's assumed vulnerability,[25] which Pia Christensen suggests "act[s] as a master identity" (2000, 40), typically takes three forms: structural, physical and social – the first refers to a lack of power, the second to smaller bodies, and the third to a lack of social skills (Meyer 2007, 90).[26] Jonathan Herring argues that "claims [about children's vulnerability] are often exaggerated and distorted to achieve adult purposes" (2012, 244), positing that *all* people are vulnerable[27] and therefore "dependent on others for

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[21] Woodhead points out that developmental research, like all scientific research, is situated in historical and cultural contexts (2003, 92). It can therefore lay no claim to objectivity, much less universal applicability.

[22] Piaget, for example, argued that children were incapable of abstract thinking until entering the 'formal operational' stage and, with thinking allegedly characterized by egotism during the 'pre-operational' stage, incapable of seeing things from the perspective of another until reaching the 'concrete operational' stage. Key to this latter conclusion was Piaget's experiment in which he would situate a child subject opposite a doll with a model of a mountain range between them, asking the child to identify the doll's perspective from a series of pictures (Smith et al. 2011, 452-53). When a later researcher, however, used a recognizable character – Grover from *Sesame Street* – instead of the doll, a variety of objects familiar to children in place of the mountain range, a turntable display instead of pictures and a simple practice example to start, the performance of the children improved dramatically over those who had participated in Piaget's experiments (ibid, 453-55). This researcher concluded "that the potential for understanding another's viewpoint is already present in children as young as 3 and 4 years of age – a strong challenge to Piaget's assertions that children of this age are egocentric and *incapable* of taking the viewpoint of others. It would seem that young children make egocentric responses when they misunderstand the task, but given the right conditions, they *are capable* of working out another's viewpoint" (ibid, 455; italicized emphases mine).

[23] James and James argue similarly, calling for a merger of developmental theories with social constructionism "in a way that is complementary and enhances our understanding of the social and psychological development of children" (2012, 41).

[24] For now I embrace the position articulated by the Stainton Rogers whereby "developmentalism needs to be abandoned altogether…[since] the ill-cast efforts of developmentalists are sustained not by power of evidence but power of rhetoric" (1992, 42, 52).

[25] James and James struggle in their entry on 'vulnerability', which they define as "[a] state of weakness, of being at risk from harm and therefore in need of protection" (2012, 132). They argue that it is "a concept that generally only derives its meaning when considered in…context" and that "a person…is only vulnerable in relation to something specific" (ibid, 132). They defend the common view that children are inherently vulnerable, referring to "a *very young* child" who is vulnerable to the abuse of "an *older* child or an adult," but by constructing vulnerability in this way, they must (and do) question "the idea that *all* children are vulnerable… [and] need the same level of protection from the same risks" (ibid, 133; italicized emphases mine).

[26] This same threefold understanding of children's vulnerability is articulated by Smith (2010, 187), but he rejects that "they should *only* be viewed through the lens of vulnerability, or that this should imply a lack of competence" (ibid, 197; italicized emphasis in original).

[27] Herring produces a lengthy list of those who can be considered vulnerable, children being only one such group (2012, 251). He suggests that "[a]s adults we like to emphasize our independence, capacity for rational thought, and autonomy. However, we puff ourselves up with such talk. In fact, we are all too aware of our limitations" (ibid, 250).

[their] physical and psychological well-being" (ibid, 253).[28] He points to "a mass of social structures which enable adults to live apparently independent and autonomous lives [and] push children towards… passive, non-autonomous role[s]" (ibid, 253), thereby exacerbating children's dependency on adults.

Wyness points to 'social dependence'[29] as a "powerful cultural means of differentiating [children] from [adults]" (2012, 34). This hinges on a construction of children as innately in need and adults as the providers of those needs.[30] Rex and Wendy Stainton Rogers note how the assumed dependency of all children on adults is "predicated upon a discourse of parental responsibility… [that] is used to warrant denying [children's] right to economic autonomy" (1992, 194).[31] Decision making about financial and other aspects of children's lives is placed in the hands of adults who ostensibly act in children's 'best interests'.[32] As Anna Mae Duane points out, however, "such dependence [as this] generate[s] unequal distributions of power" (2013, 8)[33] and Julia Fionda notes that a "dependent child takes a submissive role in relation to either the parents or the state" (2001, 8).[34]

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[28] Overlooking the various vulnerabilities and dependencies of adults, Archard supposes vulnerability and dependency are both endemic to childhood and characteristics not to be valued (2001, 45). Herring turns these disparaging yet all too common views of vulnerability and dependency on their heads, arguing that they "are not only inevitable parts of humanity…, [but] are greatly to be welcomed" (2012, 255). His reasoning is that those relationships in which we are the most dependent and vulnerable (romantic, parental, etc.) are the most valuable and rewarding.

[29] In defining dependency, Lee claims that "[t]o the extent that one is dependent, one must rely upon the assistance, goodwill and competence of others. Dependence varies in degree from partial and specific forms to total and general forms" (2001, 22-23).

[30] While children do have needs (Jenks 2005, 38), so do adults. Indeed, Lee comments that "[adults] hav[e] a wide variety of dependencies that [they] periodically recall and forget, draw on and disavow" (2005, 38).

[31] This leads, as Jones argues, to "adults…prepar[ing] children to be dependent upon them," which framework "creates a vicious circle for children… [so that their] own expectations and ways of seeing themselves are constructed within this incapability. In turn, the way they behave reflects this, which fulfils and confirms adult expectations" (2009, 55). Zelizer charts the various disputes over children's involvement in paid labour in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the result of which was the enforcement of compulsory education laws and the exclusion of most children from the labour market by 1930 (1994, 56-112). She concludes that "[children's] economic roles were not eliminated but transformed; child labor was replaced by child work and child wages with a weekly allowance" (ibid, 112).

[32] James and James point out that 'best interests' "has become a *leitmotif* in discourses about children's welfare" and "enables adults to override any wishes and feelings children themselves may have expressed about wanting to participate in decision-making processes" (2012, 7). What constitutes children's 'best interests' is a hotly-debated topic (Burr and Montgomery 2003, 148), but it cannot be denied that adults can and do act in ways that are harmful to children (Stainton Rogers 2009, 153). Jones pushes this one step further to argue that adult decision-making best serves their own interests, not children's (2009, 50).

[33] This disenfranchisement leaves children increasingly more dependent on and thus vulnerable to mistreatment by the adults entrusted with their care. Indeed, the Stainton Rogers point out that "culturally and socially constructed dependency is [often] the root of [children's] suffering and discontent" (1992, 195). I conclude with them that "one way of challenging the mistreatment of children is to challenge the axiom of need, which is so central to the discourse of childhood dependency" (ibid, 194).

[34] Hockey and James point out that in a "traditional generational age hierarchy[,] power and authority is assumed to descend through the generations, with relatively little authority and power being attributed to children who are perceived as 'dependents'" (2003, 164). Alanen argues for an understanding of "childhood [as] an essentially *generational* phenomenon," one in which "those positioned as children [lack the 'powers'] to influence, organize, coordinate and control events taking place in their everyday worlds" (2001, 11, 21; italics in original).

Wyness observes that "[o]ne of the fundamentals of adult/child relations in Western societies is that adults have authority over children" (2012, 110).[35] Children are arguably the least powerful group in contemporary society (Lansdown 2003, 34; Jenks 2005, 76)[36] and so Roger Smith is correct to identify "[p]ower and inequality [as] key components of the analysis of adult-child relations" (2010, 149). It would be a mistake, however, to "[assume] a unidirectional flow of power authority from adult to child," indeed "*negotiations*… are a more common feature of child-adult relations" (Hockey and James 2003, 169, 16; italicized emphasis in original).[37] The Stainton Rogers propose that "all children, virtually without exception, wield powers to manipulate, exploit and subvert adult control,"[38] but, even with these complexities acknowledged, inequalities in power make "all childhoods… oppressive" (1992, 191).[39]

Priscilla Alderson points to two opposing dynamics of power. The first is positive, emancipatory and transformative, whereas the second is negative, coercive and oppressive (2013, 61).[40] She presents 'moral endorsement' as "[a] key problem in oppression" that "overtly or covertly exploits an archetype of benign paternalism" (ibid, 92).[41] She then points out that "[g]radually all adult groups have resisted such

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[35] James and James point to the phrase 'Do as you're told!', noting how "[i]t encapsulates the authority of parents over their child and, more widely, of adults over children as a social category" (2004, 3).

[36] Lee notes that "[i]t is no accident that powerless groups throughout history…have also been conceived of as being *unable* to control themselves. Wherever we find a powerless group, we also find the idea that a state of powerlessness is appropriate to them because of their deficiencies" (2001, 108; italics in original).

[37] Mayall, for example, concluded from data she collected during her research with some UK children that "they identified very clear boundaries round childhood and adulthood, with adults rightly having authority over children; they experienced the outside world as dangerous and accepted adult protection, but this led to *constant negotiations* about permission to go out, and in some cases to conflict" (2002, 164; italicized emphasis mine). The tension between these children's *apparent* acceptance of adult authority on the one hand and ongoing negotiations, even instigation of conflict, on the other invite a deeper analysis of the power operative in child-adult relationships in light of Scott's work on the public and hidden 'transcripts' of subordinates (1990).

[38] Indeed, conflict and resistance to adult exercise of power among preschool and preadolescent children emerged as pervasive in Corsaro's fieldwork in the US and Italy (2005, 149-53, 219-20).

[39] Exploring some of the ways in which children exert power over their parents, Hood-Williams argues that "they do not upset the conventional power relations or the material dependency of children" (2001, 104).

[40] Alderson distinguishes these by using $power_1$ to designate the first and $power_2$ to designate the second. She points out that "[c]hildhood research poses questions about how far children themselves can exercise $power_1$ or $power_2$, how inevitably adult-child relations reflect 'master-slave' relations, and how far adults and children can genuinely transform their $power_2$ into $power_1$ relationships" (2013, 62).

[41] Such an endorsement is operative in Guggenheim's scornful rejection of various 'children's rights' movements: "The call for freedom and an end to oppression, as applied to children, is received by many Americans as overheated nonsense. And for good reason. Most adults are unpersuaded that children, like other minorities, are an oppressed group" (2005, 9). He embraces many of the questionable tenets of developmentalism as "unassailable reasons [why] children [ought to] be subordinate to adults and subject to adult authority," all the while claiming that "this subordination has virtually nothing to do with the oppression experienced by racial minorities or by women" (ibid, 9). Acknowledging that "[not] everything adults do in the exercise of their control over children is appropriate," he does not question "the condition of control [itself as] wrong[, only] the way it is being exercised" (ibid, 9). Guggenheim endorses what the Stainton Rogers identify as "a structural-functionalist view of society in which cruelty and neglect of children are viewed as correctable diseases prevalent only in relatively small parts of the social body. The radical notion that childhood *per se* is a condition of oppression has little cachet within its walls" (1992, 81). My sympathies lie with the Stainton Rogers and their model of oppressive childhoods.

infantilising as oppressive and deceitful, but it is still endorsed for children" (ibid, 92).[42] Indeed, Jens Qvortrup considers children to be "*the* minority group *par excellence*: it is they who provide the minority paradigm for other minority groups" (1987, 11; italics in original). Various aspects imputed to young age[43] are used to marginalize children and exclude them from society (Hill et al. 2004, 79).[44]

Construed in this way, Phil Jones argues that childhood comes to "signify[] inadequacy and the incomplete," the child who occupies this space existing in "an ultimate state of non-participation, of being unacceptable as a valid participant in society: an ultimate 'other'" (2009, 38).[45] Children are denied the privileges attending adulthood[46] because they are seen to embody physical and emotional 'immaturity',[47] which Jones argues "is not in itself an actual biological or psychological phenomenon, but is a term, a way of assigning a certain kind of meaning to biological and psychological conditions that occur in the time of life we call childhood" (ibid, 39).[48] He goes on to note that "[t]he ways in which ideas about 'immaturity' exist in a society reflect [a] process of assigning meaning by those who hold social and political power: adults" (ibid, 39). Qvortrup points out that stigmatization and labeling are ways that those

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[42] Alderson points out that "adults increasingly rely on child-adult differences to define their own freedoms. 'We are not children', women protest when claiming equal rights and pay and access to public life" (2013, 92). Oakley also identifies certain trajectories within women's studies that construct children as problems, which "reflect[] political concerns within the women's movement to do with freeing women from compulsory motherhood and childcare work" (2003, 22). Mayall suggests, in response to these 'problemetizing' views, that "what is needed is thinking towards social understandings whose structures do not deprive some people of freedom [i.e. children] in order to give it to others [i.e. women]" (2002, 170).

[43] Unsurprisingly, these are drawn from developmental psychology – "immaturity, incomplete cognitive development, incompetence, lack of responsibility, etc." – and used to "[justify] the adult claim to power over children", who are grouped together as 'minors' (Qvortrup 1987, 7-8).

[44] Qvortrup points out that 'society' here means *adult* society and "[c]hildren are thus, by definition, excluded from society, since their integration into it marks the fact that their childhood has come to an end" (2009, 24).

[45] This process of 'othering' results in an experience of childhood marked by varying forms of discrimination. Corsaro points, for example, to the numerous places children are prohibited from living or frequenting and then reproduces a cruise brochure featuring a boy making a face at the camera with the caption "here's someone you won't run into," advertizing its 'Kid-free' environment. Corsaro comments that if one "replace[d] the word 'Kid' with any other group in society: Man, Woman, Elderly, African-American, Native American, and so on[that t]he resulting uproar would put the company out of business – and rightfully so. But with kids hardly anyone seems to notice or view the ad as an example of blatant stereotyping and discrimination" (2003, 199-200).

[46] Of these, Jones mentions ownership and vocational rights, as well as decision-making about one's own body, intimate relationships and time-spending (2009, 40-41).

[47] The idea that childhood is marked by immaturity is articulated within the preamble of the UNCRC where, citing from the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child, it asserts that "the child, by reason of his [sic] physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth."

[48] Here Jones departs from most other scholars of childhood who, while questioning assumptions about the *psychological* immaturity of children, nonetheless refer matter-of-factly to their *biological* immaturity, perhaps none so bluntly as Madge, who claims early on in her first chapter that "the biological immaturity of children is a fact of life" (2006, 2). In terms of capacity, as opposed to maturity, Wyness writes of "[c]hildren [being] physically smaller and weaker than adults," referring to these aspects as "biological incapacities" (2012, 9). This leads inevitably to his later claim that "children are biologically inferior [to adults]" (ibid, 28). My own position aligns with that of Jones and his understanding of children's bodies as *different* from those of adults and not, as such, immature, incapacitated or inferior.

in power thwart the involvement of minority groups, "children… labeled in a way that places them clearly at the bottom of the social ladder" (1987, 10).[49]

The exclusion of children from the realm of adults, however, may be construed in a different way, one that places children not at the bottom of the social ladder, but at its top. David Lancy argues that contemporary Western culture constitutes what he calls a 'neontocracy', a social structure where "kids rule" and which sees "the elevation of children to god-like cherubs" (2015, 26, 75, 377, 393).[50] Viviana Zelizer, looking at shifts in mourning rituals for deceased children in the early twentieth century, refers to a 'sacralization' of children, (1994, 11)[51] which included their removal to "a protected environment, segregated from adult activities" (ibid, 52). While this exclusion was ostensibly for children's physical protection,[52] it included their banishment from a social life deemed corrupting to their *innocence* – an imputed quality paramount to contemporary constructions of childhood (Jenks 2005, 124).

Innocence can be understood in a number of different ways such as being harmless, guiltless, sinless, guileless, naïve, ignorant, pure or virtuous (Kehily and Montgomery 2003, 224).[53] While all of these have some relevance to a discussion of childhood innocence, it is lack of knowledge that is most important. Richard Mills refers to a protectionist impulse that seeks "the preservation of a state of ignorance, of unknowingness, about certain areas of life which adults feel should best remain secret from those inhabiting the world of childhood" (2000, 12).[54] Paramount among these 'secrets' is information about or experience of sex, with "sexuality… defined as a 'special area of life' that is the preserve of

[49] Qvortrup further notes that "one typical way to stigmatize other minority groups is to ascribe infantile characteristics to them, to call them children, childish, or to ascribe to them the status of a child" (1987, 10). Alderson points out that the terms 'adult' and 'grownup' are used to extol while the term 'childish' is used to denigrate (2013, 118).

[50] Lancy distinguishes this from a 'gerontocracy', which social arrangement he claims to have been (and still to be outside the West) "the norm for much of human history[,] a society dominated by attention to the oldest members" (2015, 12). He provides several examples of this 'neontocracy' (ibid, 27-29), what he proposes to be parents' overindulgence in their children, remarking "[t]here seems to be no limit on what we will do for our cherubs" (ibid, 28).

[51] Zelizer uses the term 'sacralization' "in the sense of objects being invested with sentimental or religious meaning" (1994, 11). Indeed, the roots of this exalted view of children are to be found in the musings of the 18th- and 19th-century Romanticists, some of whom attributed to children an unparalleled closeness to the divine. Cunningham cites from several Christian clerics, one of whom opined that children 'are fresh from the hand of God, living blessings which have drifted down to us from the imperial palace of the love of God' (2005, 69).

[52] Zelizer offers as an example how children were discouraged from playing in the streets due to automobile-related fatalities and repositioned to the 'safety' of the home, schoolhouse or playground (1994, 32-36, 49-55).

[53] Faulkner points out that 'innocence' comes from the Latin *innocere*, meaning 'to do no harm' (2011, 7), and she draws the connection between innocence and vulnerability, noting how "[t]he innocent is the one who does no harm and so positioned as the one who is defenseless and most susceptible to harm" (ibid, 29).

[54] In his premature alarm signaling an end to childhood, Postman refers to a number of 'secrets' that adults (try to) keep from children: "secrets about sexual relations… about money, about violence, about illness, about death, about social relations. There even developed language secrets – that is, a store of words not be spoken in the presence of children" (1994, 49).

adults" (Kehily and Montgomery 2003, 236).[55] Jenny Hockey and Allison James point out that "the absence of sexual feelings, and most particularly sexual practice, is constituted as core to [Western] notions of childhood innocence" (2003, 142).[56]

Children's presumed asexuality, so central to contemporary constructions of their innocence, is not supported by the evidence (Archard 2004, 49).[57] Heather Montgomery points out that the West's "cherished characterization of the child as a sexual innocent is not ubiquitous" (2009, 181)[58] and with Mary Kehily, reports that "in some societies, children are encouraged to have early sexual experience" (2003, 236). The Stainton Rogers, careful to distinguish between sex and rape, posit that "children can… enjoy [both] being exposed to sex… [and] initiating auto-erotic sex" (1992, 178).[59] Despite the presence of counterevidence, the *ideal* of childhood asexuality remains a powerful social script, but as Alderson argues, "idealisations can work to oppress as much as to benefit the real people who fail to live up to them" (2013, 153). Innocence can be despoiled; children can slip from their pedestals (Faulkner 2011, 24).[60]

Writing about these various 'slips' from idealized innocence, Chris Jenks notes that "children [being] capable of violence, of rape, muggings and even murder, is an idea that clearly falls outside

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[55] Renold proposes that "the historical separation of children from the adult world (or 'othering' of children) has hinged almost wholly on children's exclusion from (adult) realms of sexuality" (2005, 19). Waites points out that "[w]hile the concept of an 'age of consent' is occasionally used to refer to the legal age for young people to engage in a variety of activities (for example, smoking or drinking alcohol), when *the* 'age of consent' is referred to, it is widely understood that sexual behaviour is at issue – and this in itself evidences the central place of sexuality in cultural understandings of the boundaries between childhood and adulthood" (2005, 1; italics in original). Similarly, if not more forcefully, Bailey proposes that "[s]ex, in the modern western world, defines the boundary between childhood and adulthood. It is sex, more than anything else, that divides childhood from what comes after" (2015, 191).

[56] Faulkner points out that "[t]he maintenance of innocence requires the absence of moral knowledge, as well as of harm and desire" (2011, 8). All three points surface in contemporary idea(l)s about children and sex: they are to have no knowledge of sex, no experience of sex – widely considered to be inherently harmful for children (Stainton Rogers 2009, 146) – and no desire for sex.

[57] The Stainton Rogers argue that "children *can* be sexual – not that they should be, or must be, but that at least they have the potential to be" (1992, 32; italicized emphasis in original). They go on to claim that "the term 'potential' allows us to recognise the difference between desexualisation as a form of depowerment, and the *elective* construction of identities, which can include an identity as celibate. Children, like adults, can be as depowered by a compulsory sexualised or politicised identity as they can be by compulsory desexualisation and depoliticisation" (ibid, 33; italicized emphasis in original).

[58] In summarizing the limited ethnographic studies involving children's sexuality, Montgomery concludes that "[i]n many societies, young children are very knowledgeable about sex and it is part of their daily lives. In communities where privacy is not valued, children are likely to grow up hearing adults talking about sex, seeing, and even watching, their parents and other adults having sex, and its mechanics are no great mystery to them" (2009, 192).

[59] Kehily and Montgomery point out that, despite taboos and secrecy surrounding the practice, many children masturbate, making note of the various implements and warnings used during the Victorian era to stop children from doing so (2003, 236). Implicit in these and other attempts to curb masturbation among children (Bailey 2015, 200-1) is that many of them are curious about sex and enjoy its pleasures. See Levine (2002) on the various problems that attend attempts to keep children ignorant of sexual-related matters.

[60] Faulkner refers to 'despoiled innocence' as "the monstrous by-product of a culture that glorifies an innocent, unknowing and inexperienced childhood" (2011, 24).

traditional formulations of childhood" (2005, 128). However jarring the idea of children committing rape or murder might be, examples *do* exist,[61] as do the 'explanations' that defend the *status quo* of children as innocents. Most common are the ideas that children do not understand the consequences of their violent actions or they are reacting to abuse they themselves have suffered (Stainton Rogers 2003b, 22). The first relies on understanding children's innocence in terms of ignorance, the second on the idea that children's innocence can be corrupted and their childhoods 'stolen' (Montgomery 2003, 66). It is but a small step to suppose a child without a childhood is not a child at all, rhetoric often invoked in the most serious cases of boundary transgression (Jenks 2005, 129).[62]

Challenges to the boundaries between childhood and adulthood reveal their symbolic nature and ongoing negotiation (Hockey and James 2003, 190).[63] Ideas and ideals about childhood differ according to historical, cultural and social location, which observation forms the basis for the social constructionist approach to childhood (Montgomery 2003, 46). Constructionist analysis invites deconstruction (Stainton Rogers 2003b, 27; Wyness 2012, 21), which I have done for the four key qualities imputed to children in a Western cultural context: vulnerability, dependency, innocence and asexuality. In each of these cases, interrogation exposed adultcentric ideologies[64] and undermined essentialist understandings of childhood.[65] Social constructionism "help[s] disinvest childhood of… its universality… [and] distanc[es it] from an unremitting biological determinism" (James et al. 1998, 65). There remains, however, a *relation* to the corporeal from which a working definition of 'child' may be produced.[66]

Helpful in establishing this definition is the general concept of 'juvenility', which is drawn from evolutionary biology and applicable to all the major animal groupings, humans included (Prout 2005, 94-95). Juvenility refers to the period during which an organism is likely to survive the death of its caregiver,

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[61] Probably the most well-known example from the past quarter century is that of two ten-year-old British boys who abducted two-year-old James Bulger from a shopping mall, led him to a set of railway tracks where they physically and sexually assaulted him, and during which ordeal the toddler died. Franklin and Petley (1996) and Kehily and Montgomery (2003, 250-55) explore this case against the backdrop of societal constructions of childhood innocence.

[62] After discussing media condemnation and 'othering' of the young perpetrators in Bulger's murder, Jenks points out that "refusing children who commit acts of violence acceptance within the category of child… [is] a way to restore the primary image of the innate innocence of children through relegating some would-be children (those who commit acts of violence) to another category essentialized through images of evil or pathology" (2005, 129).

[63] The resultant shifts in and blurring of these boundaries suggest the inadequacy of dichotomies for theorizing on childhood (Prout 2005, 34, 67).

[64] Woodhead refers to "child research [that is] adultcentric under the guise of scientific objectivity" (2009b, 25).

[65] In contrast to the 'constructionist' view, Rhodes defines an 'essentialist' view of childhood as one that is "a fundamental human experience defined by biology and one where common themes in its experience can be traced over time" (2000, 167). While biology is helpful as a starting point and will form the basis of my working definition of 'child', the inevitable and divergent cultural overlays work against a universal experience of 'childhood' (Montgomery 2009, 3, 14).

[66] Hockey and James reject the opposition of 'culture' and 'biology', arguing instead for "a participatory spiral process whereby bodied beings who constitute society are themselves producing and giving meaning to their own experience of embodiment" (2003, 130).

but does not yet sexually reproduce (Pereira 2002, 19). The length of juvenility varies widely by species (ibid, 20) and I equate this period with the childhood of the human animal,[67] thus my working definition of 'child' is *a juvenile human being*. With this understanding of who children are, childhood begins not at birth, but following a period of infancy during which the individual is acquiring the dexterity, mobility, language and frameworks for memory (Daniel 2006, 186-89; Woodhead 2003, 89) necessary for basic survival.[68] Childhood terminates not at some arbitrary age where 'majority' status is granted, but at the onset of puberty and concomitant reproductive ability.[69]

Puberty is attended by several visible changes including an upward growth spurt, reshaping of the body, enlargement of the genitals and the growth of body hair (Stainton Rogers 2003a, 190-91; Smith et al. 2011, 652-54). The age of onset is subject to a number of variables,[70] but typically occurs here in the West between the ages of ten and fourteen (Stainton Rogers 2003a, 191) with a median age of twelve (Lancy 2015, 294). This is significant since Jesus' age in Luke's temple story is also twelve (2:42), which opens up a space for interpreting the story as marking a transition to adulthood (or adolescence)[71] even

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[67] Prout leaves the relationship between primate juvenility and human childhood an open question, noting how childhood might be either a version of juvenility or a distinct phase in humans preceding it (2005, 100-1). For the latter, he relies on Bogin (1998), who argues that humans are unique among primates in having a 'childhood' stage between weaning (~3yo) and juvenility (~7yo). His claim that humans 3-7yo are *incapable* of independent feeding does not withstand cross-cultural comparison where members of this age group grow, prepare and sell their own food, and are caregivers to their infant siblings (Rogoff 2003, 4-5). Bogin's later claim that even juvenile humans require provisions and that independent feeding may be fixed at 12yo (2009, 568, 573) is even less credible, betrays more obviously a Western 'ideal' of children's prolonged dependency on adults, and now assumes an idiosyncratic definition of 'juvenility'. Despite these problems, other researchers assume distinct 'childhood' and 'juvenile' stages in human growth (Campbell 2006, 570; Hochberg 2008, 534; Del Giudice et al. 2009, 2). Hochberg looks at five different ways of connecting juvenility to specific biological phenomena (2008, 534-37): cognition (a reduction in the grey matter of the brain beginning around 6yo), bone structure (the eruption of permanent molars around 6yo), hormones (the first secretions of adrenal androgens between 5-6yo), body composition (an adiposity rebound between 4-6yo), and stature (a decelerated growth-rate between 4-5yo). The hormonal secretions are produced by the *zona reticularis*, which adrenal structure may be present as early as 3yo (Campbell 2006, 571; Hochberg 2008, 535). If its presence is taken as the start of juvenility – an idea that Hochberg himself implicitly introduces – an intermediate period between 'infancy' and 'juvenility' essentially evaporates.

[68] A number of scholars similarly view infancy as a distinct stage of the human life course that precedes childhood (Archard 2004, 33-34; Pufall and Unsworth 2004, 19; Woodhead 2009b, 28). An 'infantilization' of children exists in contemporary Western society whereby the particular vulnerabilities and dependencies of infants are protracted throughout the individual's childhood (Alderson 2013, 8).

[69] What constitutes the onset of puberty is open to debate, but menarche (first menstruation) for females and spermarche (first ejaculation) for males are firm indicators the process has begun (Montgomery 2009, 203; Smith et al. 2011, 652).

[70] Poor nutrition, for example, has been identified as a key factor in the delayed onset of puberty and improved nutrition in the West has resulted in a noticeable decrease in the average age of onset since the 19th century (Stainton Rogers 2003a, 191; Smith et al. 2011, 655-57; Lancy 2015:294).

[71] Adolescence, as a transition period between childhood (juvenility) and adulthood, is viewed by some scholars as a modern invention (Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers 1992, 147-53) and by others as an identifiable stage in the life course of many societies, both ancient and modern (Montgomery 2009, 15, 202-12, 231-32). While I agree with the observation underlying the latter position, adolescence lacks a firm end point rooted in biological phenomena and it thus functions as a period of limbo for initiates waiting for the bestowal of an adulthood construed in terms of status. Rejecting the hierarchical underpinnings of this cultural practice, I see adulthood following directly after childhood (juvenility) within an overarching egalitarian worldview. A number of other scholars do embrace a transition stage and sometimes refer to it as the period of 'youth' (Wells 2009, 119; Woodhead 2009b, 28; James and James 2012, 140-42). The terminology 'young people' in reference to adolescents (Woodhead 2009b, 31) implicitly denies personhood to preadolescents, which denial Montgomery notes is a widespread problem (2009, 62).

though the Roman world typically saw childhood ending at fourteen (Laes 2011, 91).[72] Ancient musing on life's stages focused on male physiology, connecting the end of childhood – that is, *boyhood* – to the onset of puberty, referring to the first appearance of facial hair (ibid, 89) or the ability to "emit seed" (Parkin 2010, 97).

The ancient world's privileging of the male experience raises the interrelated issues of biological sex and gender, as well as how these impact the lived experiences of children. Sex is often understood in bifurcated terms – male and female – that are assigned based on observations of the genitals at birth (West and Zimmerman 2009, 113).[73] Gender, which is now typically distinguished from sex, may be viewed as a dynamic performance of masculinity or femininity around classified sex differences (ibid, 113-14).[74] In this sense, gender is something one *does*, rather than something one *is* (ibid, 114). Stainton Rogers points to gender as a powerful social force in children's lives, affecting how they are treated, how they relate to others, and what life-opportunities are available to or withheld from them (2003a, 198).[75] Montgomery notes that "discussions of the child that do not take gender into account can quickly become meaningless" (2009, 53).

For the present study this involves factoring in the (presumed) maleness of the Jesus character and understanding the related filmic images as performances of juvenile masculinity; Jesus as distinctly *boy*.[76] To take the ideal of childhood innocence as an example, Murray Pomerance and Frances Gateward suggest that "[t]he boy we meet in cultural narrative is typically brash and dirty, covered with oil or grease or burrs or straw, freckled and wide-eyed, innocent in a way the most innocent girl can never be"

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[72] Parkin offers eight different lists of life stages composed by ancient authors ranging from Solon in the 6th century BCE to Isidore in the 7th century CE, five of which pinpoint the end of childhood at fourteen and a sixth list at fifteen (2010, 97-101).

[73] Dozier notes, however, that "biological sex is a complex constellation of chromosomes, hormones, genitalia, and reproductive organs" (2005, 298). Furthermore, bifurcation is inadequate to account for the diversity of sexes encountered. Fausto-Sterling notes that, in addition to males and females, there are hermaphrodites who have one testis and one ovary, as well as two types of 'pseudohermaphrodites' who have *either* male *or* female gonads in addition to *some* features of the 'opposite' sex's genitals (1993, 21). She further notes that "sex is a vast, infinitely malleable continuum that defies the constraints of even five categories" (ibid, 21).

[74] West and Zimmerman point out that a person's genitals are typically not on display for purposes of sex classification and so this is done on the basis of other observable features such as clothing, hairstyle and body shape that are coded as either masculine or feminine (1987, 132-34).

[75] Stainton Rogers later notes the disproportionate number of boys versus girls in several Asian countries due to abortions or infanticides of the latter, these owing to a greater value placed on boys in those cultures (2003a, 205-6). She grimly concludes that "[g]ender in such circumstances can be, quite literally, a matter of life or death" (ibid, 206).

[76] Scholarly treatments of boyhood and other academic works related to boys as a specialized focus within childhood studies are now beginning to gain momentum. The journal *Boyhood Studies* (originally launched under the title *THYMOS*) has recently reached a volume in the double digits. Monographs and edited volumes since the turn of the millennium cover a variety of topics ranging from the Boy Scouts to ADHD and include Martino and Meyenn (2001), Mechling (2001), Frosh et al. (2002), Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli (2003), Kidd (2004), Timimi (2005), Mortola et al. (2008), Wannamaker (2008; 2011), Ashley (2009), Corbett (2009), Kehler and Atkinson (2010), Way (2011), Chu (2014), Grant (2014), Wooden and Gillam (2014), Belgrade and Brevard (2015), Gerdin (2017), Burton et al. (2018), Scholes (2018), O'Donoghue (2019). Given a more flexible definition of 'boyhood' operative in contemporary society, several of these books include studies on adolescent males (or young men as I would call them).

(2005a, 2). That there are differences in the ways children are constructed in a society based on gendered performances demands specific attention to how *boys* are depicted in film, which will be explored in the following chapter. The idea(l)s of childhood that I have here interrogated will be traced through several decades of cinema with a focus on performances of masculine juvenility, culminating in the late seventies when *Jesus of Nazareth* first aired on television.

I close this chapter by situating myself within children's advocacy movements in the academy (Bowman and Spencer 2007, 12). Lancy is critical of those scholars who promote children's 'agency',[77] claiming this is a role external to the academy whose job it is to present "neutral and objective findings and theories" to advocates and policy makers (2012, 2). I find neither the proposed division of labor nor the alleged dispassionate objectivity of scholarship either realistic or desirable. Lancy's position on the subject is far from neutral[78] and he confuses advocacy for children with the neontocracy referred to in earlier discussion of children's exclusion from society.[79] Placing children at the bottom of the social ladder (marginalization) or at its top (sacralization) both involve processes of exclusion and negative othering, as well as the acceptance of a social hierarchy. This thesis reflects a rejection of such pecking orders and embraces instead an egalitarian vision of human relations where the differences between infants, children and adults are not translated into inequalities.[80] Against a prevailing marginalization of children, I write to raise awareness of this social disparity and to advocate for children's flourishing as full and active citizens (Alderson 2013, 130-31).

[77] James and James define 'agency' as "[t]he capacity of individuals to act independently" (2012, 3). The idea that children exercise agency as 'social actors' – an *ideal* for those of us who promote it in no more or less a way than children's innocence is promulgated – challenges the dominant construction of children as merely passive recipients of culture and instead encourages their active participation in all facets of society (ibid, 3-6).

[78] Lancy makes derisive reference to child 'liberators' (2012, 3) and pits 'traditional' child-rearing strategies dismissive of children's agency against the (alleged) ethnocentricity and hegemony of child advocates (ibid, 7-11) in such a way as to elicit sympathy for the former and give them implicit support. Indeed, Lancy is not only critical of a mixing of scholarship and advocacy for children, but critical of that particular advocacy itself (ibid, 11, 13).

[79] For example, Lancy pins a number of social maladies such as obesity and depression, as well as poor performance at school, on movements for children's 'agency' that are allegedly of a kindred spirit with "a parenting philosophy that places the child's 'happiness' above all other considerations" (2012, 12), which echoes his discussion elsewhere of parents' indulging the desires of their 'cherubs' (2015, 75, 393). This fostering of self-absorption, irresponsibility and ongoing dependency has nothing to do with advocacy for children's increased agency in society, which implies responsibility to the wider community; see James and James on the links between agency and responsibility (2012, 103).

[80] This recalls Plate's advocacy for "non-hierarchical difference" in approaching the Other (1999, 5).

Chapter 4

Contextualizing the Boy Jesus – Part 1: Cinematic Boyhoods 1930-1979

Any attempt to identify and engage critically with performances of juvenile masculinity over a period of half a century immediately encounters Vicky Lebeau's observation that "children are everywhere on our screens, a ubiquity that turns cinema into an invaluable – in fact, potentially overwhelming – resource for reflecting on the cultural histories of childhood" (2008, 12). The survey of cinematic boyhoods presented in this chapter is thus not exhaustive, but neither is it cursory nor the selection of films arbitrary.[1] With restrictions similar to those imposed on the Jesus films to be analyzed in this thesis,[2] a corpus of 939 movies forms the basis of exploration in this chapter.[3] Only a few authors have attempted a broad analysis of how children are depicted in film (Jackson 1986; Sinyard 1992; Musgrave 2013)[4] and none have focused exclusively on portrayals of boyhood.[5] The present chapter will thus not only situate the boy Jesus within a history of young masculine performances in the cinema, but also provide the first broad analysis of such in order to spark further research beyond the borders of Bible-in-film scholarship. The examination of films outside the stricture of 'Bible movies' tests George Aichele's proposal that both biblical and film studies may benefit from biblical scholars studying non-biblical films (2016, 17).

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[1] I used the names listed in Holmstrom's encyclopedia (1998, 528-51) as a launching pad for my research and reviewed each actor's page at the Internet Movie Database (IMDb), supplementing these with other names that came up in research. Since the audible and visible indicators of puberty can appear as late as 14 to 17 years of age (Smith et al. 2011, 653) and since child actors often play characters who are younger than their actual age (Musgrave 2013, 45-46), I used 7 and 15 as the lower and upper limits respectively (though I do make a few exceptions) and selected feature-length movies (including made-for-TV movies) in which the actor's role was credited and his character seemed pivotal to the plot, often using the full synopses available on the website of the American Film Institute (AFI) to clarify the latter where IMDb offered no or only a brief overview.

[2] That is, they are live action films that have matching audio tracks and received North American distribution. I include a few movies that involve a mixture of live action and animation provided the first medium dominates or is integral to the film.

[3] These were the films I was able to watch on the Internet Archive, YouTube, DailyMotion, Vimeo, Turner Classic Movies or source through commercial DVD releases and they are listed alphabetically in *Appendix F*.

[4] There has been an explosion of focused monographs and edited volumes devoted to the subject of children in film since the turn of the millennium: Wojcik-Andrews (2000), Low (2002), Wilson (2003), Schober (2004), Kapur (2005), Cartwright (2008), Lebeau (2008), Lury (2010), Lennard (2014), Olson (2014; 2015; 2017; 2018), Olson and Scachill (2014a), Rocha and Seminet (2014), Scahill (2015), Bohlmann and Moreland (2015), Kord (2016), Schober and Olson (2016), Donald et al. (2017), Randall (2017), Aitken (2018), Balanzategui (2018), Donald (2018), McCallum (2018), Martin (2019).

[5] In addition to Pomerance and Gateward's edited volume cited near the end of the previous chapter (2005b), filmic boyhoods were the focus of two special volumes of the journal *Boyhood Studies* (Shary 2015; 2016), reflecting the importance of films as cultural artifacts for understanding and theorizing about boyhood. None of these offer an overarching survey of boyhood in film and while Holmstrom's work is relatively comprehensive in its coverage on the young actors themselves, it contains only two short paragraphs devoted to overarching analysis of his observed 'archetypes' and 'sub-types' of cinematic boys (1998, 7).

The stock-market crash of October 1929 plunged the industrialized West into not only an economic crisis,[6] but an existential one as well. Jon Lewis refers to the 1930s as marked by "a wave of cultural and moral seriousness in response to the perceived lapses and excesses of the 1920s" (2008, 92). Films of the decade thus reflected a tendency toward displacement and nostalgic adaptations of prewar literature (Hark 2007, 2, 9). The so-called 'bad boy' genre,[7] "offering a vicarious escape from the present" (Jacobson 1994, 16), provides a good starting point for surveying portrayals of juvenile masculinity in the thirties. Focusing on the experiences of middle-class white boys, these stories "celebrate the pre- or early-pubescent boy as irrational, primitive, fiercely masculine, and attuned to nature" (Kidd 2004, 53). The most popular 'bad boy' story was Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), which saw film adaptations both at the beginning and end of the decade.[8] Ken Parille refers to Tom (Figure 1.1) and his compatriots as "good bad-boys" who are "adventurous and rough around the edges, [but] with…heart[s] that [are] always in the right place" (2009, xi).

Relying on the 'bad boy' image in writing on 'the American boy' at the turn of the twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt expects him to be mischievous, but also honest and brave (1900, 573). He cites cowardice, priggishness and effeminacy as attributes a boy ought *not* to display (ibid, 571) and foils to cinematic 'bad boys' were often characterized in these ways.[9] Roosevelt refers to the "coward who will take a blow without returning it" as "a contemptible creature," believing that boys "should be manly and …ashamed to submit to bullying without instant retaliation" (ibid, 573). Fisticuffs thus featured positively in a number of the decade's films,[10] reflecting the idea that "every good boy should have it in him to thrash the objectionable boy as the need arises" (ibid, 574).

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[6] The American movie industry surprisingly saw record ticket sales in 1930, but a sharp decline thereafter for the next few years with numerous theater closures and several studios in financial ruin by 1933 (Hark 2007, 6). For an extended discussion on the impact of the Great Depression on American cinema, see Balio (1993, 13-36).

[7] The genre was inaugurated by Thomas Aldrich's *The Story of a Bad Boy*, which contained the autobiographical sketches of "an amiable, impulsive lad" who "did not want to be an angel" (1869, 1). Aldrich's claim that he "was a real human boy, such as you may meet anywhere in New England" (ibid, 2) encouraged a universalized reading of his and the other 'bad boy' authors' personal anecdotes (Parille 2009, 13), helping to ensconce the idea of boys as mischievous yet good-hearted into the public imagination. Kidd critiques the realism of these narratives by pointing to Aldrich's own claim on page 4 of his book to be conjuring up the "fairy atmosphere" of a "magical past" (2004, 63). Similarly, Jacobson claims one ought to "expect [in these books] a degree of imaginative license appropriate to fiction" (1994, 17).

[8] These were *Tom Sawyer* (1930) and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1938) respectively. I agree with Kidd on the inclusion of Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) in the category of 'bad boy' literature (2004, 78-81). It was adapted to film in 1931 as *Huckleberry Finn* and another of Twain's books – *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896) – was made into a movie in 1938.

[9] The namesakes of *The Adventures of Penrod and Sam* (1931) strive to keep their 'In-or-In Club' free from such 'sissies' as Georgie Bassett and Rodney Bitts. The film is based on characters created by Booth Tarkington in the books *Penrod* (1914) and *Penrod and Sam* (1916), both listed by Kidd as key examples of 'bad boy' literature (2004, 52).

[10] They serve as climaxes to *When a Fellow Needs a Friend* (1932) and *Peck's Bad Boy* (1934). The latter movie is based on the character of Hennery Peck created by George Wilbur Peck in *Peck's Bad Boy and His Pa* (1883), which Kidd identifies as yet another example of 'bad boy' literature (2004, 52).

The ‘bad boy’ authors self-consciously rebelled against depictions of pious boys (Kidd 2004, 61-2),[11] which continued to be popular in some circles. Hailed by Polly Horvath as “the Harry Potter of [its] time” (2004, xi), Frances Hodgson Burnett’s *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) is the quintessential example with the sweet and saintly behavior of the novel’s little aristocrat softening the heart of his curmudgeonly grandfather. Despite authorial affirmations of the young lord’s masculinity, the character’s legacy was one of emasculation.[12] This image was counteracted in the 1936 movie version with a sequence in which the boy is called a ‘sissy’ and retaliates (Figure 1.2). The following year saw an overt transformation of the ‘sissy boy’[13] into a bearer of idealized juvenile masculinity in a film adaptation of Rudyard Kipling’s *Captains Courageous* (1897).[14] While the movie has been interpreted as narrating its young protagonist’s journey to manhood while at sea (Figure 1.3),[15] it is a conversion within boyhood that is portrayed.[16]

If a ‘sissy boy’ could be redeemed in a constructive homosocial space, a virtuous boy might be desecrated in a harmful one. While the eponymous orphan of Charles Dickens’ celebrated novel *Oliver Twist*[17] escapes from London’s criminal underworld unsullied (Locke 2011, 15), other homeless boys succumb to its corrupting influence. A film adaptation of the book was made in 1933 (Figure 1.4), at the height of the Great Depression and concerns over the behavior of destitute children.[18] The subject of juvenile delinquency was tackled not only through adaptations of nineteenth-century novels,[19] but through several original screenplays situated in contemporary times. Reformatories, with their blending of school,

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[11] In his opening chapter, Aldrich “distinguish[es his bad boy] from those faultless young gentlemen who generally figure in narratives of this kind,” referring to these pious youngsters as “impossible boy[s] in a story-book” (1869, 1-2).

[12] Burnett describes Little Lord Fauntleroy as wearing a velvet suit and lace collar when the boy first meets his grandfather. This ‘cavalier’ garment was rebranded the ‘Fauntleroy suit’ (Paoletti 2012, 67-68) and its popularity in the decades following is referred to by Beffel as the ‘Fauntleroy plague’ (1927, 133). He claims that boys forced to wear the suit were taunted by their peers as ‘girl-boys’ and pelted with everything from mud to rotten eggs (ibid, 134).

[13] Grant defines the ‘iconic sissy boy’ as “a pale-faced neurasthenic aristocrat, with curly locks and immaculate dress” (2004, 832).

[14] Roosevelt writes positively about the novel, referring to “the spoiled, over-indulged child of wealthy parents” who, “amid wholesome surroundings, …is forced to work hard among…real boys and real men doing real work” (1900, 573).

[15] Holmstrom claims the boy’s “priggishness [is] deservedly battered, and he end[s] as something like a man” (1998, 127), a ‘reading’ of the film encouraged by the original children’s matinee trailer (included as an extra on the DVD release by Warner Bros), which advertized it as “the story of a boy who becomes a man at sea.”

[16] This was in keeping with the juvenile focus of other boys’ adventure books screened in the decade, which included Robert Louis Stevenson’s novels *Treasure Island* (1883) and *Kidnapped* (1886), adapted to film in 1934 and 1938 respectively, as well as Twain’s *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881) in 1937.

[17] Originally published as a serial in the years 1837 through 1839, *The Adventures of Oliver Twist; or, the Parish Boy’s Progress* underwent several revisions before Dickens’ definitive ten-part version was published in 1846 (Kaplan 1993, x).

[18] Mintz estimates there were 250,000 vagrant juveniles and adolescents wandering the country, many of whom resorted to stealing in order to survive (2004, 241-43).

[19] In addition to *Oliver Twist*, there was *Little Men* (1934), which was based on Louisa Alcott’s 1871 novel of the same name. In this film, the fisticuffs otherwise widely-endorsed as a means for dealing with bullies are eschewed.

prison and workhouse (Mintz 2004, 161), were criticized in these films for their cruel treatment of young offenders. Solutions explored ranged from proposed reforms in existing establishments[20] to alternative institutions[21] to the intervention of individual philanthropists.[22] The films were united in their convictions that deleterious environments breed juvenile delinquency (Doherty 1999, 168) and, adopting a variant meaning of the term, that there is no such thing as a 'bad boy'.

Proactive approaches to the problem of delinquency stood behind organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Boy Rangers,[23] both of which saw cinematic tribute toward the end of the decade.[24] The informal Junior G-Men[25] clubs that exploded mid-decade were organized around fantasies of juvenile crime fighting (Powers 1983, 188-206), which were shown on American screens in both domestic[26] and imported films.[27] Nazi Germany began exporting films to the US in 1933 (Waldman 2008, 3), one of the earliest being *Our Flags Lead Us Forward* (1934) in which the protagonist's growing fascination with the

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[20] Blame for reform school failure is placed not on the institutions themselves but on corrupt and sadistic administrators in *Hell's House* (1932) and *The Mayor of Hell* (1933), both of which epitomize this through the death of a juvenile inmate at the hands of an evil superintendent. The latter film, subject to widespread local and state-level censorship (Mank 2008), was remade as *Crime School* (1938) with the Dead End Kids playing the 'juvenile' roles. While several of the film's cast members fell within the age restrictions established for this thesis during the stage play *Dead End* (which ran for two years on Broadway before a 1937 film adaptation), most did not for the various 'Dead End' movies. For a detailed history of the stage and film careers of the Dead End Kids and their various other monikers, see Getz (2006).

[21] The most well-known of these was *Boys Town* (1938), a biopic focused on the figure of Edward Joseph Flanagan (1886-1948), a Catholic priest who established a self-governing community for delinquent boys near Omaha, Nebraska in 1921. For a history of the town and Flanagan's efforts, see Reilly and Warneke (2008); for a comparison between the cinematic and historic Boys Towns, see Kidd (2004, 111-33). Another example is found in *Lord Jeff* (1938), a film dedicated to Thomas John Barnardo (1845-1905), a British philanthropist whose orphanage was a model for others in the UK and in whose name some contemporary children's charities still operate (Kehily 2009, 3-5). The intervention of Barnardo's organization is presented as crucial to the young protagonist averting a life of crime.

[22] An eccentric millionaire, a well-intentioned socialite, a Catholic priest and a music teacher in *Sidewalks of New York* (1931), *Young America* (1932), *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938) and *They Shall Have Music* (1939) respectively intervene on behalf of small groups of boys or individual juvenile males who have run afoul of the law (or who are in danger of doing so) in order to steer them toward law-abiding citizenry.

[23] A British general, Robert S.S. Baden-Powell (1857-1941), created the Boy Scouts in 1907, a character-building program for boys that was transplanted to the US in 1910 where it quickly displaced homebred organizations such as the Woodcraft Indians and the Sons of Daniel Boone (Macleod 1983, 130-45). The Boy Rangers of America (BRA), modeled after the Boy Scouts of America (BSA), were created in order to provide boys younger than twelve access to similar activities (Wills 2013, 89, 92, 94).

[24] *Tex Rides with the Boy Scouts* (1937) is dedicated to the BSA and opens with footage from the first National Jamboree held that year in Washington, D.C. The narrator recites the Scout pledge and claims that the purpose of Scouting is "to supply an environment which will mould the character of the growing boy" so he may become "a better man and a better citizen." The energetic new senator in *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) is head of a BRA group.

[25] While originally slang for a wide range of bureaucrats, the term 'G-Men' came to be applied exclusively to FBI agents during the thirties (Powers 1983, xi).

[26] The 'In-or-In Club' was transformed into a Junior G-Men club for the 1937 version of *Penrod and Sam*.

[27] The German film *Emil and the Detectives* (1931), based on the 1929 children's book of the same name by Erich Kästner, was released in the US in 1933. A British remake (1935) was released in the US in 1938. Lathey refers to Emil as "the Harry Potter of his day" and that Kästner developed a "formula of freeing children from any adult presence to take the initiative and solve crimes on their own" (2006, 116). This template was used in the French film *Les disparus de St. Agil* (1938), which was released in the US as *Boys' School* in 1939.

marching songs of the clean-living Hitler Youth lead to his initiation and his zealousness for the cause to martyrdom at the hands of communists while distributing pro-fascist flyers (Figure 1.5).[28]

Tom Sawyer (Paramount Pictures, 1930)	***Little Lord Fauntleroy*** (United Artists, 1936)	***Captains Courageous*** (MGM, 1937)	***Oliver Twist*** (Monogram Pictures, 1933)	***Our Flags Lead Us Forward*** (UFC, 1934 [1933])
Figure 1.1	Figure 1.2	Figure 1.3	Figure 1.4	Figure 1.5

If boys' lives were jeopardized largely by turbulent politics in those films from or situated in Europe,[29] gangsters were the primary threat to America's cinematic juveniles.[30] The reforming gangster emerged by mid-decade (Hark 2007, 12),[31] a figure sometimes led along his path of redemption by a variation of the pious boy. The man's salvation was typically accomplished through an act of ultimate sacrifice, such as in *Tough Guy* (1936) where the gangster steps in front of a bullet intended for the film's juvenile protagonist and dies in his arms (Figure 2.1).[32] *The Champ* (1931) foregrounded the father/son relationship and the man's ongoing struggles with alcohol and gambling addictions,[33] his sudden death after a brutal boxing match witnessed by his son (Figure 2.2), underscoring the boy's vulnerability.

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[28] The film was an adaptation of Karl Aloys Schenzinger's 1932 novel *Der Hitlerjunge Quex*, itself based on the life of Herbert Norkus (1916-1932), a Hitler Youth whose murder by communists spawned numerous memorials in popular art and public demonstrations (Rentschler 1996, 55), inviting a generation of young Germans "to a dance of death" (ibid, 57) for the fascist regime. Against this glorification of juvenile death on behalf of the Reich (Baird 1990, 109) and reflecting interwar discourses on the need for peace and international cooperation (Selig 2002) came *No Greater Glory* (1934), an adaptation of Ferenc Molnár's *A Pál utcai fiúk* (1906). The battle between two all-boy clubs over a vacant lot is resituated in the post-war period to function as an anti-war allegory.

[29] The British film *Sabotage*, released in the US under the title *The Woman Alone* (1937), sees a boy killed while unwittingly carrying a bomb aboard a London bus. Lee writes how it "evokes the social and political unrest in Great Britain and visualizes the fears of anarchism, communism, fascism, and other subversive ideologies on film" (2014, 67). The Czarevitch is used by an ambitious man in his attempt to seize political power in Russia and the boy, along with his immediate family, are murdered by revolutionaries in the final scene of *Rasputin and the Empress* (1932).

[30] During the popular gangster film cycle of the early thirties (Jewell 2007, 203), two boys were abducted in *Ladies Love Brutes* (1930) and one was killed in a botched kidnapping attempt in *The Doorway to Hell* (1930).

[31] The enforcement in 1934 of the Production Code that forbade sympathizing with wrongdoing was a decisive blow to the earlier gangster figure who was defiant to the end (Jewell 2007, 203-4). Gangsters who injured boys, kidnapped them, tried to kill them or caused their deaths were always presented as antagonists who garnered no sympathy in their respective narratives.

[32] Another key example is *The Last Gangster* (1937) in which the relationship between gangster and boy is that of father and son, though the latter remains unaware of this fact.

[33] Despite this focus, *The Champ* is arguably a 'woman's film', defined by Jewell as a movie in which a heroine's endurance through misfortune and her courage in making sacrifices for others were scripted to evoke audience tears (2007, 239). A common story arc revolving around juvenile males was the woman's separation from her son and reunion by film's end. *The Champ* fits this template and other examples include *Sarah and Son* (1930), *Gallant Lady* (1934), *In Love with Life* (1934) and *The World Accuses* (1934).

Western films showcased a formulaic adult male hero, "the frontier equivalent of a chivalric knight" who showed particular concern for women and defended vulnerable settlers against outlaws (Jewell 2007, 198).[34] Boys, frequently orphaned before or during these films,[35] were often among those in danger, but sometimes filled the role of sidekick, a character who "function[ed]…to keep the hero in the realm of the common man, not to confirm his preeminence" (Stanfield 2001, 105).[36] Sometimes bringing the leading man and lady together as a couple by film's end,[37] these young cowboys assumed the role of 'castrated Cupid'.[38] The paradox of the asexual yet heterosexual child (Olson and Scahill 2014b, x) was further illustrated by boys' imitations of the courting or marriage rituals of older couples around them.[39] Romantic feelings for the opposite sex were, more often, displaced through affectionate relationships with dogs[40] or eschewed in favor of homosocial bonding.

A 'boy culture' intolerant of interactions with girls developed from and reinforced sex-segregated play (Chudacoff 2007, 143). Both organized and informal sports were popular among boys (ibid, 118) and Roosevelt's fondness for "rough sports which call for pluck, endurance, and physical address" (1900, 572) was reflected in the preeminence of contact sports such as football and boxing in movies featuring juvenile male characters.[41] The popularity of horseracing (Hark 2007, 5) led to several films that featured young jockeys.[42] An inability to participate in athletics because of some physical handicap was seen as a

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[34] The majority of Westerns produced during the thirties were "B" films, which had low budgets, short shooting schedules and lacked star power; "A" films, in comparison, had large budgets, long shooting schedules and well-known actors and actresses (Jewell 2007, 69, 199-200). Simmon reports that some one thousand B-Westerns were produced during the decade (2003, 100) and Stanfield argues that these oft-marginalized films were "central to the genre's history in this period" (2001, 2).

[35] Focusing on more contemporary films, Musgrave identifies a disproportionate number of cinematic children whose parents are divorced or deceased (2013, 109-10), a statistic that holds equally true for the movies of the thirties here under review.

[36] While there was sometimes overlap between these two roles, one or the other was typically emphasized. The popular Three Mesquiteers film series (Pitts 2009, 340-84) contributed several examples to the endangered-boy type: *Roarin' Lead* (1936), *Heart of the Rockies* (1937), *Call the Mesquiteers* (1938), *Santa Fe Stampede* (1938) and *Red River Range* (1938); the sidekick films included *The Ghost City* (1931), *The Way of the West* (1934), *Frontier Days* (1934) and *Cyclone of the Saddle* (1935).

[37] As do juvenile males in non-Western films such as *And So They Were Married* (1936) and *A Damsel in Distress* (1937).

[38] This term is drawn from Greer's work in tracing transformations in artistic representations of Cupid – the Roman god of erotic love and unbridled sexuality – from an aggressive, disruptive boy to a passive, sentimental figure who was either sexless or feminized (2003, 59-103).

[39] In addition to the competition between Penrod and Sam for the affections of Marjorie Jones and Tom Sawyer's shared kiss with Becky Thatcher, there are the notes exchanged in the love triangle of *Barefoot Boy* (1938) and the wedding ceremony performed by *Poil de Carotte* with his 'fiancée', a 1932 French film released in the US as *The Red Head* the following year.

[40] Tribunella argues that such relationships are "prototypical romance[s] of childhood" (2004, 156).While his argument is convincing, he acknowledges that boy-dog relationships are rarely recognized as erotically-charged and thus the movies that focus on such relationships underscore the presumed asexuality of their juvenile male characters. Although thirties films that include boy-dog relationships are numerous, canine companionship is central to the plot of only a few films such as *Skippy* (1931), *Man's Best Friend* (1935) and *Life Returns* (1938).

[41] *Dinky* (1935) and *Love Is on the Air* (1937) offer examples of football and boxing respectively.

[42] Examples include *The Unwelcome Stranger* (1935), *Thoroughbreds Don't Cry* (1937) and *Sing You Sinners* (1938).

deviation from normative boyhood, though scripted to elicit sympathy through the figure of the 'sweet innocent' (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 368). Tiny Tim from Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (1843) is the quintessential example (ibid, 369) and the novel was adapted to film in the US in 1938 (Figure 2.3).[43]

Boyhood innocence – particularly when understood in terms of ignorance – was constructed in some films as dangerous.[44] These movies reflected and reinforced the adult-dominated social order that viewed (and still views) children as needing competent guardians for their own and others' safety.[45] The 'precocious' boy with his wisdom, knowledge or artistic talent was not exempt.[46] Fictional film and stage performers were themselves subjects in movies[47] and the decade coincided with the height of the 'child star' phenomenon.[48] Among juvenile male actors, Kathy Jackson singles out Jackie Cooper and Freddie Bartholomew as having made their mark during the thirties (1986, 67-70) playing 'bad boys' and pious boys respectively.[49] While the "intangible quality of innocence" was dramatized in plots (ibid, 31-32), it was also embodied. "Child protagonists of popular appeal [are] invariably…physically attractive" (Mills 2000, 17), a beauty connected to cultural constructs of purity and innocence (Kincaid 1992, 10).[50]

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[43] It was also adapted in the UK as *Scrooge* in 1935. Most of the 'sweet innocents' among cinematic boys are outfitted with a leg brace or the crutch of the Tiny Tim archetype. Leg braces are most often associated with polio, which is the explicit cause of the boy's infirmity in *The Healer* (1935).

[44] Naïve and impressionable boys in *Nine Days a Queen* (1936), *Maid of Salem* (1937) and *Marie Antoinette* (1938) are used to condemn their older relatives to death, the leading lady in the second film only narrowly escapes being hung as a witch based on her younger cousin's testimony. The Dauphin's own fate after causing the royal family's capture and sending his mother to the guillotine with coerced statements is left open in the third film, but known to be a tragic one (Cadbury 2002). Edward VI's two scheming uncles are executed through manipulations of the king's 'innocence' in the first movie.

[45] Films that revolve around custody disputes or the fate of boys who have lost one or more of their parents or guardians include *Way Back Home* (1931), *Divorce in the Family* (1932), *The Bowery* (1933), *Tomorrow's Youth* (1934), *Wednesday's Child* (1934), *Age of Indiscretion* (1935), *O'Shaugnessy's Boy* (1935), *Boy Trouble* (1939) and *On Borrowed Time* (1939).

[46] The screened precociousness of juvenile males ranges from street-savvy to intellectual genius to prodigious musical abilities in *Big Fella* (1937), *Danger – Love at Work* (1937) and *Dangerous Holiday* (1937) respectively.

[47] The violin prodigy of *Dangerous Holiday* runs away from Hollywood where he is to star in a film while a group of tap-dancing newsboys are promoted on Broadway, kicking off a nation-wide kids' talent search in *The Star Maker* (1939).

[48] This era was inaugurated by Jackie Coogan's performance in *The Kid* (1921) and reached its zenith with Shirley Temple in the mid-to-late thirties, movie goers' fascination with young performers fizzling out soon after (O'Connor 2008, 50-56). Jackson attributes the popularity of children in Depression-era Hollywood narratives to representations of continuity between past security and a better future (1986, 56).

[49] Jewell points out that most actors of the period were typecast (2007, 266) and juvenile males were no exception. Cooper (1922-2011) dominated the first half of the decade in 'bad boy' roles, blending tough and sentimental (Holmstrom 1998, 106) in *The Champ*, *Skippy*, *When a Fellow Needs a Friend*, *Peck's Bad Boy*, *Dinky* and *Tough Guy*. Bartholomew (1924-1992), having the air of "a little magistrate" (ibid, 127), landed the regal leads in *Fauntleroy* and *Kidnapped* and perfected transformations of the 'sissy boy' in *Captains Courageous* and *Lord Jeff*. The films *Professional Soldier* (1936) and *The Devil Is a Sissy* (1936) were further examples of these two roles respectively.

[50] Kincaid refers to Bartholomew (along with three other young actors) in this context. Holmstrom routinely comments on the physical attributes of juvenile male actors in connection with the interrelated concepts of vulnerability and innocence, thus the "very fair hair and very dark, intense eyes" of Dickie Moore (1925-2015) "fluttered maternal hearts" (1998, 139) as the titular waif in *Oliver Twist* and in the women's films *Gallant Lady*, *In Love with Life* and *The World Accuses*. "Frail" George Breakston (1920-1973), "with [his] cloudy blue eyes" (ibid, 96), died tragically in both *No Greater Glory* and *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage*

The world was at war when the 1940s arrived, but a policy of isolationism kept the United States out of the battles raging overseas for the first couple of years (Dixon 2006, 1).[51] There were few changes during this period to how boys were depicted in Hollywood films.[52] The award-winning *How Green Was My Valley* (1941)[53] proved the exception and forged a new paradigm for subsequent depictions of juvenile masculinity in cinema. Unfolding as the reminisce of the adult Huw Morgan, the film integrates several events from his boyhood into an overarching 'coming-of-age' narrative.[54] In her ethnographic studies on rites of passage into adulthood, Heather Montgomery notes that "initiation may not be a single ritual event which marks the end of childhood but part of a series of processes [that] end many years later" (2009, 229). Similarly, several events in Huw's boyhood show a gradual rather than sudden acquisition of knowledge and painful experiences (Figure 2.4) whereby he 'loses' his innocence and becomes a man.[55]

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and the United States' entry into the 'good war' (Boggs and Pollard 2007, 66), "[p]ro-war films geared to simple patriotic messages

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Patch (1934). Even Jackie Searl (1921-1991) possessed "pretty little features [that] twisted into a snarl or a sneer" (ibid, 98) as he played the antagonists to Coogan in *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, to Cooper in *Skippy* and *Peck's Bad Boy*, to Breakston in *No Greater Glory* and to Bartholomew in *Little Lord Fauntleroy*.

[51] While Joseph Breen, head of the Production Code Administration (PCA), "wanted Hollywood to…mak[e] inoffensive, apolitical entertainment films" (Lewis 2008, 163), there were a few politically-charged movies produced during the early years of the war in Europe such as *The Man I Married* (1940) in which an American woman attempts to flee prewar Germany with her son after her German-born husband embraces Nazism. *Man Hunt* (1941) and *Confirm or Deny* (1941) both featured a heroic young Briton, played in both films by British-born Roddy McDowall (1928-1998) who stayed in the US to further his acting career after a visit in 1940 (Holmstrom 1998, 159).

[52] Gene Byrnes' comic strip *Reg'lar Fellers*, featuring characters that O'Sullivan sees as "counterparts of the protagonists of Mark Twain's novels of boyhood" (1990, 52), was adapted to film in 1941, another example of the boys' club transformed into an impromptu crime-fighting unit. Juvenile delinquency continued to be a focus with a remake of *Little Men* (1941) and a sequel to *Boys Town* titled *Men of Boys Town* (1941). *Rocky Mountain Rangers* (1940) was another installment in the Three Mesquiteers series and an orphan on a quest to 'adopt a mom and pop' functioned as 'castrated Cupid' in *Son of the Navy* (1940). *Law of the Wolf* (1941) paired a boy with Rin Tin Tin Jr., the legacy of the cinematic canines bearing this name provided by Orlean (2011), and while the shipwreck in the 1940 adaptation of Johann Wyss' 1812 novel *Swiss Family Robinson* is a transition to manhood for the two eldest sons, the juvenile Ernest experiences it as boyhood adventure. At the end of the film, he remains on the island with his parents and infant brother, his transition to manhood and marriage to a colonist presented as future concerns.

[53] The movie, based on Richard Llewellyn's 1939 novel of the same name, took home half of its ten Oscar nominations: Best Supporting Actor, Best Black-and-White Art Direction, Best Black-and-White Cinematography, Best Director and Best Picture (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1942). Set in a nineteenth-century Welsh coal-mining community, the juvenile lead was played by McDowall.

[54] That is, a story revolving around a character's transition from childhood to adulthood (Hardcastle et al. 2009, 1). In Huw's case this involves a bout of temporary paralysis, bullying at school, abandoning education to work and provide for his widowed sister-in-law, and finally losing his father in a mining accident.

[55] When Jackson and Merlock claim that Huw "matures and loses his innocence // as [he] experiences victimization [] his first day of school" (2006, 301), it is unclear whether they envision this as *the* moment the boy 'loses' his innocence or one example in a more gradual process (as I would argue was the filmmakers' intent). In any case, they insightfully note "a recurring motif of water, implying, to some extent, baptism and rebirth" (ibid, 304). Huw's descent into and ascent from the freezing water that paralyzes his legs, as well as the similar movement into and out of the mine where he wades through water, connect this religious imagery to the 'death' of the boy Huw and subsequent 'birth' of the man Huw.

were produced quickly by all the major [Hollywood] studios" (ibid, 68-69). In addition to patriotism,[56] the Bureau of Motion Picture Affairs (BMPA)[57] urged positive portrayals of allies and negative depictions of enemies (Lewis 2008, 164). The idea of children as uniquely vulnerable was key to examples of the latter, the 'essential evil' of German and Japanese aggressors revealed through their cruelty toward and murder of boys.[58] Hollywood films that presented heroic juvenile males among British,[59] French[60] and Russian[61] allies satisfied the former recommendation of the BMPA.[62] Commitment to children's innate innocence exempted German boys from categories of 'essential evil', the orphaned Hitler Youth brought to the US in *Tomorrow, the World!* (1944)[63] presented as a victim of Nazi brainwashing and torture (Figure 2.5).[64]

Tough Guy (MGM, 1936)

Figure 2.1

The Champ (MGM, 1931)

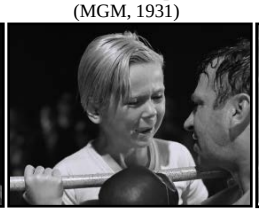

Figure 2.2

A Christmas Carol (MGM, 1938)

Figure 2.3

How Green Was My Valley (20th Century Fox, 1941)

Figure 2.4

Tomorrow, the World! (United Artists, 1944)

Figure 2.5

[56] Cinematic boys on the home front demonstrated patriotism by enlisting their canine companions in the 'Dogs for Defense' program (Hamer 2006, 66-90) in *War Dogs* (1942), harvesting crops for soldiers overseas in *Mountain Rhythm* (1943), stopping saboteurs of munitions production in *The Underdog* (1943) and unmasking German spies in *The Unwritten Code* (1944).

[57] The BMPA was created soon after American involvement in the war commenced, coming under the supervision of the Office of War Information in 1942 (Lewis 2008, 164).

[58] The Nazis' practice of using the children of subjugated territories to transfuse blood for their wounded soldiers (Nicholas 2005, 349) drives the drama of *The North Star* (1943) and the beating of a Filipino boy for information in *Back to Bataan* (1945) casts the Japanese in a negative light.

[59] In addition to his secondary roles in *Man Hunt* and *Confirm or Deny*, McDowall played the leading role in *On the Sunny Side* (1942) as a Briton evacuated to the American Midwest who stands up to the local bully as a model of heroism. Overseas destinations for British children included not only the US, but Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia and South Africa, with between 15,000 and 20,000 sent overseas during the war. On the logistics of these evacuations, see Jackson (2008, 63-108).

[60] Étienne, the radio operator in *Assignment in Brittany* (1943), is an example of a heroic boy within the French Resistance.

[61] *The Boy from Stalingrad* (1943) and *Song of Russia* (1944) featured boys who both performed acts of heroism and were victimized by the Nazis. deGraffenried's claim that the first of these and *The North Star* are "the only American films that feature war-related child death onscreen" (2014, 127) is incorrect since *Confirm or Deny*, *Song of Russia* and *Back to Bataan* all include such scenes. While these portraits were propaganda for the American war effort, modeling heroism for juvenile males who might soon be called upon to serve in a protracted conflict, they did reflect the reality for some Soviet children (predominantly boys) who saw active combat as members of partisan resistance groups (ibid, 63-68).

[62] The wartime films set in the Philippines, which had been invaded immediately after Pearl Harbor, did not reflect Allied camaraderie, but rather neocolonialist ideas about Filipinos as dependents (Hawley 2002, 397).

[63] The film was adapted from an award-winning Broadway play of the same name (Fay 2008, 1).

[64] Fay argues that the film's "Nazism is a mode of juvenile delinquency and rebellion on a national scale" conquered through a process of Americanization (2008, 4, 8-9). According to the film's promotional material, the Nazi-indoctrinated German meets his match in American boyhood (ibid, 9), bested by a Polish-American lad in a fistfight. On the experiences of (actual) Hitler Youth both before and during the war, see Hermand (1997), Koch (2000) and Kater (2004).

Escapist films were seen alongside war-themed ones (Dixon 2006, 6),[65] the period's copious Westerns offering more examples of the boy as vulnerable victim, as well as handy sidekick.[66] The relationship between boy and dog was at the heart of *Lassie Come Home* (1943), the film's eponymous collie braving all manner of obstacles to return to her beloved Joe Carraclough (Figure 3.1).[67] The early postwar period exploded with boy and dog films,[68] to which bevy of cinematic canines other animals were added, notably horses.[69] It was *The Yearling* (1947), however, that opportunely fused animal companionship with the burgeoning 'coming-of-age' genre.[70] Jody Baxter, the lonely son of nineteenth-century Florida settlers is forced to shoot the motherless fawn he has befriended (Figure 3.2) when its eating habits threaten his family's survival.[71] Eric Tribunella writes how "American culture[] relies on the contrived traumatization of children…as a way of representing and promoting the process of becoming a mature adult" (2010, xi).

Painful but inevitable transitions to manhood competed on screen with nostalgic reminisces of carefree boyhood. Colin Craven in *The Secret Garden* (1949) proclaims his immortality within a child's walled-off 'paradise' (Figure 3.3).[72] While the same-titled novel on which the movie was based (Burnett

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[65] These categories were not mutually exclusive. *Tarzan Triumphs* (1943), which blended both impulses, is referred to by Wannamaker as "a feel-good parable about American isolationists' reluctance to enter World War II" (2012, 37). The Ape Man adopts an isolationist position toward the Nazi enslavement of a nearby city, only to leap into action when Boy is taken prisoner by the Germans. Johnny Sheffield (1931-2010) first played the character of Boy in *Tarzan Finds a Son!* (1939) and reprised him in six other films besides *Tarzan Triumphs* between 1941 and 1947.

[66] Bobby Blake (1933-) played Little Beaver for most of the Red Ryder series (Pitts 2009, 259-84), reprising his role as the cowboy's sidekick in twenty-four movies between 1944 and 1947. There was yet another Three Mesquiteers film in *Shadows on the Sage* (1942) and the Wild Bill Elliot series (ibid, 391-99) began with *Calling Wild Bill Elliott* (1943), which included a juvenile male character played by Robert Henry (1931-1971) whose ten-year career as the 'Boy Rider of the Silver Screen' Holmstrom refers to as "untypical" because of his "sensitive-looking[], slender, almost delicate" appearance (1998, 176).

[67] The film was based on the 1940 novel *Lassie Come-Home* by Eric Knight (1897-1943), to whom the movie was dedicated through the opening intertitle. Specific reference was made to his service in both World Wars, the present conflict functioning as a "structured absence" (Lewis 2008, 180) in the film, which starred McDowall as Joe.

[68] In addition to movies such as *Danny Boy* (1945), *My Dog Shep* (1946), *The Return of Rin Tin Tin* (1947), *Shep Comes Home* (1948) and *The Sun Comes Up* (1949) were the eight films in the Rusty series, beginning with *Adventures of Rusty* (1945) and ending with *Rusty's Birthday* (1949), all starring Ted Donaldson (1933-) as the canine's beloved Danny Mitchell.

[69] Postwar boy and horse films such as *Out California Way* (1946), *Rolling Home* (1946), *My Brother Talks to Horses* (1947), *The Red Stallion* (1947) and *The Red Pony* (1949) followed the success of *My Friend Flicka* (1943), which was based on Mary O'Hara's 1941 children's novel of the same name and featured McDowall in yet another juvenile male lead.

[70] The movie was an adaptation of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' Pulitzer-Prize-winning1938 novel of the same name and was nominated for seven Oscars, winning two of these awards: Best Color Art Direction and Best Color Cinematography (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1947).

[71] Blaming his parents, Jody runs away from home, returning after three days of his mother searching for him. Interacting with the novel, Lowe likens the boy's return to that of Luke's prodigal son (2004, 246). Early in the film, Jody's mother refers to him as "going on twelve" and her three-day search for him at the end brings to mind the Lukan story of the boy Jesus in Jerusalem. The role of Jody was played by Claude Jarman, Jr. (1934-), who received a special Academy Award for his performance (Dye 1988, 116).

[72] The film's eponymous garden is described as a place only for children, devoid of 'grownups'. While Colin stops short of declaring "I don't want ever to be a man," as did J.M. Barrie's famous 'eternal boy' (1911, 42), similarities between Colin and Peter Pan have been noted (Campbell 2010, 90).

1911) arguably aimed to chart the infantilized ten-year-old's transition to boyhood, then to manhood,[73] the film ended with the first.[74] This truncation reflected a "criticism of adulthood" in light of the atrocities committed against "innocent children" during the recent conflicts overseas (Gillispie 1996, 135, 138).

Where the effects of the war on children were a subject in postwar Hollywood, the focus was on the plight of surviving orphans[75] such as Peter Fry, *The Boy with Green Hair* (1948) who believed his mysterious change of hair color (Figure 3.4) was so he could stand out to share his anti-war message with the world.[76] The film was produced during a brief period of postwar social critique that was muted during attempts to purge Hollywood of subversive influences, communists in particular (Dixon 2006, 7, 13).[77] Melanie Wright points out that "the foregrounding of religious subjects could serve as an assertion of loyalty to the American way of life" (2008, 57), thus the early Cold War period exploded with films that had overtly religious themes, some of which featured characters of the pious boy tradition.[78] When the

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[73] With superficial similarities to the 'sissy boy' – as Crawford refers to the young Craven that readers of Burnett's novel are introduced to (2007, 475) – Campbell envisions Colin's metamorphosis into a 'real boy', thereby "forging his path to manhood" (2010, 89-90). Colin is, however, not presented as sissified, but rather as infantile (Martin 2011, 143-44) – he is first heard wailing from his secret bedroom where he resides immobilized and displays a penchant for throwing tantrums.

[74] While an already-mobile Colin eagerly leaves the garden at the end of the book, reflecting the boy's embrace of the adult world (Goodwin 2011, 113), the film concludes with the boy still inside the garden and walking for the first time.

[75] Despite documentation of the Nazi slave-labor and death camps that was viewed by the American public in newsreels after the war (Dixon 2006, 8), the experiences of boys caught up in the terror and genocide was not a focus in Hollywood films of the postwar period. While Karel Malik in *The Search* (1948) is presented as a survivor of Auschwitz, the movie revolves around the boy's reunion with his mother who is presumed dead. The role of Karel was played by Czech actor Ivan Jandl (1937-1987), who won a special Academy Award for his performance (Holmstrom 1998, 202). The film itself was nominated for four Oscars and won for Best Writing of a Motion Picture Story (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1949). Parts of the film were shot in the US-occupied zones of Germany and attention is given in the movie to the work then being carried out by UNRRA to assist the millions of displaced persons throughout Europe, including many children (Heberer 2011, 395-96).

[76] The film opens with a rendition of eden ahbez's "Nature Boy" and its hook punctuates key scenes elsewhere in the movie. The song refers to "a very strange, enchanted boy" who was "shy and sad of eye, but very wise." The role of Peter was played by Dean Stockwell (1936-), whom Holmstrom describes as a "curly-headed cherub with knowing brown eyes" and "deservedly the most sought-after boy actor of the Forties" (1998, 196). Being "something of a prima donna," the boy's "arrogance was exploited in…'humbling' drama[s]" that included not only *The Secret Garden* where he played Colin, but *The Happy Years* (1950) and *Cattle Drive* (1951).

[77] The director, producers and scriptwriters of *The Boy with Green Hair* were all placed on the infamous Hollywood Blacklist (Buhle and Wagner 2003, 29). American films that portrayed Soviet allies in a positive light became an embarrassment during the postwar period. *Song of Russia*, for example, was a key target of investigations in 1947 by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) as two of the three men who wrote its original story "Scorched Earth" and both screenplay writers were members of the Communist Party (Mayhew 2002, 91-93, 95).

[78] Wright's comment was offered during discussion of *The Ten Commandments* (1956), which saw Ramses' juvenile son killed during the divinely-ordained plague on the Egyptians. Another biblically-based film, *Samson and Delilah* (1949), featured the boy Saul. Based on the alleged apparition of Mary to shepherd children near Fátima, Portugal in 1917 (Bennett 2012, 88-118) was *The Miracle of Our Lady of Fatima* (1952), which featured the character of Francisco who remained steadfast in his witness despite imprisonment and the threat of torture. Outside the Judeo-Christian tradition, Kimball O'Hara – played by Stockwell – was *chela* (disciple) to an itinerant Buddhist holy man in the 1950 adaptation of Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901). The century-long (1813-1907) political tension between Russia and Britain over the lands between the former's southern Asiatic territories and the latter's Indian colony, known as 'The Great Game' (Swamidoss 2016, 278), became an occasion to parallel Cold War politics against a background of boyhood adventure. While Kipling's book narrates several years of Kim's life (ages 13 through 17) and x refers to him as "an adolescent inhabitant of the border between childhood and manhood" (1992, 112), the film compresses Kim's story into the earliest of these years.

apostle Peter leaves Rome in *Quo Vadis* (1951),[79] the risen Jesus conveys his message to return to the city through the man's young companion Nazarius (Figure 3.5),[80] which reflects the Romantic notion of a child's purity and closeness to the divine (Cunningham 2005, 68-69).[81]

Lassie Come Home (MGM, 1943)

Figure 3.1

The Yearling (MGM, 1947)

Figure 3.2

The Secret Garden (MGM, 1949)

Figure 3.3

The Boy with Green Hair (RKO Radio Pictures, 1948)

Figure 3.4

Quo Vadis (MGM, 1951)

Figure 3.5

Understanding innocence as emptiness (Kincaid 1992, 92) rendered cinematic boys conduits not only for the divine, but for the run-amok technologies and aliens that populated the era's science fiction films.[82] The other genre which became closely associated with the 1950s was *film noir* (Jones et al. 2011, 3),[83] its dark depictions of violent crime necessitating vulnerable victims, for which roles juvenile males were sometimes recruited. John Harper (Figure 4.1) is pursued by the man who killed his mother in *The Night of the Hunter* (1955),[84] a fairy tale – albeit a nightmarish one (Newland 2014, 33)[85] – about "children [as] pure, innocent beings, who need to be protected from the predations of adults" (Caesar 2010, 6).[86]

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[79] The film was adapted from Henryk Sienkiewicz's 1895 novel of the same name, subtitled *A Tale of the Time of Nero*.

[80] This is loosely based on an apocryphal story in which the apostle, traveling *alone*, encounters Jesus (*Acts Pet.* 35[6]).

[81] Löwy and Sayre identify Romanticism as an enduring critique of modernity (2001, 17), one "bound up with an experience of loss" (ibid, 21) that leads to "[n]ostalgia for a lost paradise" (ibid, 22). One of these was "the sphere of childhood," reflecting a "belief that the values that governed all adult society in a more primitive state of humanity…can still be found among children" (ibid, 23). Postwar malaise and the impending threat of nuclear war after the Soviet Union first detonated an atom bomb in 1949 (Shapiro 2002, 53) contributed to the period's cinematic paeans to childhood in the spirit of Romanticism.

[82] *The Invisible Boy* (1957) and *The Space Children* (1958) are examples respectively.

[83] Varyingly understood as a genre, subgenre, movement, series, or cycle, *film noir* originated in the early forties and endured through (at least) the late fifties (Root 2007, 307), speaking "profoundly to postwar frustration, discomfort, and alienation" with its dark visual style and pessimistic outlook (Lewis 2008, 201, 203).

[84] The movie was based on Davis Grubb's 1953 novel of the same name, which was loosely based on the case of serial killer Harry Powers who was convicted in 1931 for the murders of two women and two children (Couchman 2009, 45). Other examples of *film noir* that featured juvenile male characters were *Inner Sanctum* (1948), *The Window* (1949), *The House on Telegraph Hill* (1951), *The Narrow Margin* (1952), *Talk About a Stranger* (1952), *The Miami Story* (1954), *Suddenly* (1954), *The Desperate Hours* (1955), *Storm Fear* (1955), *The Shadow on the Window* (1957) and *Hell's Five Hours* (1958).

[85] Mills indiscriminately invokes the labels of 'allegory', 'fable' and 'fairy tale' in reference to the film (1988, 49, 52, 54-55). While Bauer acknowledges some overlap in these story types (1999, 618), I believe he correctly identifies the movie as the latter (ibid, 614) since it lacks the fable's explicit exhortation (ibid, 620-21) and the references to biblical texts such as Exod 2:1-10 and Matt 2:13-15 offer further illustrations of an imperiled and saved 'innocent' rather than encourage the viewer to allegorize.

[86] John's salvation comes not from a brawny adult male, as it had for many of cinema's vulnerable boys in decades past, but from a gun-toting, god-fearing, Bible-quoting woman. Bauer points out that "all the men in the film are portrayed as impotent

Vulnerability was key to depictions of children in postwar British cinema (Geraghty 2000, 142),[87] numerous images of which crossed the Atlantic after a concerted effort by British filmmakers to break into the American market (Napper 2012, 375).[88] Visual cues of "blond hair and pale skin…underline the vulnerability…of these young boys" (Geraghty 2000, 142),[89] perhaps none more so than Phillipe in *The Fallen Idol* (1948).[90] The opening shot in which the boy is perched behind the balusters of a staircase, as though behind prison bars (Figure 4.2), reflects his concomitant powerlessness.[91] The exercise of agency was explored in other films, but boys were presented as incapable of forming criminal intent when their actions caused harm or even death.[92] While the stranded boys of William Golding's 1954 dystopian novel *Lord of the Flies* are "suffering from the terrible disease of being human" (Golding 1966, 89),[93] this does not preclude viewing them as innocent,[94] corrupted by the war-mongering society from which they have

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and weak" (1999, 630). The movie is an expression of the growing autonomy of postwar American women, a challenge to the adult male-dominated social order (Casper 2007, 16-17). Laamanen attributes the film's failure at the box office to this challenge to 'patriarchal Christianity' (2014). The Western, on the other hand, with its traditional masculine heroes, continued in popularity during the postwar period (Monaco 2009, 340). In addition to the Durango Kid, a new series that contributed several examples during its run between 1945 and 1952 (Pitts 2009, 68-113), there were numerous standalone films, most notably *Shane* (1953).

[87] Numerous cinematic images of children playing in bombed-out streets (Geraghty 2000, 133) illustrate the direct threat the war posed to British children in contrast to American kids. This setting is crucial to the plots of *The Yellow Balloon* (1953) and *The Weapon* (1956).

[88] Street notes that, during the fifties, "British films regularly represented at least 20 to 30 per cent of the total [foreign films imported into the United States], reaching a peak in 1954 when they occupied 34 per cent of the import market" (2002, 140).

[89] To Andrew Ray (1939-2003), Jon Whiteley (1945-) and Colin Petersen (1946-), all three of whom Geraghty discusses in this context (2000, 141), may be added John Howard Davies (1939-2011) who played the titular roles in *Oliver Twist* (1948) and *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1951). Ray and Whiteley had the leads in *Yellow Balloon* and *Weapon* respectively while Petersen, an Aussie by birth (Holmstrom 1998, 256), played 'bad boys' in *Smiley* (1956) and *Strange Affection* (1957).

[90] The film was based on the 1936 short story "The Basement Room" by Graham Greene, who also wrote the screenplay; see Zambrano (1974) for a brief comparison of short story and film. Bobby Henrey (1939-), born in France and retaining "a trace of French accent" (Holmstrom 1998, 215), played the role of Phillipe, the son of a French diplomat in London, and recently wrote about his experience in making the film and its aftermath (2013).

[91] Sinyard makes a similar point about a scene later in the movie, adding how it "emphasize[s] the limits of [Phillipe's] vision" (1992, 138). Drazin's reference to the film as "a brilliant evocation of childhood, one of the most poignant and convincing ever to have been put on the screen" (2007, 66) assumes the universal 'child' who is vulnerable and innocent that I seek to expose as a social construct, reinforced by numerous cinematic images, that serves the interests of adult power-holders.

[92] The legal term for this is *doli incapax*, literally 'incapable of guilt' (Monk 2009, 190). In Canada, those under the age of twelve cannot be prosecuted for criminal offences based on this principle: publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/J2-248-2004E.pdf. Two films that explored the concept were *The Little Kidnappers* (1953) and *Game of Danger* (1954). In the first, the case against 8yo Harry MacKenzie – played by Whiteley – for taking a baby in turn-of-the-century Nova Scotia is dropped when the judge deems he did not understand the wrongfulness of his actions and no charges can even be laid against 7yo Cliff Bonsell in the second after he casually admits to killing a cyclist while pretending to be a highway robber; *doli incapax* in Britain of the fifties applied to anyone under the age of ten (Crofts 2002, 37).

[93] This reflected Golding's commitment to the Christian doctrine of 'original sin', which Migliore defines as "the whole of humanity…in a condition or state of captivity to sin" and thus "caught in a web of despoilment, corruption, pollution, and disintegration" (2014, 159).

[94] This innocence is an ignorance of their own depravity. Describing an early scene involving his 12yo protagonist Ralph as one of "innocence and hope", Golding notes that his intentions as author were to narrate the boy's movement from ignorance to

come (Renner 2016, 135-36). Simon, the story's "Christ-figure" (Golding 1966, 97), is not surprisingly crowned with blond hair in the 1963 film adaptation (Figure 4.3),[95] reflecting the association of boys' blondness not only with vulnerability, but goodness (Geraghty 2000, 142).

Other countries exported films to the United States in the postwar period where they played in art houses and 'ethnic theaters' (Wilinsky 2001, 13-14), none more influential than neorealist movies from Italy (Sklar 2002, 256-57).[96] Juvenile males featured prominently in these stories (Caldwell 2014, 66) as "figure[s] of loss, contained within a state of suffering innocence" (Bayman 2014, 170). Bruno in *Bicycle Thieves* (1948)[97] "is presented as a figure of almost angelic innocence" (Shiel 2006b, 57),[98] devastated as he witnesses his father, the victim of a bicycle theft, resort to stealing a bicycle (Figure 4.4), "effect[ing] a spectacle of pity" (Schoonover 2012, 171).[99] Italian neorealism's affect on world cinema was seen in both cinematic imitations[100] and critiques,[101] significant among the latter being surrealism.[102] During 'The Thaw',[103] a number of Soviet movies received American distribution, including *Ivan's Childhood*

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knowledge (1966, 89-90). The novel ends with Ralph weeping "for the end of innocence" and "the darkness of man's heart" (1954, 223). Golding later differentiated between innocence and ignorance, further noting that "because children are helpless and vulnerable, the most terrible things can be done by children to children" (Golding and Carey 1986, 174).

[95] This is a significant departure from the novel where the boy is described as having black hair (Golding 1954, 25).

[96] Neorealism merged leftist sociopolitical commitments with a visual style purported to document reality (Shiel 2006b, 1-2).

[97] The movie was adapted from a book by Luigi Bartolini (R. Gordon 2008, 22) and went on to win a special Academy Award in 1950 (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1950), the category of Best Foreign Language Film not created until 1956 (Casper 2007, 89).

[98] Shiel notes that use of nonprofessional actors was one of the strategies of neorealist filmmakers (2006b, 2) and the role of Bruno was played by one such actor, Enzo Staiola (1939-), so cast "because of his natural appearance of innocence and warmth" (ibid, 56). This 'realist' strategy (as well as others) could be suspended, however, if it did not produce a desired result, such as in the rejection of actual 'shoeshine' boys for the leading roles in *Shoeshine* (1946) because they were considered by the filmmakers to be too 'ugly' (Hipkins 2014, 4), the film culminating in the 'beautiful death' of a 'pretty' juvenile protagonist who could "tug our emotions" (Sutton 2014, 181-82). Despite its financial failure (Shiel 2006b, 5), *Shoeshine* won a special award at the 1948 Oscars (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1948).

[99] This is one of three "famous moments from postwar Italian cinema" to which Bayman refers (2014, 170), the others being the despondent walk of juvenile partisans after a resistance priest is shot by the Nazis in *Rome, Open City* (1945) and the tragic suicide of Edmund Köhler at the end of *Germany Year Zero* (1948).

[100] Satyajit Ray praised the location shooting, use of modest resources and nonprofessional actors he saw in *Bicycle Thieves*, stating his intention to direct a film like it, which he did in *Pather Panchali* (1955), the first film in the Apu Trilogy based on two Bengali novels by Bibhutibhusan Bandopadhyay (Robinson 2011, 24, 27). It was given the 'best human document' award at Cannes in 1956 and pioneered India's 'artistic' cinema in contrast to the country's 'popular' films, which were modeled after Hollywood musicals (Gokulsing and Dissanayake 2004,18), a pertinent example being *Boot Polish* (1954).

[101] The opening intertitle of the Mexican film *The Young and the Damned* (1950) claims how "[t]his movie is based entirely on facts of real life and all of its characters are authentic," but Gergely demonstrates how this is undermined throughout the rest of the film in a parody of neorealism (2014, 114-20).

[102] Surrealism places emphasis on expressing the subconscious mind (Phillips 2009, 690) and dream sequences in *The Young and the Damned* reflect the surrealist tradition (Edwards 2005, 9).

[103] This was the nickname given to the period of de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union from the mid-fifties through the mid-sixties, during which time Russian filmmakers could be critical of Soviet society, focusing on heroic individuals and humanist

(1962),[104] a surrealist film (Skakov 2012, 16) about its protagonist's experience of war structured around dream sequences of a carefree boyhood.[105] Ivan's subsequent execution by the Nazis, revealed in a dossier (Figure 4.5), "present[s him]… as an emblematic image of innocent suffering" (ibid, 36).

The Night of the Hunter (United Artists, 1955)

Figure 4.1

The Fallen Idol (Selznick, 1949 [1948])

Figure 4.2

Lord of the Flies (Continental, 1963)

Figure 4.3

Bicycle Thieves (Mayer & Burstyn, 1949 [1948])

Figure 4.4

Ivan's Childhood (Shore Int'l, 1963 [1962])

Figure 4.5

Among the 'realistic' elements in these world cinema films, which occasioned criticism and attempts at censorship,[106] were depictions of juvenile male nudity.[107] During the general appropriation of features found in 'art cinema' by mainstream filmmakers (Wilinksy 2001, 4), Hollywood movies of the 1960s began to include similar scenes.[108] Situated primarily in "places coded as natural or domestic," these images reinforced boys' innocence and asexuality inasmuch as these attributes were "transfer[red] onto their nakedness" (Barcan 2004, 90). 'Castrated Cupid' continued to be a popular role for cinematic boys throughout the postwar period,[109] the paradox of their asexual yet heterosexual identities persisting in a

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values rather than state-endorsed ideology (Beumers 2009, 112-13). Beginning in 1959, the Moscow International Film Festival reconnected the Soviet Union with cinema in the West (Johnson 1996, 644).

[104] Beumers notes that children featured prominently in Soviet films made during 'the Thaw' (2009, 133) and other examples with juvenile male protagonists include *The Magic Weaver* (1960), *Seryozha* (1960), *The Steamroller and the Violin* (1961), *The Blind Bird* (1964) and *Welcome, or No Trespassing* (1964).

[105] Synessios finds the term 'dreams' limiting and suggests 'memories' or 'reveries' as additional descriptors (2007, 111). Skakov further notes how "the dream-reality binary is not a fully satisfactory conceptual framework" (2012, 20), later referring to hallucinations the boy has (ibid, 28). Juxtaposition of the dream (or dream-like) sequences with nightmarish settings do "blur[] the line between dark reality and bright dreams" (Beumers 2009, 126).

[106] *Bicycle Thieves*, for example, was distributed without a PCA seal of approval because of two scenes, one of which was Bruno's frustrated attempt to urinate as he and his father searched for the bicycle (Wilinsky 2001, 38). Casper includes the film among the examples of disputes that undermined attempts to censor and led to the collapse of the PCA in 1968 (2007, 129-30).

[107] *Shoeshine*, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *Ivan's Childhood*, *Lord of the Flies* and *Welcome, or No Trespassing* all feature brief such depictions. The Production Code strictly forbid the display of children's genitals (II.8) and did not permit *complete* nudity of anyone (VI.1). The aforementioned films, as well as several other foreign imports, violated one or both of these prohibitions.

[108] *The Fool Killer* (1965) and *Maya* (1966) appeared before the transition to a ratings system, *My Side of the Mountain* (1969), *Popi* (1969) and *The Reivers* (1969) afterward. The first two films were released with G ratings, the third with PG, reflecting the wholesomeness with which such depictions were attributed. Foreign or independent films in which there were extended sequences of boyhood nudity, however, such as *Chronicle of a Boy Alone* (1965) and *Robby* (1968) did not obtain distribution in the US until decades later and the advent of the VCR.

[109] Examples include *The Bride Goes Wild* (1948), *The Mating of Millie* (1948), *Here Comes the Groom* (1951), *The Girl Next Door* (1953), *It Started in Naples* (1960) and *The Courtship of Eddie's Father* (1963).

number of romantic comedies that acknowledged their young characters' interest in the opposite sex,[110] but diverted it as in earlier decades to practices of homosocial bonding[111] or relationships with dogs.[112]

Indeed, boys continued to find canine companionship in cinema of the fifties and early sixties,[113] most notably in the 'coming-of-age' film *Old Yeller* (1958).[114] With his father away on a three-month cattle run, Travis Coates becomes the 'man of the house' and is forced to shoot the movie's eponymous yellow dog when he contracts rabies (Figure 5.1).[115] Running concurrent to these filmic narratives and eventually supplanting them in the second half of the sixties were pairings of boys with wild rather than domesticated animals.[116] In *My Side of the Mountain* (1969) Sam Gribley lives by himself for a time in the Laurentian Mountains where he captures a baby falcon and trains it to hunt for him (Figure 5.2).[117] Henry Jenkins connects such cinematic images[118] to progressive child-rearing literature of the postwar period that viewed "children [as] wild and untamed, demanding a world that respected their natural

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[110] Hayward notes how comedy "provides an arena…where repressed tensions can be released in a safe manner" (2013, 89).

[111] Jimmy John seeks to satisfy his curiosities about the opposite sex through voyeurism in *Room for One More* (1952). Considered too young for a discussion of 'the birds and the bees', the boy is enrolled in the BSA to refocus his energies.

[112] Erasmus Leaf writes love letters to Brigitte Bardot in *Dear Brigitte* (1965), which leads to a meeting with the famous French actress. The woman gives the boy a puppy, whom he promptly names Brigitte and to whom he transfers his affections.

[113] Examples include *The Painted Hills* (1951), *Good-bye, My Lady* (1956), *A Dog of Flanders* (1960), *A Dog's Best Friend* (1960), *The Silent Call* (1961), *Big Red* (1962) and *Lassie's Great Adventure* (1963). This latter movie was edited together from a five-part episode in the ninth season of the *Lassie* television series titled "The Journey", demonstrating the increasing overlap between film and TV during this period, competing media working together in "mutually advantageous business relationships" (Lewis 2008, 233). The first eleven seasons of *Lassie* revolved around the canine's relationship with a boy: Jeff Miller in *Jeff's Collie* (1954-1957) and Timmy Martin in *Timmy and Lassie* (1957-1964).

[114] The movie was based on the 1956 novel of the same name by Fred Gipson, who also worked on the screenplay and penned a sequel, *Savage Sam* (1962), which was turned into a film the following year.

[115] Other 'coming-of-age' movies of the postwar era include *Down to the Sea in Ships* (1949), *When I Grow Up* (1951), *The Happy Time* (1952), *All Mine to Give* (1958), *The Sad Horse* (1959) and *Almost Angels* (1962), most involving the juvenile lead's experience of loss. The genre was even parodied in *The Happy Road* (1957) when Danny Andrews runs away from his overseas boarding school and, to evade the police in France, dons a beret and short pants in a comic reversal of the symbolic acquisition of long trousers upon entering manhood, much of the humor relying on the cultural differences in fashion between American and European boys. While short pants were generally a marker of boyhood in Europe (Rose 2010, 158), the US was a mixed bag with the knickerbockers popular in the early thirties giving way to short or long trousers depending on age by mid-decade and to cuffed jeans in the fifties (Harris and Brown 2003, 14, 22, 38).

[116] Gadd identifies a general repositioning of wild animals in films of the late fifties through seventies whereby they took the place that domesticated animals had held earlier (2005, 247, 251). Jenkins similarly points out that "[b]y the mid-1960s, popular representations of animals tended to favor wild and untamed creatures rather than domesticated animals" (2007, 237). The wild animals in these films included free-running horses in *Misty* (1961), a seal in *Sammy, the Way-Out Seal* (1962), a dolphin in *Flipper* (1963), a mountain lion in *Zebra in the Kitchen* (1965) and a raccoon in *Rascal* (1969).

[117] The film was based on Jean Craighead George's 1959 novel of the same name. Sam credits his venture into the wilderness to Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) who advocated finding oneself in nature. Sullivan points to the fifties and sixties as two decades in which there was a surge of interest in "Thoreau the naturalist and Thoreau as a friendly guide for children exploring the woods" (2015, 66).

[118] Jenkins (2007, 237) specifically refers to *Maya* and Disney's animated *The Jungle Book* (1967), as well as the TV series *Flipper* (1964-1967) and *Gentle Ben* (1967-1969), the latter pairing a boy with a wild bear.

impulses" (2007, 237).[119] Bart Collins, imprisoned with 499 other boys by a tyrannical piano teacher in *The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T.* (1953),[120] leads an uprising against the despotic doctor (Figure 5.3), wakes from what is only a nightmare, but ditches his piano practice anyway to play baseball.[121]

While the 'wild boy' or 'bad boy' might be celebrated for a time,[122] 'domestication' (Sammond 2005, 252) was inevitable[123] and the ostensible anarchy of Bart and his comrades (Sinyard 1992, 22)[124] was perceived as a threat by critics of the progressives, particularly as the 'baby boomers' entered their teenaged years (Jackson 1986, 130). Delinquency among young Americans proliferated (Casper 2007, 18), but was associated with this older demographic.[125] Enrollment in juvenile character-building organizations such as the Boy Scouts increased,[126] as did cinematic fantasies of juvenile crime fighting.[127] Boys as victims of crime, however, dominated the period, constructed as particularly vulnerable to a

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[119] This description is similar to that of the 'bad boy' (Kidd 2004, 53) and extends Jones' argument concerning the male-focused construction of romantic childhood (1999, 132) to more recent constructions of childhood.

[120] The film's screenplay was written by Theodor Geisel, better known as Dr. Seuss. Referred to by Nel as "an American icon" (2004, 1), Seuss was a left-leaning political cartoonist during World War II (ibid, 39-41) whose anti-fascism was reflected in the movie, the Terwilliker Institute where the boys are imprisoned likened to a Nazi concentration camp (ibid, 125).

[121] Fine refers to "the game's symbolic centrality in [American] culture" (1987, 2) and narrates the beginning of Little League Baseball in the forties, noting that the first national tournament was held in 1948 (ibid, 6-7). Soon after, film producers brought boys and baseball together in films such as *The Kid from Left Field* (1953), *Roogie's Bump* (1954), *The Great American Pastime* (1956), *Moochie of the Little League* (1959) and *Safe at Home!* (1962).

[122] In addition to the American iterations of the 'bad boy' in films such as *Curley* (1947), *Who Killed Doc Robbin* (1948), *On Moonlight Bay* (1951), *My Pal Gus* (1952), *Stop, You're Killing Me* (1952), *By the Light of the Silvery Moon* (1953) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1960) there was the previously-mentioned Aussie 'Smiley', played by a different actor in the sequel *Smiley Gets a Gun* (1958), as well as William Brown, the British version of Finn (Greenway 2002, 104-5) based on a series of books by Richmal Crompton, in *Just William's Luck* (1948) and *William at the Circus* (1948).

[123] As it concerns cinema's 'wild boys', Erik Bruner is whisked off to 'civilization' at the end of *Tarzan and the Jungle Boy* (1968). The most famous case of a child found living in the wild is that of Victor, 'the Wild Boy of Aveyron', who was about 12yo when captured for the final time in 1800, the subsequent attempts to 'civilize' him proving mostly unsuccessful. *The Wild Child* (1970), a French movie about Victor, ends early on and optimistically in this process. For accounts of this 'wild boy' that include discussions of the film, see Shattuck (1980) and Newton (2002, 98-127, 216-17).

[124] Anarchic readings of Bart's actions at the Terwilliker Institute seem to overlook what Nel refers to as the boy's "genuine grievance" (2004, 128). Midway through the film, Bart breaks out into pensive song about how adults "have no right to push and shove us little kids around…no right to boss and beat us little kids about." While these lyrics are couched in terms of what rights adults do *not* have, they nonetheless bring together children and rights-based language in cinema, which reflected the broader discussions in the postwar period that led to the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959 (Holzscheiter 2010, 125-27).

[125] The immediate postwar period saw films such as *Boys' Ranch* (1946), *The Kid from Cleveland* (1949) and *Johnny Holiday* (1950), but examples of delinquent juveniles thereafter were sporadic. The psychologically-troubled perpetrators in *Storm Center* (1956) and *The Black Orchid* (1959) gave way to boys threatened by teenage gangs in *Crime in the Streets* (1956) and *This Rebel Breed* (1960). Out of the French 'New Wave' movement, which "broke onto the scene in world cinema" in the late fifties (Sklar 2002, 334), came *The 400 Blows* (1959), which also explored the subject of juvenile delinquency.

[126] Wills refers to 1945-1965 as the BSA's 'golden age' with membership reaching a peak in the sixties (2013, 122). Peacock refers to an emphasis during this decade on science education in the organization's monthly magazine *Boys' Life*, which rallied the nation's boys to join the technological race against the Soviets (2014, 106-9). Walt Disney's tribute to the organization was the live-action film *Follow Me, Boys!* (1966), which was based on MacKinlay Kantor's 1954 novel *God and My Country*.

[127] Along with an American version of *Emil and the Detectives* (1964) were *Boy Who Caught a Crook* (1961), *Mooncussers* (1962), *The Horse without a Head* (1963) and *Secrets of the Pirates' Inn* (1969).

dizzying array of kidnapping plots.[128] By far the most popular film of the sixties that explored the themes of delinquency and vulnerability was the Academy-Award-winning *Oliver!* (1968).[129] While the movie's blond-headed waif was pious as ever (Figure 5.4),[130] sympathetic portrayals of the gang leader Fagin and his sidekick 'bad boy' the Artful Dodger reflected an emergent openness to moral ambiguity in "changing and confusing times" (Brooks 2014, 124).[131]

Barry Grant notes how "American society fragmented during [the sixties]," becoming "polarized by the Vietnam War," support for and opposition to the overseas conflict "pervad[ing]…popular culture" (2008, 2-3). Cinematic boys were either patriots in war or beacons of peace; in none of these narratives, however, was the conflict addressed directly.[132] This was also the case with the upheaval associated with the American civil rights movement (ibid, 4-5), continuing Hollywood's legacy of both infrequent and moderate responses to social issues (Maltby 2003, 285).[133] With respect to juvenile males and the plight of African Americans, film narratives focused on *white* boys' experiences of black *men's* jeopardy,[134]

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[128] Examples include *The Atomic City* (1952), *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956), *Ransom!* (1956), *The Big Operator* (1959), *The Challenge* (1960), *Night Train for Inverness* (1960), *The Unstoppable Man* (1961), *Stakeout!* (1962), *High and Low* (1963), *Tomorrow at Ten* (1963), *The Hostage* (1967), *The Naked Runner* (1967) and *House of Cards* (1968).

[129] The film was adapted from the successful musical of the same name that premiered in London's New Theatre in 1960 (Napolitano 2014, 104-6, 181-95) and was nominated for eleven Academy Awards, taking home five of them (Best Picture, Best Director, Best Musical Score, Best Art Direction, Best Sound), as well as an honorary Oscar for outstanding choreography (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1969). Oliver's singing voice was not that of Mark Lester (1958-), who portrayed the character, but rather the *daughter* of the film's musical director (ibid, 259 n36).

[130] Brooks' claim that *Oliver!* is "about the journey from boyhood to manhood " (2005, 115) does not hold up under scrutiny, nor does her addendum "or something short of it" (ibid, 115-16) alleviate the problem. Oliver remains vulnerable, dependent and innocent throughout and even Brooks acknowledges the boy is "more object than subject in his film" (ibid, 116), "dependent on inexplicable twists of fate, mostly managed by adults" (ibid, 115). While commenting about Dickens' novel, Locke's observation that Oliver resembles "a saint—an *unchanging* exemplary sacred essence, a *static* icon in a violently fallen world" (2011, 15; italicized emphases mine) holds true for the central figure of the movie.

[131] Brooks refers to Fagin as "a charming rogue with a protective attitude toward the boys" (2005, 120) and Jack Wild (1952-2006), who played the Artful Dodger, was nominated for Best Supporting Actor and Napolitano refers to "[s]ome critics [who] proclaim[ed] him the true star of the piece" (2014, 188).

[132] Boggs and Pollard points out that "the Indochina war was accompanied by such widespread criticism and social turbulence …that cinematic depictions of a heroic war spurred on by noble objectives would have seemed ludicrous to most filmmakers" (2007, 89). For a juvenile hero of war, therefore, Disney reached back in *Johnny Shiloh* (1963) to the Civil War and the figure of John Lincoln Clem who was 10yo when he was accepted into the Union Army as a mascot and drummer boy, becoming "the youngest noncommissioned officer ever to have served in the U.S. Army" when he was promoted to sergeant at the age of twelve (Rosen 2015, 13). *Mosby's Marauders* (1967), another Disney offering, revolved around a young Confederate private. As for the young ambassadors of peace, they were associated with Eastern religious practices such as the Buddhist monk Kashi in *Tarzan's Three Challenges* (1963) and Saju, a devotee of the Hindu god Vishnu, in *Kenner* (1969).

[133] Films that tackled such issues were known as 'social problem films', which Casper defines as "a genre that focuses upon a harmful condition of society and its effect upon the individual, or an individual problem shared by countless others in a society that caused or encouraged the problem," and, since this implies "the problem can be licked by social reform/treatment or begin to be alleviated by its acknowledgment, the genre ensures an upbeat conclusion" (2007, 287). Some filmmakers showed solidarity with the burgeoning civil rights movement through the vehicle of the 'social problem film' (Scott 2015, 9).

[134] *Intruder in the Dust* (1950), *Stars in My Crown* (1950) and *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962) all conform to this pattern and the latter film, even though it and the 1960 Harper Lee novel on which it was based appeared during the height of civil rights activism, displaces its action to the 'safety' of the Depression Era (Graham 2001, 160; Henninger 2016, 605).

conforming to a Hollywood construction of "white children…as contributing members to significant and (arguably) *positive* social change" (Olson 2017, 5; italicized emphasis in original).[135]

With respect to African American boys, Debbie Olson identifies an "absence of black children within American mainstream cinema" (2017, 3). While this refers primarily to a lack of leading roles,[136] black boys were also marginalized by the rarity and nature of supporting roles,[137] their performances conforming primarily to the belittling 'pickaninny' stereotype, described by Donald Bogle as "a harmless, little screwball creation whose eyes popped, whose hair stood on end with the least excitement, and whose antics were pleasant and diverting" (2016, 5).[138] With the success of the civil rights movement came an increased presence of African Americans in cinema and more positive portrayals of black boys. Films featuring an African American boy's 'coming-of-age' were quick to emerge, the most well-known being *Sounder* (1972).[139] David Lee Morgan's father is sentenced to a year of hard labor for stealing meat in Depression-era Louisiana and is there maimed, whereupon his return the boy must decide whether to continue helping on the farm or leave to pursue an education in order to escape poverty (Figure 5.5).[140]

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[135] Referring to the William Faulkner novel on which *Intruder* was based, Dimitri identifies a view (also present in the film) that "minorities are apt to think and act differently," therefore, since Chick Mallison (the juvenile character played by Jarman Jr.) as a 'child' is "alienated from [the] circles of power," he can "circumvent[] that order" (2003, 20-21). An exception to this role for a white boy playing opposite a sympathetic black man was the brief appearance of bigoted Billy in *The Defiant Ones* (1958).

[136] The only prominent roles for African American boys I was able to find prior to changes in Hollywood brought about by the struggle for civil rights were Sam in *You Said a Mouthful* (1932), Donald in *The Quiet One* (1949) and C.T. Young in *Bright Road* (1953). Bogle discusses the latter two films together, referring to "Donald Thompson's fine performance [as] one of the first intelligent treatments of the black child in American movies" and to "another sensitive depiction of a black child…in the work of young Philip Hepburn" (1941-), the actor of C.T. (2016, 128).

[137] When African American children do appear in Hollywood films, Olson notes how they "function[] as the 'Africanist presence' that normalizes white middle-class childhood" (2017, 8).

[138] Farina (Allen Hoskins [1920-1980]), Stymie (Matthew Beard [1925-1981]) and Buckwheat (Billie Thomas [1931-1980]) of the *Our Gang* shorts are probably the most familiar such characters (Bogle 2016, 16-17, 19). In terms of feature-length films, Hoskins played Sam in the previously-mentioned *You Said a Mouthful*, Beard played secondary roles in *Two-Gun Man from Harlem* (1938) and *Way Down South* (1939) while Thomas played more substantial roles in *General Spanky* (1936) and *Mokey* (1942). For a monograph-length treatment of issues related to race in the *Our Gang* shorts and their reception in popular culture, see Lee (2015). Other African American actors who played 'pickaninnies' included Philip Hurlic (1927-2014), Cordell Hickman (1932-1996) and Glenn Leedy (1935-2004), the latter in the infamous Disney film *Song of the South* (1946). The movie has not been commercially released in North America since the mid-1980s due to the race controversies surrounding it, though bootleg copies of subsequent Asian and European releases have found their way to North America, made easier in the contemporary era of Internet video sharing (Sperb 2010, 30, 32). While Disney publicists insisted the film was postbellum in its setting, there were no explicit indications of such in the movie and many initial viewers assumed that the setting was antebellum (Inge 2012, 224). Leedy's character not only conforms to the 'pickaninny' stereotype (Stein 2015, 25), but is tasked with looking after a white boy (played by Bobby Driscoll [1937-1968]), which Inge connects to "the custom of assigning to a white male child a black slave child of the same age to serve as a lifelong servant and a whipping boy" (2012, 224-25).

[139] The film was based on the 1969 novel by William H. Armstrong, which won the Newbery Medal, and was nominated for four Academy Awards (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1973). Bogle claims that "[n]o black film of this early period was as highly praised as *Sounder*" (2016, 223).

[140] Other films featuring African American boys in prominent roles include *Man and Boy* (1971), *To All My Friends on Shore* (1972), *Cinderella Liberty* (1973), *Cornbread, Earl and Me* (1975), *The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh* (1979) and a remake of *The Kid from Left Field* (1979).

Old Yeller (Buena Vista, 1958)	***My Side of the Mountain*** (Paramount Pictures, 1969)	***The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T.*** (Columbia Pictures, 1953)	***Oliver!*** (Columbia Pictures, 1968)	***Sounder*** (20th Century Fox, 1972)
Figure 5.1	Figure 5.2	Figure 5.3	Figure 5.4	Figure 5.5

Despite increased visibility and positive portrayals of African American boys in Hollywood of the 1970s, racism endured subtly throughout the decade, particularly through the practice of 'tokenism'.[141] Racism itself was explored in *Mixed Company* (1974), which focused on the tumultuous relationship between Freddie Wilcox (Figure 6.1) and his prospective father, a professional basketball coach forced to face his racial prejudices.[142] The film opened with reference to the 'little blond angels' preferred in adoptions and, reflecting a 'white backlash' following the fight for civil rights (Sperb 2012, 97),[143] seventies cinema was inundated with blond boys,[144] culminating with the "cherubic" (Holmstrom 1998, 379) Ricky Schroder in the 1979 remake of *The Champ* (Figure 6.2).[145] Franco Zeffirelli, the director of both this film and *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977), referred to Schroder's innocence and trust as the "qualities which shone through in [his] screen test" (1986, 305).[146]

As in earlier decades, 'innocent' boys were placed in a plethora of dangerous situations in which their constructed vulnerability served to heighten suspense, but "a new type of audience was emerging" in

[141] Bershoff and Griffin define 'tokenism' as "the placing of a non-white character into a film in order to deflate any potential charge of racism" (2009, 52), the practice itself considered by some to *be* "a racist cliché" (ibid, 53). *The Biscuit Eater* (1972) and *Treasure of Matecumbe* (1976) both utilized a 'black and white buddy' formula (ibid, 91) in which the white boy was the focus of the narrative, his black friend secondary to it. *Biscuit* was a remake with Kliman noting how the earlier version of 1940 "manages to demean blacks in almost every way and yet to assert that everything is fine between the races, that whites deserve their superior status and that blacks really want to serve them" (1978, 92). Comparing this to the later version, she writes that it is "encouraging…that while only one reviewer of many in 1940 noticed anything racist about the first film, reviewers in 1972 were very critical of every racially insensitive nuance in the far less objectionable film" (ibid, 96).

[142] He and his wife also take in a Vietnamese girl and a Native-American boy, which expands the issue of masculine juveniles and race in cinema beyond depictions of African Americans to include Asian, Native and Latino characters who have also been marginalized in Hollywood cinema through stereotypes and assignment to secondary roles (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 102-63).

[143] Sperb notes that *Song of the South* was released again in 1972, becoming Disney's biggest re-release to date (2012, 87).

[144] Dyer notes that while "white people's hair and eyes run the gamut of human coloration[,]…blond hair and blue eyes[] are uniquely white" (2017, 43-44). In summarizing Dyer, Scahill refers to "blondeness [as]…the penultimate signifier of whiteness" (2015, 102). The 'white backlash' of the seventies and the noticeable presence of blond-haired boys in many of the decade's starring roles are not coincidental phenomena.

[145] In addition to Schroder (1970-) and Lester, who continued to play juvenile roles in the early years of the decade, there was "the angelic blond" (Holmstrom 1998, 320) Peter Ostrum (1957-) who played Charlie Bucket in *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* (1971), as well as fellow American-born actors Christopher (1958-2010) and Eric Shea (1960-), Clay O'Brien (1961-), Ike Eisenmann (1962-), Justin Henry (1971-) and the "glamorous" teen heartthrob (ibid, 338) Leif Garrett (1961-). Robert Bettles (1962-) starred in several Australian films and "sandy-haired" Renato Cestiè (1963-) was "the darling of Italy" (ibid, 343-44).

[146] Bartholomew and Schroder are the two juvenile male actors whom Kincaid refers to in his discussion about innocence and cultural constructs of beauty (Kincaid 1992, 10).

the seventies (Friedman 2007, 20) and with it significant shifts in depictions of juvenile masculinity.[147] While horror films were always a part of Hollywood sound cinema (Jewell 2007, 209-14), they were not mainstream until the seventies[148] with boys depicted in them as *both* victims[149] *and* villains.[150] Dominic Lennard notes that "child villain[s] always possess[] a degree of shocking autonomy that fantastically illustrates the agency and power that children are denied in our society" (2014, 11). This "intolerable confusion of cultural categories" (ibid, 12) was resolved by ejecting these evil characters from normative childhood[151] or depicting them as corrupted,[152] both strategies illustrating how "evil child narratives… confirm the essential innocence of children" (Renner 2016, 7).

While the villainous boys of horror films were not taken seriously (Lennard 2014, 13), other 'precocious' juveniles of the decade were depicted positively in 'serious' genre films.[153] Robin Shelby is among the six survivors of a capsized cruise ship in *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972),[154] his knowledge of the vessel's interior layout key to their rescue (Figure 6.3).[155] The demise of the traditional Western (Shiel

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[147] "[D]ealing overtly with race and ethnicity" was only one of the breaks with classical Hollywood that Friedman identifies (2007, 21). Films that were critical of American society, reflected a distrust of authorities, had a cynical outlook, revised genre expectations, were sexually explicit and focused on social outcasts all contributed to these shifts.

[148] *The Exorcist* (1973) was "America's first big budget horror movie" and reinvigorated the genre (Gateward 2007, 111, 114).

[149] Horror films that saw boys victimized in some capacity included *The Possession of Joel Delaney* (1972), *Something Evil* (1972), *Vampire Circus* (1972), *Whoever Slew Auntie Roo?* (1972), *Burnt Offerings* (1976), *Victor Frankenstein* (1977) and *Salem's Lot* (1979). Related to these was the decade's cycle of animal attack movies, which saw juvenile males threatened or killed by sharks in *Jaws* (1975) and *Jaws 2* (1978), spiders in *Tarantulas: The Deadly Cargo* (1977) and bees in *The Swarm* (1978) and *Terror out of the Sky* (1978).

[150] Renner pinpoints the appearance of 'evil' children in the fifties, but notes that these narratives only moved from "fringe curiosity" to the mainstream during the seventies (2016, 3-4). Key to this study is her observation that "[t]he majority of evil child characters are, by far, white, middle- to upper-class boys" (ibid, 6).

[151] One of the earliest examples was the UK film *Village of the Damned* (1960), based on John Wyndham's 1957 novel *The Midwich Cuckoos*, in which the murderous cabal of children led by David Zellaby are aliens. The young Antichrist of *Damien: Omen II* (1978) is similarly dehumanized, being the offspring of Satan and a jackal. Still other 'evil' boys who kill are revealed to be suffering a break with reality as in *The Others* (1972), *Rivals* (1972), *Devil Times Five* (1974), *Macon County Line* (1974) and *The Orphan* (1979), presented as sociopaths as in *A Little Game* (1971), *What the Peeper Saw* (1972), *The Boys from Brazil* (1978) and *Halloween* (1978) or a combination of both as in *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea* (1976).

[152] Miles in *The Nightcomers* (1971), for example, comes under the influence of a man who engages in a sadomasochistic relationship with the boy's governess, which Miles witnesses and subsequently acts out with his sister before killing the man in the movie's climax. The film served as a prequel to Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* (1898), which saw its first cinematic adaptation in *The Innocents* (1961), both book and movie inferring Miles' "damaging sexual knowledge" (Renner 2016, 101).

[153] Juvenile crime fighting continued its popularity in the films *Strange Monster of Strawberry Cove* (1971), *The Whiz Kid and the Mystery at Riverton* (1974), *The Mystery of the Million Dollar Hockey Puck* (1975) and *The Whiz Kid and the Carnival Caper* (1976), but this and previous decades' slapstick crooks render a straightforward reading of the young protagonists' competency problematic. *The Double McGuffin* (1979) is an exception, but there is only a single juvenile male among several older sleuths.

[154] The film was a key representative of the disaster movie cycle that "flourished in the Hollywood of the early to mid-1970s" (Hanson 2006, 128) and was nominated for eight Academy Awards, winning the Oscar for best original song "The Morning After", as well as a special achievement award for its visual effects (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1973).

[155] Disaster films were generally conservative in their ideology (Hanson 2006, 130) and boys' survival was often dependently (rather than interdependently) secured as in *Runaway!* (1973), *Earthquake* (1974), *The Last Survivors* (1975) and *Flood* (1976).

2006a, 145)[156] brought with it reconfigurations of the genre's formulaic adult male hero and his juvenile sidekick, most notably in *The Cowboys* (1972).[157] After the shocking death of John Wayne's character, the rancher's nine young hirelings[158] complete the cattle drive after avenging the man's murder, meeting violence with violence (Figure 6.4); a "revolutionary" action for boys to undertake (Rydell 2007).[159]

In addition to lethal retaliation, the young cowboys bantered about naked women, snuck alcohol and suffered their first hangovers.[160] The decade's 'coming-of-age' movies featured diverse forays into territories of adulthood,[161] most involving traumatic experiences. Boys not only lost their beloved pets, either through death or releasing them back into the wild,[162] but underwent trials[163] and initiation rites.[164] They were stranded at sea,[165] wounded while working their first jobs[166] and witnessed atrocities. Peaceful

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[156] Shiel explains that the "traditional myths of the heroic white settlement of the American West [were] now powerfully discredited by exposés of the officially sanctioned oppression and extermination of Native Americans by settlers and the US Army on the frontier" (2006a, 145).

[157] Warner Bros purchased the rights to a 1970 film treatment written by Dale Jennings (1917-2000), which was novelized and published the following year as *The Cowboys* (White 2008, 90-91). Jennings "was a steadfast libertarian who stood up for the right of same-sex love and eroticism, but he refused to the end of his days to don the 'gay' mantle" (ibid, 84). Publication of *The Cowboys* was fraught with controversy over homoerotic elements in the story that "Jennings defended…as portraying a historic reality" (ibid, 91), none of which were carried over in the cinematic adaptation.

[158] A tenth boy had been trampled to death earlier in the movie. While the demise of juvenile male characters in Western films was rare in the decades leading up to *The Cowboys*, it was not so "groundbreaking" as director Mark Rydell claims (2007). In addition to *Rocky Mountain Rangers* from the Three Mesquiteers series, boys died in *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1936), *Dodge City* (1939), *In Old Monterey* (1939), *American Empire* (1942), *Trigger Trail* (1944), *New Mexico* (1951), *Rebel in Town* (1956), *The Way West* (1967), *Jeremiah Johnson* (1972), *The Deadly Trackers* (1973) and, depending on what limits are set for the spaghetti western (Fridlund 2006, 4-6), *Challenge to White Fang* (1974).

[159] The film is often classified as conservative (Loy 2004, 161-62; Shiel 2006a, 145), but is better understood as a mixture of conservative and progressive impulses owing to the collaborative process of its production.

[160] Loy connects these experiences with the boys 'growing up' (2004, 164).

[161] *The Reivers*, coming at the end of the sixties and also based on a Faulkner novel (1962), helped launch this renaissance of the 'coming-of-age' genre. The film, "a combination of bromance and road movie" (Kreyling 2017, 14), is narrated by the adult Lucius Priest about how he departed from youth by embarking on an illicit road trip with two men who had absconded with his grandfather's new car, emerging from the experience as "a Southern gentleman" (Jones 2007, 58).

[162] An example of the first was *Where the Red Fern Grows* (1974), which was adapted from the same-titled novel by Wilson Rawls (1961). *Baker's Hawk* (1976), based on the 1974 book by Jack Bickham, was an example of the second.

[163] Sam Sutter races across a canyon and up a rocky cliff in a trial designed to take his life in exchange for that of his sister in *Against a Crooked Sky* (1976), his intentions explicitly connected to John 15:13: "No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends."

[164] Kevin Whitlaw's father is an anthropologist studying the East African Masaai in *Visit to a Chief's Son* (1978) and the boy both witnesses a circumcision and embarks on a three-day journey into the bush with a young tribal warrior, Codonyo, to prove his manliness. On the role of circumcision in becoming a Masaai warrior, see Lancy (2015, 299-300).

[165] *Blue Fin* (1978), an Australian film adapted from the 1969 book by Colin Thiele, sees 'Snook' Pascoe successfully bring the titular fishing boat back to port after a storm disables the vessel, washes its crew overboard and incapacitates the boy's father.

[166] Quoting from 1 Cor 13:11, the eponymous rider for the Pony Express in *Peter Lundy and the Medicine Hat Stallion* (1977) narrates how he put away 'childish things' when he became a man. The film was based on the novel *San Domingo, The Medicine Hat Stallion* (1972) by Marguerite Henry.

Tom Thurston in *Kid Vengeance* (1977) sees not only his mother being raped, but her subsequent murder and that of his father, as well. While struggling with the morality of his actions, the boy hunts down and kills those responsible, gunning down the man who violated his mother in the film's climax (Figure 6.5).

Mixed Company (United Artists, 1974)

Figure 6.1

The Champ (MGM, 1979)

Figure 6.2

The Poseidon Adventure (20th Century Fox, 1972)

Figure 6.3

The Cowboys (Warner Bros, 1972)

Figure 6.4

Kid Vengeance (Cannon Film, 1977)

Figure 6.5

While this 'New Hollywood' appeared to have no 'laws' concerning its content (Kirshner 2013, 21), its treatments of juvenile sexuality were rare and visually restrained,[167] primarily making use (as in previous decades) of comedy to defuse anxieties.[168] 'Serious' movies on the subject came from outside Hollywood, with *both* exposure to adult sex *and* repression of self-driven exploration viewed as problematic. In the British film *The Go-Between* (1971),[169] green-garbed Leo Colston[170] is 'castrated Cupid' carrying letters between two secret lovers, but after discovering them *in flagrante delicto* (Figure 7.1), he suffers lifelong "emotional paralysis" (Gray 2007, 646).[171] Seminary student Tom Allen in the Australian 'New Wave' film *The Devil's Playground* (1976)[172] struggles with the brotherhood's strict code regarding celibacy,[173]

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[167] Among Hollywood films of the period I have found only *Rivals* to include a scene in which a juvenile male has a sexual encounter, much of which occurs outside the frame and involves no explicit nudity of the boy. This incident with his babysitter is experienced negatively and hastens the boy's break with reality, thereby reinforcing rather than challenging the idea current then (and now) that sex is damaging to children.

[168] Examples include *Smile* (1975), *A Little Romance* (1979) and *Rich Kids* (1979). Commenting on the French film *Get Out Your Handkerchiefs* (1978), Lanzoni writes that the film's "success in the United States [was] surprising since American society is not usually open to the depiction of love stories featuring such an age discrepancy (preteen-student and older teacher)" and that the movie "is a rare testimony to the free spirit of the 1970s" (2002, 292). This understanding of the film's American reception, however, seems to overlook how the relationship between the adult female lead and a bullied genius at a summer camp for boys is both ambiguous in its extent and, more importantly, *comedic*.

[169] The film was based on L.P. Hartley's 1953 novel of the same name and won the Palme d'Or at Cannes (Gray 2007, 645).

[170] Barber notes that Leo's green suit conveys not only the boy's "naiveté, innocence and candour," but also his "envy…when he falls hopeless in love with the glamorous Marian, only to be rebuffed by her" (2013, 100-1).

[171] Barber points out that "[t]he loss of childhood innocence is one of the principal thematic concerns of the film" (2013, 102) and that it "rejects a nostalgic evocation of the past in favour of an insight into a life destroyed by the past" (ibid, 94).

[172] The film is autobiographical, covering the time that its director and scriptwriter Fred Schepisi spent at a Catholic juniorate during the 1950s (May 2006, 109).

[173] Modesty is also a concern at the seminary with Tom reprimanded for removing his swimsuit to shower, the priest referring to this as a 'disgusting' act of exposure and instructing the other boys to avert their gaze. After citing the pertinent biblical texts that link nudity and shame (Gen 2:25; 3:7) and use nakedness as a euphemism for sexual activity (Lev 18:8), Cover notes how a "Judeo-Christian bodily ethics [that] situate[s] nakedness in terms of forbidden codes of sexuality…informs the contemporary

masturbating with a frequency his confessor finds unbelievable (Figure 7.2)[174] and eventually forsaking a clerical calling to pursue a 'normal' life, the repression of his budding sexuality viewed as "unhealthy and unnatural" (May 2006, 109).[175]

Candid discussions about children's sexuality and calls to grant them the freedom to explore sex (Farson 1974, 129-53; Holt 1974, 183-87) were situated within larger discourses about children's rights to self-determination.[176] This vision was a minority one, however, and fears of what autonomous boys might do were expressed in the period's juvenile delinquency films.[177] While a disenchantment with childhood was evident in some seventies films,[178] those in which children were cherished innocents dominated the decade's screens, culminating with the Oscar-nominated paean to boyhood innocence *The Black Stallion* (1979).[179] Alec Ramsay and a wild Arabian stallion, survivors of a sinking ocean liner, bond on a deserted island (Figure 7.3), reinforcing the ideological link between children and nature, particularly as reflected in their relationships with animals (Addison 2005, 164-65).[180] Nostalgia for the supposed simplicity and purity of childhood accompanied a general "hunger[] for the stability, order, and tradition of a lost golden age" (Slocum-Schaffer 2003, 212) that had set in by decade's end.

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sense of bodily behaviour, subjective performativity and the ethics of privacy" (2003, 56). While the priest deems the covering of genitals by a swimsuit sufficiently modest, this and other articles of 'clothing' are liminal and complicate a nude-clothed binary (Barcan 2004, 16, 24). Indeed, May refers to "the near nakedness of the boys in swimsuits" that dominate the opening sequence as "point[ing] to the centrality of the body and sexuality in the film" (2006, 107).

[174] May describes the film as "present[ing] a biologically essentialist view of male sexuality" in which sex acts as "a hydraulic *force majeure*" (2006, 109), Tom's "burgeoning sexuality [being] irrepressible" (ibid, 113). She notes that "[a]lthough the film goes to some lengths to establish Tom's heterosexuality" (ibid, 119), his "homosexual impulses" (ibid, 110) and "involvement in homosexual acts" (ibid, 119) are not incompatible with heterosexuality, which is not viewed as a stable category (ibid, 109).

[175] May writes that "[a]ttempts at stringent sexual control will result in alcohol abuse, 'inversion', perversion, madness, death at worst, and bodily dysfunction at least" (2006, 109) with all of these illustrated in the film either by the priests or the seminary students, one of whom is part of a group that engages in 'purification' rituals and dies from drowning.

[176] Wyness cites Farson and Holt as the two key voices who "attempt[ed]…to graft a children's agenda on the civil rights movement in the USA in the 1970s" (2012, 229).

[177] Taking its cue from the British films *Bottoms Up* (1960), *If…* (1968) and *Melody* (1971) that climax with student revolts, the American film *Over the Edge* (1979) sees the city's youths, after the death of a teenager at the hands of a police officer, lock the adults in the school while they engage in vandalism that escalates to manslaughter.

[178] In their examination of "the changing representations of childhood in Australian feature films," May and Ramsland cite *Storm Boy* (1976), based on another of Thiele's books (1963), as articulating a vision of childhood that is "no longer / a separate magic place," but "open to the storms of adult life and must be given the 'truth' about adult affairs if it is to flourish" (2007, 136).

[179] The film was based on the 1941 novel of the same name by Walter Farley and, in addition to its two Oscar nominations, earned a special achievement award for sound editing (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1980).

[180] With prototypes in *The Littlest Outlaw* (1955) and *The Brave One* (1956), seventies films saw groups of boys move to the position of caretakers in attempting to rescue animals from the deaths adults have designed for them; examples include *Bless the Beasts and Children* (1971) and *Escape from the Dark* (1976), a British film by Disney that included a girl among the saviors and was titled *The Littlest Horse Thieves* for its American release in 1977.

The seventies was the first full decade with the ratings system of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) in effect[181] and "childhood as an idealized space 'quarantined' from the adult world" (May and Ramsland 2007, 137) gained renewed currency. Films targeting children as a distinct audience began to emerge,[182] particularly from independent filmmakers who capitalized on Hollywood's focus on 'adult' themes (Wyatt 2005, 205-9).[183] Child-centered films for ostensibly adult audiences[184] proliferated and, reflecting the decade's 'discovery' of child abuse (Jenks 2005, 98),[185] saw boys threatened not only from external sources,[186] but also from authority figures at home.[187] Among the intertwined anecdotes of childhood in the French film *Small Change* (1976)[188] is a case of domestic abuse uncovered at the boys' school that serves as the movie's spatial hub. The plight of Julien Leclou (Figure 7.4)[189] is brought into dialogue with rights-based language through a speech made by one of the teachers, "a rallying call and plea for the rights of children" (Vanderschelden 2013, 37).[190]

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[181] Both this system, implemented in 1968, and the earlier Production Code were predicated on the "perception that children (vulnerable, innocent) require protection from early exposure to disturbing content, such as physical and psychological violence, overt sexuality, frighteningly pessimistic views of life and the world, and otherwise 'adult' themes and issues" (Brown 2017b, 6).

[182] While children were identified as a target audience from the beginning of sound cinema (Crafton 1997, 206), movies made during the period of enforced censorship (1934-1968) were produced to appeal to audiences of varying ages (Brown 2017b, 38). Other countries, however, had state-funded cinema produced for their juvenile audiences during this period, among them the UK, India, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union (ibid, 61-62). In the UK, the Children's Film Foundation (CFF) quickly became the world's leader in such movies (Brown 2017a, 90). CFF films focusing on juvenile males included *Johnny on the Run* (1953), *One Wish Too Many* (1956), *The Salvage Gang* (1958), *Soapbox Derby* (1958) and *The Monster of Highgate Pond* (1961).

[183] *Benji* (1974) reinvigorated the 'family film', a genre that Brown argues is "partially distinct [from], but predominantly overlapping" with the 'children's film' (2017b, 17). Other independently-made movies such as *Summerdog* (1977), *The Great Brain* (1978), *Jacob Two-Two Meets the Hooded Fang* (1978), *Olly, Olly, Oxen Free* (1978) and *Where's Willie?* (1978), as well as the British films *Bugsy Malone* (1976) and *Arabian Adventure* (1979), joined an influx of new Disney theatrical releases such as *The Apple Dumpling Gang* (1975), *Escape to Witch Mountain* (1975) and its sequel *Return from Witch Mountain* (1978).

[184] Brown "make[s] a distinction between films made *for children*, and films *about children*" (2017b, 2; italicized emphases in original), though these are not mutually-exclusive categories.

[185] During the sixties, C. Henry Kempe (1922-1984) presented the 'battered baby syndrome' as a new phenomenon, but in the seventies revised his position to one in which "child abuse is a perennial feature of human societies" that, prior to the changes in cultural sensibilities brought on by the social upheavals of those decades, was invisible rather than nonexistent (Jenks 2005, 98).

[186] While kidnapping plots persisted in films such as *Godzilla vs. Megalon* (1973), *The Black Windmill* (1974), *Paper Tiger* (1975), *The Wind and the Lion* (1975), *Sky Riders* (1976) and *Viva Knievel!* (1977), they now often included other abductees (including adults) and were even parodied in *Every Little Crook and Nanny* (1972) and *No Deposit, No Return* (1976).

[187] From Scotland came *My Childhood* (1972) and *My Ain Folk* (1973), the first two films of Bill Douglas' (1934-1991) 'autobiographical' (on the problems with this ascription, see Barefoot 2006) trilogy. On this side of the Atlantic came *Jim, the World's Greatest* (1976), which ended in the tragic death of its juvenile male character at the hands of his father.

[188] The film was directed by François Truffaut (1932-1984) and, adopting a definition of childhood that includes infancy, he "portray[ed] childhood from birth to the threshold of adolescence" (Ingram and Duncan 2004, 145). Truffaut also directed *The 400 Blows* and *The Wild Child*, the three movies together referred to as his 'children trilogy' (Vanderschelden 2013, 31).

[189] Vanderschelden points out the similarities between Julien and the juvenile protagonists in the two other films directed by Truffaut, particularly Victor in *The Wild Child* as both boys have "long dark hair, shabby look and torn clothes" (2013, 33).

[190] The teacher not only acts as "the children's spokesperson" (Vanderschelden 2013, 36), but is also the voice of Truffaut, "echo[ing] the real-life campaigning activities that he undertook," which included a 1979 speech at UNESCO (ibid, 37).

1979 was designated the International Year of the Child,[191] the concept of the "world's children" (James 2009, 37) now circulating in North America as representations of childhood from various world cinemas penetrated its theatres and film festivals in increasing numbers. This included movies not only from English-speaking nations[192] and other 'Western' cinemas such as Germany,[193] France[194] and Italy,[195] but from Eastern Europe,[196] Mexico[197] and Japan.[198] The collaborations between filmmakers in different countries also increased,[199] making boundaries between national cinemas permeable (Sklar 2002, 407).[200]

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[191] For all the discussion of children's rights that was in the air, the year's winner of the Oscar for Best Picture (as well as four other Academy Awards) was *Kramer vs. Kramer* (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1980), which positioned Billy Kramer – played by "cuddly Justin [Henry]" (Holmstrom 1998, 386) – at the center of a custody dispute in which he is treated as "merely chattel, a foil for adult schemes…not [] as a person with rights" (Colburn-Rohn 1980, 248).

[192] To the many films already mentioned from the UK and Australia may be added those from South Africa that were shot in English such as *Dirkie* (1969) and *e'Lollipop* (1975), released in the US as *Forever Young, Forever Free*.

[193] *Somewhere in Berlin* (1946) was shot among the ruins of the city in the Soviet sector, leading some film scholars to compare this and other 'German rubble films' with Italian neorealist movies, *Germany Year Zero* in particular (Fisher 2007, 25, 42). The West-German *Winnetou and the Crossbreed* (1966) is an example of what Fridlund labels a 'Eurowestern': a western shot and produced in Europe outside Italy, but sometimes included among spaghetti westerns (2006, 5).

[194] Long before the student revolts in British films was *Zero for Conduct* (1933), which was banned for two decades in France due to its "satirical allusions to the French education institution" (Lanzoni 2002, 65, 146) and not released in the US until 1947. Other key French films in the history of juvenile masculinity in cinema include *Forbidden Games* (1952), *White Mane* (1953), *Diabolique* (1955) – remade in the US as *Reflections of Murder* in 1974 – *The Red Balloon* (1956) and its 'sequel' *Stowaway in the Sky* (1960), *This Special Friendship* (1964), *Naked Childhood* (1968), *Secret World* (1969), *Long Live Death* (1971), *The Toy* (1976) and *Madame Rosa* (1977).

[195] In addition to neorealist films and spaghetti westerns, Italy exported a number of sword-and-sandal films (on which, see Kinnard and Crnkovich 2017, 1-5) that presented imperiled boys rescued by models of adult hyper-masculinity. Examples include *The Giant of Metropolis* (1961), *The Invincible Gladiator* (1961), *The Vengeance of Ursus* (1961), *Hercules Against the Mongols* (1963) and *Maciste in King Solomon's Mines* (1964). As for the spaghetti westerns, which replaced swords and sandals with six-shooters and spurs "almost overnight" (ibid, 5), their numbers included *The Hills Run Red* (1966), *Ringo and His Golden Pistol* (1966), *It Can Be Done Amigo* (1972) and *Red Coat* (1975). Other cinematic exports from Italy that did not fall into any of these three categories included *Down with Misery* (1945), *The Railroad Man* (1956), *Bandits of Orgosolo* (1961), *Last Moments* (1974) and *The Tree of Wooden Clogs* (1978).

[196] A key Soviet film in the post-Thaw period was *Wounded Game* (1977). Soon after the Second World War and set mostly during it came *Border Street* (1948) from Poland, which "tells the story of several families living on the same street in Warsaw through the children's perspective" (Bartov 2005, 180). Released the same year and reflecting a distinctly non-Soviet strand of Marxism (Parvulescu 2015, 31) was the Hungarian film *It Happened in Europe*. Among the state-sponsored films for children in Czechoslovakia was *Journey to the Beginning of Time* (1955), released in the US in 1966.

[197] While many films exported from Mexico to the United States were Spanish-language and targeted its Latino communities (Agrasánchez 2006, 4), a number of movies such as *Santa Claus* (1959), *Tom Thumb and Little Red Riding Hood* (1963) and *Robinson Crusoe and the Tiger* (1970) were distributed with dubbing in English.

[198] *All Monsters Attack* (1971) and *Godzilla vs. Hedorah* (1971) were other films from the popular Japanese monster franchise (Kalat 1997, 1-5) and other key films from postwar Japan were *Good Morning* (1959), *The Naked Island* (1960), *High and Low* (1963) and *Boy* (1969).

[199] English-language co-productions by the UK and Italy included not only *What the Peeper Saw*, but *Never Take No for an Answer* (1951), *The Stranger's Hand* (1954), *Treasure Island* (1972), *Redneck* (1973) and *Scalawag* (1973). The US also co-produced films: In addition to *Kid Vengeance* with Israel, there was *The Clown and the Kids* (1967) with Bulgaria, *Hamad and the Pirates* (1971) with Bahrain, *The Blue Bird* (1976) with the Soviet Union and *Paco* (1976) with Colombia.

[200] While noting that the 'internationalization' of cinema production dated to the medium's earliest days, Sklar pinpoints the sixties and seventies as the decades during which this was accelerated (2002, 406). Popular young actors from other countries

These diverse depictions of juvenile masculinity imported to American screens paralleled domestic film production in which a number of marginalized groups began to feature more prominently in narratives all their own, among them special needs[201] and Jewish boys. Despite notable Jewish presence in Hollywood cinema behind the scenes (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 66), stories that focused on Jewish characters were infrequent[202] until the countercultural sixties and beyond (ibid, 69).[203] British filmmakers also participated in screening the experiences of young Jews,[204] co-producing *The Hero* (1971) with Israel.[205] The movie follows Nimrod,[206] a young Israeli soccer player[207] who runs away from home to see the final game of his idol Eitan, befriending the old man and cheering him on when the crowd turns against him (Figure 7.5).

The Go-Between
(Columbia Pictures, 1971)

Figure 7.1

The Devil's Playground
(EMC, 1979 [1976])

Figure 7.2

The Black Stallion
(United Artists, 1979)

Figure 7.3

Small Change
(New World Pictures, 1976)

Figure 7.4

The Hero
(Embassy Pictures, 1972 [1971])

Figure 7.5

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were recruited to star in American films. Holmstrom refers to the Italian-born Marietto Angeletti (1947-) as "an international starlet [because of] his command of languages" (1998, 288). The boy was in *It Started in Naples*, two other American films *The Pigeon That Took Rome* (1962) and *Behold a Pale Horse* (1964), as well as movies made in France and West Germany. Parisian-born Jacky Gencel (1941-), like Marietto in *Naples*, played a 'castrated Cupid' character in *Here Comes the Groom*. Garrett was one of the American actors who featured in a foreign co-production: *God's Gun* (1976), a spaghetti western filmed in Israel.

[201] Benshoff and Griffin note that "[t]he 1970s saw a new age in attempts to create awareness and acceptance of people with different abilities" (2009, 376) and this was reflected in a number of made-for-TV movies that focused on boys with a range of physical and emotional challenges: *A Circle of Children* (1977), *Something for Joey* (1977), *A Special Kind of Love* (1978) and *…And Your Name Is Jonah* (1979), which was praised by members of the deaf community for featuring a deaf actor rather than one who was not, as was customary with other forms of 'disability' (ibid, 376, 380).

[202] Anti-Semitism was prevalent in the US for the first half of the twentieth century (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 65), a subject tackled during the brief period of social critique after the Second World War in *Gentleman's Agreement* (1948), which took home the Oscar for Best Picture and two other Academy Awards (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1949). The subsequent HUAC investigations were "tinged" with anti-Semitism and while "[i]mages of Jews in Hollywood films did not disappear in the wake of the Red Scare, [] they were now rarely shown as part of present-day America" (ibid, 68), distanced rather by time and/or place as in *The Ten Commandments* and *The Juggler* (1953).

[203] In addition to *The Cowboys*, in which the boy who dies has earlier identified himself as Jewish, there are young Jews in the films *Lies My Father Told Me* (1975) and *When Every Day Was the Fourth of July* (1978).

[204] *Reach for Glory* (1962), which ends with the accidental shooting of a Jewish boy, conforms to the same postwar template of depicting Jews as victims (Bartov 2005, 48) that was prominent in the US (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 68-69).

[205] The film was released in the UK under the title *Bloomfield*, the name of the stadium in Tel Aviv that features in its climax.

[206] The role was played by a blond-headed Briton, Kim Burfield (1961-), who starred the following year in the British-Italian co-production of *Treasure Island* as Jim Hawkins. Charlie Schwartz, "the gallant Jewish boy…who is trampled to death" in *The Cowboys* (Holmstrom 1998, 317), was played by another British-born blond, Stephen Hudis (1957-).

[207] While soccer was also pivotal to the plot of *Manny's Orphans* (1978) and long-distance running to *The Loneliest Runner* (1976) and *Meatballs* (1979), baseball remained the most popular sport in American films that featured juvenile males. *The Bad News Bears* (1976) was followed by two sequels in 1977 and 1978, as well as the imitative *Here Come the Tigers* (1978).

This whirlwind tour of twentieth-century cinema from the thirties through the seventies with a focus on depictions of juvenile masculinity confirms the centrality of vulnerability, dependency, innocence and asexuality in such portrayals. These characteristics are conveyed in film not only through the dramatic action, but through visual and aural cues from the young actors themselves, particularly with respect to innocence.[208] The categories of vulnerable, dependent, innocent and asexual are not stable, however, and differences in the social, historical and cultural contexts of film production lead to varied ways in which juvenile males are situated within them or, at times, excluded from them and 'othered'.[209] The 'bad boy' and pious boy emerge during this period as competing ideals that are also reconfigured in these different contexts, becoming more diffuse and thus nostalgic in the seventies.[210] It was within this tumultuous and complex cinematic milieu that *Jesus of Nazareth* appeared in 1977 with its inclusion of several sequences devoted to Jesus' boyhood. In the following chapter I will analyze those focusing on the twelve-year-old of Luke 2:41-52 in light of the diverse cinematic depictions of juvenile masculinity here explored, thereby demonstrating how this adaptation of the biblical text was imprinted upon by the wider culture, embracing certain aspects of idealized boyhoods while implicitly rejecting others.

[208] Attention has focused on visual cues of innocence, but the juvenile male voice should not be overlooked as a site of similar ideological investiture. Ashley identifies the period 1850-1950 as a 'golden century' in which (adult) enthusiasm about the boy's 'angelic' singing voice was at its peak and connected with "themes of purity and innocence" (2009, 27-28). Reference is made in this context (ibid, 34) to the movie career of Bobby Breen (1927-2016) whose soprano voice was showcased in no less than eight films: *Let's Sing Again* (1936), *Rainbow on the River* (1936), *Make a Wish* (1937), *Breaking the Ice* (1938), *Hawaii Calls* (1938), *Fisherman's Wharf* (1939), *Escape to Paradise* (1939) and the previously-mentioned *Way Down South*. For a brief biography of the Canadian-born singer with a focus on his Hollywood career, see Foster (2003, 37-55). Around the time of Breen's cinematic fame, *An Orphan Boy of Vienna* (1936), featuring the Vienna Boys' Choir, was exported to the US, but Disney's tribute to the Austrian-based choir a quarter of a century later in *Almost Angels* was nostalgic since Ashley notes how the ascendency of 'rock and roll' by the mid-fifties and its use of "aggressively masculine voices" (2009, 34) saw a decline of interest in boy sopranos to the point where, in the sixties, "choir trebles were often the butt of humour directed at their 'lack of balls'" (ibid, 30). For a history of the Vienna Boys' Choir, including their film appearances, see Lorenz (1998).

[209] While the young villains of horror films are obvious examples, their ejection from the category of childhood reinforcing dominant constructions, others are more subtle. Olson notes how "[t]he long history of portraying black children as non-children and/or not innocent has carried over from literature and print images to cinema and television" (2017, 52), thus many films are complicit in the "cultural pattern of discourses about childhood that routinely Others, or omits, African American children from the landscape of both innocence and American childhood" (ibid, 32).

[210] While *The Black Stallion* may be seen as rooted in nostalgia for the pious boy, the 'bad boy' comes full circle with the characters of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn in not one but *two* movies focusing on Tom in 1973 and one on his friend Huckleberry in 1974.

Chapter 5

"Now you are truly a man!" A Boy's 'Coming of Age' in *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977)

Amidst the social and political upheavals in America of the 1960s and '70s,[1] shifts in religious affiliation were numerous with mainstream Protestant denominations losing members to charismatic, fundamentalist and evangelical alternatives, as well as to 'New Age' spiritualities (Quinlan 2014, 317). Roman Catholics experienced a split along progressive and traditional lines following Vatican II (ibid, 318), an ecumenical council held between 1962 and 1965 that, widely covered by the media, "was dramatically reported as a liberal or progressive accommodation to modernity" (Lamb and Levering 2008, 3).[2] The declaration on non-Christian religions, *Nostra aetate*,[3] included a section on Judaism that stressed a spiritual connection between Christians and Jews, positing the latter were neither accursed nor responsible *en masse* for Jesus' death (D'Costa 2013, 111). The subsequent "outpouring of theological reflection" (ibid, 112) included not only homilies and written treatises, but the 1977 made-for-TV movie *Jesus of Nazareth*.

The film was a joint venture between Italian and British broadcasters[4] aimed primarily at a North American audience (Stern et al. 1999, 199).[5] According to Catholic Italian director Franco Zeffirelli, he accepted the invitation from British producer Lew Grade to collaborate on the movie after he was led by 'a conspiracy of events' to the *Nostra aetate* at the Vatican library (1984, 1-7), there coming to "realize[] how essential it was to put [Jesus'] words into the historical and social context of his times" (ibid, viii). This resonated with the so-called 'Third Quest' for the historical Jesus, which focused on situating him

[1] Discussing the period 1967-1976, Kirshner points to "the civil rights movement, the domestic consequences of the Vietnam War, the sexual revolution, women's liberation, the end of the long postwar economic boom, and the traumatic Shakespearean saga of the Nixon presidency" (2013, 4).

[2] While Lamb and Levering caution against interpreting Vatican II using "a hermeneutics of rupture and discontinuity" (2008, 4), preferring instead "a hermeneutics of reform in continuity with the two millennial traditions of Catholic thought and wisdom" (ibid, 7), the widely-held *perception* (based on media coverage) of "a struggle between liberals and conservatives" (ibid, 4) was key to its reception in the decade following. Lamb and Levering represent a 'conservative' Catholic interpretation of Vatican II, but there are those within the Church who view the council's changes as radical departures from what came before (D'Costa and Harris 2013, 2); for a monograph-length overview of Vatican II from one of these 'liberal' interpreters, see Alberigo (2006).

[3] The Latin of the document's opening words translates 'In our times' (O'Malley 2008, 250). While "originally intended as a theological statement on the Jews and in some form a condemnation of anti-Semitism, [it] was eventually expanded" to include the religions of Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism (ibid, 221).

[4] RAI, the Italian state broadcaster, initiated the project and a British broadcasting company (ATV) became involved later on (Tatum 2013, 143).

[5] The film was shown on NBC in two three-hour parts on Palm Sunday (April 3) and Easter Sunday (April 10) in 1977 to an estimated 90 million viewers (Tatum 2013, 152-53). Staley and Walsh note how repeated broadcasts in subsequent years "gave a whole new generation their first and most memorable view of Jesus" (2007, 81).

within the diversity of first-century Jewish beliefs rather than positioning him against them as in earlier phases of the quest (Bond 2012, 20).[6] Zeffirelli claimed that "Jesus was a Jew, probably a Pharisee… immersed in the most Jewish practices and customs imaginable" (1984, 45) and Adele Reinhartz observes how the film "draw[s] attention to Jesus' Jewish surroundings and practices" through its depictions of synagogue services, betrothal and wedding ceremonies, as well as "Jesus' circumcision and bar mitzvah" (2007, 47).[7]

Circumcision, the "cutting and remov[al of] the foreskin…practiced in many cultures" (Marcus 2004, 42), had by the time of Jesus become a way for Jewish males[8] to be distinguished from the peoples around them (Cohen 2006, 43-44).[9] Taking place on the eighth day after birth,[10] the ceremony came to include the naming of the infant[11] by the time of Luke's gospel (Marcus 2004, 61-62).[12] The evangelist narrates not only Jesus' circumcision (2:21), but that of John the Baptist, as well (1:59-63),[13] both of which are screened in *Nazareth*. Commenting on the Lukan text, John Carroll refers to circumcision as something Jesus receives, listing Mary and Joseph as its agents (2012, 73).[14] While the infant Jesus is

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[6] The start of this 'Third Quest', according to proponents of this nomenclature, is not clear (Bond 2012, 19), but was underway by the time of Sanders' work (1985) and possibly even a decade earlier with that of Vermes (1973). Moller cautions, however, against assigning too much significance to Vermes' focus on Jesus' Jewishness in shaping the scholarship that followed (2017).

[7] Other Jesus-in-film scholars point to these same sequences in *Nazareth* as evidence of its attempt to situate Jesus within a first-century Jewish milieu (Stern et al. 1999, 206; Staley and Walsh 2007, 75; Tatum 2013, 147).

[8] Cohen points to the androcentrism of the ritual and even though his claim that "[c]ircumcision discriminates between men and women" (2006, 71) is correct, it is only partially so since it excludes the infant males on whom the operation is performed and the boys who also bear its marks.

[9] Noll notes that "[c]ircumcision…had been relatively common among the many peoples of Palestine's Iron Age (with the exception of the Philistines), but became a distinctive Jewish trait during the Persian period" (2001, 296).

[10] Gen 17:12 and Lev 12:3 mandate this timing, but Marcus notes that Exod 4:25-26 hints at an earlier practice among the Israelites connected to puberty and performed prior to marriage (2004, 42), coinciding with its timing among some (though not all) Muslims (Gollaher 2000, 46-47; cf. Gen 17:25) and other cultures such as the Masaai. Codonyo is surprised to find that his American friend is already circumcised in *Visit to a Chief's Son* (1978), reflecting a difference in both timing and significance of the operation between the boys' two cultures. Prophylactic circumcision was routine in the US around the turn of the twentieth century (Gollaher 2000, 105-6) and its purported health benefits were not seriously questioned until the seventies (ibid, 168).

[11] In contrast, Marcus notes that infant males were named at birth in the Hebrew Bible (2004, 59).

[12] While a date for Luke's gospel in the early 80s CE is often suggested (Franklin 2008, 925; Ehrman 2012, 115, 136; Wolter 2016, 11-12), there is little evidence to support such specificity. With the writer's knowledge of both Mark as a source text and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (cf. 13:34-35; 19:43-44; 21:20-24), as well as the use of this gospel by both Justin and Marcion by the middle of the second century, any date between 75 and 125 CE is possible (Carroll 2012, 4).

[13] This is one of several parallels narrated by Luke about the early years of Jesus and his forerunner John (Verheyden 2011).

[14] Just as the "agency [of Jesus' parents] is concealed behind the passive voice" of Jesus' naming (Carroll 2012, 73), so, too, are they absent as the agents behind his circumcision through the use of an infinitive: Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ τοῦ περιτεμεῖν αὐτὸν "And when eight days were fulfilled to circumcise him…" (Luke 2:21a).

passively initiated into Jewish community in both the biblical text and *Nazareth*, the *bar mitzvah* ritual featured in the latter assumes the boy Jesus' exercise of agency.[15]

Bar mitzvah (בר מצוה), a mixed Aramaic and Hebrew term typically understood to mean "son of [the] commandment," refers to a ceremony that marks a Jewish boy's entrance into the responsibilities of religious life within the community (Hilton 2014, xii).[16] The age at which a boy assumes these obligations is thirteen and a day,[17] coinciding with the onset of puberty and linking the ceremony to 'coming-of-age' rituals in other cultures (ibid, 11). The *bar mitzvah* originated in thirteenth-century Europe (ibid, 16-17)[18] and revolved around a father's blessing that he no longer had to take responsibility for his son's actions (ibid, 12)[19] with the three other traditional elements – the boy's reading from the Torah, the party and the boy's expository speech – accumulating over the next few centuries (ibid, xii-xiii). While the *bar mitzvah* is a recognizably Jewish ritual to many of *Nazareth*'s viewers, functioning to situate Jesus within a Jewish context, its presence in the film is anachronistic.

Jesus' age is not explicitly given in the film, but the actor Lorenzo Monet is credited – under the influence of the Lukan text – as "Jesus at 12 yrs old." The boy is first heard, rather than seen, speaking with a high-pitched 'Oxbridge' accent (Stern et al. 1999, 226) and reciting a blessing traditionally offered prior to the Torah reading in the synagogue: "Bless GOD, the Blessed One," to which all the men of the congregation respond: "Blessed be GOD, the Blessed One, forever and ever." These recitations are in Hebrew to add flair of authenticity to the film,[20] but followed by English dialogue for the duration of the

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[15] The contrast is made explicit in William Barclay's novelization, which includes a prayer that Jesus uses in the Nazareth synagogue on the day of his *bar mitzvah*: "In my earliest infancy I was brought within thy sacred covenant with Israel: and today I again enter, as an active responsible member…" (1977, 19).

[16] The initial meaning of *bar mitzvah* as "someone who has the responsibility for carrying out a particular duty" shifted over time, at one point referring to the boy whose ceremony it was to now designating the celebration itself (Hilton 2014, xi-xii).

[17] The earliest mention of this age occurs in m. *Niddah* 5.6 where it is given as the time in a boy's life when his vows were first considered binding, the text establishing the 'correct' age of responsibility for boys that was the basis for later reflections (Hilton 2014, 5). Thirteen is elsewhere given as the age for a boy to learn the commandments (m. *Avot* 5.21), but this is a late addition to the Mishnah dating to about the twelfth century (ibid, 6-7). In rabbinic literature the age of thirteen is connected to acquiring the 'impulse to do good' (*Abot R. Nat.* 16.2) and to becoming a man based on the redundant איש in Gen 34:25 (*Gen. Rab.* 80.10), the latter text expounded in the context of *bar mitzvah* only in the nineteenth century (ibid, 7).

[18] The earliest traces come from France and Hilton suggests the *bar mitzvah* may have its origin in a ceremony that marked a boy's departure from home at thirteen to study abroad (2014, 19). The pertinent texts are surveyed (ibid, 13-22), noting a spread of the custom to Germany and the first contemporary use of *bar mitzvah* by the Maharil (c. 1365-1427) in reference to his own son (ibid, 22-23). Hilton concludes that it was "a custom taken up by very few people[,] not…popular or widespread until the sixteenth century" (ibid, 34). Marcus explores many of these same medieval texts (2004, 88-104), but concludes that Germany originated the *bar mitzvah* and from there it spread to other parts of Europe, including France (ibid, 105).

[19] The pertinent rabbinic text is *Gen. Rab.* 63.10 that has twins Esau and Jacob choose their way of life at the age of thirteen, after which Rabbi Elazar says: "A man must take responsibility for his son up to the age of thirteen years, and from then on he needs to say 'Blessed be the One who has freed me from punishment because of him'." Hilton notes that "Rabbi Elazar is not only thinking of Isaac and his twin sons, …[but] suggests that any father should consider uttering such a blessing when his son reaches thirteen or at any suitable time after that" (2014, 12).

[20] ברכו את ה' המבורך and ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד respectively.

ritual. Jesus continues: "Bless God, who has given us the Torah,"[21] the camera moving over the sacred scroll for a close-up of the *bar mitzvah* boy (Figure 1.1) whose voice commands the attention of those gathered. The child moves directly into his Torah reading,[22] Moses exhorting the Israelites as they stand poised to enter their promised land: "The Lord God will go before you. Be strong and of good courage. Fear not, nor be afraid, for the Lord thy God will go with you. He will not fail you or forsake you."[23] As Jesus rolls up the scroll, the congregation responds: "Amen."

Viewed from within a highly-literate culture, the image of young Jesus *reading* from a scroll is unremarkable, but evidence of widespread *illiteracy* in the Roman Empire,[24] suggests this picture may, too, be anachronistic. Scholars who defend the idea that Jesus was literate typically include reference to the mass education of Jewish boys,[25] but the texts on which this claim is based[26] are problematic: some date much later than the first century, exaggerate or seem best applied to social elites (Hezser 2001, 46-47; Keith 2011, 76-77).[27] Rejecting a literate-illiterate dichotomy, Chris Keith points to gradations in the abilities to read and write in the ancient world (2011, 100-7),[28] concluding it unlikely that Jesus attained scribal literacy,[29] but leaving open the possibility he held some form of craftsman literacy (ibid, 169).[30]

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[21] The full blessing is "Blessed are You, our Eternal God, Sovereign of the Universe, who chose us from all peoples to give us your Torah. Blessed are You, Eternal One, who gives us the Torah" (Hilton 2014, xii).

[22] Monet's eyes move left to right as though reading a text written in English or Italian, not in Hebrew.

[23] The text is a conflation of Deut 31:3a and 31:6, noteworthy for omitting all intervening references to the annihilation of the land's current inhabitants, including the identity of those the Israelites are not to fear in v6, thus generalizing the encouragement and promise of divine accompaniment. Stern et al. surprisingly cite Ps 31:24 as the biblical reference (1999, 350) despite the obvious source and introductory Torah blessing.

[24] In his monograph-length study on the subject of Jesus' literacy, Keith affirms the widely-accepted figure of a 10% literacy rate, noting that the figure may be even lower for Roman Palestine (2011, 74-75).

[25] Poirier notes that the "once universal belief among scholars // that virtually all male Jewish youth were schooled in reading Torah…is still dominant in many circles" (2007, 87). Lee, for example, claims "[i]t seems safe to presume that [Jesus] attended a *bet sefer* and *bet talmud* as a child and young man, because most Jewish males would have" (1988, 126-27) and Millard writes "[a]s a well-taught, observant Jewish boy, Jesus would also have learnt to read the Scriptures in Hebrew" (2000, 146).

[26] In addition to Talmudic texts that refer to a general education of boys (*b. B. Bat.* 21a; *y. Ketub.* 32c) and the existence of schools in Palestine (*y. Meg.* 73d; *y. Ketub.* 35c), there is what Keith refers to as "[t]he idea of universal Jewish literacy" (2011, 76) expressed in the writings of Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 1.12 §60; 2.25 §204) and Philo (*Embassy* 16.115-16).

[27] Evans acknowledges the problem with taking these texts at face value (2012, 83-84), but still thinks it probable that Jesus was literate based on prescriptions in the Jewish sacred books "to teach and learn Torah" (ibid, 84), as well as Jesus' status as a 'rabbi' (ibid, 84-86). Meier argues similarly (1991, 271-78), positing the relationship between Jews and their religious writings to be a unique one in antiquity and that "the existence of a synagogue [in Nazareth] with some educational program for Jewish boys is a likely hypothesis" (ibid, 277). Responding in part to Meier's position, Keith's notes that literacy is not the same as textuality (2011, 75) and that "the importance of texts, reading, and writing does not necessarily relate directly to the number of individuals capable of those literate skills" (ibid, 88).

[28] Based on 1QSa 1:6-8, Hezser posits the community at Qumran may have been a pre-rabbinic group of Jews committed to the education of boys in the study of their sacred writings (2001, 47-48). Another text among the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q266 5.2.1-4) refers to differing levels of skill in reading from the Torah – summarized by Keith as "staccato reading and eloquent/error-free reading" (2011, 102) – and prohibiting priests who had not attained the latter proficiency from public reading.

However one adjudicates the historical Jesus' scribal-literate status,[31] important for the present exploration of *Nazareth* is the filmmakers' assumption that he possessed the necessary skills for reading Hebrew texts,[32] drawing from the image of Jesus as a scribal-literate teacher in Luke 4:16-30.[33] Keith views the Lukan story of the boy Jesus in the temple as rhetorically aligning him with the scribal-literate class instead of the manual-labor class (2011, 140),[34] but universal literacy of Jewish males in *Nazareth* renders such distinctions irrelevant. Jesus' acquisition of Torah-reading skill is presented as prerequisite for his entrance into the community of men. The boy's demonstration is central to the film's *bar mitzvah* ritual rather than the father's blessing, which is altogether absent. This reflects a theological commitment to Jesus as sinless,[35] a perfect boy needing no paternal figure to bear responsibility for his iniquities.

Jesus' presumed moral perfection is complimented by an idealized physical perfection,[36] one that is consistent with both the general Caucasianization of Jesus in cinema (Jones and Tajima 2015, 207) and the then-contemporary standards of boyish beauty in the movie's British, Italian and American contexts.[37]

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[29] Keith defines 'scribal literacy' as the "literate skills that allow some educated individuals to function as authoritative interpreters of texts" (2011, 110) and, specific to first-century Jewish Palestine, "scribal literacy and its benefits belonged to socially recognized authoritative readers, copyists, and teachers of the law" (ibid, 110-11).

[30] As for 'craftsman literacy', Keith notes that these skills "varied from trade to trade" and the requirements for a particular line of work were their extent, qualifying those who possessed them as semi-literate (2011, 113). While the identity of Jesus as a τέκτων (Mark 6:3), "generally a manual laborer who works in some fashion with wood, stone, or metal" (ibid, 130), is placed in the mouths of those gathered in the Nazareth synagogue, the evangelist does not appear to dispute this claim (ibid, 133).

[31] I favor Keith's position and agree with him that the Jesus of Evans and Meier who "was not formally educated but…still attained scribal literacy are mutually exclusive at worst and an aberration demanding explanation at best" (2011, 115-16).

[32] This is explicitly connected to boyhood education in Barclay's novelization: "[Jesus] attended the village school where Rabbi Yehuda taught. One day the Rabbi was giving the class a test in unseen reading. He handed a scroll to the boys one after another, but they could make nothing of it. Then came the turn of Jesus. Clearly and easily Jesus read…" (1977, 18). The young Jesus' abilities are even more prodigious in *Nazareth*'s original script written by Anthony Burgess, published in novelized form as *Man of Nazareth*: "The day came when Rabbi Gomer said to the boys at his school: 'Now you have learned the letters. The time has come for you to see what they look like when they are kneaded into those loaves we call words. Here, see, is one of the holy psalms of the blessed King David.' And he handed round a scroll for reverent handling. Jesus, to his surprise, was able to read it right away, and with fair speed…" (1979, 80-81). The film did not include a scene of the boy Jesus at school.

[33] Luke here reworks the tradition found in Mark 6:1-6, eliminating any reference to Jesus as a τέκτων (or the son of such a laborer as found in the parallel version of Matt 13:54-58) and bestowing upon him the skills of a scribal-literate: Jesus stands up to read (ἀναγινώσκω), he unrolls (ἀναπτύσσω) the scroll (βιβλίον) of the prophet Isaiah, finds (εὑρίσκω) a particular passage and rolls it back up (πτύσσω) when finished. On the issue of terminology, including the variant ἀνοίγω (to open) for ἀναπτύσσω, and whether a scroll or codex is envisioned, see Bagnall (2000) and the response by van Minnen (2001).

[34] Evans' claim that "[t]here is no evidence of apologetic tendencies on the part of the evangelists, in which Jesus' literary skills are exaggerated, or any sense that Jesus' literary skills are in some way deficient" (2012, 86) does not, therefore, hold up.

[35] In Migliore's discussion of the divine Jesus in 'orthodox' Christianity as also 'fully human' he claims that Jesus was "a concrete human being…like us in all respects, with the exception of being 'without sin' (Heb. 4:15)" (2014, 179).

[36] Precedent for the idea of a physically attractive young Jesus is found in Myers, who claims that he was "*the best-looking*, feeling, speaking, acting boy the world ever saw" (1908, 9; italicized emphasis mine).

[37] The shifting standards of juvenile male beauty are most noticeable in the Italian context. The leading 'angels' in neorealist films all had dark hair – Vito Annichiarico in *Rome, Open City* (1945), Rinaldo Smordini in *Shoeshine* (1946) and Enzo Staiola in *Bicycle Thieves* (1948) all conform to this aesthetic – and the blond-headed Nazi-indoctrinated patricidal figure of Edmund in

Rejecting an expected phenotype,[38] *Nazareth* reproduces the Renaissance-era 'whitening' of Jesus, artistic renderings which, "by the nineteenth century[, presented] him as not just fair-skinned but blond and blue-eyed" (Dyer 2017, 66-68), two physical characteristics uniquely associated with whiteness (ibid, 43-44). The boy's hair color is evident from the earlocks – another anachronistic marker of Jewish identity[39] – protruding from beneath his head dress.[40] These conspicuous curls align Jesus with other young blond-haired characters that were abundant during the 'white backlash' of the seventies, Ricky Schroder of *The Champ* (1979) being of particular importance in light of Zeffirelli's claim about the actor's innocence (1986, 305). Jesus' blond hair and white skin evoke the related qualities of goodness and vulnerability (Geraghty 2000, 142),[41] though the latter is not emphasized as it is with juvenile male characters in films generally. The boy's physical attributes underscore, rather, innocence and sexual purity.[42]

After completing his Torah reading, Jesus is ushered to the front of the podium by Rabbi Yehuda where the man places his hands on the boy's arms (Figure 1.2), exercising a prerogative of touch, one that reflects children's subordination to adults (Hood-Williams 2001, 105). At the same time, however, one of the onlookers has called out that Jesus is "now…truly a man" and the rabbi proceeds to tell him that "as a new adult member of [the] community,"[43] he has "exercised [his] right to read and comment upon the

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Germany Year Zero (1948) is the exception that proves the rule. Dark-haired Marietto was Italy's first juvenile superstar and he featured in several American productions of the early sixties. Loris Loddi followed him, playing both dark- and blond-headed characters during the mid sixties, and paved the way for Renato Cestiè as Italy's blond juvenile superstar of the seventies. His contemporaries were blonds Mark Lester and Leif Garrett in British and American cinema respectively, both appearing in Italian co-produced films, *Redneck* (1973) and *God's Gun* (1976) respectively.

[38] While the New Testament texts "offer[] no specific details about Jesus' physical characteristics" (Jones and Tajima 2015, 206), "a historically accurate depiction of Jesus would ascribe him darker, olive-tone skin in line with his Jewish ethnicity and ministry in the regions of present-day Israel and Palestine" (ibid, 203; cf. Taylor 2018, 194).

[39] The styling of these *pe'ot* derives from Lev 19:27 where the edge (פאה) of one's hair is not to be trimmed. Marcus traces the form recognizable among Hasidic Jews today and which is reflected in the movie to the conflation of this injunction with an Arab haircutting practice in Palestine that later spread to Eastern Europe (2004, 76, 78-79).

[40] On what is known of Roman Palestinian dress from the fragmentary desert finds, see Roussin (1994) and Taylor (2018, 169-92).

[41] The boy Jesus' build is slight, unlike the character Burgess envisioned for the original script: "Jesus was a sturdy and quiet child and, at the age of seven, already bigger and brawnier than many of the ten-year-olds of Nazareth" (1979, 80).

[42] *Nazareth*'s Jesus remains celibate into adulthood, which probably reflects the historical reality (Loader 2012, 447-49), but this says nothing about the nature of his sexual feelings. As Reinhartz points out in discussion of *The Last Temptation of Christ*, "the mere suggestion that Jesus may have desired sexual intimacy and the domestic life was enough to trigger protests, angry letters, and editorials even before the film was released" (2007, 19). This was the reaction toward the contemplations of an *adult* Jesus, a juvenile or adolescent 'Christ' with sexual feelings would presumably draw an even more indignant response in light of the widespread cultural embrace of children's asexuality; the boy Jesus' sexuality in *Nazareth* is, predictably, a non-issue.

[43] Reflecting an end to boyhood embraced within the wider Graeco-Roman world (Laes 2011, 91), Burgess writes that "[a]t fourteen Jesus became a man in more than his ability to practise a trade, for this is the age of the bar-mitzvah, whereby a boy enters fully into the life of his faith and his community" (1979, 82). Barclay, reflecting the filmmakers' decision to align Jesus' age to that given in Luke 2:42, revises accordingly: "In Palestine, a boy became a man on his twelfth birthday. …A ceremony initiating the boy into becoming *Bar Mitzvah*, a son of the law, was held in the synagogue" (1977, 18-19). Neither the original script, nor the film or its novelization presented Jesus' *bar mitzvah* as taking place when he was thirteen.

Scriptures." Aural and visual cues to a continuing boyhood clash with dialogue that situates Jesus among the men of the congregation,[44] reflecting the complicated role of initiation rites. In this light, Heather Montgomery argues that "[a] more nuanced approach would be to acknowledge that adult-making rituals continue throughout a person's life cycle" (2009, 230).

The ethereal gaze of Jesus' luminous blue eyes – for which *Nazareth* is well-known (Stern et al. 1999, 213) – accrues further significance for its adolescent subject. As the rabbi comments that "God's word is spoken in times of light and in times of darkness and persecution," the boy's face fills the frame and he looks directly into the camera (Figure 1.3).[45] While his facial features conform to the ideals of what Lori Merish designates cultural 'cute' and its concomitant passivity (1996, 186-87), Jesus' stare resists this submissiveness.[46] Piercing blue eyes are "extraordinary physical properties [that] have long been associated with the extraterrestrials" (Stern et al. 1999, 226), thus the boy's intense gaze not only undermines claims of adult power on him, but transcends the human sphere altogether. Jesus' "upper-class British" voice, used elsewhere to convey "a cultivated restraint," reinforces the image of a boy "stoical [and] unknowable" (Stern et al. 1999, 227), an aloofness that persists to the end of the sequence, briefly intruded upon by his smile when the men of the congregation sing and dance in celebratory circle around him (Figure 1.4).

This party component of Jesus' *bar mitzvah* is interrupted by the arrival of Roman soldiers in the village en route from Damascus to Jerusalem requisitioning food.[47] The boy disappears from the scene amidst the turmoil, but emerges from the synagogue after their departure, gazing again into the camera,

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[44] After the rabbi's speech, one man calls out for the Israelite deity to "bring blessings upon *the boy*" (emphasis mine), thus showing that dialogue also contributes to an understanding of Jesus' continued status as a boy despite the 'coming-of-age' ritual.

[45] Both this shot and that of Figure 1.1 are close-ups. There are three different types of close-ups (Phillips 2009, 85; Barsam and Monahan 2013, 252; Bordwell and Thompson 2013, 190), these shots representing two of them. Figure 1.1, where Jesus' shoulders and some of the background are visible, is a 'medium close-up' (MCU). Figure 1.3, with Jesus' face filling the entire frame, is a 'close-up' (CU) and such shots "can provide an exclusive view of the character's emotions or state of mind" (Barsam and Monahan 2013, 252). A third type, not used in the sequences analyzed, is the 'extreme close-up', which focuses on one small feature such as a character's eyes or mouth.

[46] Lennard pursues the same argument with the stare of cinema's villainous children (2014, 51-65), concluding that "[d]eeply intertwined with the idea of the idealized, innocent child is our assumption that that child is unable or unwilling to employ his or her gaze as a force of domination – unwilling to look back" (ibid, 66).

[47] Imagining Jesus' birth around 1 BCE, Burgess posits the reason for the soldiers' journey to Jerusalem as Augustus' death (14 CE) and the transition of power to Tiberius (1979, 83). Inasmuch as Burgess also places the infant Jesus in Egypt "a year or so" (ibid, 71) *before* the death of Herod (ibid, 73-75), which occurred in 4 BCE, his story suffers from irresolvable chronological conflicts. The filmmakers severed the connection between Jesus' *bar mitzvah* and Tiberius' accession to power by not offering any reason for the soldiers' journey through Nazareth, thus avoiding the chronological gaffe. Barclay divorces the incident from the boy's *bar mitzvah* altogether and places it shortly after Archelaus' exile in 6 CE and the installment of a procurator in Judaea (1977, 17). Barclay's solution is chronologically more sound, but suffers from terminological problems such as when he writes "to avoid Jerusalem…, Joseph and Mary thus returned to Palestine" (presumably he meant to write Galilee here) and his use of the term 'procurator' instead of 'prefect' (a mistake the filmmakers perpetuated), the former not used of the region's governors until the reign of Claudius (Schäfer 2003, 107).

here in a medium close-up shot (MCU) to show his reaction (Figure 1.5)[48] to a man who cries out to the Israelite deity for deliverance, asking how long they must wait for his help. Richard Stern and his fellow authors write how Jesus has "witnesse[d]…the Romans oppress Jewish citizens" and how he now "gazes thoughtfully" at the supplicant (1999, 226). While I agree that the diegetic object of Jesus' gaze is the petitioner, I disagree that the boy has *witnessed* the tyranny of Roman soldiers, both because he is absent during the action and because there is no onscreen violence.

Jesus' *bar mitzvah* in *Jesus of Nazareth* (NBC, 1977)

Figure 1.1 Figure 1.2 Figure 1.3 Figure 1.4 Figure 1.5

Richard Horsley observes an emphasis on "an apolitical [and] nonviolent Jesus" following "the social-political turmoil of the 1960s" (2014, 55), in which trajectory of political apathy *Nazareth* participates (Stern et al. 1999, 218; Staley and Walsh 2007, 81-82; Tatum 2013, 152). Concomitantly, "the issue of violence [focused] on resistance to foreign imperial rule rather than on the violence of imperial rule itself" (Horsley 2014, 55). The requisition scene illustrates this by introducing two Zealots characterized by the Roman centurion as being "mad religious fanatics."[49] Violence is averted when the man orders one of his underlings to sheath his half-drawn sword when spit on by one of the Zealots;[50] the other – the one whom the boy Jesus later stares at – calls down "the curse of God…upon these murderers." Yet while horses are

[48] While it is tempting to say the camera then zooms in on Jesus' face for a CU, it is the camera itself that moves toward the actor in a hand-held shot. The physical movement of the camera through space "provid[es] a dimensional perspective on [the] objects or figures it passes in the scene[, whereas i]n a zoom shot, all objects of the scene are magnified or diminished equally, and the space traversed is less noticeable and less dynamic" (Beaver 2015, 291). The dynamism of this movement into a CU, whether it is achieved by a hand-held camera or one mounted on a dolly, intensifies the importance and drama of a character's reaction (ibid, 92).

[49] The film reflects an outdated scholarly construct of the Zealots as "a long-standing and widespread movement of violent revolt against Roman rule" (Horsley 2014, 55), one ostensibly formed in the early first century by Judas the Galilean (ibid, 64-65; cf. Acts 5:37) and thus contemporaneous with Jesus. Horsley rejects this interpretation of the source texts (*Ant*. 18.4; *J.W*. 4.118), claiming the resistance Judas advocated was nonviolent in nature (ibid, 65; 1993, 77-89; cf. *Ant*. 18.23). McLaren, on the other hand, assumes incitement to violent revolt in Josephus' accounts, but dismisses even the historicity of Judas as the author's self-serving propaganda to provide a scapegoat for the catastrophic Jewish War (2004, 104-8). Zealots proper do not emerge until the time of this conflict (66-70 CE; *J.W*. 4.160-61); the claim that there is earlier attestation in Luke 6:15 (cf. Acts 1:13) with Simon 'called the Zealot' (τὸν καλούμενον ζηλωτὸν) among the twelve disciples (Theissen and Merz 1998, 143) is challenged by Mézange (2000, 489, 505-6), who argues the case for a meaning of general religious zeal associated with this disciple of Jesus.

[50] Horsley argues that before attention was paid in scholarly circles to imperial violence, "Roman imperial rule was viewed as a benign civilizing influence" (2014, 55) and this is not far off from how the Roman soldiers are characterized in the sequence. This presentation of the Romans is thus more complex than the one Reinhartz suggests when she writes – even citing this from *Nazareth* as an example – that "Roman soldiers are invariably violent, vicious, and sadistic // in the biopic tradition" (2007, 56).

seen galloping, women heard screaming and soldiers shown taking bread, no overt violence is depicted.[51] While acts of Roman violence are often referred to, they are not shown until suffered by Jesus himself toward the end of the film; before this they are committed by Herod's soldiers and the Zealots.

With imperial violence thus submerged, the Zealots' vengeful rhetoric moves to the forefront and the viewer must surmise what Jesus is thinking with "ice-blue eyes gazing precociously and knowingly" (Stern et al. 1999, 213). Witnessing the spectacle of the Zealot's demand for divine intervention is a man who remarks how their deity has abandoned them, a rejection of Jesus' recently-delivered Torah reading which is noteworthy for its excision of references to divinely-sanctioned violence against non-Israelites (Figure 2).[52] This abridged sacred text is in harmony with the ethic of nonviolence that Jesus expresses elsewhere in the film,[53] suggesting that the boy is already aware of this aspect of his future mission and, perhaps, its personal cost.[54]

The Boy Jesus' Torah Reading

Deuteronomy 31:3-6	***Jesus of Nazareth* (1977)**
The LORD **thy** God will go before you.	The Lord God will go before you.
He will destroy these nations before you,	
and you shall dispossess them.	
Joshua will also go before you,	
as the LORD has said,	
and the LORD will do to them	
what he did to Sihon and Og,	
the kings of the Amorites,	
and to their land when he destroyed them.	
The LORD will give them over to you	
and you shall do to them every command	
that I have commanded you.	
Be strong and of good courage.	Be strong and of good courage.
Fear not, nor be afraid **of them**,	Fear not, nor be afraid,
for the LORD thy God will go with you.	for the Lord thy God will go with you.
He will not fail you or forsake you.	He will not fail you or forsake you.

Figure 2

While the *bar mitzvah* introduces a 'coming-of-age' lens for viewing the twelve-year-old Jesus, little else in the sequence indicates the boy has had the transformative experience or moment of discovery that is at the climax of such narratives (Hardcastle et al. 2009, 1). The interruption of the ceremony offered the

[51] The food requisition *does* reflect structural violence, which is defined by Horsley as "the dominant political-economic structuring of life and the way in which power is wielded" whereby "people are denied even the opportunity for an adequate livelihood, exploited, displaced, and/or thrown into illness in ways that are not directly caused by an individual act of overt violence" (2014, 56).

[52] The biblical text and plot/dialogue from the film are set in parallel columns with portions not found in the other designated by **bold red text**, word differences by **bold blue text** and differences in order by **bold underlined text**. This will be an ongoing format for comparisons in this chapter and in chapter 7.

[53] This culminates at the temple in Jerusalem with Jesus' conversation with Barabbas, a Zealot who rejects his plea to forgive the Romans and proceeds to murder a soldier, sparking a riot in the city (cf. Luke 23:18-19).

[54] A dissolve is used to transition from the shot of the boy staring into the camera to a shot of pilgrims arriving for the Feast of Passover in Jerusalem, the crowds passing beneath the scaffolding where Jesus will later be crucified. Barsam and Monahan note that one use of the dissolve is to imply a connection between respective shots (2013, 371).

possibility of a traumatic 'coming of age',[55] but the opportunity was missed by leaving the boy inside the synagogue. The focus on Jesus' gaze in the aftermath, however, recalls the importance attached to vision and spectacle in Italian neorealism (Schoonover 2012, 149-53), with which cinema Zeffirelli was closely connected in the postwar period.[56] Indeed, the boys so central to the neorealist films (Caldwell 2014, 66) offer the best models for *Nazareth*'s depiction of the young Jesus.[57]

Most juvenile males in the neorealist film tradition lack the "frivolity and joy" of the earlier 'bad boys',[58] exuding instead a sadness born of war, yet also possessing "an innate…moral sense" (Bayman 2014, 170).[59] Whereas "the point of view of adults has been poisoned by fascism and the war…, children offer a form of moral redemption in their mode of watching" (Schoonover 2012, 152). While neorealist boys are "Christ-like [in] correcting the wayward behaviours of the adult world" (Bayman 2014, 184),[60] *Nazareth*'s staring protagonist, serious but not sad, *is* the 'Christ', his gaze appearing to function similarly to challenge the defeatist and violent thinking of the adult villagers. Like his neorealist predecessors, the boy Jesus "see[s] a world that ideology prevents adults from seeing" (Schoonover 2012, 153); belief in a royal messianic figure who will liberate the people of Israel from Roman rule blinds its adherents from seeing a world in captivity to sin.[61] What has been teased out of the silent adolescent "foreshadow[s his] future ministry" as it is presented in the film (Staley and Walsh 2007, 75).

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[55] 'Coming of age' through the witness of atrocity was central to *Kid Vengeance* (1977) and, had the Romans also been shown engaging in overt violence, this would have made for a good compare and contrast with Jesus' peaceful ethic.

[56] Shiel identifies Roberto Rossellini, Vittorio De Sica and Luchino Visconti as the "[t]hree directors [who] produced most of the generally recognised masterworks of neorealism" (2006, 2-3). Zeffirelli was the assistant director of *La Terra Trema* (1948) directed by Visconti (Zeffirelli 1986, 83-84). Rossellini is named among Zeffirelli's acquaintances (ibid, 76) and De Sica is listed as one of his collaborators (Lauer 2015). Also, Suso Cecchi D'Amico, who helped Zeffirelli in revising Burgess' script (Zeffirelli 1984, 43-44), worked on the screenplay for *Bicycle Thieves* with De Sica.

[57] In addition to D'Amico's contribution to the script, the focus in *Bicycle Thieves* on structural violence in post-fascist Italy (Schoonover 2012, 150, 158) makes it ripe for comparison with *Nazareth*. Furthermore, Bruno offers the camera a gaze similar to that of Jesus: his eyes cross the camera's center as he snaps his head to take notice of his father fleeing on the stolen bicycle, his gaze meeting with that of the viewer for a split second.

[58] In the Italian context Bayman refers to Pinocchio (2014, 170), the "mischievous" central character of Carlo Collodi's *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (1883). The juvenile Jesus in Burgess' original script embraced the fisticuffs often associated with the 'bad boy': "Though quiet, [Jesus] was quick to take offence and hit out at his offender, even if the offender were much older and bigger. He had firm muscles and did not seem very specially to be a child of God, meaning one of the puny who trust God to look after them" (1979, 80).

[59] While Bayman describes "[t]he child in postwar Italian cinema [as] a figure of loss, contained within a state of innocent suffering" (2014, 170), Caldwell looks at these same images and claims "it seems improbable that these child protagonists could be innocent, and yet, together with a lack of experience and an untouchedness completely at odds with the narratives in which they are placed, the image itself seems to invite such an ascription" (2014, 62). Both scholars, therefore, agree that neorealist juveniles – almost always male – are conceptualized as innocent.

[60] Neorealism's juveniles are 'Christ-like' in other ways. *Shoeshine* culminates in the "beautiful death" (Sutton 2014, 181) of Giuseppe Filippucci (played by Smordini), the boy's untimely demise foreshadowed when he stands underneath a painting of the crucified Jesus earlier in the film. Even Edmund's suicide at the end of *Germany Year Zero* can be viewed as offering atonement (Thompson 2000, 206; Campbell 2017, 106) and thus possessing a 'Christ-like' quality.

The *bar mitzvah* sequence is the culmination of the filmmakers' exposition of Luke 2:40,[62] which narrates how the infant[63] grew and became strong, how being filled with wisdom, God's grace was upon him."[64] Antonio Carmona proposes that this verse "puts an end to the strict account of childhood…and introduces an episode of the youth of Jesus" (1992, 179), referring to the latter as "the beginning of his adulthood" (ibid, 184).[65] Acknowledging the *bar mitzvah* party to be anachronistic (ibid, 186), Carmona nonetheless posits the twelve-year-old was now obligated to attend Passover in Jerusalem (ibid, 184),[66] a responsibility also implied in *Nazareth* by prefacing the trip with the boy's 'coming of age'.

Jesus and his parents are seen arriving at Jerusalem[67] – Joseph and the boy walking, Mary riding on a donkey – among a throng of other pilgrims. Luke 2:41 indicates Jesus' parents[68] went to Passover in

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[61] The adult Jesus in *Nazareth* proclaims the 'good news' at the synagogue in Capernaum that his audience's captivity is over, quickly clarifying that this is in reference to sin.

[62] de Jonge notes that while verse 40 "functions as an editorial introduction to 41 ff., it is not part of the episode" (1978, 337).

[63] The Greek here is παιδίον, which I noted in the introductory chapter is a diminutive of παῖς, sometimes used to designate very young children up to the age of seven (BDAG). I opt to translate it 'infant' here based on Luke's immediately-preceding claim (2:39) that Jesus' parents returned to Nazareth after doing what was required by Jewish Law, which according to 2:22-24, 27 involved presenting their newborn son at the Jerusalem temple (cf. Exod 13:2,12,15; Num 8:15-16) and offering a sacrifice of two doves or pigeons for reasons of purification (cf. Lev 12:8). Wolter notes that their journey to Jerusalem can be dated to forty days after Jesus' birth (2016, 133; cf. Lev 12:2-4), which would make him approximately six to seven weeks old on their return to Nazareth and the commencement of Luke's notice of growth.

[64] I am not convinced by Ehrman's arguments that the addition of Jesus becoming strong "in spirit" (πνεύματι) is 'original' and was removed to guard against the notion "Jesus underwent spiritual development" (2011, 108-10; citation on 109). I agree with the "scholarly consensus" (ibid, 108) that this is a harmonization to the similar notice about John (1:80) and, contrary to Ehrman, the word's absence in 2:40 nor more disturbs the parallelism than does the absence of grace and wisdom in 1:80.

[65] Carmona, writing in Spanish, uses the terms *infancia, juventud* and *adultez* for childhood, youth and adulthood respectively. While childhood and adulthood are clearly separated in Carmona's scheme, youth is presented as the initial stage of "adult life" (1992, 179) and so the twelve-year-old Jesus is alternately referred to as an "adolescent-youth" and an "adult" (ibid, 184; Spanish *adolescente-joven* and *adulto* respectively).

[66] In addition to the Mishnaic and rabbinic texts already cited in connection with the age of thirteen, Carmona appeals to *S. Num.* 22:3 and various Talmudic texts (*b. Ketub.* 50a, *b. Ber.* 24a, *b. Yoma* 82a) that attach some significance to twelve as the age of male 'majority' (1992, 185-86). He claims about these texts: "it can be assumed with enough probability that they were already valid in Jesus' time" (ibid, 185) with some others affirming the possibility of first-century applicability (Fitzmyer 1979, 440; van der Horst 1980, 61; Johnson 1991, 58-59; Chakoian 1998, 186; Reeve 2011, 246). I am not convinced of this, nor are other scholars such as Brown (1993, 473) and Green (1997, 155 n.6). Carmona's engagement with another text (*m. Hag.* 1:1) is perfunctory, using it for establishing how women and 'minors' were not obligated to attend the temple feasts (1992, 184) while overlooking how a 'minor' is therein defined as one unable to hold on while riding his father's shoulders (Shammai) or walk (Hillel)! Green, more attentive, invokes this text to show how "children of a considerably younger age [than Jesus at twelve] would have been required to attend Passover" (1997, 155 n.6). The textual evidence dating centuries after Luke's gospel offers contradictory information about when boys might have been obligated to undertake pilgrimages for festivals (cf. Exod 23:14-17; 34:23; Deut 16:16), further problematizing their applicability to the Lukan text. Brown correctly observes that "nothing in the story indicates that Luke thought of an obligation" (1993, 473).

[67] As previously noted, a dissolve is used to transition between the *bar mitzvah* and Passover festival sequences, another use of this technique being to indicate the passing of time (Barsam and Monahan 2013, 371).

[68] Luke refers to Joseph and Mary as Jesus' parents (γονεῖς) two other times (2:27, 43) and in all three occurrences there are variants that appear to reflect discomfort with any implication that Joseph is the boy's biological father (Metzger and Ehrman 2005, 267; Delobel 2005). Here in 2:41, a single Greek manuscript and some Old Latin witnesses read instead "both Joseph and Mary". The phrase "Joseph and his mother" appears as a widespread variant in 2:43 (see the textual apparatus in *Appendix E* for

Jerusalem annually, but whether or not the boy accompanied them prior to his twelfth year is unclear.[69] The filmmakers do not leave the ambiguity unresolved; Joseph turns his son toward the staircase leading up the temple mount (Figure 6.1)[70] and remarks to one who had not seen the structure before, eliding city and sanctuary: "Look, Jerusalem!"[71] Further evidence in *Nazareth* of this being Jesus' first Passover – and concurrently *not* his father's first observance – is when Joseph places a lamb on his son's shoulders and explains: "This is a lamb with no mark, without blemish."[72] As Stern and company note, "the mise-en-scène is luscious and inviting" and hints at Jesus' identity as the divine lamb who takes away sin (1999, 226; cf. John 1:29), but this does not exhaust the scene's significance.

The image of the boy Jesus climbing the steps of the temple with a lamb on his shoulders (Figure 6.2) is primarily pastoral, evoking a Romantic image of the innocent child (Stainton Rogers 2003b, 22),[73] caretaker to the young sheep in an extension of parental ownership (Austin 2003, 87). It is not Joseph in view here as the parent, but Israel's deity, confirmed by the high-angle shot (HAS) looking down at Jesus from the door of the temple as he ascends the stairs: a father witnessing his son's homecoming.[74] That the

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the specific Greek manuscripts and versional witnesses). NA28 does not indicate any variant for 2:27, but Ehrman lists several late Greek minuscules that omit it (2011, 121 n.59) and notes changes "in several witnesses of the Diatesseron" (ibid, 66). A number of scholars view the story of the twelve-year-old Jesus in the temple as inherited and reworked by Luke based partly on its implied ignorance or rejection of the virginal conception (Fitzmyer 1979, 435; Brown 1993, 480-81; Bovon 2002, 109-10). Lincoln, however, offers a compelling case (2013) for Luke's juxtaposition of both natural and divine paternity (the former not confined to the present pericope) in line with the biographies of other great figures of Greek and Roman antiquity. A stronger case for Luke's use of a preexisting source in 2:41-52 can be made based on the intrusiveness of verse 47 and its relationship to the framing verses (41 and 52), an issue to which I will return later in the chapter.

[69] This ambiguity is symptomatic of what Wolter refers to as "a high degree of compression" whereby Luke reveals he "has no interest in the course of the Passover festival (and Jesus's participation in it)" (2016, 149); with the earlier references to religious practice (2:21-24), it has the effect of establishing the piety of Jesus' family (Johnson 1991, 60; Green 1997, 154; Bovon 2002, 110; Carroll 2012, 82). Those scholars willing to put forth an historical claim assume that Jesus *did* accompany his parents on the Passover pilgrimage before he turned twelve (Green 1997, 155; Betsworth 2015, 108).

[70] A fortress at Monastir in Tunisia doubled as the Antonia and opposite which the set of *Nazareth*'s Jerusalem temple was constructed based on both a model Zeffirelli had seen and the Tulun mosque in Cairo (1984, 12-13). For a description and aerial-view schematic of the Herodian temple mount based on the writings of Josephus and archaeological finds, see Bahat (2006).

[71] The filmmakers thus retain the connection Burgess makes between Jesus' *bar mitzvah* and his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the first such trip he has taken: "Rabbi Gomer, himself now old, was wavering final words to the boys who had just become men – 'Passover is coming, prepare yourselves for Passover, for the first time you will be spending it in Jerusalem, you will see the great glory of the Holy Temple of the Lord our God'" (1979, 82). Similarly in the film's novelization, Barclay expounds how Jesus, "[h]aving become officially an adult,…had to fulfil certain religious duties. Every adult male Jew was obliged to attend three annual festivals at Jerusalem: Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles. Greatest of all was the Passover, for which the most careful preparation had to be made. For six weeks, as the time for it approached, it was the subject of sermons in the synagogue and lessons in school. Like other Jewish boys, Jesus prepared to attend his first Passover" (1977, 19).

[72] The lamb to be slain and consumed at Passover not only had to be unblemished, but male (Exod. 12:5).

[73] Among the connotations of 'innocence' (Kehily and Montgomery 2003, 224), lacking sin and possessing moral and sexual purity are paramount; lacking knowledge and being naïve appear to have no applicability to *Nazareth*'s twelve-year-old Jesus.

[74] An hierarchical relationship between father and son is established through the shot, which is taken at an angle that Barsan and Monahan states "implies the observer's sense of superiority to the subject being photographed" (2013, 260).

boy is carrying the family's Passover lamb[75] may imply he is now the male head of household, entering into the temple independently and without his parents, but may also connote children as close to the divine; like Nazarius in *Quo Vadis* (1951), a "perfect channel[] for…inspired utterances" (Vuolanto 2010, 148).[76] Jesus, for his part, has a divine encounter once inside the open courtyard, crafted through the use of a low-angle shot (LAS) replicating his perspective of smoke rising skyward juxtaposed with another HAS of the boy's arrival in the house of his heavenly father.[77]

The movie transitions from this shot of "Jesus, blue-eyed and beautiful" (Stern et al. 1999, 226) to the boy orating in one of the temple alcoves,[78] the use of a dissolve signaling both the passage of time and a connection between the two shots (Barsam and Monahan 2013, 371). The divine adolescent delivers a *midrash*[79] on Solomon's dedicatory prayer in 2 Chronicles 6 (Figure 3),[80] exercising the right that Rabbi Yehuda earlier said was his to comment upon their sacred texts, this arguably constituting the last element of his *bar mitzvah*: the speech. The boy's first audible words begin in mid-sentence: "…are not enough to please our Father, the Eternal God. A prayer from the heart is more important." The viewer is left to infer the sacrifices from the previous scene are that which do not satisfy the Israelite deity, an implication made

[75] Exod 12:4 stipulates that each family is to have its own Passover lamb.

[76] Betsworth suggests that the Lukan image of Jesus in the temple invites comparison with the *camilli* (2015, 110), "central figures // [i]n the visual representations of Roman religion," boys whose participation in its rituals involved "carrying vessels with different utensils—such as incense boxes, trays of fruit, jugs of wine, dishes, and towels—at sacrifices, processions, and weddings" (Vuolanto 2010, 143-44).

[77] Later in the film, priests are seen burning incense on four-horned altars in the temple court and this may be understood as the source of the smoke in this scene; Heger notes the connection between incense and theophany (1997, 216-25).

[78] Luke 2:46 situates the boy Jesus ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (in the temple), but does not clarify his location further. While unimportant to the evangelist, the specific place has been on the agenda of those scholars who ask historical questions of the text. Luke refers to Solomon's Portico as a place where Jesus' apostles taught (Acts 3:11; 5:12), situating it inside the temple beyond the Beautiful Gate (cf. Acts 3:2, 8, 11), though one had to pass through Solomon's Portico and the Eastern Gate before arriving at the Beautiful Gate (Bahat 2003, 301). de Jonge points out both Luke's topographical gaffe (1978, 329) and how he makes no specific reference to this colonnade in the story of the twelve-year-old Jesus (ibid, 330). Bovon nonetheless suggests Solomon's Portico as the place where Luke envisioned the boy (2002, 112) while Bahat, moving beyond the text to a presumed historical moment, thinks Jesus was on a stairway just beyond the southern wall of the Temple Mount that was apparently reserved for the elders (2003, 307).

[79] Neusner identifies three types of *midrash* (מדרש), a Hebrew word meaning 'interpretation': paraphrase, prophecy and parable or allegory (1987, 7), the first of which corresponds to what *Nazareth* depicts the boy Jesus engaging in. About the paraphrase approach, Neusner writes that "[t]he exegete would paraphrase Scripture, imposing fresh meanings by the word choices or even by adding additional phrases or sentences and so revising the meaning of the received text" (ibid, 7). Porton acknowledges both oral and written *midrashim* in his definition (2003, 202).

[80] Chronicles itself is *midrash* (Neusner 1987, 19-20) and, in the present case, a reworking of 1 Kgs 8:22, 27-29a. That Jesus' paraphrase in *Nazareth* depends primarily on the Chronicler's version rather than that in Kings (contra Stern et al. [1999, 350]) is evidenced by several shared agreements: (1) the lack of an explicit subject for the verb 'to stand', (2) the lack of 'toward heaven' after 'spread out his hands' (though this is present at the end of the Chronicler's plus in 6:13), (3) the presence of a prepositional phrase after 'dwell', (4) the order 'day and night' instead of 'night and day'. Only in the last clause is there a minor agreement in the boy's speech with Kings against Chronicles through the use of a first person pronoun. Jesus' Torah reading also has parallel in Josh 1:9 and these source texts and overlaps (Torah with Prophets and Writings with Prophets) may have been deliberately deployed to evidence the boy's command of the entire Tanakh (cf. Luke 24:44).

explicit soon afterward in the preaching of John the Baptist.[81] Jesus then points to Solomon's entreaty as exemplary, the king's exclamation affirming the deity's transcendence of this temple[82] and hinting at its insufficiency. The boy's homiletic introduction provides a 'Christian' lens for the interpretation of Jewish sacred text (Stern et al. 1999, 207) and sets the stage for a Christianity that supersedes Judaism (Staley and Walsh 2007, 197 n.1). This process – begun in the sequence at Nazareth with an unspoken rebuff of a politicized messianic Judaism – is here furthered by the boy Jesus' implicit rejection of the temple cult at Jerusalem. The lamb in his care is never seen sacrificed[83] and the change from 'humans' to 'his creatures' in the biblical paraphrase conspicuously widens the scope of divine habitation and concern to include all sentient life, aligning the adolescent protagonist of *Nazareth* with young caretakers of animals in cinema.

The Boy Jesus' Temple Speech

	Jesus of Nazareth (1977)
	…are not enough to please our Father, the Eternal God. A prayer from the heart is more important. Do you remember what King Solomon said after he built the temple? Standing in front of the altar of the LORD,
2 Chronicles 6:12	
He stood in front of the altar of the LORD **in the presence of the whole assembly of Israel, and** spread out his hands	**he** spread out his hands
2 Chronicles 6:18-20a	
[and said:] Can God, indeed, dwell with **humans** on earth? Heaven itself, the highest heaven cannot contain thee. How much less this house that I have built! Yet attend to the prayer **of thy servant** and **to his** supplication, O LORD **my God, listening to the cry and the prayer that thy servant prays before thee,** that thine eyes may be **open** upon this house day and night, this place of which thou didst say: **Thou** shall **put thy** name **there**…	and said: Can God, indeed, dwell with **his creatures** on earth? Heaven itself, the highest heaven, cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have built! Yet attend to the prayer and supplication **of thy servant**, O LORD, that thine eyes may **always** be upon this house day and night, this place of which thou didst say: **It** shall **receive my** name…

Figure 3

The boy Jesus' temple speech constitutes the filmmakers' visualization of Luke 2:46b, the lacuna at the beginning of the verse being part of a larger gap in the story, one particularly noticeable when the movie

[81] *Nazareth*'s John offers the gathered crowds a *midrash* on Isaiah: "Do not think you will be saved by your rituals, by going to the temple. It is not sacrifices the Lord demands. 'Bring no more vain offerings' [Isa 1:13], saith the Lord, 'I delight not in the blood of bullocks and of lambs' [Isa 1:11]. The sacrifice God demands is a repentant heart." Klawans notes that these and similar prophetic passages have inspired antagonism toward Israel's sacrificial cult and led to supersessionism (2006, 75). He points out, however, the hyperbolic character of the rhetoric (ibid, 81) and offers an alternative way of reading these texts (ibid, 84-100).

[82] 2 Chr 6:18 // 1 Kgs 8:27 is alluded to in Stephen's speech in Acts 7:48-49 (Sylva 1987b, 265-67), which has occasioned interpretations of outright rejection of the temple's legitimacy (Penner 2004, 308-18). This goes beyond what I think Luke intends through the speech crafted in Acts 7 and Rhodes (2009) provides a cogent defense of the transcendent interpretation. *Nazareth*, for its part, embraces a supersessionist theology whereas "Luke preserves and hands on, or perhaps even creates, stories of pious Jews in the Temple…to show the positive links, and the continuity between the Christian story and 'the Jewish tradition'" (Tuckett 1999, 135-36).

[83] The filmmakers have sidestepped the issue of what happens to the lamb draped over the young protagonist's shoulders. In the movie's novelization, Jesus "hand[s] over the lamb with a look of intense sorrow in his eyes" (Barclay 1977, 21), but one could imagine alternative scenarios that do not end with the animal's slaughter in light of the film's ambiguity about his fate.

is compared to the biblical text (Figure 4).[84] The transition from the young protagonist's entrance into the temple to his speech skips over the entirety of Luke 2:43-46a: his parents' departure, their discovery of his absence and the three-day search. Do the filmmakers assume a biblically-literate viewer who can fill in the gap [85] or do they intend to induce 'amnesia' to further ideological goals?[86] The progression of the sequence has, in any case, the effect of maintaining a focus on Jesus rather than his parents and thereby downplaying the mental anguish behind their search,[87] which could just as well have been three hours as three days! This approach to viewing lacunae as rhetorically purposeful affirms cinematic adaptations as autonomous works of art with their own value and interpretation, while at the same time being 'haunted' by their source texts (Hutcheon 2013, 6).

The Boy Jesus in Jerusalem

Luke 2:41-52	***Jesus of Nazareth* (1977)**
And his parents would go yearly to Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover. And when he **was** twelve **years old**, they went up according to the custom of the feast and **completed the days; when they returned** the **boy** Jesus **remained in Jerusalem, and <u>his parents</u> did not know. But thinking him to be in the caravan they went a day's journey and were searching for him among the relatives and the acquaintances, and not finding [him] they returned to Jerusalem searching for him. And it happened after three days they <u>found him</u>** in the temple **sitting** in the midst of the teachers **and listening to them** and **questioning** them; and all those listening to him were **amazed at** his **intelligence and answers**. And seeing him they were **astounded**, and his mother said to him: "**Child, why did you do this to us? Look, your father and I were distressed** looking for you." And he said to them: "Why were you looking for me? Did you not know **that I should be about** my father 's **things**?" **And they did not understand the word that he spoke to them. And he went down with them and came to Nazareth and was submissive to them. And his mother was keeping all the things in her heart. And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature and grace with God and people.**	And his parents would go yearly to Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover. And when he **turned** twelve, they went up according to the custom of the feast and the **adolescent** Jesus [was] in the temple **standing** in the midst of the teachers and **speaking to** them; and all those listening to him were **captivated by** his **speech**. **<u>His parents found him</u>** and seeing him they were **pleased**, and his mother said to him: "**Son, we've been** looking for you **everywhere**." And he said to them: "Why were you looking for me **everywhere**? Did you not know **you would have found me in** my father 's **house**?"

Figure 4

[84] The biblical text is paralleled with the film's plot summaries and dialogue to facilitate close readings of both rather than to critique lack of fidelity. Aichele and Walsh also reject the privileging of the biblical text in conversations between it and cinema (2002, ix) and Stam correctly points out that "fidelity in adaptation is literally impossible. A filmic adaptation is automatically different and original due to the change of medium" (2005, 17).

[85] Berlinerblau points out that within the secular (ie. non-religious) context within which this thesis is located biblical literacy is exceptional (2005, 1). Furthermore, while secularists are a minority of the populace (ibid, 2), the majority who do affirm some religious affiliation constitute a diverse group that includes adherents for whom the Bible is not sacred text (Chancey et al. 2014, 3-4). Thus, filmmakers can no longer assume an audience for whom the contents of biblical stories are common knowledge.

[86] Hutcheon notes that "there are manifestly many different possible intentions behind the act of adaptation: the urge to consume and erase the memory of the adapted text or to call it into question is as likely as the desire to pay tribute by copying" (2013, 7). While the filmmakers take up a reverent posture vis-à-vis the biblical source material, the boy Jesus' Torah reading is an intriguing diegetic example of the undermining type of adaptive phenomena.

[87] Indeed, Mary's words to her son in *Nazareth* omit mention of her or her husband's distress. The Greek ὀδυνάω is used only by Luke in the New Testament corpus and can refer to either physical (16:24-25) or mental (Acts 20:38) pain (BDAG).

Because of the earlier *bar mitzvah* ritual, the Jesus who goes to Jerusalem in *Nazareth* is presented as an adolescent[88] and, while Carmona suggests this is also Luke's intent (1992, 184),[89] other scholars disagree. François Bovon remarks that "[w]hoever places Jesus here at the stage of adulthood misses precisely the point: even as a child, Jesus possesses the wisdom of the great ones" (2002, 111).[90] Luke's reference to "the boy Jesus" (Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς) and specifically to the age of twelve situate him in the sphere of Greco-Roman childhood, which was typically seen to end at fourteen.[91] Hippocrates famously divided the life course into seven 'ages', the second of which was inhabited by the παῖς, who was 7-14 years old (Parkin 2010, 98).[92] Bradly Billings points to "[t]he attribution of extraordinary deeds or knowledge to important men at or around the age of 12…in contemporary Greco-Roman biography and historiography" (2009, 73-74),[93] noting how Luke uses these conventions to "construct…a place for Jesus among the great men of the past" (ibid, 71).[94]

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[88] Several who think it possible that passages about an age of responsibility in rabbinic, Mishnaic and Talmudic texts have first-century application also refer to Luke's twelve-year-old Jesus as an 'adolescent' (Fitzmyer 1979, 435; Johnson 1991, 60; Carmona 1992, 183 [Spanish: *adolescente*]) or refer to 'adolescence' in connection with Jesus (Fitzmyer 1979, 440). Other scholars who write about an 'adolescent' Jesus or his 'adolescence' are Valentini (1992, 262 [Italian: *adolescenza*]), Krückemeier (2004, *passim* [German: *Jugendliche*]), Wolter (2016, 148), Levine and Witherington (2018, 71). Johnson (1991, 60) and Carroll (2012, 86) refer to Jesus as a 'young man'.

[89] While Chakoian admits "this is not a bar mitzvah," she does claim that "[a]t twelve or thirteen Jesus would have moved into the Jewish age of responsibility" and thus "has 'come of age'" (1998, 186). Similarly, Reeve claims that "specific notice of Jesus' age raises the possibility…a ritual of transition to young manhood is in view here" (2011, 246).

[90] Others who argue similarly that Jesus is emphasized as child include de Jonge (1978, 319-23) and Betsworth (2015, 108).

[91] Parkin identifies three ancient schemas that deviate from this standard (2010, 98-100). One attributed to Plato defines the παῖς as one aged 4-10, followed by the βούπαῖς – literally a "bigger child" (ibid, 199 n.2) – aged 10-18 and the Pythagorean system used παῖς to describe anyone up to the age of twenty. *Puer* translates παῖς in Luke 2:43 of Vg, the definition of the Latin being a "boy, child, servant" (Stelten 1995, 216); the *puer* in Varro's system describes those aged fifteen and younger.

[92] Before the παῖς came the παιδίον (0-7) and afterward the μειράκιον (14-21); the latter is not attested in the New Testament. The age of the παῖς ended with the arrival of puberty, which was marked by the gradual acquisition of facial hair until the age of twenty-one (*Creation* 36.105). In the contemporary context, Smith et al. note that the first appearance of facial hair (down on the upper lip) occurs at approximately 14-15 years of age (2011, 653), roughly coinciding with the ancient timing of publicly-visible puberty in males. παῖς is defined in BDAG as "a young person normally below the age of puberty, with focus on age rather than social status." The word is also used to describe "one who is committed in total obedience to another" – that is, a slave or servant. Luke uses the word in this sense in 1:54, 69; 7:7; 12:45; 15:26, as well as in Acts 3:13, 26; 4:25, 27, 30.

[93] The age range for these stories is typically 10-14 (Brown 1993, 482; Chakoian 1998, 186; Freed 2001, 148) with twelve most commonly invoked (de Jonge 1978, 322; Bovon 2002, 111; Wolter 2016, 149).

[94] Billings, reading Luke's story of Jesus' boyhood in light of similar tales about Augustus, mentions specifically (2009, 74) Suetonius' reference to the twelve-year-old's oration at his grandmother Julia's funeral (*Aug*. 94). Other notable figures of Greco-Roman history, about whom there are such stories, include the boy Alexander impressing delegates from Persia (*Alex*. 5), young Cicero's oratory wonders (*Cic.* 2.2) and Apollonius of Tyana's extraordinary learning (*Apoll.* 1.7). Hellenistic Jewish writers brought their own heroes into contact with these traditions by presenting Moses as a prodigy in all areas of learning and the arts (*Moses* 1.5.20-24) and Samuel as beginning to prophesy at the age of twelve (*Ant*. 5.348). Betsworth notes the strong parallels between the biblical stories of young Samuel and that of the boy Jesus in Luke (2015, 108-9). Krückemeier observes that while the physical beauty of juvenile heroes is often praised in the Graeco-Roman works to which Luke's story is often compared, no such notice about the boy Jesus is included in the biblical text (2004, 316).

These Greco-Roman stories of precocious boys appeared "in contexts whereby others of superior age and social position [were] left astonished" (Billings 2009, 74) and Luke likewise includes reference to those in the temple being amazed with the juvenile Jesus (2:47),[95] but many scholars identify the verse as disturbing the syntactical flow between the preceding and following verses, thus comprising evidence of the evangelist's reworking of an earlier source.[96] A medium long shot (MLS) is the closest the film's viewer is permitted in order to gauge the reaction of the small crowd that has gathered to hear Jesus speak (Figure 6.3)[97] and, while the adolescent has their attention, amazement would be an imposition from the Lukan text in the absence of obvious facial expressions. The verse exerts further influence on the choices made in screening 2:46, which verse compounds the aforementioned syntax problem:

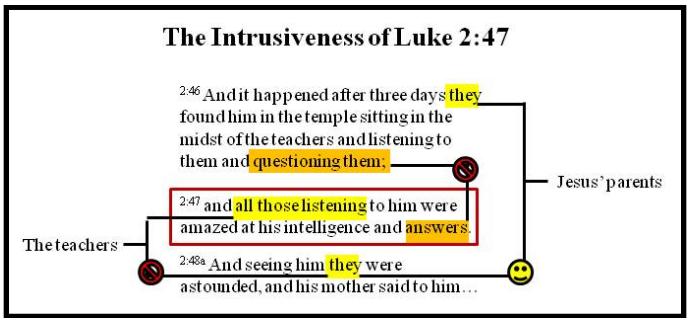

Figure 5

By providing answers, the boy Jesus of 2:47 becomes the teacher in "an exchange of roles" (Wolter 2016, 151)[98] and it is this image that the filmmakers embrace, erasing any trace of the subordinate pupil of 2:46 who listens and asks questions.[99] The aforementioned MLS is at a high angle with Jesus – his back to the

[95] Luke writes that "all those listening…were amazed" (ἐξίσταντο…πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες) and Wolter points out that this same wording occurs in Acts 9:21 as the reaction to Paul's first sermon in Damascus after his conversion experience (2016, 151).

[96] The subject of the following verse must be Jesus' parents (see Figure 5), but as van Iersel points out "the syntax does not allow of this interpretation" (1960, 169). He notes that "[t]he subject of v. 47 is πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ. The sentence runs on in v. 48, so that, at least from the point of view of syntax, we are supposed to read both sentences as having the same subject" (ibid, 169). He concludes that "[t]he only way out of the difficulty is to drop v. 47" (ibid, 169). Carmona implicitly rejects this by referring to the verse as an explanatory parenthesis (1992, 181) and Wolter explicitly denies it to be a later addition (2016, 151), though he offers no explanation for his rejection of van Iersel's analysis. Brown explicitly endorses van Iersel's argument (1993, 480) and several others affirm the verse's intrusive nature (de Jonge 1978, 342-45; Fitzmyer 1979, 442; Heininger 2005, 55-56).

[97] This is preceded by an extreme long shot (ELS), also known as an establishing shot, which Phillips notes is used to orient viewers to new settings (2009, 83), but also at times to draw the subject into relationship with his or her environment (ibid, 87).

[98] As an adult, Jesus is frequently addressed as 'Teacher' in Luke's gospel (7:40; 8:49; 9:38; 10:25; 11:45; 12:13; 18:18; 19:39; 20:21, 28; 21:7; 22:11).

[99] Scholars are divided over whether Jesus' posture of sitting (καθεζόμενον) signals his status as pupil or fellow teacher. BDAG offers the present verse as an example of the former – an interpretation taken by Fitzmyer (1979, 442), Carmona (1992, 183) and Brown (1993, 474) – and Matt. 26:55 (referring to the adult Jesus) as the latter. Luke elsewhere narrates the adult Jesus as sitting (καθίσας) to teach (5:3), but also Martha's sister Mary sitting beside (παρακαθεσθεῖσα) him to learn (10:39). Here she is also at Jesus' feet (πρὸς τοὺς πόδας), which is similar to how Luke has Paul describe his posture in relation to being taught

camera – *standing* with several men *seated* on the floor in front of him, bathed in sunlight from a high opening.[100] Ed Sikov notes that the HAS "suggest[s] a certain superiority over a character" (2010, 13), so this, the postures and the boy in the foreground of the shot with a natural spotlight all work together to elevate Jesus' status above those in attendance, particularly the men seated in the background.

All of this cinematic aggrandizing occurs before Jesus' parents enter the scene in search of him. While relief may be assumed on both their parts upon finding him, Mary's expression when the camera first offers a MCU is one of joy, presumably because she has located her son and is proud of how he has captivated an audience; Joseph first appears bewildered but then smiles.[101] A HAS tracks their approach to Jesus, the woman in front (Figure 6.4),[102] and captures her first word of the sequence: "Son." In the Lukan text Mary addresses the boy as 'Child', the use of τέκνον implying reproof;[103] the softening of this evident in *Nazareth* is consistent with both her visual delight and the aforementioned de-emphasis on the couple's distress. Still, there is concern and some exasperation in her voice when she exclaims: "We've been searching for you everywhere."[104]

(παρὰ τοὺς πόδας…πεπαιδευμένος) by Gamaliel in Acts 22:3. Arguing that sitting at the feet signals the status of pupil, Bovon concludes that "Luke employs the image of all the seated scholars, among whom Jesus is accepted with equal rank" (2002, 112). Valentini makes a similar argument (1992, 273) and Wolter, pointing specifically to Luke's phrase ἐν μέσῳ (in [the] midst), argues that "[t]he slope between those teaching and the one learning [has been] leveled" so that "Jesus is no longer a student" (2016, 150). The argument is compelling, but taking a cue from Heininger (2005, 64), further attention to the multi-layered history of the text is needed. I agree with Brown that even though 2:47 interrupts the syntactical flow between 2:46 and 2:48, the verse is not a later interpolation but rather an example of clumsy Lukan redaction of his source text (1993, 475), which leaves traces of a studious boy Jesus who was sitting in the role of pupil in the pre-Lukan tradition rather than taking on the role of teacher, which is the transformation effected by Luke in 2:47.

[100] While there are other men standing on the periphery of the shot and others so postured in both the ELS that precedes it and another that comes immediately after, the focus of this closest shot is on the four men seated before the film's adolescent orator.

[101] I thus use "pleased" to capture the parents' combined response in the *Nazareth* 'text'. In neither case does the Lukan "astounded" (ἐκπλήσσω) – "filled with amazement to the point of being overwhelmed" (BDAG) – seem to apply.

[102] The filmmakers pay little attention to the Herodian temple's realms of sanctity. While these differ slightly in the various literary sources (*Ant*. 15.417-19; *J.W.* 5.192-207; *Ag. Ap.* 2.102-4; *m. Kelim* 1:8), they generally conform to a schema in which there is an outer court admissible to foreigners and inner courts (1) exclusive to Jews, (2) exclusive to male Jews and, finally, (3) exclusive to the male-only Jewish priests. The movie presents an open courtyard where priests burn incense on altars and which is flanked by large alcoves. While there do not appear to be any Gentiles present, these temple spaces are accessible to male and female Jews alike and Mary approaches her son in the alcove without suggesting she has transgressed a spatial boundary.

[103] In his exploration of classical Athenian texts for παῖς and related terminology, Golden lists "consolation, exhortation, or reproof" as the contexts in which parents address their children with a form of τέκνον (1985, 96). The first two are not pertinent to the present text, which involves what Wolter rightly calls a "reproach" (2016, 151). BDAG cites Luke 2:48 as an example of "an affectionate address to a son," overlooking how it may be invoked at the start of a rebuke, which may not be affectionate! While Golden's analysis was not based on New Testament texts, other examples therein of vocative τέκνον fall within one of his three categories (Matt 9:2; 21:28; Mark 2:5; 10:24; Luke 15:31; 16:25; Gal 4:19; Eph 6:1, Col 3:20; 1 Tim 1:18; 2 Tim 2:1).

[104] "Look, your father and I…" (ἰδοὺ ὁ πατήρ σου κἀγὼ) is perhaps avoided for the same reasons some scribes omitted it in the Lukan text: discomfort with the implication that Joseph is Jesus' biological father. Ehrman discusses the verse alongside the aforementioned variants concerning references to Jesus' parents (2011, 65-66). While he claims "[o]ne important but fragmentary Greek witness of the fifth century and two Old Latin manuscripts read 'Your relatives and I (οἱ συγγενεῖς σου κἀγὼ) have been grieved…'" (ibid, 65), this is not my reading of the NA28 apparatus, which *inserts* οἱ συγγενεῖς σου between ἰδοὺ and ὁ πατήρ σου κἀγὼ rather than taking the place of ὁ πατήρ σου.

If Mary's criticism of her son in *Nazareth* is muted, the rebuke directed by the boy Jesus at his mother is amplified.[105] He turns toward her when first addressed with a hint of annoyance because of the interruption. Prefaced by a *bar mitzvah* rite and solitary entrance into the temple, Jesus' independence[106] is reinforced by the alternating MCUs that keep him and his parents in separate shots.[107] In the shot of Mary, Joseph remains in the background, out of focus and pushed to the periphery in preparation for the boy's climactic declaration of divine sonship. In response to his mother's statement to have *everywhere* searched for him, Jesus – surrounded by smoke that again signals the divine presence (Figure 6.5)[108] – asks: "Why were you looking for me *everywhere*. Did you not know you would have found me in my father's house?"

Jesus' temple pilgrimage in *Jesus of Nazareth* (NBC, 1977)

Figure 6.1 Figure 6.2 Figure 6.3 Figure 6.4 Figure 6.5

The exhibition of Jesus' wisdom (2:47) and the boy's pronouncement (2:49) serve as dual climaxes in the Lukan text; the underlying tradition – lacking the first and Luke's summaries (2:40, 52)[109] – culminated

[105] Commenting on Luke's text, Bovon refers to "Jesus' devastating retort" (2002, 110) whereas Wolter conceives of the same as "a modest reproach" (2016, 152). Brown is even more hesitant, claiming it "probably inexact to claim that Jesus returns the reproach in the first part of his answer to Mary" (1993, 490), though he leaves open the possibility of rebuke in the second part. While Jesus is seen speaking to Mary, that her husband is included in the reproach is implied since they together were searching for him and this dual address is explicit in the Lukan text through the boy speaking to them (αὐτούς) and his use of second person plural verbs (ἐζητεῖτέ and ᾔδειτε).

[106] While Brown, commenting on Luke 2:43, claims "[it] is useless to speculate whether Jesus' remaining was the result of an accident…or a deliberate act" (1993, 473), the boy as subject of the verb to remain (ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς) infers a deliberate act and it is so understood by Johnson (1991, 59) and Valentini (1992, 272). Other scholars refer generally to Jesus' "independent action" (Fitzmyer 1979, 438) or his "active role" in the story (Green 1997, 156). That *Nazareth*'s adolescent chose to remain in the temple without his parents' knowledge may be inferred from their subsequent search and, similar to the Lukan text, has "found his own voice" there (Chakoian 1998, 186).

[107] Chakoian suggests the overall structure of Luke's pericope is to "separate[] Jesus from his 'parents' and attach[] him to his 'Father'" (1998, 186), which is consistent with the filmmakers' approach to the biblical source material. The last time Jesus and his parents are together in the same frame is in the immediately-preceding HAS. As Kuhn and Westwell point out, "there are no hard-and-fast rules about the meanings of different angles" (2012, 56) and here the HAS appears to reflect a privileged vantage point (Beaver 2015, 136) in which Jesus, still illuminated by the sunlight, is emphasized in his solitude (ibid, 137), alienated from his parents who share the frame but at a distance and Joseph partially obscured by a column.

[108] Heger not only links incense with theophany, but with prayer (Heger 1997, 185-86). Both aspects are pertinent in light of the boy's speech on divine immanence in the temple and the importance of heartfelt prayer, and Luke himself weaves together incense, theophany and prayer in his story of the angel who appears to the priest Zechariah as he burns incense to announce the birth of John while outside the shrine a crowd is praying (1:8-13).

[109] Both halves of Luke's framework refer to σοφία (wisdom) and χάρις (grace), the first emphasized through the addition of 2:47 (Heininger 2005, 70).

singularly with the latter (Strauss 1995, 121).[110] *Nazareth*'s filmmakers, showing particular interest in the protagonist's divine identity (Tatum 2013, 151), also present this declaration as the pinnacle to which the sequence builds. The addition of 'everywhere' and an unambiguous reference to the temple[111] avoid the enigma of Jesus' response in the source text. The Greek ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου is notoriously difficult to translate[112] with two options – "in my father's house"[113] and "about my father's things"[114] – drawing the most support.[115] I concur with those scholars who propose deliberate ambiguity aimed at encompassing a range of possible referents (de Jonge 1978, 333; Valentini 1992, 289; Wolter 2016, 152),[116] the decision of *Nazareth*'s filmmakers eliminating all but the locative interpretation.

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[110] From a form-critical perspective, this pre-Lukan tradition is a pronouncement story, a "short account[] ending in a dramatic saying of Jesus" (Pregeant 1995, 27). Strauss identifies a tendency among commentators to stress this second climax (1995, 121), but notes "Luke's special interest in the boy Jesus' amazing intelligence" and that this "should warn against over-emphasizing the second climax" (ibid, 122).

[111] Unlike the gospel of John, which depicts Jesus journeying several times to Jerusalem (2:13; 5:1; 10:22-23; 12:12), Luke structures his gospel around a 'travel narrative' (9:51-19:44) – on the contours of which, see Denaux (1993) – that terminates in a single climactic arrival at Jerusalem for the adult Jesus. The filmmakers follow this Lukan narrative strategy and their protagonist refers to the temple as 'the house of God' in his initial confrontation with its elites, though he does so with cryptic references to his own body as the temple (cf. John 2:19-21).

[112] On which, see the discussions of de Jonge (1978, 331-37), Fitzmyer (1979, 443-44), Sylva (1987a), Brown (1993, 475-77), Heininger (2005, 65-66) and Wolter (2016, 152-53).

[113] Brown notes that "[t]he neuter plural of the definite article with the preposition *en* is well attested in the meaning 'in the dwelling-place of'" (1993, 475). Examples include the LXX of Est 7:9 [A] (ἐν τοῖς Αμαν), Tob 6:11 [G^{II}] (ἐν τοῖς Ραγουήλου) and Job 18:19 (ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ), as well as *Ant*. 16.302 (ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιπάτρου) and *Ag. Ap.* 1.118 (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς). The Sinaiticus, Curetonianus and Peshitta Syriac versions translate with ܒܒܝܬ ܐܒܝ (in my father's house) and this is also the understanding of a number of patristic writers (ibid, 476).

[114] Brown states that "the grammatical basis is weaker [for this] than for the previous explanation" and that, while "one can find in the Bible the neuter plural definite article with the meaning 'things, affairs'…, [it is] not used thus with the preposition *en*" (1993, 476). He cites Mark 8:33 and 1 Cor 7:32-34, which can be supplemented by Matt. 16:23; Luke 20:25; John 9:4; 1 Cor 2:11, 14 and Phil 2:21. These other verses are supplied by Fitzmyer, who also points to the Latin *in his quae Patris mei* of Vg as supporting this interpretation (1979, 444). The difficulty in translating the Lukan text is also found in LXX Gen 41:51, which Fitzmyer (ibid, 443) lists as supporting "in my father's house" (similarly Sylva [1987a, 135 n.9]), but τῶν τοῦ πατρός μου (the Greek translator's choice for the Hebrew בית אבי) is rendered by Hiebert as "my father's affairs" (2007, 35). de Jonge points to the Coptic *Gos. Thom*. 61 where the phrase 2N̄ ⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ (reconstructed Greek: τῶν τοῦ πατρός μου) is found (1979, 332-33), translated by Ehrman and Pleše as "the things of my father" (2011, 325; cf. Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22).

[115] A third option – "among my father's relatives" – draws on the search in 2:44 by Jesus' parents ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν (among the relatives) and contrasts this with the 'family' of Israel's deity. Both Fitzmyer (1979, 444) and Brown (1993, 477) identify Theodoret of Cyrus as providing ancient support for this interpretation. In his brief summary of Jesus' infancy and childhood in *On the Incarnation of the Lord*, he renders the pertinent Lukan clause with ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ πατρός μου (PG 75:1461), the word οἰκεῖος referring to those "related by kinship or circumstances and [who] form a closely knit group" (BDAG; cf. Gal 6:10; Eph 2:19; 1 Tim 5:8). Brown claims "[t]he insurmountable obstacle to this interpretation is the impossibility that Jesus would have spoken of the teachers of the Law in the Temple as 'the household (family) of my Father" (1993, 477), yet this assumes a referent it is doubtful even the writer intended, having just narrated how the juvenile Christ "put to shame the obtuseness of the Jews." The obscurity of what kinfolk to the divine Theodoret had in mind is reflected in Pásztori-Kupán's translation "in my Father's own [affairs]" (2006, 163), which imports one plausible interpretation from the underlying biblical source to obviate the problem! Fitzmyer understands Theodoret to be referring to 'domestics' and cautions against "rejecting this interpretation as a possibility" (1979, 444); I am not convinced this third option offers anything substantial for consideration

[116] de Jonge uses the words 'ambivalence' and 'ambivalent' throughout his article when I think he means 'ambiguity' and 'ambiguous'. Nevertheless, I agree with his claim that the clause "is probably not susceptible of a satisfactory rendering in any

With Jesus' affirmation of divine sonship delivered, the movie abruptly ends its sequences of his childhood[117] and transition to adolescence with a fade-out to black.[118] The reactions of Mary and Joseph to the boy's pronouncement are not screened, which allows the filmmakers to evade the thorny problem of his parents' failure to grasp the proclamation's meaning (2:50).[119] Similarly, Luke's assertion that the boy returned home with them and was submissive (2:51) eludes adaptation, a compliant attitude arguably incompatible with how Jesus has separated himself from and even rebuked his parents. While Raymond Brown correctly claims that "the reference to obedience softens the portrait of Jesus" in the biblical text (1993, 494),[120] *Nazareth*'s filmmakers apparently feel no compunction over their adolescent's behavior and to portray him as subservient to his parents would only undermine the image of the now-autonomous deity they have forged throughout these boyhood sequences.

Situated in the post-Vatican II period and among Catholic reflections on nearly two millennia of hostile relations between Christians and Jews, *Nazareth* presents "authentic Judaism" as being "of a royal messianic type" (Staley and Walsh 2007, 75), one that has been superseded by a "spiritual Christianity" (ibid, 83).[121] The film's complex depiction of the twelve-year-old Jesus[122] is implicated in this theological

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language" and that if one must choose between the two primary options, the second is to be preferred since it retains some of the intended ambiguity (1978, 335-36); I have thus translated it "about my father's things" in the text for comparison with the film.

[117] While not pertinent to the present exploration focusing on the adaptation of Luke 2:41-52, *Nazareth* includes two scenes of Jesus' early childhood. In the first, he stands reverently while his father recites the *Shema* comprised of the core text (Deut 6:4) together with a rabbinic expansion of the blessing from Ps 72:19 (Ben Ezra 2003, 139) and Deut 6:5-6. This, like circumcision and *bar mitzvah*, situate Jesus within a Jewish milieu (Tatum 2013, 147). In the second scene, the boy Jesus is among apprentices at Joseph's carpentry shop and subsequently tries to climb a ladder to 'heaven' after his father claims some reach this destination. Future explorations into depictions of the juvenile Jesus in this film may fruitfully analyze this anecdote against the backdrop of Piaget's purported stages of cognitive development (Smith et al. 2011, 441-69) and the implications of Christologies that allow "for the genuine growth of Jesus as a human being" (Migliore 2014, 185).

[118] Stern et al. refer to this as "a somewhat inexplicable cut to an old rabbi reading the Hebrew Scriptures about the coming Messiah" (1999, 226). The 'old rabbi' is Yehuda, the one who presided over Jesus' *bar mitzvah*, aged to reflect the passage of time. His monologue consists of a conflation of Isa 40:1-2 and Mal 3:1, only the latter of which Stern et al. mention under the heading 'John the Baptist' (ibid, 350), yet curiously they make the erroneous claim that "Jesus…is the messenger" referred to (ibid, 226) even though a dissolve is then used to transition to John as its obvious referent (cf. Mark 1:2-4).

[119] Inasmuch as the film *Jesus* does screen their reaction, further discussion of this verse will be deferred until chapter 7.

[120] Scholars are divided over the nature of Jesus' actions and/or response. Fitzmyer sees "Jesus' irresponsibility to his earthly parents" implied in the text (1979, 445), Derrett refers to the boy as having been "rude to his parents contrary to Exod. 20:12" (2012, 265) and Heininger views his act of staying behind in Jerusalem as a form of disobedience (2005, 55). Others see no evidence of misbehavior and stress the boy's *continued* obedience to his parents (Freed 2001, 151; Bovon 2002, 115; Carroll 2012, 86). In light of this latter perspective, Luke's inclusion of Jesus' submission to his parents would appear to have achieved its intended purpose and Schüssler Fiorenza's suggestion that it may be influenced by the post-Pauline household codes in which children are adjured to submit to parents (Eph 6:1-3; Col 3:20) is a reasonable one (1982, 402). For a brief discussion on current scholarship exploring Luke's use of the Pauline and post-Pauline letters in the gospel and Acts, see Adamczewski (2016, 13-33).

[121] While it was once assumed that "Jews everywhere were looking for a royal Messiah figure to come and inaugurate a new age…, [i]t is now recognised that the situation was probably far more complex and Judaism itself far more variegated" (Tuckett 2001, 16).

[122] Throughout this chapter I have used the words 'adolescent' or 'boy' in reference to the twelve-year-old of *Nazareth* and 'juvenile' or 'boy' in reference to that of Luke's story in order to capture both the critical difference and overlap between their

agenda through his unspoken rejection of royal messianic Judaism in Nazareth, his implicit dismissal of the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem and the explicit content of his speech in the temple that ostensibly reveals the boy's amazing wisdom. While his commentary on Israel's sacred texts was presented as the exercise of adult prerogative in light of his *bar mitzvah*, Jesus appears throughout the pertinent sequences exuding youthful beauty and is anchored in cinema's pious boy tradition. While his innocence and asexuality are highlighted, vulnerability and dependence are downplayed and rejected respectively. The filmmakers' commitment to a sinless Christ renders *Nazareth*'s adolescent character static.[123] With only the veneer of a 'coming-of-age' story yet large doses of autonomy, the movie offers a boy Jesus who is unique among his film contemporaries.[124] Exceptionality is perhaps expected for the cinematic 'Son of God', but such a conclusion would be premature without a compare and contrast. Two decades separates *Nazareth* from the movie that will serve in that capacity and these years witnessed significant shifts in how juvenile masculinity was depicted in cinema, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

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respective depictions, the term 'boy' having a flexible – at times frustratingly so – semantic range from infants through young adults (Greer 2003, 13; Pomerance and Gateward 2005a, 3).

[123] *Nazareth*'s twelve-year-old Jesus is thus as 'flat' as his adult counterparts, Reinhartz writing how the 'Son of God' "is not permitted the foibles, failings, the false starts or true loves that induce us viewers to identify with and care about our movie heroes" (2007, 6).

[124] The only other boys exercising such agency in cinema are among its 'evil' kids. The chasm between 'good' and 'evil' in the divine realm is not so wide as it may first appear, the gods often being feared and 'Othered' with Kearney referring both to "the monstrous God" and the "disturbing ambiguity of the sacred" (2003, 6). I treat the issue of the divine child and monstrosity further in my exploration of Malak, the destroying angel in the 2014 film *Exodus: Gods and Kings*, analyzing his behavior in light of such 'evil' boys as David in *Whisper* (2007) and Barto in *The Unborn* (2009), both villains who, like the boy Jesus in *Nazareth*, exhibit a piercing stare (Magee 2019; cf. Lennard 2014, 51).

Chapter 6

Contextualizing the Boy Jesus – Part 2: Cinematic Boyhoods 1980-1999

Portrayals of juvenile masculinity in cinema of the 1980s exhibited some continuity with films from the 1970s, the rupture in analysis created by discussion of *Jesus of Nazareth* in the previous chapter being a practical but artificial one.[1] Several world-cinema movies released in their countries of origin during the seventies were not distributed in the United States until the eighties. One example was West Germany's *The Tin Drum* (1979),[2] which was released in North America to critical acclaim in 1980 and took home the Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film.[3] By the end of the 1990s, however, the movie had been briefly censored in Oklahoma as child pornography (Weisberg 1998). The journey of Oskar Matzerath (Figure 1.1) from on-screen hero (Hughes 1981, 2)[4] to representing a victim of sexual exploitation in the space of two decades reflects a significant shift in the way images of children were produced and received in the intervening years. This tumultuous cinematic voyage, the subject of the present chapter, will provide a context for my analysis of *Jesus*' juvenile protagonist in the penultimate chapter of the thesis.

The 1979 remake of *The Champ* opportunely tapped into the success of *Rocky* (1976)[5] and the eponymous character's 'underdog' appeal (Keller and Ward 2014, 193), a persona appropriated directly by a juvenile male character in *The Long Days of Summer* (1980).[6] Set against the backdrop of Joe Louis'

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[1] Holmstrom's encyclopedia (1998), while relatively comprehensive for the decades covered in chapter 4, does not provide similar coverage for the eighties and later, nor does Sutton's posthumous publication (2014) of selected photographs, newspaper clippings and correspondences from Holmstrom's files, along with some of his own recent finds, fill the gap. I thus relied more heavily on my own recollection and research for the movies explored in this chapter, which still resulted in a list of well over 800 titles, representing a significant increase in the number of pertinent films per year compared to previous decades and providing an overabundance of material to work with. In order to produce a manageable corpus, I focused on movies that received widespread theatrical distribution or aired on major television networks *and* whose juvenile male characters were in leading roles (though I do make some exceptions if their contributions to the plot were significant enough to warrant inclusion). For foreign films, which draw comparatively fewer viewers than Hollywood ones, only the latter criterion was strictly applied. These restrictions yielded a corpus of 349 films, which are listed alphabetically together with those from the five earlier decades in *Appendix F*.

[2] Other examples were India's *The Golden Fortress* (1981 [1974]) and Denmark's *You Are Not Alone* (1981 [1978]).

[3] See https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1980.

[4] Hughes notes that Oskar's heroic persona in the film constitutes a deviation from the 1959 Günter Grass novel on which it was based and in which the character "represented the destructive infantilism of the Nazis" (1981, 2).

[5] The sequel *Rocky II* was released the same year as *The Champ*.

[6] The film was a sequel to *When Every Day Was the Fourth of July* (1978), mentioned in chapter 4 in the context of juvenile Jewish characters in films of the seventies.

1938 victory over Max Schmeling,[7] Daniel Cooper defends his Jewish heritage against a teenaged boxer (Figure1.2) whose pro-Nazi father has spearheaded acts of vandalism and violence against Jews. After being pummeled by his opponent for several rounds, Daniel wins by knockout.[8] Michael Cutler "start[s] his salvation from spoiled brat status" (ibid, 174) with a successful arm-wrestling match (Figure 1.3) in *Over the Top* (1987); both this and *Long Days* revive the ideal of the 'bad boy' who stands up to bullies through the use of physical force.[9]

Michael is introduced to physical training by his father,[10] a brawny trucker who refers to the body as a piece of machinery, echoing the associations between adult male musculature, power and steel found in the decade's 'sword and sorcery' films (Ipsen 2012, 136).[11] Tal, heir to the throne in *The Beastmaster* (1982), is a juvenile version of the genre's 'mega-masculine' hero, wielding steel weapons and wearing "scarce clothing showing an abundance of bare skin," only without the "conspicuous muscle build" (ibid, 136) of the adult warriors around him (Figure 1.4).[12] The boy's skills and physique are in the process of 'becoming', less an idealization for juvenile masculinity than an endorsement for the "male perfection" (ibid, 136) idolized in the decade's 'hard body' genres.[13] This aggressive masculine image to which many boys aspired did not go unchallenged. *Russkies* (1987) begins with three American 'military brats'[14]

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[7] In her survey of cultural influences giving hope to Depression-era film audiences, Hark refers to this famous boxing match as "a harbinger for the eventual defeat of Hitler's racist and expansionist goals" (2007, 5).

[8] Central to the 'underdog' persona drawn from the Rocky series is being overmatched and withstanding physical punishment in the ring (Keller and Ward 2014, 193).

[9] Unlike earlier films, however, eighties boys emerge victorious from structured contests rather than fistfights. In addition to physical confrontations, juvenile males tackle bullies in virtual arenas such as in *The Wizard* (1989) where 'underdog' Jimmy Woods bests an older and more experienced gamer at 'Video Armageddon'.

[10] The film was a vehicle for Sylvester Stallone, the star of the Rocky movies, but is counted among the many cinematic flops following the height of his career in the first half of the decade (Holmlund 2014, 6), losing money at the box office (ibid, 19 n.9). *Over the Top* features a training sequence typical of Stallone's sports-related films (Keller and Ward 2014, 172), the *montage* in this case showing Michael as a partner in the stretching, exercising and body-building of his father's daily routine.

[11] Ipsen identifies 'sword and sorcery' films as those in which "prototypically shaped men and women" inhabit "imaginary environment[s]" where there are "element[s] of wizardry, or the supernatural" (2012, 142), *Conan the Barbarian* (1982) being the 'blueprint' for a "cinematic fantasy boom" during the eighties (ibid, 135).

[12] Ipsen's claim that *The Beastmaster* is not a genuine 'sword and sorcery' film (2012, 150) is problematic, relying heavily on the idiosyncrasies of his male and female prototypes, both implicitly *adult*, allowing no room for variation nor consideration of juvenile characters in general or Tal specifically. This character is *not* the vulnerable boy who populated earlier *peplum* movies – that is, the 'sword and sandal' films noted in chapter 4 – that he suggests are comparable.

[13] In addition to the 'sword and sorcery' film was the 'action' movie, "a distinct product of the 1980s" (Kendrick 2009, 83) that featured "actors who were more renowned for their physicality than their acting prowess" (ibid, 84). In addition to Stallone, Kendrick lists Arnold Schwarzenegger (the star of *Conan the Barbarian*), Chuck Norris, Dolph Lundgren, Steven Seagal and Jean-Claude Van Damme. Jeffords notes how the 'hard body' was "male and white", set in opposition to the 'soft body' that was "female and/or a person of color" (2004, 25), but she overlooks the category of age whereby juvenile males may also be seen as having 'soft bodies'.

[14] The term is used to describe the children of military families and is not considered pejorative by the majority of them who understand it as "a term of affectionate humor" (Wertsch 2006, xvii), one that "implies…a certain spunkiness" (ibid, xviii).

absorbed in the comic-book exploits of Sergeant Slammer as he kills a treacherous Russian commissar with his bayonet.[15] The boys' encounter with a stranded Russian sailor is transformative; their "comic-book vision" of a righteous America at war with evil Soviets is replaced by a warm and caring friendship with the man (Strada and Troper 1997, 172-73).[16] This helps broker peace during a tense standoff between representatives of the two nations' militaries and the boys, now also unafraid to display their sensitive sides,[17] delve "reverently" (ibid, 173) into Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (Figure 1.5).[18]

The Tin Drum
(New World Pictures, 1980 [1979])

Figure 1.1

The Long Days of Summer
(ABC, 1980)

Figure 1.2

Over the Top
(Warner Bros, 1987)

Figure 1.3

The Beastmaster
(MGM/UA, 1982)

Figure 1.4

Russkies
(New Century Vista, 1987)

Figure 1.5

If *Russkies* is an "ode to empathy" (Strada and Troper 1997, 185) on the international level, *Stand by Me* (1986)[19] is such an elegy on the interpersonal one, the present-day reminisce of Gordie Lachance about a weekend 'road trip'[20] in the summer of 1959 with three friends upon reading in the newspaper that Chris Chambers, his closest childhood chum, has been fatally stabbed.[21] Jeffrey Weinstock observes how Chris

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[15] While Strada and Troper mistakenly refer to Slammer as a captain rather than a sergeant, they do insightfully liken him to the character of John Rambo (1997, 172), "[o]ne of the most popular icons of the Reagan era" (Jeffords 2004, 28) who took on Russians in *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985) and *Rambo III* (1988), the latter movie being "a financial flop…hopelessly out of step with the overall drift of Hollywood's Russian-genre films in the late 1980s" (Strada and Troper 1997, 183).

[16] Both this film and *Amazing Grace and Chuck* (1987) tapped into the general spirit of *glasnost*, "a new Soviet movement of openness" (Robinson 2007, 217).

[17] Strada and Troper's claim that "the three boys hug their departing Soviet companion in a tearful farewell" (1997, 173) is yet another plot-summarizing gaffe, one that misses a significant chain of events in the scene. Only *one* of the boys, Danny Kovac, hugs Mischa while the other two exchange a series of handshakes with the man, ending with a fist bump. Furthermore, Danny's embrace *followed* his own father's similar display of friendship with Mischa in thanking him for saving his son's life; Adam Vandermeer then puts his arm around Danny, which act is reciprocated as the two boys watch the Russian submarine disappear beneath the water. While their African American friend, Jason Foley, is in the frame, he is excluded from the scene's male bonding. This reflects the endurance of 'tokenism' in eighties films and their concomitant focus on the experiences of white characters.

[18] The shot offers a visual reversal to the film's opening. The boys' military paraphernalia and poster of Schwarzenegger in *Commando* (1985) have vanished, replaced with various sports equipment and memorabilia; their camouflage pants exchanged for shorts. With Tolstoy's book in hand, the shot reflects an ideal of boyhood as a time of leisure and learning.

[19] The film was based on Stephen King's novella "The Body" (1982) and garnered an Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay adapted from another medium (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1987).

[20] Brammer notes how railway tracks substitute for the road and how the film "exhibits many features of the genre in terms of cinematic style, plot, themes and character arcs" (2013, 109-10).

[21] Gordie and Chris, played by Wil Wheaton (1972-) and River Phoenix (1970-1993) respectively, are the central characters of the film (Weinstock 2008, 45).

is "an extremely caring person who bolsters the egos of others" (2008, 45),[22] comforting Gordie when he tearfully expresses his feelings of inadequacy (Figure 2.1).[23] Empowered through empathic bond, Gordie saves Chris from a blade-wielding bully, blending the decade's seemingly-incompatible hegemonic and sensitive masculinities in a 'coming-of-age' story.[24]

The boys' expedition to find a dead body leads Weinstock to characterize the film's "trajectory [as] a group of kids journeying…toward adulthood by way of the confrontation with death" (2008, 43), symbolically "the death of their own childhoods" (Magistrale 2003, 38). This metaphor is fraught with ambiguity, particularly in movies that involve their protagonists' experience of trauma to 'come of age', perhaps none more so than in *Empire of the Sun* (1987).[25] Categorized by Andrew Gordon as "a cross between a boy's adventure and a prisoner-of-war film" (2002, 109),[26] the movie depicts the ordeal of a young Briton, Jamie Graham, in a Japanese internment camp during the Second World War (Figure 2.2). Triumphal 'readings' of the film[27] clash with defeatist ones,[28] the latter often invoking the director Steven Spielberg's claim that the movie is about the 'death of innocence' (Forsberg 2000, 129).[29] These opposing interpretations of the film, picking up on the contradictory impulses of Spielberg himself,[30] reflect general uncertainties about whether the traumatic 'coming-of-age' should be viewed positively or negatively.[31]

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[22] Weinstock notes that "Chris is the character who most frequently touches or puts his arm around the shoulders of others and is variously figured as both a substitute father and a mother figure for Gordie" (2008, 45).

[23] Similar compassion had earlier been shown to Chris when he divulged to Gordie how a teacher betrayed him, the former struggling with his own public display of tears and interpreting them with vulgar terminology as feminine. Chris' identity, like that of his friend, is in flux throughout the film (Weinstock 2008, 45) and, by its end, he appears to have accepted his sensitive emotions as compatible with a masculine identity as evidenced by his interaction with Gordie.

[24] Gordie saves his friend by threatening the young man with a pistol, "a phallic object [that he] uses…to assert his identity as a man" (Magistrale 2003, 39).

[25] Adapted from J.G. Ballard's 1984 novel of the same name, the film was nominated for six Academy Awards: Art Direction, Cinematography, Costume Design, Film Editing, Original Score, Sound (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1988).

[26] Kendrick summarizes the film as "the story of a child caught in the crosshairs of war with a deeply challenging mixture of grim, gritty physicality and a tone that frequently borders on the surreal" (2014, 143).

[27] The plot summary provided on the 2009 DVD release refers to the boy's "unconquerable spirit [that] soars high and free above the harsh confines of" the camp. Lawrence approaches the film through this lens, appealing to "the astonishing robustness of children who have gone through war with little of the psychological ravages of other age groups" (1991, 303).

[28] Opposite Lawrence's claim that "[t]he insanity of war does not fragment Jaime" (1991, 305), Gordon diagnoses the boy as "manic-depressive" (2002, 110) – or "bipolar" in updated terminology (2016, 208-9) – and writes that, by the end of the movie, "little 'Jamie' [is] hopelessly dead. Having lost his youthful innocence and ideals, he has nothing with which to replace them" (ibid, 214). Kendrick tackles triumphal 'readings' directly when he claims "the trauma Jim has endured and the humanity that has been stripped from him far outweighs any sense of triumph that he has survived" (2014, 145).

[29] Linking the film's closing shot of Jamie's floating suitcase with its opening shot of coffins moving likewise through water, Kendrick sees "the figural death of Jim's childhood and any sense of innocence it may have entailed" (2014, 150).

[30] In light of the novel's "portray[al] of a boy fascinated by flight," Wasser notes that Spielberg's interest in the project owed to "his own obsessive association of flying with freedom from family and social constraints," as well as to thematic parallels with "one of [Spielberg's] own childhood movie favorites, *Captains Courageous*" (2010, 129). Whether this classical Hollywood film

Reacting against the seventies' mob of 'evil' kids,[32] Spielberg is often credited with cementing a neo-Romantic vision of childhood into the decade's cinematic landscape (Schober 2016, 4), chiefly with *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982)[33] and its story of intergalactic friendship between a lonely boy and a stranded alien.[34] As Elliott and E.T. lie dying in the care of government scientists,[35] the alien severs their empathic bond to save his friend's life by sacrificing his own (Figure 2.3). The boy's declaration of love appears to be potent, resuscitating the extra-terrestrial[36] and illustrating the Romantic ideal of children's closeness to the divine (Cunningham 2005, 68-69).[37] *E.T.* launched a cycle of 'suburban fantastic' movies that "privilege[d] males, specifically white, middle class and implicitly or explicitly heterosexual males for its heroes" (McFadzean 2017, 7),[38] many of which featured juvenile protagonists in largely adult-free adventures and "triumph[s] over the fantastic" (ibid, 18).[39]

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is understood as a boy's adventure tale or a 'coming-of-age' story, its trajectory is a positive one and Harvey's transformation from spoiled to hardworking is mirrored by that of Jamie in *Empire of the Sun*.

[31] Other eighties 'coming-of-age' films that involve some sort of traumatic experience include *Cold River* (1982), *Honkytonk Man* (1982), *The Golden Seal* (1983), *Testament* (1983) and *Burning Secret* (1988).

[32] There were comparatively few 'evil' boys in films of the eighties and the decade's most memorable offering, *Children of the Corn* (1984), departs from the same-titled novella on which it was based (King 1977) in the creation of the character Job, who resists the murderous religious cult of his peers and through whom the narrative is focalized (Caputo 2016, 45).

[33] Nominated for nine Academy Awards, the film won four of them: Original Score, Sound, Sound Effects Editing and Visual Effects (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1983). Adjusted for inflation, it is the fourth highest-grossing movie of all time (see https://www.boxofficemojo.com/alltime/adjusted.htm) and was a billion-dollar merchandising bonanza in its day (Morris 2007, 84-85).

[34] While the story idea was Spielberg's, the script was penned by Melissa Mathison, the screenwriter for *The Black Stallion* (A. Gordon 2008, 76-77). This film's paean to boyhood innocence anticipated the distinctly Romantic ideal of childhood that took such strong hold in the eighties, complicating attribution of this phenomenon to Spielberg alone.

[35] A. Gordon notes how these "adult human males [are converted] into the real, terrifying Other" (2008, 81).

[36] "I'll believe in you all my life, every day," says a tearful Elliott – played by Henry Thomas (1971-) – over the lifeless body of his alien friend. "E.T., I love you." Russell connects this to an earlier scene in which Elliott's mother reads to the boy's sister from J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1911) about belief in fairies having the power to save them, noting how this is "only the most apparent of the many links between Barrie's play and Spielberg's movie" (1983, 28). A. Gordon, on the other hand, understands E.T. to have resurrected himself (2008, 84).

[37] Much has been written on E.T.'s godlike and specifically Christ-like qualities, Tomasulo noting Mathison's education in a Catholic school in regards to the latter (2001, 277). As the alien's double and "linked by telepathic empathy" (A. Gordon 2008, 86), Elliott shares to a degree in this divinity, E.T.'s presence also helping to "liberate" the boy's "heroic potential," his "hidden powers of intelligence, resourcefulness, bravery, and love" (ibid, 85).

[38] McFadzean describes these films as "stories in which preteen and teenage boys living within the suburbs are called upon to confront a disruptive fantastic force" (2017, 1) and, tracing the inception of this phenomenon through to the present, he notes that it "has never achieved the same cultural prominence as it did in the first five years after *E.T.*" (ibid, 23).

[39] McFadzean's attempt to read all suburban fantasies as 'coming-of-age' films in which male protagonists "experience[] an overwhelming existential crisis about [their] impending patriarchal identit[ies]" (2017, 7) is problematic, ignoring key differences between films that focus on juveniles and those that focus on young adults, as well as dismissing the reception of the first by their primary intended audience, namely juvenile males. Examples of juvenile-focused suburban fantastic films of the eighties include *D.A.R.Y.L.* (1985), *Explorers* (1985), *Flight of the Navigator* (1986), *Invaders from Mars* (1986), *Making Contact* (1986), *The Gate* (1987), *The Monster Squad* (1987), *Mac and Me* (1988) and *Pulse* (1988). Even before the start of this cycle, there was

The Goonies (1985) was a popular example of the suburban fantastic[40] that was "[t]ailor-made for…Generation X" (Jackson 2012, 18).[41] The film follows a group of misfits dubbed the 'Goonies' as they undertake a perilous search for hidden treasure (Figure 2.4) in "a forbidden adventure world with no parental controls" (ibid, 23).[42] *Goonies* targeted "an audience raised on the Indiana Jones films" (ibid, 23), following up on the success of *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984),[43] which included Short Round, a juvenile sidekick to the adventurous archaeologist (Figure 2.5).[44] In their quest to recover the sacred stone of an Indian village, discover its children enslaved in mines by human-sacrificing thugs.[45] The liberation of children from a devil-worshipping cult[46] opportunely tapped into "the twin social panics of child abduction and Satanism that were [then] crystallizing" (Kendrick 2009, 189).[47]

Time Bandits (1981), a "transatlantic hit" from the UK that "invests in the symbolic potentiality of the child as arbiter of inquisitiveness, imagination and ability to think and behave independently" (Brown 2017a, 208-9).

[40] McFadzean introduces the film in the context of "variations on the basic suburban fantastic model," (2017, 9) noting how it "shifts towards an adventure pastiche" (ibid, 9-10).

[41] While the film was panned by critics, it was successful at the box office (Jackson 2012, 18) and "proved strikingly well suited to the sensibilities of its original Generation X moviegoers, who saw in it parallels to their own lives, and embraced it" (ibid, 19).

[42] Also worth mentioning in the context of fantasy and adult-free adventures is *The NeverEnding Story* (1984), which has Bastian Balthazar Bux reading the film's eponymous book about Atreyu's quest to save Fantasia from destruction, eventually entering the story world with godlike power to do so himself. The movie was adapted from the German children's book of the same name by Michael Ende (1979), but resituated in the US and filmed in English to reach an international audience (Haase 2007, 79). Despite modest results in both its native West Germany and the US, the film was a blockbuster hit in both Australia and Japan, grossing about $100 million worldwide (ibid, 80) and spawning two sequels: *The NeverEnding Story II: The Next Chapter* (1991) and *The NeverEnding Story III* (1996).

[43] The film took home the Academy Award for Visual Effects (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1985), one of two nominations. The other Indiana Jones movies of the decade were *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) and *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989).

[44] The role of 'Shorty' was played by Ke Huy Quan (1971-). Born in Saigon, he immigrated to the US in 1979 and Holmstrom quips that in *Temple of Doom* he is "a sidekick with a real kick, since he's an expert in martial arts" (1998, 387). He also played Data in *The Goonies*.

[45] Both the violence of the sacrificial rituals and the depictions of child slavery caused problems with the MPAA ratings board and, while the film was granted a PG rating at the last minute, this was the catalyst for the subsequent implementation of the PG-13 rating (Rinzler 2008, 179, 181). For all the hoopla surrounding the alleged effects of these images on children (Kendrick 2009, 184-89), "kids were not grossed out for the most part" (Rinzler 2008, 181). In other circles, the film was criticized for its racial insensitivities, primarily its portrayal of Indiana Jones as 'white savior' to "the Third World quite literally represented as a child under [his] protection" (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 26). In addition to Indiana's Asian sidekick and the young Indian slaves, there is the juvenile maharaja who rules the palace under which the eponymous 'temple of doom' is situated, becoming entranced with its evil. Morris suggests the film "presents a more nuanced version of race than reflex responses to stereotypes suggest," including as evidence the boy's "innate goodness, enabling the heroes' escape, [which] cancels previous treachery while under [a] spell" (2007, 111).

[46] The movie's thugs are worshippers of the goddess Kali, whom van Woerkens notes retains little of her Hindu origin in the statue that dominates the temple; it incorporates, rather, "elements…borrowed from Christian demonology" and "[t]he headdress of her great priest too fits this satanic inspiration" (2002, 283-84).

[47] Prince identifies a rightward-moving politics and culture during the Reagan era (2007, 11-12) and *Temple of Doom* relied on an accompanying fear of the ethnic and religious 'Other', as did the 1987 film *The Believers* (Muir 2007, 559). Based on

Stand by Me (Columbia Pictures, 1986)	***Empire of the Sun*** (Warner Bros, 1987)	***E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*** (Universal Pictures, 1982)	***The Goonies*** (Warner Bros, 1985)	***Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*** (Paramount Pictures, 1984)
Figure 2.1	Figure 2.2	Figure 2.3	Figure 2.4	Figure 2.5

The previous year saw the broadcast of *Adam* (Figure 3.1), a made-for-TV movie based on the real-life abduction and murder of Adam Walsh in 1981.[48] Despite the rarity of such crimes,[49] 'stranger danger' became engrained in the public imagination as a serious social problem, one linked with child sexual abuse (CSA).[50] Allegations of such abuse mixed with Satanism at a California daycare in 1983 ignited a decade's long moral panic about the now-discredited phenomenon of satanic ritual abuse (SRA),[51] the (serious!) subject of the made-for-TV movie *Do You Know the Muffin Man?* (1989).[52] Teddy Dollison's claims about SRA at his daycare are kept out of the prosecution's case for CSA until corroborated by his older brother Sandy (Figure 3.2) and members of the same conspiratorial ring are caught in the act.

Earlier that same year, the real-life abduction of Steven Stayner in 1972 and the sexual abuse he endured for seven years before helping a second kidnapped boy escape were depicted in the two-part TV

Nicholas Condé's book *The Religion* (1982), the movie features fringe practitioners of Santería who kidnap and sacrifice boys, believing that these slain 'innocents' will renew their lives and redeem the world.

[48] Adam's story and its aftermath are told by his father – who went on to host the television program *America's Most Wanted* – in Walsh with Schindehette (1997). Jenkins lists *Adam* along with several other made-for-TV movies as having contributed to the "heightened awareness of threats to children" that had set in by mid decade, noting how such films "offer a useful index of changing perceptions of social problems and menaces" (1998, 138-40).

[49] Imig and Wright report that "of those [contemporary American children] who see their first birthday, less than one percent fail to reach age twenty" (2014, 193). The leading causes of death among children aged 5-14 (roughly the age range in view for this thesis) in the US at the end of the twentieth-century were accidents (8.3 per 100,000) and cancer (3.5 per 100,000) followed by homicide at a rate of 2.6 per 100,000 (DeSpelder and Strickland 2002, 395). Drawing on statistics from the period 1980-1994, Jenkins documents a yearly average of 900 child homicides, only 6% of which were attributed to strangers, a figure completely at odds with the allegation that "many thousands [of children were] killed each year by serial murderers," a 'fact' touted throughout the eighties that contributed to the decade's moral panic (1998, 10).

[50] Acknowledging historical and cultural variation on the acceptability and legality of sexual contact between juveniles and adults (Rousseau 2012; Bailey 2015), such relationships are socially taboo and legally proscribed here in the West and were so throughout the period covered by this thesis (1930-1999). Insofar as the Production Code prohibited even the inference of sexual perversion in films (II.4), the sexual abuse of children was not a topic explored in cinema during the time of its enforcement. The collapse of the code in the late sixties coincided with a period during which the effects of children's sexual contacts with adults were perceived as relatively innocuous (Jenkins 1998, 2; Myers 2006, 110-11) and so treatment of the subject *qua* problem did not feature in cinema until the eighties, following the converging activism by such diametrically-opposed factions as feminists (concerned with men's abuse of power) and conservatives (concerned with excesses of the sexual revolution) in the late seventies (Jenkins 1998, 120-21).

[51] Myers discusses the infamous McMartin Preschool case and the wider issue of SRA (2006, 120-27), noting "[t]here was never any hard evidence of widespread ritual or satanic abuse of children" and that "the understandable skepticism aroused by the 'scare' retarded efforts to prove that children can be reliable witnesses" (ibid, 127). Monograph-length treatments of these legal and media debacles include Nathan and Snedeker (1995) and de Young (2004).

[52] Despite a closing intertitle explaining to viewers that "[t]he story you have just seen is fictional," it was broadcast at the height of the McMartin trial and obviously modeled on the case; Jenkins also draws a link between movie and case (1998, 170).

docudrama *I Know My First Name Is Steven* (Figure 3.3).[53] Focus on the particular kidnapper's depravity – the interpretive trajectory within which the film appeared (Jenkins 1998, 195) – prevented interrogation of the broader cultural assumptions about children's deference to adults that contributed both to the boy's abduction and to his abuse within a domestic framework.[54]

The made-for-TV movie remained the primary vehicle for exploring the subject of CSA,[55] most often with a focus on juvenile male victims and adult male perpetrators,[56] particularly so in the wake of contemporary scandals involving the abuse of boys by members of the Catholic clergy.[57] A key element in most films about CSA was child pornography,[58] legal definitions of which were in flux throughout the eighties and nineties, "expan[ding] largely unchecked by critical inquiry" (Adler 2001, 211).[59] One of the impacts on cinema was seen in the virtual absence of child nudity from American movies of the period,[60] this despite the symbolic association between children's nakedness and their presumed sexual innocence

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[53] The film leads off Rapping's list of top-rated TV movies (1992, 13-14) and was based on material later published by Echols (1999). Steven himself was an advisor during production and played a small role (ibid, 301), dying in a motorcycle accident four months after it first aired at the age of 24 (ibid, 302-3). Rapping categorizes the film as "highly sensational" (1992, 14), but its treatment of the boy's abuse is restrained, unlike the lurid descriptions found in Echols' book that dishonor Steven's memory.

[54] Exploring the subject of CSA in the late-nineties, Kitzinger (1997) criticized ideas about children's innocence and the passivity of victims, as well as exposed and denounced the structural oppression of children. Such oppression is a key but often overlooked element in Steven's story and I agree with Kitzinger who argues generally that "[i]t is not just the *abuse* of power over children that is the problem but the existence and maintenance of that power itself" (1997, 185; italicized emphasis in original).

[55] A rare theatrical example was *Silent Fall* (1994), which revolved around an autistic boy sexually abused by his father.

[56] All of the films referred to by Jenkins in connection with televised explorations of CSA during this period are concerned with the experiences of boys abused by men (1998, 195-96), an unacknowledged gender-specific focus, though one not entirely exclusive due to a brief scene in which Steven is also abused by his abductor's (adult) girlfriend.

[57] In addition to *Judgment* (1990) was the two-part Canadian mini-series *The Boys of St. Vincent* (1992). While it, like *Muffin Man*, includes an intertitle that establishes the fictional nature of its depiction, it nonetheless acknowledges in the same text that it is "inspired by recent events in Newfoundland and elsewhere in Canada." The specific reference is to abuse that was covered up at the Mount Cashel Orphanage in St. John's (Ohi 2000, 196). For scholarly monographs on CSA within the Catholic Church see Jenkins (1996), Keenan (2012) and, specific to the Canadian context and including other religious institutions, Trothen (2012).

[58] All of the pertinent films noted thus far except for *St. Vincent* feature the creation of child pornography in the context of CSA and the material functions in most of the narratives as tangible proof of the boys' victimization. An exception – at least for the juvenile protagonist – was the made-for-TV movie *Bump in the Night* (1991) based on Isabelle Holland's 1988 novel of the same name. Jonathan Tierney eludes his abductor, who was supposed to turn him over to child pornographers after spending time alone with him, illustrating additional strategies of resistance to abuse to those documented by Kitzinger (1997, 170-74).

[59] The pertinent shifts and problems in US law during the period covered by my thesis are surveyed by Higonnet (1998, 160-62) and Adler (2001, 236-41). Curry also identifies problems in the Canadian child pornography laws that were hastily passed in 1993 and reports on subsequent challenges and amendments (2005, 143-50).

[60] Such depictions were already reduced in the latter half of the seventies, which coincided with the 'discovery' of "the twin problems of child sexual abuse and child pornography" (Adler 2001, 212). Restraint in depictions of naked children in American films is also evident in remakes of foreign films where nudity in the original is absent from the new version. *Lord of the Flies* (1990) is perhaps the best-known example due to the important symbolism attached to the boys' nakedness in the earlier version (Cover 2003, 66). Editing was another tool used to make a film conform to American sensibilities; a controversial scene of boys showering under the gaze of one priestly abuser in *St. Vincent*, for example, was cut from the version of the movie broadcast in the US, "dilut[ing] the film's rhetorical impact" (Sloniowski 1996).

(Barcan 2004, 90). Hitherto "non-sexual nakedness" not only "collapse[d]…back into the sexual" (Cover 2003, 66) during these years, but even the most innocuous images of children became erotically charged in the minds of some viewers.[61]

It was in 1997, during this period of hyper vigilance over images of children,[62] that *The Tin Drum* was briefly censored in Oklahoma City.[63] Richard Weisberg notes how this action was instigated by a coalition "doctrinally associated with the political and theological right" (1998, 168).[64] Indeed, Americans were "divided bitterly" during the decade's "culture wars" (Holmlund 2008, 12), which included the issue of children's rights, a version of which was championed by Hillary Clinton (Jost 1993, 339).[65] Following her husband's Democratic presidential nomination in July 1992, Clinton was linked by Republicans to the contentious case of Gregory K., who was attempting to 'divorce' his neglectful biological mother (ibid, 347).[66] The boy's petition was granted in September and, despite initial controversy, the "public reaction

[61] This was the fate of Calvin Klein's 1999 advertisement for children's underwear, which featured two boys tussling on a sofa, performing the battle between boxers and briefs in their requisite 'uniforms'. The ad was quickly withdrawn due to the outrage of a handful of vocal detractors who claimed the genitals of the boy in briefs were being flaunted in the photo. Mohr responds to this interpretation with some well-deserved mockery, noting how it requires "the help of a Sherlock Holmes-sized magnifying glass, a hungry eye, and some imagination" (2004, 24).

[62] Adler's claim that "[c]hild pornography law has changed the way we look at children" (2001, 256), while overstated in its breadth of affect, does convincingly account for the general increase in attention given to images of children. I reject, however, her claim that this has also led to an "increase [in] sexual desire for children" (ibid, 256), implying an increase in "[t]he highly eroticized use of children in fashion, television, and advertising" (ibid, 254). Film is noticeably absent from her list of sources, but equally relevant as a gauge of public tastes. As already noted, the eighties and nineties saw a *reduction*, not an increase, of children's nudity in American movies. As for depictions of juveniles in clothes that straddle the divide between nude and clothed, these are ubiquitous not only in Hollywood of the late twentieth century, but in previous decades, too (Kincaid 1992, 374). The "increasing frequency [of such] spectacles" (Higonnet 1998, 11) owes to the general proliferation of entertainment commodities – in this case films – rather than anything specific to images of children. Debates about whether these "constant spectacles of children's bodies" (ibid, 143) are innocuous or harmful exclude the perspectives of children themselves and shift focus away from the pertinent circumstances of production to their reception, a cacophony of subjective interpretations that can turn any still or moving image of a child into contraband. I concur with Ost who writes that "whether a child is *harmed* by the creation of the image…depends on the context in which the image was taken" (2009, 30; italicized emphasis in original). While she is referring to images of naked children, this standard can be applied to *any* visual representation of children, and I agree with Higonnet who argues that "[t]he history of the 1980s and 1990s suggests that surveillance of images substitutes for the care of real children" and calls instead for laws to retarget only those images that constitute "evidence of an actual crime against real children" (1998, 189).

[63] The VHS tapes seized by police were ordered returned to the rental store by a District Court judge six months later and the original seizure was declared unconstitutional since no warrants had been issued (Weisberg 1998, 161); the matter of the film's alleged child-pornographic content has not, to my knowledge, resurfaced and it was released uncensored on DVD in 2013 as part of the esteemed Criterion Collection.

[64] The coalition comprised of Oklahomans for Children and Families and Family Friendly Libraries. Weisberg notes that the latter had ties to the Christian Coalition, Focus on the Family and the American Family Association, "all national groups seeking to make their moral and religious values a national creed" (1998, 168).

[65] Clinton's advocacy was contemporary with that of Farson (1974), Holt (1974) and Cohen (1980), but Jost distinguishes her from these 'child liberationists' (1993, 346), citing examples of her academic writing from 1973 through 1979 (ibid, 348-49).

[66] Gregory Kingsley (Gregory K. in the media) had been living in foster care for several years and, neglected by his assigned case workers, brought a petition in his own name for the termination of his mother's parental rights so he could be adopted by his foster parents; the boy's father had already relinquished his rights and consented to the adoption (Jost 1993, 350-51).

seemed to be generally in his favor" (ibid, 351).[67] His story was the basis for two made-for-TV movies in 1993, the most well-known of which was *Gregory K.* (Figure 3.4).[68]

The following year saw the issue of 'divorcing' parents taken up in the comedy *North*,[69] which featured the character of Winchell (Figure 3.5), the juvenile mastermind behind the eponymous hero's emancipation, bent on world domination and ordering North's assassination to make him a martyr for the cause of children's rights when the boy decides to return to his parents.[70] It is unclear whether the movie satirized the idea of children's rights, its critics' caricatures of it or both. Not surprisingly, this confused film bombed at the box office[71] and any hope of children's rights as a serious subject in cinema of the nineties died with it.[72]

Adam
(NBC, 1983)

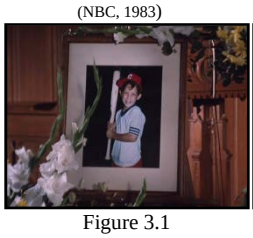

Figure 3.1

Do You Know the Muffin Man?
(CBS, 1989)

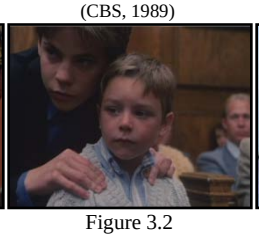

Figure 3.2

I Know My First Name Is Steven
(NBC, 1989)

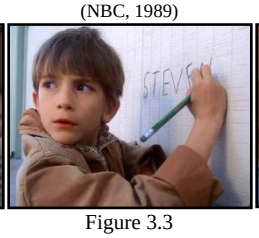

Figure 3.3

Gregory K.
(ABC, 1993)

Figure 3.4

North
(Columbia Pictures, 1994)

Figure 3.5

Juvenile delinquency reemerged as the more pressing concern of the nineties, constructed as a particularly masculine problem through high-profile media reports of boys out of control (Kehily and Montgomery 2003, 247-53).[73] Karen Renner observed a concomitant increase in films featuring 'child psychopaths'

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[67] Jost notes how "the precedent established in the case was narrow – more procedural than substantive" (1993, 350). Efforts on behalf of George Bush's re-election campaign to use the case against the Democrats both mischaracterized and trivialized it with such remarks as "Hillary Clinton…believes kids should be able to sue their parents rather than helping with chores" (ibid, 347), all the while ignoring the neglect of child services that prompted Gregory to take the precedent-setting move, as well as the abuse and neglect of his parents that landed the boy in foster care to begin with (ibid, 350-51).

[68] The other was *A Place to Be Loved*, which focused more – as the title intimates – on the boy's life with his foster family.

[69] The film was based on the 1984 book of the same name by Alan Zweibel, subtitled in some editions as "The Tale of a 9-Year-Old Boy Who Becomes a Free Agent and Travels the World in Search of the Perfect Parents."

[70] It all turns out to be North's dream and the boy has a *Wizard-of-Oz*-like reunion with his parents after receiving the wisdom "there's no place like home."

[71] Not even the star power of by-then-famous Elijah Wood (1981-) in the title role could save the film. Against a budget of $40 million, the film grossed only $7.2 million in domestic sales (see https://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=north.htm).

[72] Children's rights were a contentious issue in the US during the first part of the decade, particularly after the UNCRC was adopted in November of 1989 and came into force in September the following year (Detrick 1992, 1). Jost notes that despite US participation in the drafting process, "the treaty was not popular with all Americans," some of whom "fear[ed it] would weaken the role of parents," and so "the Bush administration never submitted the treaty to the Senate for approval" (1993, 345). To date the US has not ratified the convention.

[73] It was in February of 1993 that James Bulger was abducted, assaulted and killed by two ten-year-old boys in the UK; the murdered toddler "representing pure innocence" and his killers denounced by many in the media as "pure evil" (Kehily and Montgomery 2003, 251), though Jenks notes that "[a]s anguish vied with outrage, calls for retribution and revenge were at least

(2018, 194),[74] but there were also movies that reworked the earlier delinquency formula in which white boys' innate innocence was assumed, their offenses blamed on toxic environments.[75] African American boys, on the other hand, were "depicted…almost exclusively within an urban crime context, reinforcing notions of the inherent criminality of black males" (Olson 2017, 122). *Fresh* (1994)[76] is "an intriguingly complex black male child character" (Figure 4.1) who longs to escape the 'hood'[77] in a reverse 'coming-of-age' film, "[t]he juxtaposition between Fresh's adult knowledge and his desire for childhood innocence is one of the most compelling aspects of this film" (ibid, 139).[78]

Debbie Olson notes how "[i]n the end, innocence functions for Fresh as a tool, not as a state of being he has had or can reclaim, though he laments its loss" (2017, 151) and how the film "critiques the white, romanticized standard of childhood innocence which cannot *be* attained" (ibid; italics in original). One of the ways in which this is achieved is through Fresh's shooting of a dog[79] with Olson commenting that "[i]n notions of childhood and innocence, there is no greater childhood motif than a white 'boy and

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matched by those for compassion and understanding" (2005, 120). Nearly eight years of debate over the fate of the murderers ensued, ending with their release on license in the summer of 2001 in what Petley refers to as a "story…in which reason and a belief in rehabilitation triumph, ultimately, over populist demagoguery and a crude desire for revenge" (2014, 1-2, 4, 22). While I agree that reporting on the case was generally shameful and counterproductive (Franklin and Petley 1996, 135-48), resulting in a moral panic over juvenile delinquency (Hay 1995), and acknowledge certain procedural problems during both the pretrial period as noted by Haydon and Scraton (2000, 422, 444) and the trial as identified in the ruling of the ECtHR (ibid, 436-39; Petley 2014, 6-10), I am not convinced that justice was served by their release. Under the influence of developmentalism (critiqued in chapter 3), many scholars expressed approval of the goal to rehabilitate the two perpetrators – Robert Thompson and Jon Venables – and reintegrate them into society (Wolff and McCall Smith 2000, 136). The optimism in rehabilitation expressed by Smith and Sueda (2008, 20) was misguided, at least in the case of Venables, who was re-incarcerated in 2010 on charges related to drugs and child pornography (Blumoff 2014, 189-90), the latter corroborating the rarely-discussed sexual motivation of the crime (King 1995, 176-77). It is not debatable that the two boys were themselves victims of abuse (Blumoff 2014, 84-86) or that such abuse can cause neuropsychological impairment (ibid, 91), but neither is a reason to deny a large degree of culpability or put the public at risk for reasons of sentimentality.

[74] Most such movies, however, received obscure distribution or went directly to video, a major outlet for movies during the nineties (Holmlund 2008, 9). One notable exception was *The Good Son* (1993), which pitted innocent Mark (played by Wood) against his psychopathic cousin Henry (played by Macaulay Culkin [1980-]), the same framework invoked by the media for the Bulger murder case that same year.

[75] Examples include *CrissCross* (1992), *Joe the King* (1999) and *Little Criminals* (1995), the latter a Canadian made-for-TV movie. Eleven-year-old Des, still too young to be prosecuted under Canadian law where criminal accountability begins at twelve, spirals out of control as he goes from mugging to break-and-enter to arson to murder, his escalating violence occurring against a background of neglect and abuse at home. With his twelfth birthday approaching, the boy sets his own house on fire, crawls into his secret place and sucks his thumb in a symbolic return to infancy as it burns down around him.

[76] This independent film with limited theatrical release was subsequently picked up for wider distribution by Miramax and it won three awards at the Sundance Film Festival (Olson 2017, 139).

[77] Olson describes 'hood' films as "often featur[ing] a black male childhood rife with drugs, crime, and unrestrained violence in inner-city 'jungles' far from white suburbia" (2017, 134), "a modern reworking of the 'savage African' character that was so popular during the colonial era" (ibid, 135). Other films that contain 'hood'-story elements include *The People under the Stairs* (1991) and *South Central* (1992).

[78] Fresh's Hispanic friend Chuckie, on the other hand, tries to become a gangster and it leads to his death, Olson claiming that "[t]he film punishes Chuckie's rejection of childhood and his investment in the mythic signs of the Black Gangster" (2017, 144).

[79] Olson argues that Fresh kills Rosco, who had been used in a dog fight, in order "to 'kill' the distortion that Rosco had become, corrupted by violence like the others around him" (2017, 150).

his dog'" (ibid, 150-51). While such focused stories had slumbered in Hollywood for some time, they awoke in the nineties[80] along with other dormant juvenile male types such as castrated Cupid[81] and the all-American baseballer.[82] Nostalgic filmmaking was in the air, but reflected contemporary sensibilities. While Sam Gribley lived alone in the wilderness for months in the late sixties' *My Side of the Mountain*, Marshall Stouffer must initially stow away in *Wild America* (1997) so he can join his two older brothers on their summer-of-'67 road trip to capture predatory animals on film.[83] Marshall, whose compassion for animals (Figure 4.2) steers his brothers away from shooting them with guns to shooting their endangered members with a camera, spends the duration of his outdoor adventure chaperoned by teenagers whose own capacity for responsible behavior is questionable.

The dwindling autonomy of cinema's juvenile males was reinforced in the decade's resurgence of 'camp movies', which implicitly championed the proactive role of character building for boys under the guidance of men.[84] Boyhood was reaffirmed as an idyllic time of carefree dependence, resulting in an explosion of 'bad boy' characters in classical,[85] nostalgic[86] and contemporary iterations.[87] One of the

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[80] There were remakes of *Lassie* (1994) and *A Dog of Flanders* (1999), as well as new takes on the motif such as *Air Bud* (1997) and its sequel *Air Bud: Golden Receiver* (1998).

[81] The asexual yet fledgling heterosexual matchmaking boy was found in *The Mighty Ducks* (1992), *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993), *Getting Even with Dad* (1994), *Milk Money* (1994), *Ride with the Wind* (1994) and his anti-type tried desperately, but unsuccessfully, to oust his potential stepfather and to hang onto his role as *Man of the House* (1995). Jonathan Taylor Thomas (1981-), arguably the most popular juvenile male actor of the nineties owing to his seven-year stint as the precocious middle son Randy on the hit TV sitcom *Home Improvement* (1991-1999), played the movie's manipulative 'girl-hating' anti-Cupid.

[82] Baseball-themed movies of the nineties that focused on juvenile male protagonists included *Rookie of the Year* (1993), *The Sandlot* (1993), *Angels in the Outfield* (1994) and *Little Big League* (1994).

[83] Loosely biographical, the film ends with intertitles that reveal how 'The Predators' aired on NBC in April 1977 and how Marty, the oldest of the Stouffer brothers, went on to produce the long-running television series *Wild America* and how Mark, the middle brother, became an Emmy-winning wildlife filmmaker. The movie revolved around the perspective of Marshall, however, who was played by Thomas, top billed because of his aforementioned fame.

[84] After *Meatballs* (1979), mainstream 'camp movies' focused on young adult rather than juvenile protagonists until the mid-nineties when a number of such films emerged. Acknowledging their comedic register, exclusive (*Father and Scout* [1994], *Heavyweights* [1995]) or near-exclusive (*Bushwhacked* [1995]) homosocial environments were favored, as was male leadership. The latter reflected a renewed interest in the BSA by focusing on a Ranger Scout troupe that initially resisted the inclusion of a girl among their ranks. *Camp Nowhere* (1994) engaged delinquency directly by having its juvenile male protagonist orchestrate an adult-free co-ed summer camp that spirals out of control; the 'right' of children to 'just be kids' is endorsed, as is their 'need' for adult supervision. *Man of the House* also has elements of the 'camp movie' when the young protagonist joins the YMCA Indian Guides as part of his scheme to get rid of his mother's fiancé.

[85] The perennial 'bad boy' Tom Sawyer and his pal Huckleberry Finn were the eponymous *Tom and Huck* (1995), the roles played by Thomas and Brad Renfro (1982-2008) respectively; two years earlier Wood played the latter role in *The Adventures of Huck Finn* (1993).

[86] By nostalgic in this context I mean the 'bad boy' television sitcoms from the fifties and sixties – namely *Leave It to Beaver* (1957-1963) and *Dennis the Menace* (1959-1963) – which were made into feature-length films in 1997 and 1993 respectively. To these could be added *The Little Rascals* (1994), which was based on the earlier *Our Gang* shorts.

[87] In addition to a modernized version of Huckleberry's story in *Huck and the King of Hearts* (1993), there were the very successful 'Home Alone' movies starring Culkin – *Home Alone* (1990) and *Home Alone 2: Lost in New York* (1992) – as well as

most innovative of the latter was *The Cure* (1995), which sees Dexter, who is dying of AIDS,[88] set off in search of a cure with his friend in a raft down the Mississippi (Figure 4.3).[89] This 'bad boy' grafted onto the figure of the 'sickly saint'[90] is extolled not for his religious faith, but for an adventurous spirit in the face of death. The film was noteworthy for its candid agnosticism toward an afterlife and the existence of deities who might intervene to save its dying protagonist.[91]

Within the decade's 'culture wars', which included religious dynamics (Holmlund 2008, 12) and saw an increase in Christian filmmaking (Russell 2013, 189), may be situated *Simon Birch* (1998).[92] The film's eponymous hero saves a busload of children from drowning (Figure 4.4), thereafter dying from complications arising from poor health since birth.[93] Simon embodies the 'civilian superstar' and 'tragic victim' stereotypes of 'disability' in film,[94] "serv[ing] as savior[] of nondisabled characters" (Maples et al. 2010, 79),[95] including his friend Joe Wenteworth who converts from atheism to belief in 'God' as a

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the franchise's not-so-successful third installment *Home Alone 3* (1997), which lacked Culkin's involvement. 'Bad-to-the-Bone' Junior wreaked havoc in *Problem Child* (1990), *Problem Child 2* (1991) and *Problem Child 3: Junior in Love* (1995).

[88] Dexter has acquired the disease from a transfusion of HIV-infected blood and is ostracized by ignorant members of the community, similar to the experiences of Ryan White (1971-1990) who was involved in a highly-publicized court battle in the eighties when he was barred from attending public school (White and Cunningham 1991), a situation dramatized in the made-for-TV movie *The Ryan White Story* (1989). Unlike Ryan, who was transfused on account of hemophilia, the reason for Dexter's fatal transfusion as an infant is not given and cannot be this particular disease since he deliberately cuts himself without concern about problematic clotting in order to use what he calls 'poison blood' as a defense against a man with a switchblade.

[89] This trajectory is a structuring element in Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). The film also borrows an element from Twain's other 'bad boy' classic, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), when Dexter pranks various medical staff by pretending to be dead. The boy's literary compatriot has fun attending his own funeral, which Griswold argues is a deliberate parody of saintly young martyr tales (2014, 174-83). Dexter tragicomically dies the third time he attempts the morbid gag.

[90] Literary examples include James Janeway's *A Token for Children* (1671) in England and Cotton Mather's *A Token for the Children of New England* (1700) on this side of the Atlantic. These texts were published together in 1795 under Janeway's name "for the encouragement of piety in other children."

[91] Marc Cohn's song "My Great Escape" serenades the boys as they embark on their adventure down the river and presents the exploit as an appropriate response to divine absence or silence: "He drops a penny into a wishing well / Nobody hears him as far as he can tell / He sees a thousand other wishes lying there / And he rightly wonders if the gods will care, if the gods are gonna care / So he runs through the valley and on through the wood / Down in the alleys past the old neighborhoods / And he's got so far to travel and the hour is late / But it's out of the darkness when he makes his great escape."

[92] The opening credits acknowledge the film's loose dependence on John Irving's novel *A Prayer for Owen Meany* (1989).

[93] The actor Ian Michael Smith (1987-) has Morquio syndrome and stands just over three feet tall – see the actor's profile at IMDb: https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0808508/bio?ref_=nm_ov_bio_sm) – a rare example of a 'disabled' character *not* played by an 'able-bodied' actor (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 380).

[94] These stereotypes are sketched with eight others in Norden's work on 'disability' in cinema. 'Tragic victims' are "social outcasts who often die[] by the end of the story" (1994, 26). The 'civilian superstar' is "a resourceful, adaptive, and courageous individual who happens to have a disability" (ibid, 51).

[95] Released the same year was *The Mighty*, an adaptation of Rodman Philbrick's book *Freak the Mighty* (1993), which also revolved around a 'disabled' character – Kevin Dillon, explicitly said to have Morquio syndrome – who dies after a heroic act, in this case helping save his friend Max from his abusive father. To shield Max from his inevitable death, Kevin regales him with the idea he will be "the first biogenetically-improved human," likening the modifications to the armor worn by King Arthur's knights. This fantasy invokes the 'techno marvel' stereotype, which Norden defines as a 'disabled' character "aided by scientific

result.[96] The film is framed by scenes of Joe as an adult at Simon's grave, in the end offering a prayer on behalf of the juvenile martyr: "Into paradise may the angels lead you," linking him to the pantheon of pious boys who were "always uncannily good and sensitive, with an angelic beauty and charm that often move[d] the angels to carry them off" (Lurie 1990, 118).

Fresh
(Miramax, 1994)

Figure 4.1

Wild America
(Warner Bros, 1997)

Figure 4.2

The Cure
(Universal Pictures, 1995)

Figure 4.3

Simon Birch
(Buena Vista, 1998)

Figure 4.4

Nineties saviors could be less saintly and also survive to their film's end: John Connor in *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (1991),[97] for example. Both Christ figure (Heller 1995, 185)[98] and 'bad boy' (ibid, 191-92), John models for the film's eponymous killer a new masculinity (Figure 5.1), one focused "not, as in the 1980s, outward into increasingly extravagant spectacles of violence and power…, but inward, into increasingly emotional displays of masculine sensitivities, traumas, and burdens" (Jeffords 2004, 172). The old 'hard body' is literally and symbolically destroyed as the Terminator is lowered into molten steel, replaced by the new sensitive masculinity embodied in 'bad boy' John, who is both its 'father' and the savior of humanity (ibid, 173).[99]

If the Terminator's "metallic network of joints wrapped in artificial silicone flesh and excessive muscles…becomes a vehicle for exposing the facade of such contrived manliness" (Waddell 2015, 25), *A Perfect World* (1993) "extinguish[es] the notion of heroic male action" altogether (Beard 2000, 102), at least of the adult machismo type. Phillip Perry is taken hostage by an escaped convict,[100] but the two form

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and technological advancements, particularly high-tech prostheses" (1994, 292-93). The idea of humanity improved by or even transcended through the use of technology is at the heart of the transhumanist agenda, which has attracted the attention of both religious and secular thinkers on shared goals and differing emphases, as well as on outlining areas of concern, particularly as it relates to marginalized groups. For a summary of the issues and need for further discussion, see Trothen (2017).

[96] The role of Joe was played by Joseph Mazzello (1983-), who also played Dexter in *The Cure* opposite Renfro.

[97] Sequel to *The Terminator* (1984), the film earned six Oscar nominations and won four of them: Makeup, Sound, Sound Effects Editing and Visual Effects (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1992).

[98] Waddell points out that the boy's initials are even J.C. (2015, 25).

[99] Yet the film traffics in "social and aesthetic contradictions" (Heller 1995, 183); the Terminator's 'hard body' offers John, with his implicitly 'soft body', tangible protection, "a transformation from cybernetic killer to cybernetic father" (ibid, 187).

[100] Phillip is introduced as a social outcast and confined to his house on Halloween night on account of his mother's adherence to the dictates of the Jehovah's Witnesses; his time with the convict is thus construed as liberation (Knapp 1996, 181-82; Kincaid 1998, 130) or adventure (Cornell 2009, 99).

a genuinely loving bond while on the run (Figure 5.2).[101] Love, nurture and masculine power prove incompatible (ibid, 100) within the realm of men, but the same cannot be said about juvenile males. It is Phillip who alone emerges as heroic in the film[102] and does so through the use of power in a selfless act of defense for another.[103] Prompted by the convict "treating [him] like a real person, [and] attempt[ing] to give him subjectivity, status and independence" (ibid, 96), Phillip claims and exercises agency admirably under harrowing circumstances, subordinating power to love.

The film was a variant of "the lovely and lonely child [who] bonds with the misfit adult" plot that James Kincaid argues permeated Hollywood movies of the nineties (1998, 129).[104] Another example, one that both reflected and reacted to increasing anxieties over non-familial relationships between adults and children,[105] was *The Man Without a Face* (1993). Lonely Charles Norstadt is prevented from seeing his tutor, an equally friendless but also disfigured man he has grown close to (Figure 5.3), when rumors of sexual impropriety years earlier with another male student begin to circulate.[106] Situated within a nineties backlash against 'witch-hunt' prosecutions for CSA, particularly those connected to SRA (ibid, 263-64), the film explores the tragic consequences of false allegations on both Charles and his teacher.[107]

Forlorn boys of the nineties also found companionship with wild animals to whom they often functioned as caretakers, most notably in *Free Willy* (1993).[108] Jesse, a burgeoning juvenile delinquent in

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[101] Several commentators characterize Phillip's relationship with the convict in these terms (Knapp 1996, 183; Kincaid 1998, 130; Beard 2000, 97; Cornell 2009, 98) with Foote calling it "a tender story between a criminal and a little boy" (2009, 105-6).

[102] This is not to say that the boy is not scarred by the encounter, but Beard's subsequent claim that "[t]he legacy to Philip [sic] from these events can *only* be destructive and emotionally disabling ones" (2000, 100; italicized emphasis mine) is fatalistic and ignores their reciprocated love as having the power to break the cycle of paternal (biological or otherwise) failure and filial loss.

[103] Knapp correctly identifies the pistol that Phillip uses as "a symbol of masculinity and maturity" (1996, 182), though it is significant that the boy discards it immediately after giving his beloved partner a gut shot to stop him from committing murder.

[104] Kincaid refers to *A Perfect World* as "[o]ne of the most sophisticated of these films" (1998, 130) and provides an expanded summary of their master plot where he notes the child is "most often a boy" and the adult "often a male" (ibid, 115). A notable exception was *The Client* (1994) in which Mark Sway (played by Renfro) hires a female lawyer with whom he bonds.

[105] Michael Jackson's (1958-2009) friendships with boys, which included cuddling and overnight stays, led to allegations of CSA in the early nineties that came to light publicly in 1993 during a case that was quickly settled out of court (Goode 2011, 5). For expanded commentary on the controversies surrounding Jackson in the nineties, see Kincaid (1998, 229-37), and for some discussion of his subsequent legal problems and acquittal on CSA charges in 2005, see Krinsky (2008) and Goode (2011, 6-7).

[106] Kincaid writes that Charles was the man's "tutee/lover" (1998, 134) and while it may be tempting to suggest this is an imposition from the source novel of the same name (Holland 1972) – one of the pioneering works of gay-themed YA literature (Stebbins 2014, 35) – his interpretation is situated within a wider claim that relationships between unrelated boys and men in cinema are always romantically-charged (Kincaid 1998, 115). While I do not object to gay juveniles challenging the presumed heterosexuality of young characters, I see no justification for Kincaid's sweeping claims about erotic elements in this and similar stories. The filmmakers go out of their way to strip the narrative of the homoerotic elements present in Holland's novel.

[107] Indeed, previously the veiled villains of the made-for-TV movie *Do You Know the Muffin Man?*, the McMartins were now portrayed as the innocent victims of a justice system run amok in *Indictment: The McMartin Trial* (1995).

[108] The film spawned two sequels in the nineties – *Free Willy 2: The Adventure Home* (1995) and *Free Willy 3: The Rescue* (1997) – both of which also starred Jason James Richter (1980-), though he was no longer a juvenile character in the third movie.

the foster-care system,[109] bonds with a captive orca whale, the eponymous Willy (Figure 5.4). With an increasing awareness of their comparable situations[110] the boy spearheads a successful plan to release the whale back into the ocean,[111] thus losing his cetacean friend. While this plot is similar to other traumatic 'coming-of-age' stories, there is no explicit transition for Jesse to manhood. Indeed, the genre effectively disappeared from the decade's depictions of juvenile masculinity[112] to accommodate the widening gulf between childhood and adulthood, inhabitants of the former increasingly segregated from and regulated by those of the latter (Hockey and James 2003, 101; Jones 2009, 136).

Terminator 2: Judgment Day
(TriStar Pictures, 1991)

Figure 5.1

A Perfect World
(Warner Bros, 1993)

Figure 5.2

The Man Without a Face
(Warner Bros, 1993)

Figure 5.3

Free Willy
(Warner Bros, 1993)

Figure 5.4

Childhood, so constructed, could be "imbue[d] with mystery, present[ed] as a state with secrets that adults cannot enter" (Kapur 2005, 82), a theme essential to *The Indian in the Cupboard* (1995). Situated among the neo-Romantic paeans to childhood,[113] the film revolves around Omri's use of a magical cupboard to animate a Native American figurine (Figure 6.1). Initially a parental figure to the miniature man,[114] the movie "shows the transformation of Omri from a pseudoadult into a child" (ibid, 84), another reversal of the 'coming-of-age' story.[115] Omri's restricted mobility in the movie reflects a revived focus on 'stranger

[109] At the beginning of the movie, Jesse is a runaway living on the street and Ratelle notes how the boy "appears to be moving along the spectrum to the feral state of a wild animal, refusing all human physical contact and flinching when others try to touch him" (2015, 130). As the decade advanced, the feral boy popularized by Rudyard Kipling in *The Jungle Book* (1894) moved from miscreant to hero and from animation to live action in *The Second Jungle Book: Mowgli & Baloo* (1997) and *The Jungle Book: Mowgli's Story* (1998), as well as receiving a modern twist in *Jungle 2 Jungle* (1997).

[110] Ratelle notes how Jesse and Willy "both are caught between states of wildness and tameness, both are estranged from their families, and both lack legal recognition of their subjectivity" (2015, 129). The boy is initially ignorant of the whale's distress in captivity and need for freedom, eventually "mak[ing] the cognitive leap from imagining an upgraded aquarium environment…to total freedom from captivity" (ibid, 131-33).

[111] Other examples of the boy and wild animal cycle jumpstarted by *Free Willy* include *The Amazing Panda Adventure* (1995), *The Great Elephant Escape* (1995), a remake of *Flipper* (1996) and the previously-mentioned *Wild America*.

[112] Two exceptions that depict a juvenile's 'coming of age' are *King of the Hill* (1993) and *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (1997), both significantly situated during the thirties, thus capturing historic moments that need not apply to *this* generation of boys.

[113] Mathison, the scriptwriter for *The Black Stallion* and *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*, was also the writer for this movie, basing the script on Lynne Reid Banks' 1980 children's novel of the same name.

[114] The animated Iroquois transported to the present through the cupboard from the time of the French and Indian War (Strong 1998, 192), initially believes Omri to be the Great Spirit. Indeed, the boy's power with the cupboard is godlike and the thrust of his character arc is "to appreciate the awesome responsibility that comes with power over other human beings" (ibid, 193).

danger' in light of several high-profile child abduction and murder cases in the early nineties (Jenkins 1998, 13, 192-94, 196-97) and films revolving around naïve and helpless boys needing rescue by adults, typically men, increased in frequency as the decade progressed.[116]

The Sixth Sense (1999), initially presenting as one such film with Cole Sear terrorized by ghosts only he can see (Figure 6.2),[117] narrates a role reversal (Weinstock 2010, xviii) and ends with its juvenile protagonist in the role of therapist, helping a phantom child psychologist to move on (Leslie-McCarthy 2014, 7).[118] Central to Cole's 'gift' is empathy (ibid, 6), which Elizabeth Abele connects to the boy being "fatherless and friendless" (2010, 8).[119] This configuration is not requisite, however, for the presence of empathy in chess prodigy Josh Waitzkin (Figure 6.3) of *Searching for Bobby Fischer* (1993).[120] Despite his teacher's insistence he show contempt for his opponents, Josh refuses to hate them[121] and displays a gracious attitude toward his haughty same-age opponent in the climactic championship game.[122]

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[115] Sanchez and Stuckey view the film as a 'coming-of-age' story (2000, 79), but there are tensions in their writing when, for example, they refer to Omri in a scene at the end "*about to begin* his coming of age journey" (ibid, 81; italicized emphasis mine). Even Kapur, who observes (correctly) that the movie involves a 'twist' with Omri ending up a child (2005, 89), slips from time to time, claiming at one point that the Indian "helps initiate him into manhood" (ibid, 84), then confusingly writes that this "young man" is, in reference to a scene at the end of the film, only now "on the threshold of adulthood" (ibid, 85). Sanchez and Stuckey's comment that Omri is "a child who is beginning to mature into an adult" (2000, 85) is revealing in its association of 'maturity' with adulthood, erroneously disallowing character growth for Omri wholly within boyhood.

[116] Examples include the remakes *Ransom* (1996) and *Oliver Twist* (1997), as well as *The Innocent* (1994), *A Child Is Missing* (1995), *Sling Blade* (1996), *Desperate Measures* (1998), *Mercury Rising* (1998) and *As Time Runs Out* (1999).

[117] The film was nominated for six Academy Awards, including Best Actor in a Supporting Role for Haley Joel Osment (1988-), who played Cole (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/2000). The boy's extrasensory ability is "a form of perception that establishes an unearthly connection with the dark side of existence and turns its possessors into social outcasts" (Scheuer 2014, 175); Leslie-McCarthy situates the film at the start of a "new wave of horror films [that] specifically features children who have the ability to see ghosts" (2014, 2).

[118] Jackson claims that the psychologist "is not really a hero to Cole, not an authority figure or someone to look up to, but rather one of the many phantoms that demand his attention" (2016, 73). There is, however, more reciprocity in their relationship than Jackson acknowledges, the man helping Cole to realize that the ghosts need someone to listen to them (Scheuer 2014, 177), "the dead become peaceful and are capable of resigning themselves to their fate as soon as they get the opportunity to tell their stories" (ibid, 183).

[119] Abele notes that it is "Cole's immense compassion [that] brings frustrated and angry ghosts to him" (2010, 8). She goes on to argue that the ghostly psychologist steps into the role of father to the boy, "a fatherhood…connected to actions rather than circumstances" of biological paternity (ibid, 9), and that the film represents a critique of the eighties "supermacho" masculinity, presenting a new model that "values the strength of women and children and the redemptive value of family" (ibid, 18). Jackson also views the psychologist as a father figure to Cole (2016, 70), noting how "[t]he absence of [the boy's] biological father is emphasized from the moment we meet [him]" (ibid, 69).

[120] The film is autobiographical and based on the same-titled book by Josh's father (Waitzkin 1988). It was nominated for Best Cinematography at the Academy Awards (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1994).

[121] Cox correctly draws attention to the centrality of this issue in the film, but then asserts that "[b]y the end of the movie, there is a communal understanding that…in order for Josh to remain healthy, he has to stay a child for as long as he can" (2000, 18). A correlation is implied, but none is established; nor is the issue specifically one of hanging onto one's childhood, but rather of Josh having well-rounded pursuits in addition to playing chess.

[122] Another film focusing on an empathic gifted child was *Little Man Tate* (1991). Both this film and *Bobby Fischer* offer juvenile foils who do *not* display empathy but are also gifted, which distances the trait from being a natural one of either the gifted young or children generally, thus avoiding sentimental pitfalls in their characterizations of juvenile masculinity.

By decade's end, boys were at the top of the box office, none more (in)famous or anticipated than Anakin Skywalker (Figure 6.4) in *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace* (1999).[123] Presented by some as an altruistic saint (Atkinson and Kalafell 2009, 6-7) and, as such, a representative of the pious boy tradition, the character is far more complex and thus provides a fitting culmination to the preceding survey of juvenile masculinity in films of the eighties and nineties inasmuch as he embodies much of its contradictory imagery.[124] Anakin is naïve yet knowing, asexual yet implicitly heterosexual, vulnerable and dependent yet possessing unharnessed power and acting independently, empathic yet prone to fits of anger, heroic yet destined for villainy.[125] It is this trajectory that 'explains' the "intolerable confusion of cultural categories" embodied in 'evil kids' generally (Lennard 2014, 12) and with only a specter of evil looming over Anakin, he is easily reduced to embodying an innocent and saintly ideal of boyhood.

The Indian in the Cupboard
(Paramount Pictures, 1995)

Figure 6.1

The Sixth Sense
(Buena Vista, 1999)

Figure 6.2

Searching for Bobby Fischer
(Paramount Pictures, 1993)

Figure 6.3

Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace
(20th Century Fox, 1999)

Figure 6.4

Despite such a wide range of juvenile masculine performances during the last two decades of the twentieth century,[126] the increasing separation of childhood from adulthood all but eliminated the 'coming-of-age' template and a preoccupation with sex as *the* definitive boundary between the two spheres (Bailey 2013, 191) was reflected in fears of attacks on children's presumed sexual innocence.

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[123] The long-awaited first installment of the *Star Wars* prequels was the top-grossing film of 1999, taking in just over $1 billion in ticket sales worldwide (see https://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=starwars.htm). *Sixth Sense* came in second place for the year with nearly $700 million (see https://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=sixthsense.htm). *Phantom Menace* was likewise nominated for Academy Awards, three in total (see https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/2000), and the role of Anakin was played by Jake Lloyd (1989-).

[124] Atkinson and Kalafell do acknowledge that Anakin as "selfless altruist" is something of a "phantom" who disappears in subsequent episodes (2009, 6-7), namely *Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones* (2002) and *Star Wars Episode III: Revenge of the Sith* (2005) where the character is no longer a juvenile.

[125] Bettis and Sternod identify four mythological archetypes in the main male characters of the original *Star Wars* trilogy – the hero, the rogue, the wise man and the villain – noting how Anakin in *The Phantom Menace* and the next two films of the franchise reflects all but the wise man (2009, 24-25). It would seem that these scholars' association of wisdom with the adult male prompts them to overlook examples of this in the juvenile Anakin, insight that he loses over the course of the trilogy.

[126] A large pool of artifacts has been left unexamined; particularly noticeable in comparison to chapter 4 is the absence of representatives from foreign-language world cinema. While these films had an influence on Hollywood in the waning years of the Production Code, as well as the decade after, this was not the case during the period covered in this chapter when Hollywood monopolized both the domestic and international markets (Nowell-Smith 1996, 761-63). Despite Hollywood hegemony, foreign-language films were a rich repository for depictions of juvenile masculinity during these decades and their contributions are included in *Appendix F*. The coverage herein is nonetheless sufficient for the purposes of contextualizing the depiction of the juvenile Jesus in the following chapter in a film tailored for a 'Hollywoodized' audience situated in North America (Staley and Walsh 2007, 130).

This led to increased surveillance of children by adults under the guise of protection, restricting their movement and knowledge, rendering them increasingly dependent, vulnerable and naïve. In addition to emphases on these characteristics in films of the nineties in particular and the concomitant submerging of the eighties' autonomous agent, overt examples of the pious boy dwindled as his 'bad boy' counterpart absorbed sensitivity. In the following chapter, I will demonstrate how these various shifts in cinematic boyhoods affected the depiction of the juvenile Jesus in the made-for-TV movie *Jesus* (2000).

Chapter 7

"There are bad people here…" First-century 'Stranger Danger' in *Jesus* (2000)

While a transformation took place in Hollywood during the 1970s whereby many filmmakers distanced themselves from openly Christian themes (Russell 2013, 188),[1] late twentieth-century America remained a deeply religious country (ibid, 185).[2] The lack of mainstream religious-themed movies helped fuel the 'culture wars' of the 1990s and the concomitant increase in independent Christian filmmaking (ibid, 188-89). These trends were evident elsewhere in the Western World; a series of movies based on characters in the Bible was launched during this decade by the Italian company Lux Vide S.p.A. in collaboration with international partners (Tatum 2013, 223).[3] An American, Roger Young, directed several of these movies: *Joseph* (1995), *Moses* (1996), *Solomon* (1997), *Paul the Apostle* (2000) and, pertinent to the rest of this chapter, the two-part miniseries *Jesus* that was broadcast on European television in 1999, then on CBS in May of 2000; it is this latter American version that forms the basis for my analysis.[4]

Jeff Staley and Richard Walsh note that in the two decades between *Jesus of Nazareth* and *Jesus* "American individualism ha[d] become more radical and more entrenched," which resulted in a film that championed an ideal of "personal freedom" (2007, 131). Unacknowledged in this observation are its adult subjects since during this same period children's autonomy was curtailed, ostensibly for their protection.[5] The accompanying disappearance of 'coming-of-age' films from depictions of juvenile masculinity was *not* matched by a similar vanishing of such stories about older males living out extended adolescences (Pomerance 2005, 133). One of these young men was *Jesus*' 'adult' protagonist played by twenty-four-

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[1] Russell notes that prior to the late 1960s, "Christianity was treated as the default viewing position for the vast majority of American film viewers" and "[f]ilms including overt Christian content made up some of Hollywood's biggest hits" (2013, 186). Controversies surrounding the exceptional *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988) only served to reinforce this trend (ibid, 188).

[2] Chancey et al. note how appeals to the Bible as a source for establishing American identity took place throughout the final two decades of the century at the national, state and municipal levels (2014, 2-3).

[3] *Jesus of Nazareth* was also an Italian-originated international collaboration (Tatum 2013, 143).

[4] At http://www.hollywoodjesus.com/jesus_series3a.htm there is a list of the differences between this and the International version, though there are some others I noticed while viewing; a more comprehensive listing than the one on-line is perhaps a future project. The American version of the pertinent sequence about the boy Jesus runs about forty seconds longer than its counterpart, yet each has a unique scene alongside other slight differences which will be documented as the chapter unfolds.

[5] Jones notes that there is an "inter-relationship of adults' fears *for* children, and [their] fear *of* children" (2009, 112; italicized emphases mine), thus whose protection is envisioned or prioritized by restricting children's freedom is left ambiguous (and subtly critiqued) in my own phrasing.

year-old Jeremy Sisto.[6] The character is still the traditional thirty-year-old (Luke 3:23),[7] but the movie opens with him in the midst of adolescent crisis (Reinhartz 2007, 117). Jesus lives at home, unsure of his future or feelings for a certain Mary,[8] and apprentices as a carpenter with Joseph who is struggling to find work.[9] He is soon faced with the trauma of his father's sudden death and his mother's insistence he move out into the world.[10] By doing so, "Jesus moves from one (dead) father to another (heavenly) father" and "model[s]…how authentic North American individuals mature" (Staley and Walsh 2007, 131).

Jesus' overall narrative may be summarized as a 'coming-of-age' tale (Walsh 2003, 24) and, as such, it departs from much of the Jesus film tradition that precedes it.[11] That *Jesus* features "a modern, psychologically developing hero" (ibid, 29) is affirmed by others, primarily by drawing attention to its depiction of the character's humanity (Malone 2012, 140; Tatum 2013, 232), but the repercussions of this 'developmentalism' for the sequence about the boy Jesus in Jerusalem have not yet been explored. The strengthened association of 'coming-of-age' movies with post-juvenile characters and with the adult lead of *Jesus* in particular suggests the film's depiction of his younger self will, if it is to maintain consistency, involve some indication he is at an earlier stage along a trajectory of 'maturation'.

The filmmakers' adaptation of Luke's story occurs as a flashback,[12] ostensibly that of Jesus.[13] Leaving the home of his relatives in Bethany, the adolescent makes his way to the Jordan River where John is preaching a baptism of water for repentance (Luke 3:3).[14] Jesus approaches the Baptist, whom he refers to as a relative (cf. 1:36), and there is reference during their fireside conversation that it has been

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[6] Sisto was born in October 1974 (see https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0005438/?ref_=tt_cl_t1) and the film was shot in May and June of 1999 (Tatum 2013, 224).

[7] Talking to Jesus about the circumstances surrounding his conception, Mary refers to the visit of an angel (cf. Luke 1:26-27) that took place "thirty-one years ago."

[8] This is not Mary Magdalene, around whom much popular discourse circulates as a potential or actual love interest for Jesus, famously in the best-selling Dan Brown novel *The Da Vinci Code* (2003) and its 2006 movie adaptation (Ehrman 2006, 179-83), but Mary of Bethany, one of two sisters and a brother who were loved by Jesus (John 11:5), identified in the film (though not in the biblical text) as one of Jesus' relatives, presumably a cousin. It is with this same Mary (not Mary Magdalene who dies while pregnant) that Jesus fathers children in the controversial dream sequence of *Last Temptation.*

[9] Staley and Walsh identify these among "a number of the crises that middle-class American families faced in the late 1990s" (2007, 130).

[10] In subsequent conversation with Mary, trying to explain why they cannot be together, Jesus refers to Joseph's death as ending his life as he knew it and that he must now find his own way.

[11] Among the Jesus movies *Last Temptation* also delves into "the dimensions of character psychology" (Walsh 2003, 33).

[12] As noted in the introductory chapter, *Jesus*' filmmakers employ this same technique in adapting the *Paidika*'s tale of Jesus and the birds.

[13] Several scenes involving only his parents cannot be Jesus' own reminisces, distorting point of view in the sequence.

[14] Tatum notes that "the Gospel of John provides the narrative framework for this Jesus story" (2013, 229) and here it appears that *Jesus*' filmmakers have confused a Bethany in the Transjordan area where John sees Jesus (John 1:28-29) with the Bethany in proximity to Jerusalem where Mary lives (11:1, 18; cf. Rainey and Notley 2006, 350-51, 364), Jesus having just left her house.

about twenty years since they have seen each other. This would make Jesus approximately ten years old in the flashback that follows where he is played by thirteen-year-old Josh Maguire.[15] While the boy Jesus could, with a rounded figure, still be the twelve-year-old of Luke's text,[16] the ambiguity and possibility he is younger is noteworthy.[17]

When their discussion turns to the recently-deceased Joseph, John remarks that he was a good man who taught them a lot. When he asks Jesus if he remembers their first trip to Jerusalem, he affirms the recollection: "Of course, Passover." A dissolve is used to move into the flashback sequence,[18] which begins at night and a family of four is seen approaching one of the city's gates.[19] This is quickly revealed to be Joseph, Mary and the young Jesus and John, the foursome stopping after entering the archway,[20] the man standing behind the two boys – Jesus on his left, John on his right – and a hand around each of their shoulders (Figure 1.1). Joseph launches into an important warning: "Jesus, John, you're not in Nazareth anymore. This is the great city of Jerusalem. You must be alert. There are bad people here. Careful who you talk to and don't get lost. Now, don't leave the square."[21]

Joseph's admonition reinforces the adult John's reference to it being his and Jesus' first trip to the city,[22] both boys implicitly ignorant of supposed urban dangers. This naivety is the primary way by which these two juvenile protagonists are coded as innocent within the narrative. While Luke refers to Nazareth

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[15] Josh's age at the time of filming can be determined by comparing the previously-mentioned shooting schedule with his date of birth provided on IMDb (see https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0536592/?ref_=ttfc_fc_cl_t32). He is listed in the film's credits as "Young Jesus" and it may be recalled that juvenile actors often play characters younger than their actual age (Musgrave 2013, 45-46); indeed, Josh played Manasseh four years earlier in the *Joseph* mini-series directed by Young where he is seven years old according to the movie's inner chronology. Zack Maguire, presumably a brother or cousin, plays "Young John" in *Jesus*. No date of birth is provided for Zack on IMDb (see https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0536643/?ref_=ttfc_fc_cl_t33), but he is roughly the same age as Josh.

[16] Jesus hesitates in answering John's question of "How long has it been?" and his recollection could be off a couple of years. There is no attempt by the filmmakers to present Jesus as all-knowing or having a flawless memory; he is, rather, "learning as the journey progresses" (Staley and Walsh 2007, 131).

[17] Similar to the flexibility of age in the literary and cinematic iterations of Jesus and the birds from the *Paidika*, the boy who goes to the temple in Jerusalem fluctuates in age. He is seven years old, for example, in *The Young Messiah* (2016) and a year older in Anne Rice's novel *Christ the Lord: Out of Egypt* (2005) upon which the film's screenplay was based.

[18] Both the passage of time (backward) and connection between shots is conveyed (Barsam and Monahan 2013, 371).

[19] A complex establishing shot is used beginning with a MCU of a woman dancing. As she backs away from the camera, a man enters the frame at the right breathing fire. The camera cranes straight up, transitioning to an ELS, and with a tilt down situates these performers within a large gathering in the square just inside the gate.

[20] A long shot reveals the family's identity and they walk toward the camera, which retreats at a slower pace and stops when a medium shot is attained. Phillips notes that this shot "give[s] equal importance to a subject and its surroundings" (2009, 84).

[21] The implication that young John has traveled with Jesus and his parents from Nazareth and spent enough time there to be acclimatized, as well as his subsequent disappearance from Jesus' life for the next twenty years raises questions the filmmakers never answer. That the boy was taken in by Joseph upon their return from Egypt because his aged parents (Luke 1:7) have died and he subsequently goes to live in the wilderness because of his experience there (1:80) are speculations.

[22] *Jesus* is thus more direct than *Nazareth* in establishing this interpretive stance toward Jesus' presence in Jerusalem, though both films use Joseph as a character who imparts prior knowledge of the city to a boy who has never been there.

as a 'city' (πόλις),[23] John Kloppenborg quips that "in the first century, it most assuredly was not" (2017, 104).[24] Jonathan Reed refers to first-century Nazareth as "a small Jewish village, without any political significance, preoccupied with agriculture" (2000, 132),[25] offering *Jesus*' filmmakers a rural ideal for the rearing of its juvenile protagonist,[26] an idyllic boyhood that is mainly theorized rather than visualized.[27] Just as 'bad boy' literature and its rural idealizations were consumed by a predominantly urban audience (Burns 1988, 24), so, too, did its various cinematic iterations constitute urban (and suburban) fantasies of the rural, *Jesus*' depiction of its juveniles contributing to the nineties' renaissance of such images.[28]

With a focus, like their literary counterparts, on the experiences of middle-class white boys (Kidd 2004, 53-54), the decade's classical 'bad boy' films and their romanticized rural spaces[29] contrasted with

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[23] He does so in 1:26; 2:4, 39 and 4:29 (cf. v16).

[24] Reed notes a city in the ancient Mediterranean world was defined primarily by its investment of economic resources into the building of public structures such as aqueducts, theatres, temples and administrative buildings that allowed its social elites to live 'civilized' (2000, 167). Excavations conducted at Nazareth reveal no trace of paving, public structures or inscriptions dating to the pertinent period and the lack of housing remains except for subterranean storage suggests simple dwellings made from mud and fieldstones with thatched roofs (ibid, 131-32). Reed attributes the New Testament writers' "more generous" use of πόλις to a number of factors including "ignorance of Palestinian geography," a "lack of concern for precise definitions" and "theological motives," pointing to Luke in particular with respect to the latter (ibid, 167-68). Kloppenborg observes that "the overwhelming impression that [Luke] conveys to the reader is that Jesus' activity had mainly to do with cities" (2017, 105), this as "an answer to the actual or anticipated criticisms of the Jesus movement that associated it with rustics, yokels, and generally, with persons whom the educated and civilized need not take very seriously" (ibid, 104).

[25] Nazareth was a satellite village of the walled city of Sepphoris (Oakman 2012, 61), which is nowhere mentioned in the New Testament, a curious omission given its close proximity to Nazareth and regional importance, Herod Antipas having fashioned the city into "the ornament (πρόσχημα) of all Galilee" after receiving his tetrarchy (*Ant*. 18.27). Reed reviews the scholarship on Sepphoris, particularly as it relates to questions about the historical Jesus (2000, 103-14), as well as archaeological discoveries (ibid, 115-31), concluding "it…likely that Jesus on occasion ventured into Sepphoris during his youth," but that "Antipas's power…kept him from Sepphoris during his ministry" (ibid, 138).

[26] The film's Roman-collaborating tax collector Levi (Luke 5:27), renamed Matthew by Jesus as a means of harmonizing with the name given him in Matt 9:9, refers to Nazareth as a "stinking village" upon his visit there to collect from Mary. The village's numerous stone structures and the Holy Family's spacious two-story dwelling with adjoining carpentry shop and courtyard seem incompatible with the aforementioned archaeological evidence, but are more palpable for the sensibilities of the movie's largely middle-class audience than would be a depiction of the harsh realities of poverty in the Roman Empire where there was no such class but rather a minority of wealthy land-owning elites and majority of impoverished peasants (including artisans) living at or beneath subsistence level (Friesen 2010, 241-43).

[27] Unlike *Nazareth*, which featured its young Jesus for a time in his hometown, the sequence in *Jesus* begins in Jerusalem and ends on the road home. The flashback to the boy's earlier life in Egypt, however, lends support to the filmmaker's commitment to a rural ideal in its brief scene of Jesus playing with other boys in a field. The earlier cinematic adaptation of the *Paidika*'s story in *A Child Called Jesus* (1987) situates the juvenile Jesus in an urban context, namely Alexandria. On the history of the Jews in this city from the time of its founding by Alexander the Great through the uprisings and their suppression in 116-117 CE, see Barclay (1996, 27-81).

[28] The mischief in which the boy Jesus is involved that leads to the bird's death and his subsequent remorse were, in my first chapter, framed in terms of their implications upon his adult psychological makeup; here, in light of the explorations of juvenile masculinity in the previous chapter, they may now be fruitfully compared with the mixed mischievousness and thoughtfulness of the decade's cinematic 'bad boys' in contrast to its rash of young psychopaths.

[29] Nostalgic and contemporary 'bad boys' were primarily inhabitants of the suburbs, which offered their own romanticized contrasts to urban spaces. While boys could still be found playing at times unsupervised in the suburbs, they were viewed as particularly vulnerable to predators on urban streets (as in *Bump in the Night* [1991]) and thus accompanied by older (teenaged) siblings for their protection (as in *The Indian in the Cupboard* [1995]).

its 'hood' movies and their perilous urban spaces (Olson 2017, 134).[30] Opposite the 'knowing' African American boys who populated the latter, and whose knowledge was often sexual in nature,[31] were their Caucasian compatriots, sexual 'innocents' whose company included the young Jesus and John.[32] Wide-eyed upon entering Jerusalem, the boys are visualized as oblivious to being endangered within their new urban surroundings. The placement of a hand on the shoulder of each juvenile conveys not only Joseph's authority (Hood-Williams 2001, 105),[33] but also his paternalistic protection. Urging the boys to vigilance, the man warns them about the 'bad people' in the city, reflecting contemporary fears of child abduction, assault and murder.

Philip Jenkins notes how the now-discredited SRA phenomenon declined in media acceptability in the early nineties at the same time coverage of 'sexual predators' increased (1998, 194-95), the danger posed to children by strangers reemerging in the public imagination as a tangible concern in the light of these news stories.[34] Carol Cope published her guide for parents titled *Stranger Danger* in 1997[35] and the same year – only eighteen months before filming for *Jesus* commenced – saw the murder of ten-year-old Jeffrey Curley, a tragic story forming "the crest of a wave of highly publicized criminal brutality" (Levine 2002, 24) that helped align the boy's death with several high-profile cases of fatal stranger abductions even though he was acquainted with his killers.[36]

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[30] Constructing a dichotomy between urban danger and rural safety not only overlooks the aforementioned liminal spaces of the suburbs, but the perception of adults in rural communities that menaces to their children exist there as well in the form of strangers traveling from the cities (Valentine 2004, 16).

[31] Olson points in particular to the sexual knowledge of the young protagonist in the 1994 'hood' film *Fresh* (2017, 133), the boy's nonchalance in response to an offer of sex in exchange for drugs implies his knowledge of sexual-related matters.

[32] The boys' innocence primarily understood in terms of naivety is thus interwoven with their assumed sexual purity.

[33] As such prerogative of touch does in *Nazareth* when Joseph turns Jesus toward the temple mount; similarly Rabbi Yehuda in the film's earlier synagogue scene.

[34] Unlike SRA, which lacked corroborating evidence (Levine 2002, 34-35), the abduction, assault and murder of children by strangers – however rare – *does* happen and should be taken seriously, though put in proper perspective with acknowledgment that the vast majority of assaults on and murders of children occur at the hands of authority figures known to the victims; the home, not the street, is the most dangerous place for children (James et al. 1998, 53; Corsaro 2005, 243; Jenks 2005, 97; Gillis 2008, 317; Jones 2009, 110; Cregan and Cuthbert 2014, 77).

[35] While Cope grants that "stranger abduction/murders are relatively rare" (1997, 16), her subsequent claim of "300 to 400 cases annually" is not only a gross exaggeration – see footnote 49 of the previous chapter for reliable statistics – but at odds with her even more outrageous assertion two pages earlier that strangers accounted for a third of the alleged 431,000 reported cases of CSA in 1994 (ibid, 14). These inflated and contradictory figures alongside baseless claims that "a virtual epidemic of child sexual abuse [is] sweeping [the] country" (ibid, 7), all packaged under a sensationalistic title, speak to an author and intended readership in the throes of a moral panic.

[36] The widely-circulated photograph of Jeffrey in his Little League uniform and holding a baseball bat is similar to that of Adam Walsh – reproduced in *Adam* (1983) and shown in Figure 3.1 of the previous chapter – and a cursory reading of Levine's brief coverage of Jeffrey's case (2002, 21-22), following immediately after a citation from Cope's book (ibid, 20), are suggestive of stranger abduction. Her passing reference to one of the men being the boy's neighbor (ibid, 21) is insufficient to establish his acquaintance with both murderers, one of whom he spent considerable time with in the months prior, and how he had accepted numerous car rides from this same man before the one that ended with his death in October of 1997 (MacQuarrie 2010, 19-22).

Tapping into the decade's moral panic over CSA,[37] *Jesus*' filmmakers infused their adaptation of Luke's story of the boy Jesus in Jerusalem with 'stranger danger', the night setting creating an ominous ambiance for the first part of the sequence. The two juveniles are adjured to be careful whom they talk to and not to get lost, words aimed to simultaneously enlighten and conceal. While the boys are warned of the potential threat to their persons, its specific form – sexual predation – is left implied and accessible to 'knowing' viewers, ostensibly preserving the presumed sexual ignorance of the film's child spectators and the 'innocence' of its juvenile characters. Jesus and John remain silent during and after Joseph's concise lesson on personal safety,[38] passively receiving instruction within a framework of tutelage. Vered Amit notes how tutelage systems assume "clients [who are] specially vulnerable and therefore…requir[e] the protections entailed in the exercise of restraint or care by a guardian" (2003, 237). She goes on to write that "tutelage systems are [thus] inherently paternalistic systems of moral regulation" and that "[t]he emotional and regulatory wallop packed by this brew of dependency…and paternalism is perhaps most crudely apparent in repeated moral panics about children" (ibid, 238), which is precisely the context in which the man's teaching is found.

Joseph's final instruction to the boys is not to leave the square, which extends them a modicum of freedom within the city while mostly curtailing it.[39] Forbidden them are the myriad of unregulated streets and alleys (Gutman and de Coninck-Smith 2008, 4), the crowds of the open air plaza offering protection from possible predators, provided the boys stick together and enact the precautions Joseph has conveyed. The boys dutifully remain within the prescribed limits, modeling a 'buddy system' for mutual protection as they take pleasure in observing the evening's festivities. While the joviality of the film's older Jesus invariably draws comments from scholars (Staley and Walsh 2007, 127, 131; Malone 2012, 141; Tatum 2013, 232-33), Adele Reinhartz frames this in terms of "Jesus retain[ing] his childhood capacity for joy" (2007, 117),[40] stopping just short of anchoring this observation in the present sequence. The picture of

[37] Critcher describes 'moral panics' as "disproportionate reactions to perceived threats" (2006, 2) and identifies child abuse as one example of a 'serial moral panic' (ibid, 12). Jenks similarly argues for the cyclical nature of panics related to CSA (1998, 7) and *Jesus* may be situated within the cycle dominated by the image of the 'sexual predator' that followed the cycle associated with daycare workers and SRA, a trajectory reaffirmed by Leon over a decade later (2011, 111).

[38] Valentine notes that "[o]ne of the ways that parents try to balance their perception of children as at risk from stranger-dangers, while also trying to develop their skills to manage and take risks for themselves, is through educating them about personal safety" (2004, 25-26).

[39] Kehily notes that "[w]anting children to have their freedom appears to be equally matched by the fear of letting them move freely outside the home without adult supervision" (2009, 201), the movie visualizing a common compromise.

[40] Having a commercial origin in the fifties (Brown 2016, 23-24), the term 'kidult' had by the nineties come to refer primarily (and derogatorily) to "puerility and self-absorption…, a negation of seriousness and responsibility by those for whom a taste for 'childish things' is analogous to social regression, and, indeed, representative of much wider social malfunction" (ibid, 25). The movie's thirty-year-old Jesus, living out an extended adolescence, partying, splashing water in his followers' faces and playing 'catch-me-if-you-can' may be referred to as a 'kidult'. While this defining behavior appears to be presented by the filmmakers in a positive light, as Reinhartz's comment also implies, the trajectory of Jesus' 'maturation' in the story allows for a more negative reading in line with the dominant understanding of 'kidult' culture.

Jesus leisurely enjoying the city's nightlife is not only congruous with his later adolescent frivolity, but with contemporary Western idealizations of childhood as a time of fun and recreation.[41]

The three shots that show Jesus and John as happy spectators to the carnivalesque entertainment of dancing, fire-breathing and juggling reflect a particular "geography of danger" (Valentine 2004, 27). The boys are situated in proximity to adult strangers, but while women are presented as harmless in the first and third shots – one woman snuggles her head in between them (Figure 1.2) and another distributes treats they ingest (Figure 1.4) – a lone man in the second appears as potentially threatening (Figure 1.3). The two juveniles are seated with a conspicuous space between them and the solitary figure is lit in such a way that his shadow appears ominously in the gap; "the [adult] male body is [thus] saturated with threat" while "the [adult] female body is marked as safe" (ibid, 27).[42] The filmmakers reproduce and reinforce the idea that strangers – particularly men – pose a danger to children in public spaces (ibid, 18, 28). The International version of the movie omits Joseph's admonition in its entirety. This removes the 'stranger danger' lens from its adaptation of Luke's story and appears to reflect different public sentiments toward the issue of CSA in the European context. The mid-decade's case of several murdered girls in Belgium and the accompanying reports of the primary suspect's involvement in a CSA ring (Goode 2011, 10-11) was forefront in European constructions of the problem, rather than the lone 'sexual predator' model that had then gripped North American audiences. Each sequence thus appears to be tailored for its respective audience and its expectations.

'Stranger Danger' in *Jesus* (CBS, 2000)

Figure 1.1 Figure 1.2 Figure 1.3 Figure 1.4

[41] This is even enshrined in the UNCRC (Article 31), a 'right' which Wyness points out reflects a construction of childhood that is both historically and culturally specific (2012, 13). The film's image of work-free juvenility contrasts with the reality of "[c]hildren in the past, particularly those from poor families, [who] had considerable economic responsibilities" (ibid, 12). The historical angle of this comment, pertinent to exposing the film's lack of verisimilitude to the life of a first-century Palestinian boy, needs supplementation from contemporary cross-cultural examples of working children (Liebel 2004) and the insights of anthropologists who observe how "[p]lay, work, and socialization blend seamlessly into one another" (Montgomery 2009, 150).

[42] Feierman notes that "[m]ost reported adult human sexual behavior with children and adolescents concerns sexual behavior involving adult males rather than adult females, by a ratio of approximately 10:1" (1990, 10). Consequently, the majority of those convicted for CSA are men (Goode 2010, 16) with assaults by women comprising less than 5% of such convictions (Seto 2008, 72). While under-reporting of abuse by females is a contributing factor, this appears insufficient to fully explain the significant gender differential (ibid, 72) and there is therefore some justification for a focus on male perpetrators. To do so exclusively and without fully understanding the nature and extent of CSA by women (ibid, 74), however, has led to a variety of negative results such as a retreat by many men from friendships and nurturing relationships with children fearing accusations of CSA and the ceding of public space to adults by children taught to fear men (Valentine 2004, 28).

A dissolve signals the end of the evening's amusement and the boys are back in the company of Joseph and Mary in the temple precincts (Figure 3.1). The man tells Jesus and John they will go inside the next day; for now, he enlists their help in building camp for the night. Joseph emerges as not only a purveyor of personal safety tips, but campcraft[43] evocative of the various character-building organizations for boys, the BSA most famously,[44] and the mid-decade's influx of 'camp movies'. Built around the idea that "boys needed vigorous, sex-segregated recreation under a man's supervision" (Macleod 1983, 44), Scouting aimed to curb precocity[45] and "keep middle-class [boys][46] dependent, unintellectual, and asexual" (ibid, 50). The idealized model of boyhood that the BSA appealed to was that of the rural-yearning 'bad boy' who was "vigorous, impulsive – though relatively harmless," as well as "savage" (ibid, 52).[47]

Reflecting the same "romantic distaste for modern industrial civilization" that 'bad-boy' authors promulgated (ibid, 53), men took to the woods with boys[48] for "[c]arefully buffered contacts with tame wilderness[49] [that] would enable campers to vent their boyish savagery under close control," "keep[ing] them dependent and safe from city vices" (ibid, 234). Young campers nonetheless "drew their tents and cabins up in squares or circles like settled communities" (ibid, 245), bringing a form of civilization to their bucolic surroundings; the pitching of tents in *Jesus* by rustic pilgrims within the temple grounds reverses the means by which the rural and urban are brought into contact, but still reveals the hybridity of

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[43] 'Campcraft' refers to "the skills useful in camping outdoors," which includes "building shelters" (Mechling 2001, 237).

[44] Joseph's invitation to set up camp in the vicinity of the temple is included in the International version and comprises his first spoken words of that film's sequence. Scouting had expanded to a worldwide phenomenon by the end of the century with Wills noting how the World Scout Jamboree of 1991 was the first in which Russian Scouts participated (2013, 218). While the pitching of tents may well reflect a genuine practice of pilgrims to Jerusalem in the first century, *Jesus*' filmmakers are unique in drawing attention to making 'camp' among the adaptations of Luke's story, which focus does seem to be related to the decade's resurgent interest in Scouting and its cinematic boys' various forays into the wilderness.

[45] Character builders understood 'precocity' as "any adultlike behavior or proclivity, especially passion or self-assertiveness" (Macleod 1983, 37).

[46] Macleod writes 'teenagers' here, but he elsewhere notes that "[n]ostalgia for small-town boyhood…centered on the time between early childhood and puberty, from six or eight to twelve or fourteen" with "preadolescent boyhood [as] the ideal time to build masculinity" (1983, 55). Indeed, while the minimum age for admission to the BSA was originally set at twelve (Wills 2013, 97), it was lowered in 1949 to eleven (ibid, 122) and was preceded by the Cub Scout program for boys aged eight to ten that had developed over the previous two decades (ibid, 89-103). The downward shift in age requirements "amounted to an admission that Boy Scouting and Cub Scouting both appealed to boys a bit younger than the BSA tried to enlist," which resulted in "regular Scouting for preadolescents or very young adolescents" (Macleod 1983, 297).

[47] Wills notes how the handbook produced for the British Wolf Cub program "drew heavily on the writings of Rudyard Kipling, particularly *The Jungle Book*" (2013, 92), and many of these elements were retained in the American version of the program (ibid, 98) though Kidd notes there was some initial resistance to feral imagery, which nonetheless "permeate[s] the whole register of Scouting" (2004, 7).

[48] The BSA camp experience was a variation on the private and organized wilderness outings that had became popular in the mid to late nineteenth century, the earliest of which involved only boys (Paris 2008, 3, 30-39) and even when girls began to be included, their numbers were significantly fewer (ibid, 6).

[49] Macleod notes that "camping was no simple return to nature" and that "character builders favored a settled existence with few hardships" (1983, 233), pointing out that "much as boys' ungoverned instincts were to be moderated and kept within bounds, so too the wilds were to be tamed or else fenced off and entered only on brief forays" (ibid, 245).

such camps (Paris 2008, 276) at the same time it frames the juvenile Jesus' trip to Jerusalem for Passover as one of boyhood adventure (ibid, 43) rather than religious duty as in *Nazareth*.[50]

That is not to say that either the BSA or *Jesus* was disengaged from religious issues as both were involved in the 'culture wars' of the nineties. The former became embroiled in numerous legal cases as it defended itself against incursions by "the three Gs" – girls,[51] the godless[52] and gays[53] (Ellis 2014, 29) – aligning itself with the religious right and declaring its commitment to "traditional family values" (ibid, 48).[54] Complementing its own pitch to family audiences (Staley and Walsh 2007, 130), *Jesus*' positive evocation of Scouting at decade's end implicitly affirms the organization's stance on all three matters. By prefacing the flashback with reference to Jesus' love for Mary, the juvenile's paradoxical asexual yet heterosexual identity is confirmed. Jesus' homosocial bonding with a same-age relative is framed by a man's guidance, Mary remaining silent and peripheral in both shots.[55] Finally, while literary 'bad boys' were generally an irreligious lot[56] and the film's Passover is thus far indistinguishable from a secular carnival, the anticipated trip to the temple hints toward a spiritual climax for the young protagonist.[57]

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[50] Referring to the Lukan text, Levine and Witherington suggest "the pilgrimage may have had the sense of vacation as well as a holy endeavor" since "celebration and piety are not mutually exclusive" (2018, 70).

[51] Ellis notes that challenges to the boys-only policy of the BSA drew little attention during the seventies and eighties, but did so in 1991 with the case of Margo Mankes who wanted to join the Cub Scouts because the 'comparable' girls' program did not offer the same activities; this legal challenge to the BSA's policy of excluding girls failed (2014, 32). As of February 1 of this year, however, girls can become members of the Scouting program, which has been renamed 'Scouts BSA' (Andone 2019).

[52] The decade opened with the case of Mark Welsh who was refused entry into the Tiger Cubs – a program started in 1982 for seven-year-olds that would 'bridge' to the Cub Scouts (Wills 2013, 200) – because his atheist father could not affirm the Scout's Declaration of Religious Principle, but the BSA's exclusionary policies were upheld again as the case was adjudicated in the organization's favor in 1992 and the decision affirmed by the appellate court the following year (Ellis 2014, 33-36). Initially more successful was the case of William and Michael Randall, which led to their readmission to the Cub Scouts in 1992 after refusing to recite the word 'God' in the oath, but six years later the decision was reversed on appeal (ibid, 36).

[53] After a decade of delays, the case of 'gay youth activist' Tim Curran got underway in 1990 with the California Supreme Court ruling eight years later on both this case and that of the Randall brothers that the BSA was "free to discriminate on the basis of both sexual orientation and religious belief" (Ellis 2014, 38-44, 123); the organization decided in 2013, however, to end its exclusion of openly gay youth, but has retained its commitment to the Declaration of Religious Principle (ibid, 249-53).

[54] This position, articulated in 1991 in light of the ongoing Curran case, reversed a decade of trying to "shed the image of a traditional or old-fashioned organization in [an] effort to appeal to the broadest possible range of boys" (Ellis 2014, 49).

[55] While women had been den mothers for the Cub Scouts since the thirties (Wills 2013, 97-98), they were not permitted to be Scoutmasters until the late eighties (Ellis 2014, 29-31). The marginalization of Mary in scenes of tutelage reflects ideas about (heterosexual) men as the ideal role models for boys around Jesus' age in the film.

[56] Macleod notes how these "boys disliked schooling and sermons" (1983, 53) and Prchal observes how "the church seems particularly at odds with the bad boys" (2004, 205 n.22).

[57] YMCAs, initially catering to "young, mostly white-collar men," experimented with 'junior' departments during the 1870s (Macleod 1983, 72-73) with various age ranges from six to sixteen (ibid, 77), "trying to strike a balance between the inculcation of religious and moral ideas and the provision of activities to build up strength and keep boys entertained" (ibid, 80). YMCA camps first emerged in the 1880s and were conceived as "simple outings to hold boys' interest in summer" (ibid, 234), but they eventually became "the means to a nobler end…, [namely] the religious awakening of boys" (Paris 2008, 42).

As promised, Joseph takes the two boys into the temple the following day, the all-male entourage first seen strolling through a courtyard with Mary and another woman following close behind.[58] The man guides the juveniles[59] toward the rounded steps leading up to an inner court, which is separated from the outer court by columns[60] and into which area only Joseph and the boys proceed, the women implicitly barred from proceeding any further.[61] Upon entering this restricted area, the man instructs his two charges to cover their heads,[62] which they do with fringed *tallitot* (טליתות).[63] All their heads have been covered since the start of the Jerusalem sequence – Jesus' with a *kippah* (כיפה),[64] which Paul Gwynne notes is "one of the most recognizable signs of Jewish identity today" (2018, 212) – thus the donning of additional

[58] A dissolve is again used to transition from the nighttime shot of tents pitched outside the temple walls to the present one, which is similar to the shot that begins the Jerusalem sequence. Starting with a MCU of Joseph and the boys, the camera is pulled back and up on a crane in order to situate all the characters in the temple's outer court through the use of an ELS.

[59] Joseph again has a hand on each boy's shoulder, touch indicative of paternal protection and authority.

[60] The filmmakers' visualization of the temple courtyards relies on the description provided by Josephus (*J.W.* 5.194-95), even down to the number of steps (fourteen), elsewhere given as twelve (*m. Mid.* 2:3).

[61] The outer court open to non-Jews and the first inner court open to Jewish females (Bahat 2006, 303) are thus conflated by the filmmakers, a merging of space complicated by the presence of two plaques that flank the steps and upon which are inscribed warnings to *foreigners* that they are prohibited from entering. While these plaques are visible in the ELS of the American version of the film, their content is only revealed in a scene unique to the International version in which Joseph stops at the right-hand inscription and reads it aloud to the boys: "No foreigner is to enter the forecourt. Whoever is caught will have himself to blame for a subsequent death." Josephus refers to such an inscription (*Ant.* 15.417; *J.W.* 5.194; 6.125) and two limestone examples (one partial) have been found in the vicinity of the temple (Evans 2005, 316), the Greek text of the complete find given by Llewelyn and van Beek as Μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. Ὅς δ' ἂν ληφθῇ, ἑαυτῶι αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον (2011, 3). The movie's metal engraving has five rows of majuscule Greek letters in *scripta continua* that do not appear to correspond with the source text, but the image's poor resolution and my lack of experience in deciphering ancient Greek inscriptions precludes stating with certainty what (if anything!) the plaque actually says. Joseph's scribal-literate proficiency in the language is implied and, by the same token, that of the two boys is not. I agree with Poirier that Greek was not the most widespread language in Jewish Palestine (that was Aramaic), but neither was it as rare as has sometimes been assumed (2007, 118). Indeed, a significant portion of extant inscriptions (averaging just over 50%) from Palestine are in Greek (van der Horst 2001, 156-57), but caution must be exercised not to extrapolate too much from this evidence since "the degree of use and understanding of the Greek language probably varied strongly according to locality and period, social status, and educational background, occasion and mobility" (ibid, 166). Furthermore, Meier points out that "inscriptions, along with the buildings or other structures they adorned, spoke a wordless message of political domination, military or economic achievement, or cultural superiority" and were "[not] meant to be read word by word by the general populace" (1991, 256). This holds true for the temple warning, which was addressed to foreigners and declared Herod's authority (Llewelyn and van Beek 2011, 22). While it is *possible* an artisan from Nazareth spoke some Greek (Meier 1991, 262), that this same individual could easily read a public inscription in the language is improbable and suffers from many of the same problems outlined in chapter 5 with respect to the scribal-literate status of the boy Jesus.

[62] This instruction is neither audible nor subtitled in the International version of the film even though the visual is the same.

[63] The *tallit* (טלית) is "a rectangular piece of cloth large enough to cover the shoulders as well as the neck so that is qualifies as a garment" according to the commandment of Num 15:38-39 (cf. Deut 22:12), which also specifies blue cords be attached to its tassels, a requirement typically achieved instead through a pattern of blue stripes on the otherwise white garment, the same colors incorporated into the modern Israeli flag (Gwynne 2018, 215).

[64] The *kippah* is "typically a thin, slightly rounded cloth skullcap that is worn on the crown of the head," this as "an act of humility and an affirmation of the sovereignty of [the Jewish deity] in all aspects of life" (Gwynne 2018, 212). This practice is based on the instruction of *b. Šabb.* 156b where it is connected to the activity of prayer. While the *kippah* is therefore worn by some Jews only during prayer or while undertaking other sacred duties, it is worn by others at all times when and where it is conceivable to do so (ibid, 239; cf. the example of Rabbi Huna in *b. Qidd.* 31a).

garments vested with sacred significance, ones associated particularly with the activity of prayer (ibid, 214), attests to the family's piety.[65]

The threesome traverses the court until they are beside the large stone altar, the purpose of their visit divorced from the sacrificial cult[66] since Joseph draws the boys' attention to the building beyond it, teaching them about its structure and contents (Figure 3.2): "Through those doors is the sanctuary. If you look closely maybe you'll see the golden *menorah*. At the back of the sanctuary is the innermost chamber, the Holy of Holies." Specific mention is made of the *menorah* (מנורה),[67] which Gwynne identifies as "one of the most widely recognized symbols of Judaism" (2018, 273),[68] and the object's association with the divine presence[69] in conjunction with the man's invitation to catch a glimpse of it suggests that religious awakening through an encounter with the Israelite deity is intended. Joseph presents as wise teacher,[70] a source of social, practical and religious instruction for Jesus and John. His strong presence in the movie[71] reflects the increased attention to such figures – particularly those not biologically related to the boys they mentor[72] – in the decade's cinematic depictions of juvenile masculinity.

A dissolve signals the passage of time, during which interval the boys have put on *tefillin* (תפלין) – two small boxes containing sacred texts that are strapped to forehead and bicep respectively (ibid, 213)[73] – and Jesus is now holding what appears to be a Torah scroll (Figure 3.3). John is speaking as the

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[65] Some but not all of the males within the inner court are wearing these 'prayer shawls', which Gwynne notes are worn during contemporary Jewish worship services, as well as on Sabbath and other holy days (2018, 215). *Jesus*' filmmakers use the costuming of *mise-en-scène* in order to establish their young protagonists' Jewish identities in a way that *Nazareth* does not.

[66] Joseph and the boys pass by lineups of men carrying birds and domesticated animals intended as sacrifices and the family's disengagement from any involvement in these activities throughout the sequence seems to imply a critique of the sacrificial cult and thus a supersessionism similar to that found in *Nazareth* appears present.

[67] In his description of the sanctuary, Josephus refers also to the showbread table and incense altar (*Ant*. 5.216).

[68] The *menorah* is a seven-branched candlestick (Gwynne 2018, 256), the description of its biblical precedent – the source of light inside the portable shrine built and carried around by the Israelites who were narrated to have escaped from Egypt – is found in Exod 25:31-40 (cf. 37:17-24).

[69] Gwynne refers to the tradition that "the shape of the menorah symbolizes the burning bush from which [the Israelite deity] first called Moses to his prophetic mission" (2018, 273).

[70] In conversation with Mary Magdalene, the film's adult Jesus refers to Joseph as the wisest man he has ever known.

[71] Reinhartz identifies this film's Joseph as "the most fully formed" among the many Jesus movies she explores (2007, 94).

[72] While Staley and Walsh correctly observe "[t]here is no clear evidence of a virginal conception" (2007, 130), Joseph tells Jesus with his dying breath that he has loved him as his own, which lends support to Mary's story – implicitly recounted to the man in a flashback – about the annunciation.

[73] The word is Aramaic and used in Targum Onkelos to translate the Hebrew *totaphoth* (טוטפת), which term appears in Exod 13:16; Deut 6:8 and 11:18 in the commands for the Israelites to remember their deity's deliverance and laws (Deut 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Exod 13:1-10; 13:11-16 are the four texts placed inside the boxes). The *tefillah shel rosh* (תפילה של ראש) is "strapped around the head so that the box sits in the middle of the forehead" and the *tefillah shel yad* (תפילה של יד) is "strapped around the left arm so that the container rests on the inside of the bicep, near the heart" (Gwynne 2018, 213); all that is visible of the latter is the part of the strap wound around Jesus' left hand. While these boxes, which "are a literal fulfillment of [the] commandment to 'bind'

shot begins and while the *tallit* and *tefillin* suggest prayer, the boy is actually chanting from the Torah – the Hebrew text of Lev 12:1-3[74] – ending with reference to the identity marker of circumcision. While ostensibly reading from the scroll in his hands,[75] Jesus offers the blessing in Hebrew that traditionally follows the Torah reading.[76] Since the majority of *Jesus*' viewers would not be able to identify this content,[77] it is Hebrew speech itself as a marker of Jewish identity that emerges as most important.

Since a boy may receive his first *tallit* at his *bar mitzvah* (Hilton 2014, 45, 182)[78] and begin to wear *tefillin* around the same time,[79] the question of whether or not Jesus and John are presented as being *b'nei mitzvah* (בני מצוה)[80] is a valid one. There is no ceremony as there is in *Nazareth* and much of the narrative to this point has underscored boyishness and their status as dependent tutees. Indeed, exceptions to the association of *bar mitzvah* with both the *tallit* and *tefillin*,[81] even Torah reading,[82] coupled with the probability that few viewers would draw such connections suggest that a rite of passage to adulthood before or during the boys' trip to Jerusalem plays no role in the narrative arc. Rather, a mishmash of aural and visual cues work to establish, with some reliance on anachronism,[83] the juveniles' Jewish identities.

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these words on the forehead and the hand" (ibid, 213), are sometimes called 'phylacteries' (so HALOT for טוטפת; cf. φυλακτήρια in Matt 23:5) and Cohn argues for an origin connected to apotropaic rituals, specifically in relation to lengthening children's lives (2008, 120).

[74] Zack's delivery is not error free, but there is no mistaking the text being recited (text in red appears accidentally omitted): וידבר ה׳ אל־משה לאמר: דבר אל־בני ישראל לאמר אשה כי תזריע וילדה זכר וטמאה שבעת ימים כימי נדת דותה תטמא: וביום השמיני ימול בשר ערלתו:

[75] Josh, like Monet in *Nazareth*, makes the mistake of 'reading' from the scroll left to right.

[76] Josh stumbles over one word toward the end, but the blessing (not Torah reading as the visual suggests) is recognizable: ברוך אתה ה׳ אלהינו מלך העולם אשר נתן לנו תורתו, which translates "Blessed are you, O LORD our God, King of Eternity, who has given us his law."

[77] The English subtitle on the DVD of the American version released in 2000 reads "(praying)"; the DVD of the International version released in the Bible Stories series in 2010 offers no subtitle for this part of the sequence. Staley and Walsh, influenced by the film's visuals, a DVD subtitle or both, refer to "Jesus in the Temple at twelve years old, reading Scripture and praying in Hebrew" (2007, 129); not only do they assume the boy's age where none is given in the film or its credits, but they conflate the vocal tracks of John and Jesus, as well as mischaracterize both (John is not praying, nor is Jesus reading a biblical text). This is an excellent example of Verstraten's proposition about the narrators along the visual and auditive tracks being respectively deaf and blind to the other (2009, 7) and the impact this phenomenon can have on the interpretation of movies.

[78] This *tallit* is different from the *arba kanfot* (ארבע כנפות) – sometimes called the *tallit qatan* (טלית קטן) – which is "an undergarment…to which are attached ritual fringes that are worn hanging outside the shirt as a visible reminder of the commandments" (Marcus 2004, 116); these may be given to boys who have transitioned from infancy to childhood (ibid, 79).

[79] In some cases the boy begins to wear *tefillin* for a month (sometimes longer) before his *bar mitzvah* (Marcus 2004, 84; Hilton 2014, 42, 64, 137).

[80] The plural of *bar mitzvah*; that is, 'sons of [the] commandment'.

[81] *b. Sukkah* 42a asserts that any 'minor' (קטן) who knows how to guard *tefillin* ought to have them provided by his father. In addition to early donning of *tefillin*, even as young as ten (Hilton 2014, 137), the *tallit* in some Jewish communities is first worn upon marriage (Marcus 2004, 116) and there is no suggestion by the filmmakers that either boy is married!

[82] Permission is granted a 'minor' to read from the law (*m. Meg.* 4:6) and the same may be counted toward a quorum of seven readers (*b. Meg.* 23a).

Another dissolve shifts from the boys' ritual performance in the temple's inner court[84] to Joseph strapping the saddlebags on their donkey in the vicinity of where he suggested they build camp the night of their arrival. While the man is urging his wife that they must make haste, Mary is preoccupied with not being able to find Jesus. Her husband replies "he's probably gone ahead with John" and, though reluctant, the woman sets off with him in the caravan as an ominous non-diegetic score begins. This is the first scene in the Jerusalem sequence in which neither Jesus nor John appears, disturbing the point of view established at the outset as one of personal recollection. The young John, furthermore, is not seen again, having served his narrative purposes as Jesus' mutually-protective 'buddy' in the shots establishing the 'stranger danger' backdrop for the upcoming search and as his ostensible companion for the trip home, thereby offering a plausible explanation for why Jesus' parents think he is elsewhere in the convoy of returning Passover pilgrims.

The amount of time that has elapsed between the boys' performance and the adults' departure is unclear. It could be later that same day or a number of days later, the biblical text on which the sequence is based (Figure 2) seems to presume a stay in Jerusalem longer than a single day, Luke referring to the festival's "days" (ἡμέραι) in 2:43.[85] Whether these days are completed or Jesus' parents complete them is a translational crux drawing (surprisingly) no discussion from any of the commentators I consulted;[86] the latter rendering is probably the better of the two.[87] Important to the filmmakers, who appear disinterested

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[83] The image of the boy Jesus reading in *Nazareth* has already been critiqued, but the wearing of *tefillin* may lay some claim to historical verisimilitude. Among the finds in the Judean desert were leather casings that appear to be *tefillin*, some dating as early as the second century BCE and containing the texts later prescribed, but also others, notably the Decalogue (Cohn 2008, 55-79). Photographs of these pouches, however, reveal the cube-shaped *tefillin* seen in the film to be modeled on modern exemplars; Cohn provides a handy list of the publications in which these images are found (ibid, 56). Similarly, while the appearance of the movie's *tallitoth* may be anachronistic, that the historical Jesus wore such a garment or a form of the *tallit qatan* is possible, the latter based on an understanding of the κράσπεδον in Matt 9:20; 14:36; Mark 6:56; Luke 8:44 as a ritual fringe on Jesus' garment (BDAG; cf. Matt 23:5 and Taylor 2018, 179-84).

[84] The thirty-second scene consists of a single LAS in which the camera moves in almost a complete circle around the two boys, beginning with John in the foreground and ending with Jesus in the same.

[85] Luke later associates Passover with the Feast of Unleavened Bread (22:1, 7), a week-long festival following the Passover according to the biblical prescriptions (Exod 12:14-20; Lev 23:4-5; Deut 16:1-8). Brown notes that "[i]t was not clearly defined in the Law how long pilgrims had to remain in Jerusalem, other than that they had to stay overnight and were not free to depart before the morning of the second day" (1993, 473), adding that "[i]f Luke knew accurately the duration of the feast, he would seem to be indicating that the parents stayed the whole eight days" (ibid, 473). Bovon comments that "Luke speaks as a writer, not as an expert on Jewish liturgy. It does not interest him whether the full seven days of the festival have been completed, or only the first two, which were prescribed for the pilgrims" (2002, 111).

[86] Johnson (1991, 58), Green (1997, 152), Bovon (2002, 108), Levine and Witherington (2018, 54) adopt the former (passive) understanding while Fitzmyer (1979, 434), Brown (1993, 471), Carroll (2012, 82-83) and Wolter (2016, 147) adopt the latter (active), none acknowledging the alternative or defending their translation. English translations are similarly divided between passive (NRSV, NJB, NEB, NIV) and active (NASB, KJV, NKJV, NAB) renderings of the verb τελειωσάντων with appropriate subjects respectively.

[87] Versification and punctuation, both interpretations of later editors, point in different directions. The verse division suggests the clause καὶ τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας begins a new thought and therefore τὰς ἡμέρας is the subject of the verb τελειωσάντων in the accusative. The punctuation, however, seems to suggest it is a continuation of the last clause in v42 as there is no stop at the end of this verse in either NA28 or UBS: ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας. On

in the duration of the family's visit, is that Jesus' parents depart from Jerusalem thinking that the boy is somewhere in the caravan.[88] While Luke informs the reader of his young protagonist's whereabouts,[89] the filmmakers present the limited perspective of his parents to the audience.

The Boy Jesus in Jerusalem

Luke 2:41-52	***Jesus* (2000)**
And his parents would go yearly to Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover. And when he was **twelve** years old, they went up according to the custom of the feast and **completed the days; when** they returned **the boy Jesus remained in Jerusalem, and his parents did not know.** But thinking [him] to be in the caravan they went a day's journey and **were** searching for him among the **relatives and the acquaintances**, and not finding [him] they returned to Jerusalem searching for him. And it happened **after three days** they found him in the temple sitting in **the midst** of the teachers and **listening** to them **and questioning them**; and all those listening to him were **amazed at** his **intelligence and answers**. And seeing him they were **astounded**, **and his mother said to him: "Child, why did you do this to us? Look**, your **father** and I **were distressed** looking for you."	And his parents would go yearly to Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover. And when he was **about ten** years old, they went up according to the custom of the feast and **some time later** they returned.
And he said to them: "Why were you **looking** for me? Did you **not** know **that** I **should** be **about** my father's **things**?" And they **did not understand** the word that he spoke to them. And he **went down with** them **and came to Nazareth and** was submissive to them. **And his mother was keeping all the things in her heart. And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature and grace with God and people.**	But thinking **the boy Jesus** to be in the caravan they went a day's journey and **his mother was** searching for him among the **pilgrims**, and not finding [him] they returned to Jerusalem searching for him. And it happened **on the third day** they found him in the temple sitting in **front** of the teachers and **speaking** to them; and all those listening to him were **captivated by** his **speech**. And seeing him they were **pleased**, **and his father took him aside and said to him**: "Your **mother** and I **have been** looking for you **for three days! Three days!**" **And his mother said to him: "Child, why have you treated us like this?"** And he said to them: "Why were you **searching** for me? Did**n't** you know I **would** be **in** my father's **house**?" And they **understood** the word that he spoke to them. And he **accompanied** them, **but** was **not fully** submissive to them.

Figure 2

Two quick dissolves move the action from Jerusalem to an evening campsite at some distance from the city,[90] Joseph laying down blankets for the family to sleep on for the caravan's nighttime stop.[91] Mary, frantic, approaches her husband saying Jesus is not there and no one has seen him. When the man asks

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this reading, τὰς ἡμέρας is the direct object of the verb and the subject is Jesus' parents (v41) continuing on from αὐτῶν as a possessive subject to the other genitive participle in v42. This understanding of the syntax, which also leaves the active voice of the verb undisturbed, appears to be the least problematic and the one I adopted in my translation.

[88] Commenting on the biblical text, Johnson understands this 'caravan' (συνοδία) to be "a pilgrimage party made up of relatives and neighbors from the same village" (1991, 59), but there seems little reason to restrict the meaning so (cf. BDAG), particularly since Luke presents the family's residence as a πόλις, the 'relatives' (συγγενεῖς) and 'acquaintances' (γνωστοὶ) mentioned in the same verse (2:44) being a subset within this larger traveling group.

[89] In this way, "Luke differentiates between the knowledge of the readers and the knowledge of his narrative figures with the information that Jesus's parents…do not initially notice the remaining behind of their son…and [Luke] first reestablishes an even level of understanding in v. 45" (Wolter 2016, 149-50).

[90] The intervening shot is a high-angle ELS showing a large group of pilgrims walking along a winding road.

[91] That this is the same day the couple departed from Jerusalem is ascertained by Joseph's earlier comment that they needed to hurry in order to "make it home before dark tomorrow," subtly establishing they went a day's journey and began to make camp for the night before noticing that Jesus was missing (Luke 2:44). Brown estimates the journey from Jerusalem to Nazareth would actually take three to four days (1993, 474).

about John, his wife responds that the boy is asleep, adding that 'they' have not seen their son since Jerusalem. The identity of these informants among their fellow pilgrims is not explored in the film; Luke, however, specifies that Jesus' parents – not Mary alone, as in the movie – searched among "the relatives and the acquaintances."[92] Mounting anxiety leads to a heated exchange of words: "You said he was with them." "Yes, I thought he was." "Well, he's not!"

With yet another dissolve, the concerned adults are back in Jerusalem, entering the same square they had when they first arrived with Jesus and John. The earlier differential between square and street – the latter marked as particularly dangerous – is reinforced when Joseph insists they split up to search for their son; he will look on the street while his wife stays in the square to search.[93] The man's instruction for his wife to wait there if she finds Jesus elicits an apprehensive "*If*?" from Mary. While her husband switches to a more reassuring "When!", this does not alleviate their fears for Jesus' safety. It is still dark when the couple returns to Jerusalem,[94] their ensuing search conducted over the next full day and night, time compressed through the use of *montage* editing.[95] Four shots – accompanied by a dramatic score[96] and presented in slow motion[97] – show the couple reunited in the search for their son.[98]

Throughout the day they check with a number of street vendors, Joseph's desperate "Excuse me, did you see a little boy?" is presumably uttered countless times during the search, but only once for the viewer. The diminutive description of the missing boy exacerbates his presumed vulnerability to the 'bad people' of the city. The second shot features the parents still unsuccessful in their efforts as one of the vendors closes up shop in the background, signaling end of business day. The third shot depicts the two adults catching some sleep in a doorway along the street during the night and the fourth shot shows them

[92] Bovon (2002, 111) points to similar expressions in unique Lukan material or redaction (1:58; 14:12; 21:16; Acts 10:24).

[93] The square was earlier deemed safe for two boys, but not the street; a similar geography of fear may be at work whereby the square is coded safe for a woman alone whereas the street is marked off as dangerous for her, thus only Joseph intends to venture into this space in search of the missing child.

[94] This cannot be the following evening since their return trip to Jerusalem would have taken twice as long as their journey to the caravan's nighttime stop, a lackadaisical speed incompatible with their desire to get back where Jesus was last seen. That the couple discovers Jesus missing in the early evening and makes haste to return to the city by early morning just before dawn is compatible with both the chronology of the sequence and the urgency of the situation depicted.

[95] *Montage* is here used in the 'American' or 'Hollywood' sense of "a scene in which a series of short, quick shots are edited so as to suggest in a brief period the essence of events occurring over a longer span of time" (Beaver 2015, 179-80).

[96] Sikov notes how "the elements of a film's musical score augment the audience's emotional response to the characters, story, and images" (2010, 77) and here the dramatic score serves to help viewers feel the dread and helplessness of the two parents searching for their missing son. Whereas *Nazareth* downplays the emotional pain suffered by Mary and Joseph, this movie heightens it.

[97] Slow motion, "an effect in which images are shown at a moving speed that is slower than that of natural movement" (Beaver 2015, 245), is used in several different ways, in the present case "for emphasis, becoming a way of dwelling on a moment of spectacle or high drama" (Bordwell and Thompson 2013, 168).

[98] Their separate searches of square and street are only inferred and a dissolve is used to transition between each of the shots in the *montage*, which is only 16 seconds in the International version compared to 28 seconds in the American version.

apparently meeting with some success as a man near the temple points them in a particular direction, presumably where their son is. The lighting and shadows suggest early morning[99] and thus the search for Jesus ends on the third day from when his parents departed Jerusalem. This is the understanding of some scholars interacting with Luke's text,[100] even though the evangelist places his comment "after three days" (μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς) *after* narrating the couple's return to the city and thereby implying a three-day hunt for the boy in Jerusalem.[101]

However long the search in the biblical source text,[102] it ends successfully both there and in the film with the finding of Jesus in the temple,[103] his cinematic parents' fears of abduction and murder by a stranger in the city allayed. It is Joseph who first sees the boy, ascending the steps that lead into the inner court. Like Mary's initial reaction in *Nazareth*, the man expresses pleasure in seeing his son holding an audience captive by his words, motioning his wife to come and see for herself. The woman, hesitant to even approach the threshold beyond which she is not permitted, reluctantly climbs the stairs and sees her son sitting on a chair with a group of men seated in front of him listening intently (Figure 3.4).[104]

Jesus at the Temple in *Jesus* (CBS, 2000)

Figure 3.1 Figure 3.2 Figure 3.3 Figure 3.4

[99] Early evening just before sunset is also possible, but less likely given the immediately preceding shot at night.

[100] Fitzmyer's translation "on the third day" is interpretive (1979, 434, 441-42) and Brown is representative of how the three days are typically understood from this perspective, writing how "Luke probably means that the finding took place at the end of the third day of their departure from Jerusalem, calculated thus: a day's journey away from Jerusalem; a day's journey back to Jerusalem; a day spent searching," but also acknowledging alternative interpretations: "Others have counted the three days from the discovery that the child was missing or even from the return to Jerusalem" (1993, 474).

[101] Wolter is among the scholars who argues for the second of Brown's alternative reckonings and points specifically to the preceding καὶ ἐγένετο as indicating "a clear break" so that "the temporal specification refers to the duration of the search in Jerusalem" (2016, 150).

[102] Still other scholars argue Luke utilized a stock number indicating 'several' and made no attempt to be specific with his use of 'three' (de Jonge 1978, 324-26; Bovon 2002, 111-12). While this is possible, I retain the literal wording in my translation and understand a search lasting three (or thereabouts) days commencing after Jesus' parents return to Jerusalem.

[103] While some scholars suggest there is an allusion to the resurrection in the finding of Jesus 'after three days' (Johnson 1991, 59, 61-62; Valentini 1992, 298; Levine and Witherington 2018, 71), others reject this as Luke's intention (de Jonge 1978, 326-27; Fitzmyer 1979, 441; Bovon 2002, 112; Wolter 2016, 150), often pointing to how the evangelist changes (and in one case omits) the phrase μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς in the Markan predictions of the passion and subsequent resurrection (8:31; 9:31; 10:34) to τῇ τρίτῃ [τῇ] ἡμέρᾳ (9:22; 18:33; cf. 24:7, 46; Acts 10:40).

[104] Unlike in *Nazareth* where the boy Jesus is standing, *Jesus*' young protagonist is seated, but in a place of prominence and with the men beneath him so there is no implication of his status as a pupil, which καθεζόμενον in the Lukan text may otherwise suggest (Fitzmyer 1979, 442; Carmona 1992, 183; Brown 1993, 474).

The content of the juvenile Jesus' speech is, like in *Nazareth*, a paraphrase-type *midrash* (Neusner 1987, 7), here involving a cluster of Isaianic texts[105] predicting foreigners' obedience to the Torah[106] and a time of worldwide peace (Figure 4).[107] The boy first cites 'the prophets' on how "this city and this place will be a light to all the people of the earth, because everyone will keep the Torah." All of the salient points can be found in Isa 49:6 and 2:3, the latter paralleled in Mic 4:2[108] and the former comprising the final verse in one of the so-called 'Servant Songs'.[109] While Jesus was identified in the biblical traditions with the servant,[110] whose role included being a "light to the Gentiles",[111] the film's juvenile protagonist seems to understand the prophetic image in a corporate sense,[112] city and sanctuary metonymies for Jerusalem's righteous inhabitants (Horsley 1993, 289).[113] The boy's comments about mass obedience to Jewish law appears to reflect an approach to foreigners' relationship to the people of Israel involving conversion,[114] which he later seems to repudiate through his encounter with a Canaanite woman.[115]

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[105] Blenkinsopp notes how "the book of Isaiah played a unique role in shaping the identity, religious orientation, and agenda of early Christianity" (2006, 129).

[106] This topic within the boy Jesus' speech has additional significance in the International version in light of the plaque whose contents of barring the entrance of foreigners to the temple's inner court upon penalty of death is made explicit.

[107] Biblical texts are taken from the NRSV.

[108] Williamson proposes "Mic 4:4 (lacking in Isaiah) is probably an original part of the oracle, and has Isaianic characteristics. It therefore looks as though the material [Isa 2:2-4; Mic 4:1-3] has come independently into each book from a common original which was developed in Isaianic circles" (2008, 597); see Andersen and Freedman (2000, 413-25) for several other proposals.

[109] The four 'servant songs' are 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11 and 52:13-53:12. Collectively these 'songs' are a "heavily plowed field" in Isaianic scholarship and it suffices for present purposes to report that there has been a "broad failure to conclusively identify [the] servant with any historical figure" (Hays 2011, 557).

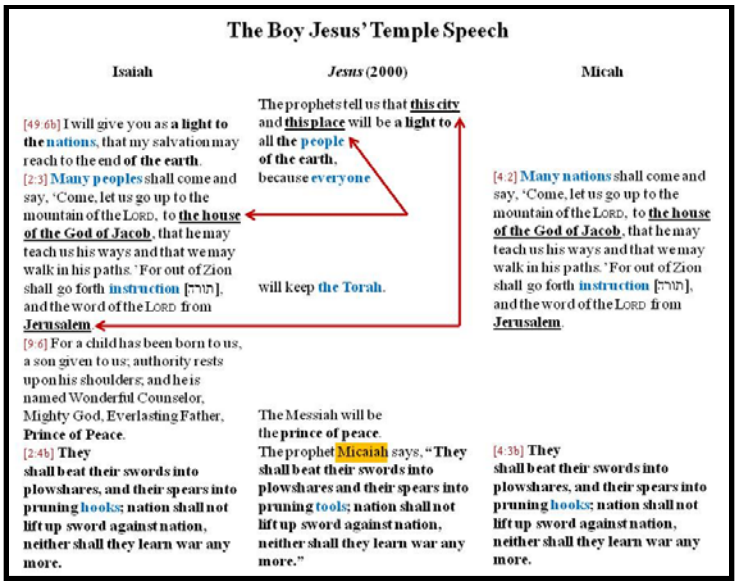
[110] Matthew cites the first 'song' in reference to Jesus and his healing ministry (12:18-21), similarly from the fourth 'song' in 8:17. Luke narrates how a eunuch was reading this same 'song' and then solicited Philip's interpretation concerning the identity of the one who suffers (Acts 8:30-35). Earlier in the book, Jesus is referred to as the 'servant' (παῖς) of God (3:13, 26; 4:27, 30), which Blenkinsopp, pointing also to the Phil 2:6-11 hymn, speculates "was one of the most common designations of Jesus in the earliest period" (2006, 130).

[111] As Simeon cradles the infant Jesus in Luke's gospel, he declares him to be "a light for revelation of [the] Gentiles" (2:32) and Isa 49:6 is also invoked in Act 13:47 by Paul and Barnabas to signal the beginning of their ministry to the Gentiles.

[112] The individual versus corporate understanding of the Isaianic 'servant' is, in Hermisson's opinion, "too simplistic" (2004, 16) and he suggests that while the first three 'songs' (if not the fourth) "are *now* supposed to be understood 'collectively'… [this is] the interpretation of the third or fourth or even later generation" (ibid, 17; italicized emphasis in original). Hays summarizes that "the diverse images of the servant and servants reflect at least a changing set of referents over time" (2011, 557) and Berges explores this against the backdrop of singular versus composite authorship of this section of Isaiah (2010).

[113] Furthermore, the filmmakers make no *explicit* use elsewhere of the 'suffering servant' figure of the fourth 'song' (unlike in *Nazareth* where one of Jesus' supporters in the Sanhedrin recites Isa 53:3a, 7, 4-5 as he watches the man dying on the cross from afar), nor do they evoke the Johannine self-declarations of being 'the light of the world' (John 8:12; 9:5).

[114] Isa 56:3a, 6-8 refers to foreigners who keep the Sabbath and other requirements of the covenant, their sacrifices therefore welcomed at the rebuilt temple which is referred to as 'a house of prayer for all peoples' (cf. Mark 11:17). Hays suggests that "inclusivity (or exclusivity) toward foreigners is a major theme of [Isaiah]" (2011, 550). Attributing sensitivity to the composite nature of the Isaianic corpus on the part of the filmmakers is probably a stretch, but reference to 'prophets' (plural) is intriguing in light of how the various allusions come from all three major divisions of the book (1-39, 40-55, 56-66) and, indeed, a trend in recent Isaianic scholarship has been to focus on "the unity of the book by emphasizing the literary-thematic connections between



The Boy Jesus' Temple Speech

Isaiah	*Jesus* (2000)	Micah
[49:6b] I will give you as **a light to the nations**, that my salvation may reach to the end **of the earth**.	The prophets tell us that **this city** and **this place** will be **a light to** all **the people of the earth**, because **everyone**	
[2:3] **Many peoples** shall come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to **the house of the God of Jacob**, that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.' For out of Zion shall go forth **instruction** [תורה], and the word of the LORD from **Jerusalem**.	will keep **the Torah**.	[4:2] **Many nations** shall come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to **the house of the God of Jacob**, that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.' For out of Zion shall go forth **instruction** [תורה], and the word of the LORD from **Jerusalem**.
[9:6] For a child has been born to us, a son given to us; authority rests upon his shoulders; and he is named Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, **Prince of Peace**.	The Messiah will be the **prince of peace**.	
[2:4b] **They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.**	The prophet Micaiah says, "**They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning tools; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.**"	[4:3b] **They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.**

Figure 4

This notion of a learning Jesus,[116] one who discards previously-held beliefs with the acquisition of new information or experiences, also relates to his prediction that "the Messiah will be the prince of peace".[117] The boy exhibits no awareness that *he* will be this 'anointed one'[118] and later, following the wilderness temptation sequence, John son of Zebedee refers to him as the Messiah and the man responds: "Are you sure?" 'Messiah' is an identity that Jesus only gradually embraces in the film.[119] The association of this figure with peace is then supplemented by a quote from Isa 2:4b // Mic 4:3b, curiously attributed to the

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its various sections, and treating the later texts as *Fortschreibungen* [extrapolations] by tradents who were well aware of the earlier texts" (ibid, 550).

[115] Paul preached a radical re-visioning of Gentile inclusion within the people of Israel, one that advocated for their acceptance not on the basis of conformity to law but on the basis of righteousness by faith (Sanders 1983, 19). This same 'gospel' is reflected in Jesus' comments after initially refusing to heal the Canaanite woman's demon-tormented daughter because she is not a Jew (or a convert to Judaism), remarking on her 'great faith' in persistence (cf. Matt 15:21-28).

[116] After promising the Canaanite woman that her daughter has been healed, he tells his disciples how she has taught him that his message is also for Gentiles, implicitly *qua* Gentiles. Staley and Walsh's claim that this story "is found nowhere else in the Jesus-film tradition" (2007, 205 n. 17) is incorrect; it is included, for example, in the Visual Bible's *Matthew* (1993) where the man's facial expressions and body language are used to convey the sense he is testing the woman, thereby avoiding both a harsh Jesus and one who undergoes a change of mind or learning experience.

[117] Coggins notes that, while "the belief of the early followers of Jesus concerning his status made it natural for [the] words [of Isa 9:6] to be applied to him," they were originally "applied to Hezekiah" in what may "properly be understood as a coronation or enthronement…where the king is proclaimed as God's son" (2008, 447).

[118] 'Messiah' is a Hebrew term (משיח) and its meaning of 'anointed' (cf. HALOT) is conveyed in the film by the character of Livio, a Roman citizen who acts as an advisor on Jewish matters to Pilate, though he adds that the Messiah is "the king from the line of David promised by God." While "it does seem clear that expectations of a royal Messiah figure, a new Davidic ruler, were current at the time of Jesus" (Tuckett 2001, 17), "anointing was associated with a variety of different people" – not only kings but priests and prophets – and so "a 'messianic' figure could be a royal figure, a priestly figure, or a prophetic figure" in the hopes of eschatologically-minded Jews of the period (ibid, 16).

[119] Tatum's reference to "Jesus' constant self-awareness as the Messiah" (2013, 229) does not accurately reflect *Jesus*' plot.

prophet 'Micaiah', which appears to be a gaffe by the actor rather than a clever or economical method of citation; whether his line was supposed to be 'Isaiah' or 'Micah' is not clear, though I suspect it was the latter.[120] In any case, the utopia imagined by the prophet in which the world is at peace is consistent with both the adult Jesus' commitment to nonviolence,[121] which is a central feature of the film (Tatum 2013, 226),[122] and the boy Jesus' earlier compassion for the bird he resuscitates.[123] The juvenile's participation in its death is redolent of the mischievousness associated with cinematic 'bad boys', but his subsequent empathy coupled with life-giving power aligns him with other supernaturally-gifted boys of the decade.[124]

Since divine power is not showcased during the boy Jesus' time in Jerusalem,[125] the decade's empathic but natural prodigies such as Josh Waitzkin in *Searching for Bobby Fischer* (1993) offer closer correspondence for a juvenile Jew endowed with a gift for public speaking and an implied command of his religion's sacred texts. The boy's weaving together of various prophetic texts reflects – perhaps not a conscious decision by the filmmakers – the pinnacle of education within a predominantly oral culture (Achtemeier 1990, 3) where students "learn…by listening, by repeating what they hear, by mastering proverbs and ways of combining and recombining them, by assimilating other formulary materials, by participation in a kind of corporate retrospection" (Ong 2002, 9).[126]

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[120] That Josh saw 'Micah' in the script and inadvertently altered its ending soon after saying the word 'Messiah' seems to be the most likely scenario; more difficult to explain would be how the hard consonant 'c' crept in if he created a similar conflation using 'Isaiah' and 'Messiah'. The English subtitles on the DVD of the American version 'correct' the name to 'Isaiah' while the subtitles for the International version DVD match the mistaken name as spoken on the audio track.

[121] Jesus turns the other cheek to Barabbas, who strikes him a second time, and he weeps over the slain Roman soldiers that the man and his fellow Zealots have murdered.

[122] This is contrasted with both Barabbas as a violent messianic figure and future acts of violence committed in Jesus' name; the film opens with a dream sequence that includes charging crusaders, an image repeated (using a different shot) and expanded on later in the film as part of a vision Satan uses in tempting Jesus in Gethsemane to abandon his mission of dying on the cross.

[123] This flashback appears about twenty minutes after that of Jesus' boyhood trip to Jerusalem even though it depicts an event several years earlier in his life.

[124] Cole Sear (*The Sixth Sense*) and Anakin Skywalker (*Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace*), both of whom appeared in films of 1999, had raw gifts/powers they had not yet learned to control or use. On what other occasions, if any, the boy Jesus harnessed his divine power is not explored and while Tatum claims that "Jesus and his immediate family have been aware of his divine origin and his supernatural powers as long as they can remember" (2013, 226), it is not clear this holds true for Jesus. The flashback to Jesus' boyhood in Egypt is his mother's recollection (though it suffers from the same distortion of point-of-view as the Jerusalem flashback when it includes shots only involving the six-year-old boy) and she provides it specifically because her son claims, now as an adult, *not* to remember any incident involving a bird.

[125] Writing about the biblical text, Bovon observes that "the child possesses no supernatural knowledge; he remains quite human throughout the course of the account" (2002, 115). The same holds true for the film's juvenile protagonist, both in terms of his knowledge and power.

[126] Damian's iconic smile at the end of *The Omen* (1976) was unintended, the result of the young actor not being able to keep a straight face when directed to look mean (Donner and Helgeland 2006), thus the presence of unscripted phenomena in films can sometimes be the occasion for surprisingly fruitful discussions. Indeed, while Josh's stilted 'reading' from the 'Torah' scroll was presumably not scripted this way, its presence in the final product of the film allows for comparison to his oration and it involves no necessary contradiction with Jesus' prodigious abilities since his knowledge of sacred texts in a culture with a high level of residual orality would most likely be based on aural and oral processes, which are not inferior to skills in literacy, only different.

Whether it is the manner in which Jesus stitches together the various texts, the compassion that his vision of the future reflects or both, he impresses a gathering of men at the temple and his parents. However proud Joseph and Mary are, they are also incensed by the boy's desertion and the worry he has caused them. A dissolve is used to shift the action from the inner court to an arched tunnel that connects the outer court to the temple grounds. The man marches his son into the archway with a firm grasp on his wrist (Figure 5.1); what follows is a genuine scolding accompanied by gesticulation and presented in a shot that reinforces a parent-child hierarchy (Figure 5.2).[127] While only Mary addresses the boy in the biblical text, the attention paid to fathers and to father-figures in nineties' cinema offers precedent for her husband's inclusion in delivering the reprimand.

Joseph speaks first: "Your mother and I have been looking for you for three days! Three days!" The reassignment of this clause necessitates the substitution of 'mother' for 'father', which eliminates the contrast provided in the biblical text between Jesus' earthly and heavenly fathers (Bovon 2002, 113-14). The man's earlier concern erupts, as it had for his wife, in frustration, conveying with a raised voice not the worry that the boy's absence caused them, but the number of days they spent searching for him. Mary continues with a chiding "Child,[128] why have you treated us like this?"[129] Jesus replies, not in rebuke as his counterpart in *Nazareth*, but cheerfully: "Why were you searching for me? Didn't you know I would be in my father's house?"[130] Like in the earlier movie, the locative translation of ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου is adopted, here with an additional layer of meaning in light of the idea expressed earlier that the streets are dangerous and off limits to children. Implied in this 'spatial ideology' is the notion that "children's place is in the home" (Holloway and Valentine 2000, 16).[131] The juvenile Jesus' exercise of agency in staying behind in Jerusalem[132] was not to explore forbidden streets,[133] but to situate himself in the temple and thus implicitly under the authority of his heavenly father as a divine yet dutiful son.

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[127] While Joseph is taller than Mary and the argument could be made that the shot also reinforces a patriarchal hierarchy, the focus appears to be on the parents united in their discipline of their subordinate son and between whom there is a noticeable gap.

[128] Thus unlike *Nazareth*, which softens Mary's criticism through the use of an endearing 'Son', the full force of the woman's rebuke in the Lukan text is retained in *Jesus* with the English equivalent of τέκνον.

[129] The two clauses of the biblical reproach are thus intact, but in the reverse order of how they appear in Luke's story.

[130] Referring to the biblical text, Derrett claims that "Jesus' delicate defence of his behaviour was surely intended to be overheard" (2000, 116) – as it is in *Nazareth* – but here in *Jesus* the exchange between the boy and his parents is private.

[131] Schools and playgrounds (or other designed play areas) are "institutional spaces through which adults attempt to control children" (Holloway and Valentine 2000, 14), but neither are directly pertinent to this analysis of space in *Jesus*.

[132] It may here be reiterated that Brown claims "[i]t is useless to speculate whether Jesus' remaining was the result of an accident (they forgot him, or he got lost) or a deliberate act" (1993, 473), yet the latter seems to be precisely the point Luke intends to make. Indeed, Bovon notes how Jesus, whose presence at the Passover festival can only be implied prior to 2:43b, "attracts attention as an individual only through his desire to stay in Jerusalem" (2002, 111).

The exchange of astonished glances between Jesus' parents following his response suggests this may be the first time the boy has expressed understanding of his divine origin, which implies the temple trip has had its desired effect of a spiritual awakening. Jesus' declaration reveals not only newfound self-awareness, but that he expected his parents to be cognizant of this identity and so acted accordingly by coming straight to the temple.[134] Contrary to the Lukan text in which his parents do *not* understand what the boy says to them,[135] Joseph expresses their collective perceptiveness – "Yes, your father's house" – but walks off disappointed, leaving his wife and son alone in the passageway. Jesus appears genuinely baffled by this reaction, not understanding the pain caused to Joseph by referring to another as father.[136]

While Luke contrasts Jesus' understanding with his parents' lack of it (Brown 1993, 477), the filmmakers reverse the polarity of the comparison so that the boy, despite his precocious grasp of sacred texts, is presented as still in the process of learning (cf. 2:52), here in particular about social cues. Left alone with her son, Mary cradles the boy's face in her hands (Figure 5.3),[137] her own appropriation of a

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[133] These spaces are forbidden not only because they pose a danger to children, but because unsupervised children are thought themselves to pose a danger since – it is alleged – "their unruly behaviour threatens adult hegemony of public space" (Holloway and Valentine 2000, 16).

[134] Commenting on the Greek text, Bovon notes how the boy's use of οὐκ assumes a positive response (Bovon 2002, 114). That Jesus' parents do not appear to even consider the temple during their cinematic search until someone informs them of their son's presence there reinforces the supposition that the boy had displayed no previous awareness of his divine identity, nor, it would seem, let his spiritual awakening upon visiting the temple be known until this pivotal moment. How then Jesus expected his parents to know where he was is a question not easily answered. The filmmakers are no more successful in working out all the tensions of the Lukan text in their adaptation than scholars wrestling with the text alone.

[135] Lack of understanding on the part of Jesus' parents – particularly his mother – seems incomprehensible in light of Luke 1:31-35, but Fitzmyer correctly cautions that "[a]ttempts to tone down the evangelist's statement about the misunderstanding of these words must be resisted" (1979, 444). While the pre-Lukan origin of a story in which the idea of virginal conception plays no role (ibid, 435; Brown 1993, 480-81; Bovon 2002, 109-10) accounts for the tension, attempts to read the composite text as a unity have led to a number of untenable 'solutions' such as suggesting that which is not understood is Jesus' action of remaining in the Jerusalem temple rather than his words or that those who do not understand are the teachers in the temple rather than the boy's parents (summarized by Fitzmyer [1979, 444]). As it regards the first, while ῥῆμα *can* refer to an event (BDAG), it cannot in this particular case since it is modified by ὃ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς (which he *spoke* to them); as it regards the second, while there is no explicit subject for the verb συνῆκαν (only the pronoun αὐτοὶ), that this refers to those listening in v47 – itself established as Lukan redaction in chapter 5 – does not follow from the syntax of the intervening verses. Kilgallen suggests that "it, like so many other elements of the Infancy Narratives, reflects a future element of the adult life of Jesus and prepares the reader for – here is foreshadowed the confusion about the identity of the adult Jesus" (1985, 559). At the very least and as Johnson points out (1991, 59), failure to understand – even where there does not appear to be a good reason why this should be so – is a theme that appears throughout Luke's work (8:10; 9:45; 18:34; cf. Acts 3:17; 7:25; 28:26) and explains the evangelist's inclusion of the story.

[136] Commenting on the biblical text, de Jonge (1978, 352-53) connects this pericope "in which Jesus dismisses his parents rather brusquely" to another such story, that of Luke 8:19-21 (cf. Mark 3:31-35). Still another Lukan text to consider is 11:27-28 – referred to by Heininger (2005, 68) – which is included in the cinematic adaptation. While the biblical text offers no indication that Jesus' mother is present, she and Mary Magdalene are both there in the film with the latter noticing the pained reaction of the former when her son speaks. In subsequent conversation, Jesus' mother claims her son did not mean to hurt her, but Magdalene reiterates that he did and that "men always do" – to which cynically-generated group boys may be added in light of Joseph's reaction in the temple scene.

[137] This is as close as the filmmakers come to adapting Luke 2:51b, providing a physical manifestation of that which the woman cherishes inwardly. The text refers to Mary keeping "all the words" in her heart, some manuscripts reading instead "all these words". While Fitzmyer claims 'these' "is demanded by the context" and chooses to translate the clause as such despite the word being "omitted in the betters mss" (1979, 446), the variant text tradition mistakenly assumes the referent to be what Jesus has just spoken, but this has already been referred to by the singular ῥῆμα in v50. The plural ῥήματα in v51 is best understood as

prerogative of touch similar to Joseph's but with an emphasis on nurture and protection, which Lori Merish notes is "the culturally sanctioned response to the 'cute'" (1996, 186).[138] Unlike his counterpart in *Nazareth*, the juvenile Jesus of the present film does not resist the 'cute' or its concomitant powerlessness (ibid, 187), but absorbs it, another means by which the character's boyishness – particularly of the 'bad boy' variety – is emphasized.[139] *Jesus*' young protagonist conforms to this image of the "naughty-but-nice boy" (Cross 2004, 125); "willful, even selfish" in staying behind at the temple and causing his parents grief, the boy is "ultimately good at heart" (ibid, 59) and his mother's touch is also a reassurance of love and acceptance; after all, 'boys will be boys'.

A disobedient Jesus – at least in this one instance – is also presented in the Lukan text (Heininger 2005, 55; Derrett 2012, 265), but subsequent reference to the boy's submissiveness to his parents appears to neutralize this image (Brown 1993, 494). In the film, a dissolve is used to shift from Mary and Jesus in Jerusalem to the boy a few paces ahead of his parents along a dust road,[140] but as soon as the transition is complete, Jesus speeds up to distance himself from the adults, a small but significant act of defiance that projects the juvenile's roguishness into the future.[141] The boy's independent rush forward brings him into contact with a violent spectacle on the crest of the hill they are ascending:[142] more than a dozen men are being crucified along the hillside.[143] Jesus' parents catch up to their son and Mary places her hands on his shoulders for comfort (Figure 5.4).

Lukan redaction that refers, at least, to the events beginning in 2:41 (Green 1997, 157; Carroll 2012, 83) and possibly the entirety of Luke 1-2 (Bovon 2002, 115). Brown suggests that this image of Mary's contemplation softens her lack of understanding that is expressed in the previous verse (1993, 493-94).

[138] That it is Mary and not Joseph who touches Jesus' in this way supports Merish's claim "[t]hat the cute *demands* a maternal response and interpellates its viewers/consumers as 'maternal'" (1996, 186; italicized emphasis in original).

[139] Cross notes how the 'cute', originally "interchangeable with 'cunning,'…shifted [its] meaning by the 1900s…from the manipulative and devious adult to the lively charm of the willful child, suggesting a new tolerance for the headstrong, even manipulative, youngster" (2004, 43).

[140] While their destination is presumably Nazareth as in the source text, their arrival there is not the point of this final scene of the sequence and thus it can only be inferred.

[141] Brown identifies the "construction of the verb 'to be' plus a participle" – ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος – as one that "emphasizes the continuity of the situation" (1993, 477), but the film suggests, in conformity with the 'bad boy' image, that Jesus' behavior in the future will be punctuated by similarly willful though relatively harmless acts of disobedience.

[142] A hand-held shot at approximately eye level for Jesus reveals the horror to the viewer from the perspective of the boy as he is first exposed to it running past a large rock formation at the top of the hill.

[143] Hanson and Oakman note that crucifixion was a "public, demeaning, and painful" form of execution and that those killed were "often tortured by whipping, burning, or stabbing" before being nailed or sometimes tied to the crosses where they died from asphyxiation or possibly hypovolemic shock (2008, 86). Only a few of the film's crucifixion victims are shown in long shots and they all appear to be tied to the crosses rather than nailed as Jesus is later; the presence of blood therefore owes, presumably, to precursory torture. Evans refers to the skeletal remains of a crucifixion victim where the spike could not be dislodged from the heel bone and was thus placed into the ossuary in this condition together with a piece of wood, the man's upper limb bones showing no evidence of having been nailed to the cross, similar to those men in the movie (2012, 123).

Jesus and His Parents in *Jesus* (CBS, 2000)

Figure 5.1 Figure 5.2 Figure 5.3 Figure 5.4

Mary turns her son away from the grisly sight,[144] the female parent once again associated with nurture,[145] here concerned with the boy's exposure to the violence and death that are among the secrets of adulthood from which children are thought to need protection (Postman 1994, 49). Jesus' mother leads him away in this final shot to underscore the protagonist's boyishness, a dissolve then used to bring the viewer back into the present where the adult Jesus and his relative are reminiscing. John asks him if he saw the men hanging from the crosses on the return journey,[146] remarking how it was a "terrible memory".[147] Jesus' thoughts, however, appear to dwell on the spiritual awakening that took place while in the city and his misbehavior there, requesting the baptism his relative is offering and consenting even after John makes it clear this involves confessing his sins.[148] The implication that Jesus has sinned and needs forgiveness is also present in the earliest biblical tradition,[149] which Luke appears to confine to boyish naughtiness by

[144] Staley and Walsh make too much of Jesus' squinting in the associated shots, wondering if "the sunlight blind[s] him from the awful scene" (2007, 204 n.6). Not only is the boy seen squinting in an earlier shot where the actors around him appear to have no problem with the lighting (compare Figures 3.2 and 5.4) – if this was not the actor's subconscious habit, I suspect Josh was accustomed to wearing corrective lenses (or was in need of a prescription!) – but later in the temptation sequence in Gethsemane, Satan reminds Jesus he has seen crucifixion but never felt it, the intertextual reference being the present scene.

[145] While co-parenting is modeled with both Joseph and Mary taking responsibility for protection, there is a noticeable gender differential when it comes to instruction (masculine) and nurturance (feminine).

[146] Depending on the level of precursory torture and/or other factors, death by crucifixion could be quick or long and drawn out (Hanson and Oakman 2008, 86), in the latter cases sometimes taking days (Ehrman 2012, 292). Whether or not the men that Jesus saw on the road home were the same as John had a couple of days earlier, it would be plausible for the latter to think they were. The filmmakers infuse this brief scene with as much historical information about the practice of crucifixion as they can, which supports Reinhartz's claim that the contents of Jesus movies encourage viewers to expect some level of historicity despite their fictional nature (2007, 3-4).

[147] Staley and Walsh correctly observe that Jesus does not answer John (2007, 126), but this should not be taken as evidence he failed to see the victims in their agony. Hanson and Oakman point out that one use for crucifixion as a means of execution was to suppress rebellion, sometimes taking the form of oppressed peasants forming 'bandit groups' (2008, 85). The memory was an important one for John and perhaps the impetus for his subsequent withdrawal into the wilderness and commitment to fight back against injustice and defend 'freedom', a word delivered in a river-side sermon William Wallace-style from *Braveheart* (1995).

[148] Luke's description of John's baptism is one of "repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (3:3; cf. Mark 1:4), which Webb argues "reflects the significance of [the] baptism as John proclaimed it, rather than reflecting a Christian interpretation," this because "it is highly unlikely the early Christians would willingly attribute forgiveness to any means other than faith in Jesus Christ" (1991, 172).

[149] With the majority of New Testament scholars I view Mark as the earliest gospel, which both Matthew and Luke knew and sought to improve upon (Perkins 2007, 18-19). Against the majority, however, I do not accept the (unlikely) assumption that the two authors *independently* came up with the idea of conflating Mark with the collection of sayings dubbed Q – for a history of

juxtaposing the story of a disobedient twelve-year-old with that of a baptism for repentance (3:1-22).[150] The filmmakers follow the evangelist's lead in this by placing Jesus' baptism after the flashback to their protagonist's boyhood;[151] the mischief of the cinematic 'bad boy' nonetheless celebrated and imbued with an aura of innocence.

The adaptation in *Jesus* of Luke's one story about his juvenile protagonist is multifaceted like that in *Nazareth*, but in many ways distinct from that earlier film.[152] The 'stranger danger' motif that forms the backdrop for the boy's disappearance in Jerusalem taps into the idea of children as particularly vulnerable and dependent on adults for protection. Despite Jesus' subordinate status, reinforced by his acquiescence to frequent parental touch and a concomitant absorption of the 'cute',[153] he exudes a rebellious streak in keeping with the ideal 'bad boy'. Exhibiting behavior by no means wicked, the juvenile can still lay claim to innocence, an ideal primarily construed in terms of naivety toward the dangers posed to him by sexual predators, which in turn underscores the boy's sexual purity. All four of the ideals of childhood that films typically traffic in are present and, although Jesus is presented as a growing boy,[154] the snapshot is a static

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scholarship and a reconstructed text in Greek and English, see Robinson et al. (2002) – which is the bedrock of the two-source hypothesis that now dominates gospel studies (Perkins 2007, 59). While few scholars have postulated Matthew's dependence on Luke – for a recent example, however, see Adamczewski (2010) – a number, chiefly in the UK, have championed Luke's use of Matthew, but do so by rejecting the existence of Q altogether (ex. Goodacre 2002). While I am convinced by their arguments for Luke's dependence on Matthew – and the cases made by others for his use of John (ex. Matson 2001; cf. Luke 1:1) – I am not opposed to the evangelist's engagement with the same collection of sayings that Matthew used in the composition of his gospel. Goodacre (2000) has invoked the abbreviation and relocation of sayings from Matthew's lengthy 'Sermon on the Mount' in the Jesus films as a model for Luke's editorial choices and further interactions between these sub-disciplines may prove fruitful.

[150] Webb also notes how Jesus being baptized by John implies that he is a disciple subordinate to the latter (1991, 164), which *is* an aspect that conflicts with Luke's program of comparing and contrasting these two individuals and subordinating John to the divine protagonist (Verheyden 2011). The evangelist therefore distances Jesus from John in this respect by narrating the latter's imprisonment by Herod Antipas (3:19-20) *before* the baptism of Jesus (3:21), the agent of this ritual thereby left ambiguous with Aker noting that "the impression this leaves…is that John has nothing to do with the baptism" (1988, 117).

[151] Jesus' baptism in the movie, which is shown taking place the day following Jesus' nighttime request, includes a flash of light from the sky, which is an element found in the account of the baptism in the gospel attributed to a group of early Christians known as the Ebionites; the Greek text as reconstructed from the writings of Epiphanius is provided by Verheyden (2003, 196 n. 63). The verb περιλάμπω (BDAG: "shine around") is found in Paul's description of the light that shone around both him and his companions in his speech before Agrippa (Acts 26:13) and may be the source for the Ebionite version of Jesus' baptism, which is noteworthy for its harmony of the four New Testament gospels and Acts (ibid, 196-97; but note the motif of a light in connection to Jesus' baptism in some Old Latin manuscripts and patristic writers [ibid, 197 n. 64]). While *Jesus*' filmmakers emphasize their protagonist's humanity without discarding his divinity, the Ebionite Christians – according to some but not all of their ancient critics – considered Jesus the natural son of Joseph and Mary who became the 'Christ' at his baptism (Häkkinen 2008, 266-67).

[152] A point-by-point comparison of the two movies will be provided in table format in the following chapter.

[153] Unlike the seventies, which saw a preference for characters with blond hair and blue eyes – a phenomenon related to the increased presence of African Americans in the movies and the 'white backlash' against this and other gains made during the civil rights era generally – Hollywood settled into old patterns during the next two decades (Benshoff and Griffin 2009, 90-91), obviating the perceived need for such emphases and this was reflected in the return to a wider variety of physical characteristics in white juvenile male actors with 'stars' being just as likely to have dark or auburn hair (Wood and Mazzello respectively) as blond hair (Culkin, Thomas). Josh with his brown hair, blue-grey eyes and cherubic face fits the decade's standards for the juvenile 'cute'.

[154] While the first of Luke's framing summaries (2:40) charts Jesus' growth from infancy to boyhood, the second one (2:52) prepares the reader for his reemergence in the narrative as an adult about thirty years of age (3:21-23). Thus Jesus is said to have

one, the apparent awakening to his divine identity owing more to integrating the Lukan apothegm into the script than any overt on-screen transformation. The overall depiction of the boy Jesus as naïve and fun-loving, occasionally naughty but never truly 'bad' and thus accepting of his parents' authority and their discipline, is one familiar and safe to television's mainly conservative, middle-class audience, many of whom were looking for an affirmation of 'traditional family values' at the turn of the millennium and a decade of 'culture wars'.

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advanced not only in wisdom and grace, attributes also found in the opening frame, but in ἡλικία. The word can mean either age or bodily stature (BDAG) and Brown argues that "Luke may mean a general maturing in manhood which would involve both age and stature" (1993, 478). This may be so but it is the latter that appears to be Luke's primary intended meaning (Johnson 1991, 60; Carroll 2012, 83). Dissenting scholars who favor an increase in years include Wolter (2016, 153-54), Green (1997, 157) and Fitzmyer, who in countering the claim that age is too obvious to require mention, asserts the argument can be reversed and thus "it goes without saying that he advanced in stature" (1979, 446). In fact it does *not* go without saying that Jesus grew taller as he aged and the ancient world's fascination with deviations from the 'normative' body was accompanied by its use of physiognomy to denigrate those who were deemed 'abnormal' (Parsons 2011, 25). While Luke challenges this attitude, pertinently in the case of Zaccheus who is narrated to be of 'small stature' (ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸς) in 19:3 (ibid, 97-108), it is difficult to accept he would leave it open for his readers to imagine his protagonist's adult body as deviating from the 'norm' of Roman society by remaining short in stature. Indeed, Jesus films invariably present his adult body (and juvenile body where featured) as being of 'normal' stature.

Chapter 8

Imag(in)ing the Boy Jesus: Conclusions and Areas for Further Research

With few exceptions, depictions of the boy Jesus occur as relatively brief sequences within films devoted to imagining the life of the first-century apocalyptic Jewish prophet who founded a religion that boasts approximately 2.2 billion adherents worldwide (Gwynne 2018, 2). The correspondingly scarce coverage of the topic within Jesus-in-film scholarship is a situation I have sought to remedy, or at least begin to, in this thesis. Cinematic adaptations of Luke 2:41-52, the only biblical story of an agentive juvenile Jesus, presented as a suitable starting point for exploration. To keep within the limits of a project of this size, I selected two movies of the late twentieth century – *Jesus of Nazareth* (1977) and *Jesus* (2000) – as the basis for a compare and contrast of their respective portrayals of the boy Jesus. I sought to demonstrate that these depictions were negotiations by filmmakers between theological and historical concerns that reflected contemporary ideas about and certain idealizations of children and childhood.

Having established in Chapter 1 the confines of the thesis, its unique contribution to Jesus-in-film scholarship, the cinematic data on which it would focus and its objective, I turned in Chapter 2 to matters of methodology. An exploration of genre in relation to Jesus movies not only opened a discussion of how biblical and film studies intersect, but revealed how both *Nazareth* and *Jesus* share affiliations with the dramatic, the nostalgic and the historical. The latter was one of Richard Ascough's seven perspectives from which to view Jesus movies, the others being the intertextual, narrative, artistic, theological, cultural and ideological.[1] While discussion of the historical and intertextual were interwoven with aspects of the historical-critical method, that of the narrative and artistic dovetailed with narrative criticism, but with a focus on the distinctive elements of cinematic storytelling. Exploration of the final three perspectives, their connection to theories of spectatorship and the meaning-making process allowed me to position my 'reading' of the films as a non-religious one and to establish the thesis as an example of cultural analysis.

In Chapter 3 I pursued a definition of 'child' that uncovered problems with common legal- and status-based designations, both bifurcations suffering from arbitrariness and a privileging of subsequent adult experience. 'Developmentalism' and the concomitant view of children as 'becoming' were shown to underpin these definitions and reinforce a dubious binary of capable adults and incapable children. The qualities of vulnerability, dependency, innocence and asexuality that are routinely imputed to children

[1] These perspectives remained in the background throughout the analytical chapters, but were nonetheless operative lenses.

were exposed as constructs serving adults' interests. Having deconstructed these 'ideals' of childhood from a social constructionist position, I drew on the concept of juvenility from evolutionary biology to propose a definition of 'child' as *a juvenile human being*. Rejecting hierarchical overlays on corporeal differences and acknowledging the widespread marginalization of children, I positioned the thesis within those movements in the academy that advocate for children's flourishing as full and active citizens.

Noting the importance of gender for the lived experiences of children and embracing the idea of gender as performance, I turned in Chapter 4 to a survey of juvenile masculine performances in cinema of the 1930s through 1970s. The 'bad boy' and the pious boy, both with popular antecedents in nineteenth-century literature, emerged as competing ideals throughout this period. While the exploration's focus was on 'Hollywood', movies from world cinema were also included and images of boyhood innocence from postwar Italian neorealism emerged as particularly influential. Indeed, innocence was the quality most emphasized in the period's depictions of juvenile masculinity and was fitted to both 'bad boy' and pious boy types; vulnerability, dependency and asexuality were also stressed to varying degrees. Images of a carefree and adventurous boyhood competed with traumatic yet inevitable transitions to manhood, the 'coming-of-age' genre emerging in the 1940s, declining by the end of the 1950s, and experiencing resurgence at the end of the 1960s, a renaissance that proved important for analysis of *Nazareth*.

I began Chapter 5 by situating this now-famous television mini-series within Catholic reflections on Judaism in light of Vatican II, the movie's *bar mitzvah* sequence aiming, however anachronistically, to anchor Jesus within a first-century Jewish milieu. This 'coming-of-age' ritual also presented the film's protagonist as an adolescent, though his independent action and separation from his parents appeared to owe more to an emphasis on his divine nature than this status-changing rite. Jesus' aloofness and ethereal gaze were evocative of the forlorn young redeemers in Italian neorealism and his physical appearance, situated within the same trajectory and conforming to contemporary standards of juvenile male beauty, emphasized whiteness and related qualities of goodness, innocence and sexual purity. Fitting comfortably within the pious boy tradition, Jesus' vulnerability was nonetheless downplayed and dependency on his parents rejected on account of his divinity. The boy's speech in Jerusalem was implicitly critical of the temple cult and reinforced the idea articulated elsewhere in the film of a supersessionist Christianity.

My survey of juvenile masculine performances in cinema continued in Chapter 6, charting some of the shifts that took place during the 1980s and 1990s. These decades were punctuated by moral panics revolving around child abuse and the television docudrama emerged as the primary medium for raising awareness to these threats, rare but real in the case of stranger abductions and imagined in the case of satanic ritual abuse. While paranoia concerning the latter subsided, fears of kidnapping, murder and sexual abuse grew and resulted in tighter control over children, ostensibly for their protection, with portrayals of their vulnerability, dependency, asexuality and innocence emphasized. As cinematic

depictions of autonomous boys became submerged, the gulf between children and adults widened with the disappearance of 'coming-of-age' narratives for juveniles. Increased attention was given to sensitive and empathic boys, as well as to adult male protectors, while a carefree boyhood was celebrated with a renaissance of 'bad boy' films in classical, nostalgic and modern iterations.

The impact of this re-emphasized idyllic rural boyhood on the portrayal of *Jesus*' juvenile protagonist was explored in Chapter 7. While the movie also presented a divine child, the boy's trip to Jerusalem appeared to involve a spiritual awakening, the filmmakers offering a Jesus who grows into an awareness of his divinity. Embracing the resurgent 'bad boy' image and his concomitant penchant for mischief, the juvenile's innocence was primarily coded in terms of naivety. Jesus and his same-aged relative John arrived in a new urban environment unaware of the potential threat from sexual predators and subsequently offered each other mutual protection after receiving safety tips from a paternalistic Joseph. This 'stranger danger' backdrop to the sequence both heightened the angst associated with his parents' subsequent search and reinforced the idea that boys are particularly vulnerable and dependent on adults for protection. An image of the boy Jesus as occasionally naughty but mainly good and ultimately subordinated to his parents emerged from a film modeling 'traditional family values' for its audiences.

These two late twentieth-century adaptations of Luke 2:41-52 offer distinct portraits of the boy Jesus, though a few similarities exist and should be acknowledged: Both boys are Caucasian, literate and speak in Hebrew, they both are visiting Jerusalem for the first time and teach there utilizing oral *midrash*, their parents are relieved as well as pleased upon finding them and the wording of their apothegms are – not surprisingly given their direct reliance on the Lukan text – nearly identical. The differences, however, are more numerous and begin with the movies' distinctive Christological emphases. While both embrace the 'orthodox' Christological notion of Jesus as human and divine, the emphasis in each film is different: Jesus' divinity is stressed in *Nazareth* whereas his humanity is foregrounded in *Jesus*.

These theological emphases are complemented by apt cinematic ideals of boyhood: *Nazareth* draws upon the pious boy tradition while *Jesus* invokes the image of the 'bad boy', the latter originally promulgated as offering a "real *human* boy" (Aldrich 1869, 2; italicized emphasis mine) in opposition to the "angel" of pious-boy stories (ibid, 1). In his critique of a static union of Jesus' two natures, Daniel Migliore invokes Luke 2:40 to imply a "place for the genuine growth of Jesus as a human being" (2014, 185), but only *Jesus* incorporates such dynamism in its adaptation of the Lukan story.[2] The two narratives are also framed differently. *Nazareth* participates in the seventies renaissance of 'coming-of-age' films and the trip to Jerusalem is prefaced by a *bar mitzvah* rite that, while subordinated to the emphasis on the protagonist's divine identity, nonetheless relates to the separation from his parents that Jesus enacts by the

[2] That is not to say that *Nazareth*'s depiction of its protagonist is entirely static, but one must look to the even younger boy Jesus, specifically the incident of his attempt to climb a ladder to 'heaven' read against the concept of 'developmentalism', in order to see such dynamism in the overall character. Its restriction to Jesus' early childhood appears significant.

end of the sequence. As for *Jesus*, it is influenced by a rise in fears about sexual predators and this 'stranger danger' motif is placed at the beginning of the sequence so that this threat to the protagonist's person casts a shadow over the subsequent action. A detailed breakdown of similarities and differences between the biblical source text and the two films are summarized below in Table 1.

	Luke 2:41-52	***Jesus of Nazareth* (1977)**	***Jesus* (2000)**
Christology	divine sonship	hypostatic union (emphasis on divine nature)	hypostatic union (emphasis on human nature)
ideal image of boyhood	precocious	pious boy	rural 'bad boy'
frame	wisdom	coming-of-age	'stranger danger'
Jesus' age	12	12	about 10
bar mitzvah	no	yes	probably not
social status	child, subordinate	adult, independent	child, subordinate
physical appearance	'normal' physiognomy	Caucasian, beautiful, blond hair, blue eyes (emphasis on whiteness)	Caucasian, cherubic face, brown hair, blue-grey eyes (emphasis on 'the cute')
Jewishness	participation in Passover	participation in Passover, *bar mitzvah*, earlocks, speaking in Hebrew	clothing (*kippah*, *tallit*, *tefillin*), speaking in Hebrew
Passover	plot device	religious obligation	secular carnival
literate	probably	yes	yes
Jerusalem and significance	probably not first visit, aligned with scribal-literates	first visit, homecoming, divine encounter	first visit, spiritual awakening
sacrificial cult	implicitly endorsed	rejected	ignored
setting	temple, unspecified location	temple, alcove	temple, inner court
position and role	sitting, primarily pupil	standing, teacher	sitting, teacher
speech and content	n/a	*midrash* on 2 Chronicles 6, prayer from the heart more important than sacrifice, temple insufficient (implicitly supersessionist)	*midrash* on Isaianic texts, foreigner's obedience to Torah (rejected by the adult Jesus), worldwide peace in future, Messiah as 'Prince of Peace'
parents' search	three days in Jerusalem	unspecified duration	found on the third day
parents' emotional response	distressed	distress deemphasized	distress emphasized
parents' reaction to finding	astounded	relieved, pleased	relieved, pleased
Jesus addressed as	'Child'	'Son'	'Child'
speaking subject(s)	Mary	Mary	Joseph and Mary
Jesus' response	rebuke	strong rebuke	cheerful, genuinely baffled
apothegm	"about his father's things"	"in his father's house"	"in his father's house"
parents' response	do not understand	n/a	understand
return to Nazareth	narrated	n/a	implied
Jesus' subsequent behavior	submission	n/a	ongoing insubordination
John	not mentioned	not present	present
vulnerability	n/a	deemphasized	emphasized
dependency	n/a	rejected	emphasized
innocence	n/a	moral and sexual purity	naivety
asexuality	n/a	assumed	ignorant of sexual matters

Table 1

Both depictions of the boy Jesus are recognizably modern on account of their respective frames, but Richard Walsh's identification of the two films as "overwhelmingly nostalgic" (2003, 8) is also born out, though it does require nuancing in terms of the blueprint for the boy Jesus. Without denying the general influence of *The King of Kings* (1927) on either movie, only *Jesus* can arguably be seen to embrace the boyhood ideal therein modeled by the young Mark, but even then not in totality. The juvenile evangelist-to-be is a classic 'bad boy' character, mischievous but good-hearted.[3] Like Jesus in the late-nineties film, he is presented as both vulnerable[4] and dependent on adults for protection not only from abuse but from exposure to sexuality.[5] However, while Mark is quick to fight back during the melee that accompanies Jesus' arrest, *Jesus*' juvenile protagonist eschews this defensive aggression of the classical 'bad boy' in favor of contemporary iterations of the figure who are both sensitive and committed to non-violence. As for *Nazareth*, its nostalgic blueprint for the boy Jesus is the young Christ-figure of Italian neorealism rather than the naughty-but-nice waif of *The King of Kings*.

This "eclectic assemblage of old and new" in nostalgic films, their "fetishism for the past," and a concomitant "concern[] for authenticity" by scholars (Baschiera and Caoduro 2015, 144) leads, in study of Jesus movies, to the fixation on historicity by both viewers and filmmakers (Reinhartz 2007, 3-4). Jon Solomon notes how "[t]he balance between historical authenticity and dramatic effectiveness is not an easy one to find" (2001, 27) with many filmmakers opting for "plausible authenticity" (ibid, 30). Jesus films (among others situated in the ancient world) are backed by some level of historical research (ibid, 30), but "[m]ost historians, archaeologists, Egyptologists, classicists, or biblical scholars who have made a careful study of the everyday life of the ancients have encountered many dead ends" (ibid, 31) and thus filmmakers "must make exactly the sort of 'certain' judgments unavailable to those scholars" (ibid, 32).

The intent to show Jesus as a *Jewish* boy emerges as important to filmmakers, yet what might be distinctive about Jewish boys of early first-century Palestine remains elusive.[6] The movies' recognizable indicators of Jewishness – *bar mitzvah*, reading from the Torah, certain types of clothing – appear mainly to involve anachronism, but for most viewers they are plausibly authentic.[7] The two cinematic adaptations

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[3] In a humorous scene, Mark sticks his tongue out at the crutch he used before being healed by Jesus and tosses it away, the wayward object smacking one of Caiaphas' spies on the head! The boy's good nature is witnessed when he leads a blind girl to Jesus so she, too, can be healed.

[4] This is expressed visually by the tattered clothes the orphaned boy wears throughout the film, much of his body exposed and vulnerable to the elements.

[5] Peter steps in to stop the high priest's spy from hitting Mark with the weaponized crutch and Matthew later shields the boy from seeing the scantily-clad woman taken in the act of adultery during the film's adaptation of John 8:1-11.

[6] Sivan's recent monograph-length study of Jewish childhood in the Roman world admits "a problem of verification" (2018, xiv) and is confined chronologically to the second through sixth centuries (ibid, xi).

[7] It must also be acknowledged that "authenticity is not always a clear-cut matter, but is often open to judgment and relative values" (Solomon 2001, 31). Indeed, while *I* conclude that a literate Jesus who celebrates his *bar mitzvah* involves historical

of Luke 2:41-52 explored in this thesis have emerged from analysis as being negotiations by filmmakers between these concerns for plausible historical authenticity and their respective Christological stances; the latter, in conjunction with contemporary ideas and often concerns about children, influenced the model of idealized boyhood chosen for each of the young protagonists to conform to. These images, as well as the connections made with the broader ideologies of each movie reveal how these sequences can be mined for more than just evidence of Jesus' Jewishness or quaint interest in his juvenile life.

The study here undertaken is only a preliminary investigation into depictions of Jesus as a boy in cinema. The criteria invoked in my opening chapter to reach a manageable corpus of two films hints at a wealth of such depictions and other data for fruitful exploration. In addition to the sequences in *Nazareth* and *Jesus* that cover their protagonist's early childhood, there are the portrayals elsewhere in these movies of children for compare and contrast,[8] as well as more subtle evocations of idealized boyhood that may contrast with that selected for Jesus to model.[9] During the same period covered by the thesis, there are other adaptations of Luke's story that present the boy as an erudite sage (Figure 1.1), lost in Jerusalem (Figure 1.2), telling stories (Figure 1.3) and being bullied (Figure 1.4); each of these, as well as others, may be studied and situated within both their historical contexts and performances of juvenile masculinity in 'Hollywood' and world cinema of the late twentieth century.

Jesus, Mary and Joseph (1972)

Figure 1.1

The Jesus Film (1979)

Figure 1.2

The Garden of Eden (1998)

Figure 1.3

Mary, Mother of Jesus (1999)

Figure 1.4

Neither cinematic depictions of juvenile masculinity generally nor those of the boy Jesus specifically ended with the twentieth century; rather, they have continued unabated for the past twenty years. Timothy Corrigan notes, concerning the new millennium's first decade, how it was "defined by revolutions of seen

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anachronism, there are some scholars who disagree (as documented in Chapter 5) and thus these and other elements may be seen as genuinely authentic to *Nazareth*'s filmmakers and many among the movie's viewers.

[8] In *Nazareth* there is the raising of Jairus' daughter (Matt 9:23-25; Mark 5:35-43; Luke 8:49-56) and the scene in the temple where the adult Jesus relays the parable of two sons (Matt 21:28-32) within earshot of Pharisees, but to an audience of children; in *Jesus* there are the children who lead the procession into Jerusalem and those who run up to the adult Jesus in modern garb at the end of the international version.

[9] In *Jesus*, for example, there is an evocation of the pious boy when Paul Miles-Kingston (1972-) of the Winchester Cathedral Choir (WCC) begins his treble solo in "Pie Jesu" from Andrew Lloyd Webber's 1985 version of "Requiem" just as Mary begins to anoint her dead son for burial; see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31oAcmBz044 for the video version of the song, a duet by Miles-Kingston and Sarah Brightman with backing by the WCC.

and unseen violence, of astonishing and threatening technologies, of cultural and political conquests and reversals, and of a wavering humanity within inhumane worlds" (2012, 1). These observations hold true for the intervening years and cinematic boys – asexual, vulnerable and dependent as ever – continue to be thrust into the role of victim.[10] Idealized innocence remains the dominant attribute of juvenile males in the movies, sometimes construed as a positive force of hope and healing in an otherwise hostile and violent world.[11] The recent examples of the boy Jesus in film pick up on this current trend with a subversive who questions first-century patriarchy (Figure 2.1) and a healer (Figure 2.2).

Io sono con te (2010)

Figure 2.1

The Young Messiah (2016)

Figure 2.2

The most recent of these movies – *The Young Messiah* – was based on the 2005 novel *Christ the Lord: Out of Egypt* by Anne Rice,[12] which offers an intermediary text between Bible and film, inviting further discussion on similar texts such as Anthony Burgess' preliminary novel for *Nazareth*'s screenplay – later published as *Man of Nazareth* (1979) – that was reworked before filming due to the profane nature of its

[10] Gonshak notes, for example, how a global culture of 'victimhood' has appropriated the Holocaust "as an emblem of quintessential victimhood" (2015, 11), achieved through a "focus on families and especially on child victims of the Nazis" (Anderson 2007, 3), many such films revolving around juvenile male protagonists. Examples include *Edges of the Lord* (2001), *Rose's Songs* (2003), *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* (2008), *The Roundup* (2010), *Run Boy Run* (2013) and *A Bag of Marbles* (2017). While many recent films focus on survival – the last three listed are based on biographical or autobiographical accounts of boys who survived, Kobrynskyy and Bayer noting cinema's increasing role in transmitting memories of the Holocaust as the last generation of eyewitnesses to these atrocities ages and dies (2015, 1) – several earlier ones constructed juvenile characters as naïve and their tragic deaths owing, in part, to ignorant exercises of agency, most infamously in *Striped Pajamas*. The traumatic experiences of boys during and in the catastrophic wake of other armed conflicts of the twentieth century are re-imagined in twenty-first century films: the Angolan Civil War in *Hollow City* (2004), the Salvadoran Civil War in *Innocent Voices* (2004), the 1973 Chilean coup d'état in *Machuca* (2004), the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War in *Black Bread* (2010), the impact of the Six-Day War on Palestinian refugees in *When I Saw You* (2012) and the Great Arab Revolt of World War I in *Theeb* (2014), to name just a few. Juvenile males have also played significant roles in a number of recent dystopian movies: *Evolution* (2015), *Partisan* (2015) and *The White King* (2016).

[11] Examples include *Pay It Forward* (2000), *The Maldonado Miracle* (2003), *Johnny* (2010), *Letters to God* (2010), *Lifted* (2010), *Little Red Wagon* (2012), *The Odd Life of Timothy Green* (2012), *The Purge* (2013), *Heaven Is for Real* (2014) and *The Last Boy* (2019). While not all of these characters appear within explicitly Christian movies, many do, reflecting the significant boost that Christian filmmaking received in the wake of *The Passion of the Christ* in 2004 (Russell 2013, 189).

[12] The book itself was based on a number of sources, which Rice discusses in a note (2005, 310-12, 319-20). They include not only the 'obvious' (ie. the gospels of Matthew and Luke), but also some of Paul's letters, 'Apocrypha' such as the Infancy Gospel of Thomas (cited) and the Proto-Gospel of James (not cited), Philo, Josephus and even historical Jesus scholarship, the work of Fredriksen (1999) referred to specifically as having "re-created beautifully the Jewish milieu in which the boy Jesus might have lived in Nazareth and in which he might have gone to the Temple for Passover along with his family" (ibid, 311).

dialogue (Holderness 2015, 67-71).[13] My written summaries of the Lukan adaptations in *Nazareth* and *Jesus*, tools aimed at facilitating careful 'readings', work backward from movie to text, producing what may be called a film-specific translation or paraphrase of the biblical text.[14] What other uses this tool may have in Bible-in-film scholarship and how it might be refashioned or supplemented to better engage the medium of cinema are questions that will hopefully lead to a more general and arguably much-needed discussion of method in the analysis of Bible cinema and Jesus movies in particular.[15]

Aichele's invitation for biblical scholars to study "films that display no evident traces of the Bible" (2016, 17) was accepted in order to draw upon a large trove of juvenile masculine performances for critical comparison, a corpus that may be supplemented by attention to other movies in which these sequences are relatively brief and depict adult male protagonists when they were boys,[16] those within the biopic genre offering the closest parallels. Depictions of 'evil kids' were seen to reinforce ideals of childhood innocence and thus explored from this perspective, but contemporary fascination with these characters[17] invites research into their roles, however rare, in Jesus films[18] and, more frequently, in religiously-themed movies generally.[19] The focus of this thesis on performances of masculine juvenility raises questions about how they are both different from and similar to those of feminine juvenility;[20]

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[13] Burgess' account of the script's genesis and reception (1990, 302-8) are different from that of the movie's director, Franco Zeffirelli (1984, 39-44), with Holderness offering both perspectives back-to-back and then concentrating on both the similarities and differences between Burgess' novel and the finished film, concluding that "Zeffirelli focused his reservations over Burgess's script not on structure and content but on dialogue, specifically the 'mere human words' Burgess attributed to Jesus" (2015, 70).

[14] Aichele and Walsh, working from text to movie, refer to "[t]he screening of Scripture [as] an act of translation" (2002, viii).

[15] Aichele argues for a strengthening of method so that a more critical bridge between biblical and film studies may be forged, positing *semiotics* as the best means of achieving this (2016, 12).

[16] Adaptations of literary classics in early sound cinema such as *Great Expectations* (1934) and *David Copperfield* (1935) offer obvious examples for analysis and to which grouping could be added numerous 'Hollywood' and world cinema films over the ensuing decades such as *Citizen Kane* (1941), *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), *The Green Years* (1946), *Auntie Mame* (1958), *Joseph and His Brethren* (1961), *Father* (1967), *Johnny Got His Gun* (1971), *Cinema Paradiso* (1988), *It* (1990) and *Sleepers* (1996), to name just a few.

[17] Renner notes how "evil children have spawned across all realms of popular culture" and identifies some 400 movies made since the turn of the millennium alone that feature them (2016, 1). Indeed, there is no shortage of malevolent boys in cinema with examples of the past decade or so including *Joshua* (2007), *Whisper* (2007), *Home Movie* (2008), *Children of the Corn* (2009), *Cub* (2014), *The Boy* (2015), *Sinister II* (2015), *The Unspoken* (2016), *Better Watch Out* (2017) and *The Prodigy* (2019). The forthcoming *Brightburn* (2019) appears to be a contribution within the presently-popular cycle of superhero and anti-hero films.

[18] Notably the 'guardian angel' in *Last Temptation* and the boys in *Passion* who morph within Judas' tormented mind into 'little devils'.

[19] Movies focusing on apocalyptic scenarios are ripe for exploration by Bible-in-film scholars.

[20] Investigations into cinematic girlhoods will not be easy. Holmstrom's initial plans were to cover young actors of both sexes in a single volume, but found the research daunting and juvenile females in film so poorly documented that he opted first for a volume devoted to boys (1998, 5-6); he was unable to complete his intended second volume on girls before his death. Sutton has recently published numerous movie stills, letters and newspaper clippings from his archives (2015), which will be a starting point for interested researchers. Dye's filmography (1988) features about six hundred child actors and reflects an imbalance of three

while the latter do not bear directly on cinematic depictions of the boy Jesus, there is undoubtedly a place for such explorations in wider studies of Bible and film.[21]

This thesis has touched on several areas ripe for further research and I hope that a few of my readers will pick up some of the threads exposed by my negotiated responses (Phillips 2012, 131) to the two films. While these young protagonists exude some appealing independence and abilities, this owes primarily to divinity and they are mixed with unappealing maintenance of children's subservient place in the social order. It is this subordination, along with the exacerbation of vulnerabilities and dependence, all propped up by an ideal of innocence, that leaves children most at risk to harm. Only through a rejection of hierarchical social relations and a subsequent balancing of power can the physical, sexual and emotional violence to which children continue to be exposed be reduced. Insofar as cinema plays a role in both the maintenance and contestation of dominant ideologies, a comment on Brent Plate's dualistic 'imag(in)ing' seems a fitting way to conclude this study. The term refers both to aesthetics and ethics, to how others *are* (often in derogatory ways) imaged in film and to how others *can be* (critically, not fancifully) imagined (1999, 3). It is hoped that by exposing some of the ways the Jesus films participate in the preservation of hierarchical social structures harmful to children, a hermeneutical loop will result whereby this corpus of moving images – and those depicting children generally – will be transformed to imagine their subjects as more genuinely capable and help contribute to the betterment and flourishing of children everywhere.

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boys for every two girls. While the general situation may reflect a bias favoring male characters for juvenile film roles rather than a bias of researchers or present lack of resources, it is too soon to draw this conclusion.

[21] In addition to the blind girl of DeMille's *Kings* and the 'guardian angel' of *Last Temptation*, Tamar in *The Miracle Maker* (2000), Sarah in *The Story of Jesus for Children* (2000) and Salome in *The Young Messiah* (2016) immediately come to mind as potential character studies.

Appendix A
Cinematic Adaptations of Matthew 2[1]

From the Manger to the Cross (1912)[2]
Immediately after the intertitle 'The Period of Youth' there is a citation from Matt 2:19, 21,[3] followed by a shot of Mary and the young Jesus. An abridged form of 2:23 appears on screen, followed by a shot of Mary educating the boy by means of a scroll while Joseph looks on.[4]

Jesus, Mary and Joseph (1972)[5]
A narrator situates the 'Holy Family' in Egypt where the five-year-old Jesus (played by Jose Alberto Castro) is tutored by a kindly Egyptian teacher who gives him a puppy.[6] When Joseph tells his son they cannot afford to feed another mouth, the boy turns a dish of water into milk. Jesus' father refuses to build a cross for the Romans, for which the penalty is imprisonment and torture, but an angel appears to him and instructs him to return home since those who intended the family harm are now dead. With Jesus leading the way across the desert, the trio becomes invisible to the pursuing soldiers who turn back out of fear of such 'magic' and they arrive safely in Nazareth.[7]

A Child Called Jesus (1989)[8]
After a few brief sequences covering Joseph's flight from Bethlehem with Mary and an infant Jesus, the film has the seven-year-old Jesus (played by Matteo Bellina) living with his parents in a town bordering Egypt. After an attempt on the boy's life that is orchestrated by Sefir, one of Herod's agents responsible for the earlier killing of male infants at Bethlehem, the family crosses the border into Egypt and settles in Alexandria. Sefir, still in pursuit, orchestrates a fire that leaves Joseph severely burned. Mary and Jesus flee the city without him and join a wedding caravan headed to Palestine. After more exploits, Mary and Jesus arrive at the Sea of Galilee where they are reunited with Joseph.[9]

Mary, Mother of Jesus (1999)[10]
Mary and Joseph flee the massacre at Bethlehem with the infant Jesus and, by means of dialogue, it is established they are headed for Alexandria where Joseph intends to obtain work. After a fade out and in to accommodate a commercial, a caption informs the viewer that twelve years have passed and the couple is now on their way *back* from Egypt, where they have presumably been all that time, accompanied by a juvenile Jesus (played by Toby Bailiff). Back in Nazareth, the boy meets his maternal grandmother Anne for the first time.[11]

Son of Man (2005)[12]
The film reworks the Jesus story in a contemporary but fictitious South African context. While there is no flight

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[1] Only those movies where Jesus is imagined as a juvenile are included.

[2] For information on this early Jesus film, see Staley and Walsh (2007, 11-16) and Tatum (2013, 23-33; 2016). The scenes covering the movie's adaptation of Luke's temple story are summarized in *Appendix C*.

[3] The translation used in the film's intertitles is the KJV.

[4] The role is played by an uncredited George Hollister Jr. (1908-1976), the actor's age below that considered for inclusion in this thesis. The image of the character's literacy indicates he is not an infant – literally one without speech – and an exception is made. Reinhartz reviews the scene, estimating Jesus to be about six or seven years old, and correctly points out that it is not clear whether the boy's mother is reading *to* him or *with* him (2007, 73). In both shots, Jesus is wearing a *kippah*.

[5] *Jesús, María y José*, subtitled *Leyendas de la Infancia de N.S. Jesucristo* (Legends of the Childhood of Our Lord Jesus Christ), is the third (second chronologically) in a trio of Mexican movies on the life of Jesus. The others, in the order of their 1971 release, are *Jesus nuestro señor* (Jesus Our Lord) and *Jesús, el niño Dios* (Jesus, the Child God), covering the protagonist's adulthood and infancy respectively. The three films were later abridged and, at points, supplemented with the resulting single film *La vida de nuestro señor Jesucristo* (The Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ), which was released on DVD in 2013 with same-language dubbing and subtitles as *La natividad: la vida de Jesucristo* (The Nativity: The Life of Jesus Christ). The full version of the film on DVD does not have English subtitles (even though it is advertised on amazon as having them!) and so my summary relies on the fallible auto-translator of the version available on YouTube, thus any corrections to my interpretations of the action and dialogue are welcomed from those who speak Spanish.

[6] Malone claims that Jesus finds the stray dog (2012, 94), but neither his interpretation nor mine is visualized since the dog first appears concealed in the boy's clothing when he returns home.

[7] When Jesus is next seen, he is eight years old and played by Jorge España. After thirty minutes of various boyhood episodes, the narrator cites Luke 2:40 to shift the narrative to the film's young protagonist at twelve; this Jerusalem sequence will be summarized in *Appendix B*.

[8] The two-part movie *Un bambino di nome Gesù* first appeared on Italian television in 1987 and was dubbed in English for its broadcast in North America.

[9] Kinnard and Davis provide a few additional details in their synopsis of the film (1992, 213-15), but their claim that "Mary and Joseph are captured by Roman soldiers" is a mistake and should read Mary and *Jesus*. A further problem concerns a caption that claims Joseph, Mary and Jesus are embarking on "an arduous trek through the desert." The still actually comes from the closing minutes of the film when the reunited family is departing from the village on Galilee's shores for the *short* trip inland to Nazareth! Malone comments briefly on the film, as well (2012, 109), and claims that Jesus is "separated from his parents," but this is only correct in the case of Joseph. As one of the few films devoted entirely to Jesus' childhood, it is unfortunate that it is so rarely reviewed and in so perfunctory a manner when it is.

[10] The film was broadcast in 1999 on NBC and Malone points out (2012, 137) that Mary is played by the same actress who is mother to the young Anakin (though he misspells the character's name) in *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace*, which was released the same year, inviting further comparison of these films' juveniles.

[11] Subsequent sequences of the movie involving the twelve-year-old Jesus will be summarized in *Appendix D*.

[12] While this South African film was nominated for the Grand Jury Prize at the Sundance Festival in 2006, it was not widely distributed until 2010 (Walsh et al. 2013a, xiii).

into or return from a neighboring nation, the visit of the magi and 'slaughter of the innocents' are both paralleled. Royal dignitaries from Lesotho visit young Jesus (a boy of perhaps four or five played by Vuyo Sonyaka) and he commands them to be quiet upon their arrival. Following the murder of several boys alongside the road by Herode's militiamen, Jesus refuses to go with his guardian angel Gabriel, emphatically declaring: "This is my world!"[13]

The Holy Family (2006)[14]
Eight years after their flight to Egypt, Joseph and Mary are still living there with their son Jesus (played by Brando Pacitto).[15] The boy shows disdain for ritual washing and tends to an injured bird. After Jesus raises his same-aged playmate Mary Magdalene from the dead, the family leaves under pressure from the Egyptians and finds a community of Jews with whom to settle. There the boy attends school and shocks both his teacher and classmates with his knowledge, but the family is forced to move again when the prodigy heals a baby of leprosy. Coming across a group of Jews celebrating the death of Herod, the family returns to Nazareth and settle into life there with Joseph's resentful adult sons.[16]

The Gospel of Matthew (2014)[17]
As the narrator reports that Joseph stayed in Egypt so that the prophecy 'Out of Egypt I called my son' might be fulfilled (2:15), Jesus (played by Boutbaldine) – a boy of about five or six – is seen bringing his father a mallet and having his short black hair affectionately ruffled in return.[18] Young Jesus is seen sleeping at the foot of the bed just before the narrator recounts how an angel appeared to Joseph after Herod's death (2:19) and helping load their donkey as the return itself is narrated (2:21). The boy's silhouette is then seen running ahead of Joseph, Mary and the animal as the narrator refers to Archelaus' reign in Judea (2:22).[19]

The Young Messiah (2016)[20]
The movie begins with the seven-year-old Jesus (played by Adam Greaves-Neal) living in Alexandria with Mary, Joseph, his uncle Cleopas (Mary's brother) and his wife Miriam, their daughter Salome, and James, a cousin of Jesus adopted by Joseph.[21] After Jesus resurrects a dead boy who had bullied both him and Salome,[22] the extended family returns to Nazareth. Along the way, Jesus is almost killed in a skirmish between Roman soldiers and Jewish rebels, heals his sick uncle, convinces Joseph to take in a slave woman raped by a bandit and sees the crucifixion of numerous insurrectionists. These sequences comprise the first forty-five minutes of the film.[23]

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[13] For further but brief explorations of these two sequences in the movie, see Nkadimeng and Baugh (2013, 36-37) and Walsh (2013, 200-1).

[14] This is a two-part English-language made-for-TV Italian movie subtitled *Jesus, Mary and Joseph* on the DVD artwork and onscreen menu.

[15] Sequences involving the juvenile Jesus do not begin until a few minutes into the second part of the movie.

[16] A subsequent trip to Jerusalem based on the Lukan story will be summarized in *Appendix D*.

[17] This movie is part of a series of 'word-for-word' adaptations of the four gospels distributed by Lionsgate, the others being *The Gospel of John* (2014), *The Gospel of Luke* (2015) and *The Gospel of Mark* (2015). The actors do not have audible speaking parts since all dialogue is spoken by the narrator and the viewer has the option of listening to either the NIV read by Stephen Tompkinson or the KJV read by David Threlfall as the audio track for the moving images.

[18] These four films cast actors of Middle-Eastern decent as a means of establishing historical verisimilitude. Boutbaldine is credited as 'Young Jesus, carpenter'.

[19] Two of these shots are recycled in *The Gospel of Luke*: As the narrator reads of Jesus' parents return to Nazareth in 2:39 and also the summary in 2:40, the shot of Jesus bringing his father the mallet is seen, supplemented by a new shot of him looking up. The silhouette shot is reused as the narrator talks about the annual trip taken by Jesus' parents to Jerusalem for Passover (2:41), implying that the boy regularly journeyed with them. While the journey pictured is one from Nazareth to Jerusalem, in the context of the Matthean movie, it is one from Egypt (or Judea) to Nazareth. Similarly, the workshop seen in the Matthean version is in Egypt, that in the Lukan version is in Nazareth. The continuation of Luke's story (2:42ff) will be treated in *Appendix D*.

[20] The film is based on Anne Rice's novel *Christ the Lord: Out of Egypt* (2005).

[21] In Rice's novel James is Joseph's biological son from an earlier marriage, the boy's mother having died (2005, 4).

[22] The incident in Rice's novel (2005, 3-7) is based loosely on one in the *Paidika* (4:1-2; the boy's resurrection is implied in 8:2) and Jesus' ability to raise the dead is explicitly narrated in 9:1-3 and 17:1.

[23] The seven-year-old's subsequent trip to Jerusalem, based loosely on the Lukan story, will be summarized in *Appendix D*.

Appendix B
Adaptations of Luke 2:41-52 in World Cinema

Jesus, Mary and Joseph (1972)[1]
Joseph is advised to take Jesus (played by David Bravo) to the temple in Jerusalem to further his education. Jesus puts several scholars to shame who insult him, his father and John as Galileans. The boy subsequently releases the bird his father purchased for sacrifice, having earlier been distressed at seeing the market for animals at the temple. Jesus' parents and John leave in the caravan while Jesus stays behind to listen in on a meeting of scholars, soon becoming involved when his presence is detected. Initially mocked, the boy astounds them with his soft-spoken rebuke and divine perception of a privately-offered comment in Hebrew. Permitted to stay, Jesus humbly sits down to learn from the scholars while elsewhere his parents discover he is missing and return to Jerusalem with John in search of him. Jesus soon moves from listening to teaching, orating from the podium on cowardice as the root of all vices. Joseph finds him among the scholars, but just listens in, followed soon after by John who also remains silent and in awe of Jesus as the boy defends his thesis against one scholar's attempt to refute it. Finally, Mary enters the area where she, as a woman, is not permitted. Jesus waves off the scholars so he may speak with her and the boy assures her it is not yet his time for ministry.[2]

The Messiah (1975)[3]
A narrator refers to expectation of a messiah-king who will overthrow Roman oppression as Jesus (played by Mustafa Ferchiou) is seen traveling to Jerusalem in a caravan. Once in the city, Mary places a *tallit* on the boy's head, explains its origin and tells him that, since he becomes a man today, he may now discuss the Law with scholars.[4] Joseph takes Jesus to the temple where the man purchases a lamb in the Court of the Gentiles. Father and son proceed into the inner court where the priests are slaughtering animals.[5] Outside, groups of boys sitting in circles sing[6] while men in a nearby tent recite a blessing over wine. The movie cuts to Jesus' parents looking for him among the pilgrims in the caravan, then returning to Jerusalem in search of him. Finding the boy among the scholars in the temple, they take him aside for the familiar exchange.

Mary of Nazareth (1995)[7]
Images of Mary and Joseph returning to Jerusalem in search of the boy Jesus are overlaid with narration from the pertinent sections of Luke's text. It is a boy who points out their son is in the temple and they enter and listen in as he is questioned, after a reading from Isaiah,[8] about when the messianic age will be and what signs will precede it. The boy answers that it will come when people are able to see and hear, defending his answer by quoting Isa 6:9. When Jesus sees his parents he goes to them and the familiar exchange ensues. Joseph leaves the temple dejected and Mary comforts him outside on the steps. When their son emerges, he apologizes for keeping them waiting and the narrator resumes that he returned to Nazareth with them and was obedient. Jesus is then seen working with Joseph in the family carpentry shop and being corrected on the proper use of a wood plane.

The Garden of Eden (1998)[9]
Mary washes the smooth face of her son Jesus (played by Asher Coher) in preparation for the journey to Jerusalem, adjuring him never to shorten the hair that will soon grow there. Jesus walks with John in the caravan and the two boys banter about Jesus' upcoming *bar mitzvah*. They arrive in Jerusalem to an apocalyptic visionary calling for repentance and predicting the imminent arrival of the Messiah. Jesus, wearing *tefillin*, undergoes his *bar mitzvah*

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[1] See footnote 5 in *Appendix A* for information about the film, its different versions and the *caveat* about my interpretation of its contents. The sequence of the twelve-year-old Jesus in Jerusalem runs approximately twenty minutes in the long version, but it is only about seven minutes in the abridged version; my summary is of the former.

[2] There are another fifteen minutes of sequences back in Nazareth before the end of the film, but these – like those of the eight-year-old Jesus – will not be summarized here, but left for a future project.

[3] *Il messia* – directed by Roberto Rossellini, one of the 'masters' of Italian neorealist cinema (Shiel 2006, 2-3) and an acquaintance of *Nazareth*'s director Franco Zeffirelli (1986, 76) – is still unavailable on DVD with English dubbing or subtitles so my summary of the film is based on unverified Croatian subtitles embedded in a version uploaded to YouTube back-translated into English with the help of Google Translate. Any corrections to my understanding of the movie's plot and dialogue are thus welcomed by those who speak Italian.

[4] Reinhartz discusses this scene in more detail (2007, 72-73).

[5] This section of the sequence is what Malone singles out to comment on, noting how it "giv[es] another opportunity for social and religious background to Jesus, this time the Jewish religious traditions in the Temple and the official sacrifices" (2012, 83); Reinhartz also discusses it (2007, 91).

[6] Reinhartz identifies the song as '*Hadgadya*', which translates 'One Goat' from Aramaic, and she explains that it "describes the purchase of a goat for two coins" and that the song "traditionally concludes the Passover seder" (2007, 47).

[7] The version I have of this French film *Marie de Nazareth* is dubbed in English and briefly discussed by Malone (2012, 138-39); the actor for the twelve-year-old Jesus is not credited.

[8] The Isaianic 'text' read for the boy Jesus, who sits on a chair with his back to the reader, incorporates elements from 11:1a, 6a, 7b and 8a.

[9] Like *Il messia*, the Italian film *I giardini dell'Eden* is not yet available on DVD with English subtitles or dubbing so I am again reliant on a partial back-translation from unverified Croatian subtitles with the original video no longer available on YouTube to fill out the gaps (though there is a full version in Italian there with no subtitles and an auto-translate feature that does not work). Any who speak Italian and can offer corrections to my understanding of the film's dialogue and plot are invited to do so. Malone observes how the movie reflects an "interest in Jesus' hidden life, from age twelve and the episode in the Temple until his baptism" (2012, 143), thus a flashback to Jesus' boyhood visit to the temple in Jerusalem is among the first sequences of the film.

ritual, which includes Joseph reciting the blessing that he is no longer responsible for his son's sins, but the boy is distracted by the priests' ill-treatment of men with leprosy. That night, Jesus' and John's roof-top discussion about their futures is interrupted by several Roman soldiers dragging a woman screaming into their tent. When Mary and Joseph locate Jesus in the temple three days later, he is entertaining the men gathered there with engaging and humorous stories. The boy's father matches wits with him after a unique variation on the apothegm and Jesus accepts defeat and leaves with his parents.

The Holy Family (2006)[10]
Jesus (played by Brando Pacitto), Mary, Joseph and his adult sons travel to Jerusalem for Passover. Joseph, as head of the family, slays the lamb in the temple area while the boy turns away and buries his face in his mother's bosom. In the caravan home, Jesus' parents notice that their son is missing and return to Jerusalem where, in the process of searching for him, they are robbed. After Jesus is found,[11] he tells his parents he wants to go home.[12]

Io sono con te (2010)[13]
Upon going to Jerusalem for his first Passover,[14] the boy Jesus (played by Mohamed Idoudi) is shocked and visibly distressed by the bleating of the animals, the cutting open of their throats and the dashing of their blood against the stone altar. The search for Jesus in Jerusalem is the climax of the film and the occasion of a montage that intersperses shots of the family searching with flashbacks from Mary's perspective of Jesus questioning various aspects of their social and religious traditions. Reflecting on the last of these questions about animal sacrifice in the temple, Mary reasons that Jesus must be in the temple where he is seen inquiring of the men gathered about divine mercy being available on the Sabbath.[15] Unlike other adaptations of the Lukan story in sound film, there is no audible exchange of words when Mary and Joseph meet up with Jesus.

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[10] See footnote 14 in *Appendix A* for information about the film.

[11] While there is reference to Jesus being at the temple, the finding itself is omitted from the filmic narrative.

[12] While in Jerusalem Joseph is shown to be ill and he dies in the climax of the movie back in Nazareth.

[13] The title of this Italian film translates *I Am with You* and its characters speak Tunisian Arabic with the three scholars who visit the infant Jesus speaking Greek. This movie *is* available on DVD with English subtitles and my summary is therefore confidently offered. The director, Guido Chiesa, is an agnostic (Johnson and Ottaviani-Jones 2014, 1) who constructs first-century Palestine as a violent patriarchal society that Mary and the juvenile Jesus, under her influence, challenges (ibid, 5-6). The film thus constitutes an example of secular art that is "produced in…contentious dialogue with religion" (Berlinerblau 2005, 137).

[14] The trip to Jerusalem is preceded by ten minutes of sequences also featuring the boy Jesus.

[15] This relates back to an incident at the synagogue in Nazareth where Jesus was indignant after the local rabbi sent his adult friend Hillel home for having traveled too far on the Sabbath to reach the place of worship. The intellectually-disabled man lives outside the village, shunned by the townsfolk as being 'demon-possessed'.

Appendix C
Adaptations of Luke 2:41-52 in 'Silent' Cinema

The Life and Passion of Jesus Christ (1905)[1]
The *tableau* that stages Luke's temple story is titled "Jesus and the Doctors"[2] and shows the boy[3] clad all in white and teaching a group of men with the gesticulations common to 'silent' films.[4] Joseph and Mary intrude upon the gathering and Jesus bows in obeisance and accompanies them out.

From the Manger to the Cross (1912)[5]
Luke 2:42 is cited to introduce the sequence and the boy Jesus (played by Percy Dyer) is seen riding on a donkey while his parents walk, the family approaching Jerusalem by way of a hillside descent. The next intertitle, abridged from 2:43, is followed by a shot of Jesus surrounded by men in temple, then by a shot of his parents unable to find him in the caravan and turning back after a citation of 2:45b. After a quick fade to black, Joseph and Mary are seen approaching the city's gate, each riding a donkey, and a citation of 2:46b prefaces Joseph's dramatic entrance into the temple gathering to order his son outside. A full citation of 2:51is followed by Jesus walking down the steps of the temple with his parents.[6]

Christus (1916)[7]
While an intertitle reads "Joseph and Mary lead their son to Jerusalem",[8] the man is curiously absent from the scenes that follow and the boy (played by Renato Visca) is seen approaching the temple *alone*. The remainder of this brief scene is set by an intertitle in "The Court of the Tapestries in the Palace of Solomon".[9] Jesus strolls through the court, again alone, and the intertitle "Jesus among the Doctors"[10] prefaces the next scene, which is observed from a distance by Mary behind a column and she is distressed when she sees her son with arms outstretched creating a shadow on the temple floor in the form of a cross.[11]

I.N.R.I. (1923)[12]
The boy Jesus (played by Erik Ode) is dressed in white and standing among a group of five men, appearing to confound them with his words. Mary appears in the doorway[13] and, after pausing to admire her son's performance, rushes forward and embraces him. An intertitle follows: "Behold, your father and I have sought for you with pain!"[14] Jesus' response in a second intertitle is the familiar apothegm, following which his mother embraces him again.

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[1] The film is comprised of a series of *tableaux* first compiled in 1902 by Ferdinand Zecca under the title *La vie et passion de notre seigneur Jésus Christ* (The Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ) with others added over the next few years in collaboration with Lucien Nonguet. On the complicated history of this movie's assemblage and the non-homogeneity of its various *tableaux*, see Redi (1985) and Boillat and Robert (2010; 2016); for further information on this film and its dominance in American theatres in the period 1907 through 1910, see Shepherd (2013, 42-44, 62-66).

[2] This *tableau* is preceded by one titled "The Holy Family at Nazareth" that features Jesus helping his father obtain a log for woodworking, carrying the axe home and then working alongside his parents in the house.

[3] Kinnard and Davis make reference to two films by the title *The Life and Passion of Jesus Christ* and if these are, owing to the aforementioned development of the film in the first decade of the twentieth century, different stages of the compilation, the actor for the boy Jesus, who appears to be the same in both *tableaux*, bears the stage name Le Petit Briand (1992, 29).

[4] The *mise-en-scène* relies heavily on the illustration of the story by the French artist Gustave Doré (1832-1883). All of his Bible illustrations can be viewed on-line at the following website: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8710/8710-h/8710-h.htm.

[5] The sequences involving the twelve-year-old Jesus are included under the general intertitle 'The Period of Youth' (see the pertinent section of *Appendix A*) and begin with a citation of Luke 2:40 and a shot of Jesus carrying a jug of water for his mother. Following citation of the other framing verse (2:52) at the end, Jesus is seen carrying a beam of wood that casts a shadow in the form of a cross, foreshadowing his death, as his parents look on.

[6] This scene and several others (including the frames of Jesus carrying a jug and wooden beam respectively) are recreations from James Tissot's (1836-1902) watercolour collection *La vie de notre-seigneur Jésus-Christ* (*The Life or Our Lord Jesus Christ*) painted between 1886 and 1894. The series is viewable at the Brooklyn Museum's website (search "The Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ"): http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/european_art. On the relationship between Tissot's work and the film, see Reynolds (1992).

[7] This Italian film attempted to compete with *Manger to Cross*, which circulated in Italy the year after its North American release, and included on-location shooting and a schema divided into three mysteries (the work of poet Fausto Salvatori), the first of which ended with 'the Dispute with the Doctors' (Pucci 2016, 200-1). This scene is preceded by one in which the boy Jesus gathers a group of children outside the village and speaks to them; both this and the screening of Luke's temple story are prefaced by the title "L'infanzia di 'Gesù" (The Childhood of Jesus).

[8] "Giuseppe e Maria conducono il figlio a Gerusalemme."

[9] "La corte degli Arazzi nel palazzo di Salomone."

[10] "Gesù fra i Dottori."

[11] This is prefaced by an intertitle containing three lines of a poem, presumably by Salvatori for the film: "L'ombra della croce, apri le braccia, Sulla cortina l'ombra d'una croce. Apparve. Lenta si sbiancò una faccia" (The shadow of the cross, open your arms, on the curtain the shadow of a cross. He appeared. Slowly a face turned white).

[12] The movie script was based on Peter Rosegger's 1905 novel of the same name, subtitled *A Prisoner's Story of the Cross*; the corresponding scenes that initially framed the film with the story of a communist atheist assassin who repents of his misdeeds as he awaits execution were cut soon after its initial release and have since been lost (Zwick 2016, 218-19). The episode of the boy Jesus in the temple is listed by Zwick as the second scene of the movie's first act (ibid, 230), following the scene of adoring the babe in his crib with only a brief fade to black.

[13] Like *Christus*, Joseph is absent from the scene despite being referred to in one of its intertitles.

[14] Unlike the intertitles in the other three films reviewed here that are used to stitch the scenes together, they are here used for dialogue. The version of the film available to me from YouTube offers the intertitles in Czech; presumably the German originals will be made available when the film is reconstructed from two prints held by the Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv in Berlin and the Cineteca del Friuli in Gemona respectively (Zwick 2016, 219), a project that is currently stalled due to lack of funding (ibid, 234 n.19).

Appendix D
Other Adaptations of Luke 2:41-52 in Cinema

The Living Christ (1951)[1]
The boy Jesus' trip to Jerusalem is prefaced by a scene in which he and other boys are in school, some of whom are preparing to travel there for their *bar mitzvah*.[2] A narrator covers Luke 2:41-44a with some variations and the group of other *bar mitzvah* boys informs Joseph they have not seen their friend since Jerusalem. The narrator returns to report how the man and his wife went back to the city to search for the boy and how they found him in the temple among the teachers. The familiar exchange follows and, against a moving image of Jesus helping his father in the workshop, the narrator concludes with 2:51-52.

The Living Bible (1952)[3]
Similar to *The Living Christ*, loose citations by a narrator of the biblical text are interspersed with the actors' dialogue. The trip to Jerusalem is passed over quickly with no visual of the boy Jesus,[4] focusing instead on his parents' finding him missing[5] and returning to the city to search for him.[6] They finally go to the temple where they find him in the study room[7] talking with the teachers. After the familiar exchange, Jesus is back in Nazareth[8] helping Joseph build a crutch as the narrator speaks of his obedience and growth,[9] the scene ending with Jesus looking out a window.

The Jesus Film (1979)[10]
A narrator claims that when Jesus (played by Jonathan King) was twelve years old, his parents took him to Jerusalem for the Passover and that while the adults started back home, the boy stayed behind. The accompanying visual, however, shows Jesus being bumped and getting separated from his parents in the crowd.[11] The narrator says that they returned to the city and found the boy on the third day[12] in the temple sitting with the rabbis and elders.[13] In an unprecedented bit of dialogue, Joseph asks them to forgive the boy his zeal[14] and the wording of the apothegm follows the rarely used 'about my father's business'.[15] The narrator concludes with Jesus' return to Nazareth and his growth, but omits any reference to the boy's obedience.[16]

Mary, Mother of Jesus (1999)[17]
Mary tells a sleepy Jesus (played by Toby Bailiff) the story of the Good Samaritan[18] and, sometime later, the boy is

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[1] This was an early television series that aired every Sunday from January 7 to March 25 (Easter); the adaptation of Luke's story is found in the third episode (aired January 21), which is titled 'Boyhood and Baptism'. For a full listing of episodes, see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0181658/episodes?ref_=tt_ep_epl. The actor for the boy Jesus is not listed here, nor have I been able to track his name down elsewhere.

[2] It is implied that this is the reason for Jesus' journey there and Joseph later remarks before he is discovered missing how a boy typically behaves on the way home from his *bar mitzvah*, citing this as the reason for his absence.

[3] Another early television series, the air dates for its twenty-four episodes are not given on the IMDb, but the names of them are: https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0374413/episodes?ref_=tt_ov_epl. The story of Jesus in the temple at the age of twelve is the climax to the third episode titled 'Childhood of Jesus'; I have not been able to locate the name of this actor for the boy Jesus. The images of this sequence were televised again in 1982 with new narration as part of the series *Jesus, the Christ*; it is the climax of the first episode titled 'The Birth and Childhood of Jesus'. Significant differences in the narrations will be indicated through footnotes.

[4] Jesus is active in the 1952 version, "he went with Mary and Joseph," whereas he is passive in the 1982 version, "Joseph and Mary took him."

[5] The 1982 narrator reports that Joseph and Mary "suddenly realized Jesus was not with them," which conflicts with Joseph's claim that they knew of his absence since Jerusalem, but thought he was with friends; this contradiction is not in the 1952 version.

[6] The 1952 narrator reports that Jesus' parents were "worried about him," whereas in the 1982 version they "tried not to worry."

[7] This specific location within the temple is not a detail included in the 1982 version even though the visual shows Jesus' parents entering such a room.

[8] In the 1952 version sourced from YouTube, there is a portion of the clip missing, skipping from reference to Simeon and Anna having earlier recognized the infant Jesus as the savior to the boy back at home in Nazareth. The 1982 version makes no mention of Anna (though she was seen earlier in the episode), refers to Jesus as the promised one rather than the savior, and stresses that even at twelve years old Jesus was becoming aware of his divine identity, but was content to return to Nazareth.

[9] The 1982 version adds reference to Mary treasuring these things in her heart, but she is absent from the corresponding visual of Jesus and his father in the Nazareth workshop.

[10] Malone insightfully identifies this film as "a work in progress" (2012, 93) since it has taken many forms over the past forty years. Even the brief adaptation of Luke 2:41-52 contains several subtle differences between the original version and the 'remastered' one on the 35th Anniversary Edition DVD; the summary here is of the original version with a few of the most significant alterations in the 2014 version footnoted. See the main text below for the version produced in 2000 titled *The Story of Jesus for Children*.

[11] This is another example illustrating Verstraten's two filmic narrators (visual and audio), each of whom are ignorant of the other (2009, 7).

[12] The narrator in the 'remastered' version claims (correctly) they found Jesus three days later (see the discussion of this clause in chapter 7).

[13] The 'rabbis and elders' become 'Jewish religious teachers' in the 'remastered' version. Staley and Walsh claim that "Jesus is briefly shown talking with John the Baptist just before his parents arrive" (2007, 200 n.8), however, this is not the case. The *actor* for John the Baptist is, indeed, sitting on the steps nearby, but he is *not* engaged in conversation with the boy Jesus. In an earlier scene set in the temple when Joseph and Mary bring their infant son to the city to be circumcised, the parents *and the twelve-year-old Jesus* can briefly be seen strolling through the courtyard in a high-angle establishing shot. Both actors and unused shots are 'recycled' in other contexts in the film.

[14] This 'zeal' becomes 'eagerness' in the 'remastered' version.

[15] Jesus in the 'remastered' version reverts to 'in my father's house' (see the discussion of this clause in chapter 5), which is more common in the cinematic adaptations of Luke's story.

[16] Ehrman might therefore include the filmmakers among his 'orthodox' corrupters of the biblical text (2011)!

[17] See footnote 10 in *Appendix A* for information about the film.

beaten up by a bully but refuses to fight back.[19] An intertitle shifts the action from Nazareth to Jerusalem where Jesus' parents each discover their son is not with the other. It is Mary who thinks to look in the temple where they encounter Zechariah,[20] who expresses the amazement of all there about Jesus' profound knowledge of the sacred texts. Joseph, however, is angry and grabs hold of the boy by the neck, demanding an explanation for his irresponsible behavior. It is Zechariah who appears bewildered by Jesus' apologetic response about being in his father's house.

The Miracle Maker (2000)[21]
The adult Jesus returns home to his mother after quitting his job in Sepphoris and his reason about having to do his father's work reminds her of a similar incident when he was a boy. While ostensibly Mary's memory, part of the sequence depicts Jesus alone. The boy (voiced by Adam Welsh) is seen wandering into the temple, his parents later seen searching for him. Jesus, meanwhile, responds to a man's declaration about being strong in every way with part of Samson's riddle about honey from the lion,[22] using this to focus on the strength of God's love. When the boy's parents find him in the temple, Joseph's claim that he 'ran away' is added to the typical exchange.[23]

The Story of Jesus for Children (2000)[24]
Sarah, whose grandmother knows Jesus' mother Mary, tells a group of kids[25] gathered in her stable about the early life of this man who allegedly works miracles.[26] When one of the boys, Nathan, asks about his life as a boy, she recounts: "When Jesus was about twelve years old, Joseph and Mary took him here to Jerusalem. Jesus went to the temple and talked with all the leaders and teachers.[27] After that, Jesus went back home with his parents. As he grew up, he became wiser every day."[28]

The Gospel of Luke (2015)[29]
The narrator reports that when Jesus (played by Adam Belmajdoub) was twelve years old, his parents went to Jerusalem according to custom (2:42), and the boy is seen walking through the city streets with his parents. He is not seen again until his parents, having discovered him missing on the trip home and returned to the city to search for him (2:43-45), find him sitting and teaching in the temple.[30] Even though the narrator refers to his mother speaking to Jesus (2:48), the image first shows Joseph talking to him. When delivering the apothegm (2:49), the boy gestures and looks upward to clarify a reference to his heavenly father. As the narrator describes his parents' non-understanding (2:50), Mary grabs her son by the hand and pulls him toward her so they can leave. Back in Nazareth where his obedience is mentioned (2:51), the family is seen sitting around a table preparing to eat.

The Young Messiah (2016)[31]
Anxious for answers about his origins and powers that his parents are unwilling to provide, the seven-year-old[32] Jesus (played by Adam Greaves-Neal) departs for Jerusalem on his own and a kindly couple helps him slip by the Roman guards who are looking for him.[33] The boy encounters a blind rabbi in the temple who tells him about the slaughter of infant males at Bethlehem, which story brings Jesus to tears. The boy heals the man, then confronts the centurion who has been sent to kill him. This altercation nearly leads to a riot in the temple and the man, convinced the boy is special, lets him and his parents, who have come looking for their son, go.[34]

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[18] Implied is that Mary is the source of this and perhaps others of the adult Jesus' stories.

[19] Mary assures her son that she will be with him along his difficult journey ahead.

[20] That is, John's father, a priest who serves at the temple (cf. Luke 1:5, 8-9).

[21] This film, which is subtitled on the DVD box as *The Story of Jesus*, is predominantly stop-motion puppet-animation with regular animation "reserve[d] for flashbacks and inner states of mind" (Staley and Walsh 2007, 136); both uses are applicable to how the story of the boy Jesus in Jerusalem is worked into the movie.

[22] "Out of the strong came forth sweetness" (Judg 14:14).

[23] When the adult Jesus later returns to the temple, he briefly recalls how he entered it as a boy.

[24] This is an abridged version of *The Jesus Film* with about twenty minutes of new material edited in that focuses on a group of first-century children who become followers of Jesus as the events unfold. Staley and Walsh refer to it as "a detective-like story where children try to find out who Jesus is" (2007, 97). It is followed by an invitation by two of them to have a personal relationship with Jesus, thus serving as an evangelical tract for children.

[25] In the context of a film aimed at an audience of children, I defer to the term 'kids' in acknowledgement that this is how children mostly refer to themselves (Boocock and Scott 2005, 6-7).

[26] Sarah is from a 'believing' family whereas one of the boys present, Benjamin, is from an 'unbelieving' family. He later comes to believe in Jesus and joins Sarah at the end as a model for conversion, leading the viewer in a prayer for salvation.

[27] The dialogue from the original version of the film between one of these leaders/teachers and Joseph breaks up briefly the girl's narration at this point.

[28] Briggs' analysis of the Lukan story in children's bibles is here insightful. She notes how retellings in these contexts are typically value-driven, dogma-driven, education-driven or engagement-driven (2012, 158-66), the film offering an example of the first, inculcating children's respect for leaders and teachers as sources of wisdom.

[29] See footnote 17 in *Appendix A* for information about the film. The NIV audio track is read instead by Richard E. Grant while the KJV is read by Derek Jacobi.

[30] Belmajdoub is credited as 'Young Jesus, teaching in temple'.

[31] See footnote 20 in *Appendix A* for information about the film.

[32] In Rice's book, Jesus is now eight years old as a full year has passed since the seven-year-old and his family returned from Egypt, going first to Jerusalem for Passover (2005, 43) before heading north to Nazareth. The trip to Jerusalem at the climax of the novel (ibid, 242) is the second time Jesus goes to the city.

[33] Herod's son – presumably Archelaus but never referred to as such, only as 'Herod' – has learned that one infant male escaped his father's massacre at Bethlehem and he is intent on killing the boy as a threat to his rule. This plot line was added to the movie script and is not a part of the source novel.

[34] It is back in Nazareth that Mary tells Jesus about his divine origin. Rice's novel, without the plot involving the centurion, is more obviously connected to the Lukan source text: "Joseph and my mother had been looking for me for three days… my mother took me by the shoulders: 'Why have you done this?' she asked. 'We've been in misery searching for you!' 'Mother, I must know things now,' I said. 'Things I'm forbidden to ask you or Joseph. I must be about what it is that I have to do!'" (2005, 291).

Appendix E
Greek Text of Luke 2:41-52 and English Translation

2:41 Καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ⌜οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ⌝ κατ᾽ ἔτος εἰς
Ἰερουσαλὴμ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα. 2:42 Καὶ ὅτε
ἐγένετο ἐτῶν δώδεκα, ⌜ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν⌝ ⊤ κατὰ τὸ
ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς ⊥ 2:43 καὶ τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν
τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτοὺς ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς ἐν
Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ⌜οἱ γονεῖς⌝ αὐτοῦ.
2:44 νομίσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ ἦλθον
ἡμέρας ὁδὸν καὶ ἀνεζήτουν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς
συγγενεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γνωστοῖς, 2:45 καὶ μὴ εὑρόντες
ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἀναζητοῦντες αὐτόν.
2:46 καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐν
τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ
ἀκούοντα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα αὐτούς·
2:47 ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες ⌑οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ⌒ ἐπὶ
τῇ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν αὐτοῦ. 2:48 Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν
ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ·
τέκνον, τί ἐποίησας ἡμῖν οὕτως; ⌑ἰδοὺ ⊤ ὁ πατήρ σου
κἀγὼ⌒ ὀδυνώμενοι ⊥ ἐζητοῦμέν σε. 2:49 καὶ
εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με;
οὐκ ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με;
2:50 καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ συνῆκαν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ
ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς. 2:51 καὶ κατέβη ⌑[1]μετ᾽ αὐτῶν⌒
⌑[2]καὶ ἦλθεν⌒ εἰς Ναζαρὲθ καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς.
καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετήρει ⌜πάντα τὰ ῥήματα⌝ ἐν
τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς. 2:52 Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν σοφίᾳ καὶ
ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

2:41 And ⌜his parents⌝ would go yearly to
Jerusalem for the Feast of Passover. 2:42 And when he
was twelve years old, ⌜they went up⌝ ⊤ according to the
custom of the feast ⊥ 2:43 and completed the days; when
they returned the boy Jesus remained in
Jerusalem, and ⌜his parents⌝ did not know.
2:44 But thinking him to be in the caravan they went a
day's journey and were searching for him among the
relatives and the acquaintances, 2:45 and not finding
[him] they returned to Jerusalem searching for him.
2:46 And it happened after three days they found him in
the temple sitting in the midst of the teachers and
listening to them and questioning them;
2:47 and all ⌑those listening to him⌒ were amazed at
his intelligence and answers. 2:48 And seeing him
they were astounded, and his mother said to him:
"Child, why did you do this to us? ⌑Look, ⊤ your father
and I⌒ were distressed ⊥ looking for you." 2:49 And
he said to them: "Why were you looking for me?
Did you not know that I should be about my father's
things?" 2:50 And they did not understand the word that
he spoke to them. 2:51 And he went down ⌑[1]with them⌒
⌑[2]and came⌒ to Nazareth and was submissive to them.
And his mother was keeping ⌜all the things⌝ in
her heart. 2:52 And Jesus advanced in wisdom and
stature and grace with God and people.

2:41 ⌜ο τε Ιωσηφ και η Μαρια(μ)⌝ 1012 it **2:42** ⌜ανεβησαν οι γονεις αυτου εχοντες αυτον⌝ D e (c r^{1}) | ⊤ εις Ιεροσολυμα (Ιερουσολημ N 892) A C^{vid} K N Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0130 *f* ^{13} 565. 892. 1424. 2542 𝔐 it ($sy^{p.h}$) bo^{pt} | ⊥ των αζυμων D a c e **2:43** ⌜Ιωσηφ και η μητηρ⌝ A C K N Γ Δ Ψ 0130 *f* ^{13} 565. 892. 1424. 2542 𝔐 it ($sy^{p.h}$) bo^{pt} **2:47** ⌑ B W 1241 **2:48** ⌑ a b ff^{2} | ⊤ οι συγγενεις και C^{vid} (579) (β e sy^{h}) | ⊥ και λυπουμενοι D it vg^{mss} sy^{c} **2:51** ⌑[1] C* | ⌑[2] C D **2:51** ⌜τα ρηματα απαντα (– 1424) ταυτα A K 565. 700. 1424

2:41 ⌜both Joseph and Mary⌝ **2:42** ⌜his parents went up with him⌝ | ⊤ to Jerusalem | ⊥ of unleavened bread **2:43** ⌜Joseph and his mother⌝ **2:48** ⊤ the relatives and | ⊥ and sorrowed **2:51** ⌜all these things⌝

Appendix F
Depictions of Juvenile Masculinity in Film: 1930-1999[1]

Where the theatrical release or television broadcast dates for world cinema films differ from those in North America, they are placed in square brackets.[2] British films are marked with †, Canadian films with †† and Australian films with ‡. Movies distributed under the states rights system are marked with *.[3]

3 Ninjas (Buena Vista, 1992)
3 Ninjas: High Noon at Mega Mountain (TriStar Pictures, 1998)
3 Ninjas Kick Back (TriStar Pictures, 1994)
3 Ninjas Knuckle Up (TriStar Pictures, 1995)
7 Faces of Dr. Lao (MGM, 1964)
13 Ghosts (Columbia Pictures, 1960)
The 400 Blows (Zenith International Films, 1959)[4]
The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T. (Columbia Pictures, 1953)
The 7th Voyage of Sinbad (Columbia Pictures, 1958)

Aclà (SACIS, 1993 [1992])[5]
Across the Great Divide (Pacific Int'l, 1976)
Adam (NBC, 1983)[6]
The Adopted Son (Fox Lorber, 1999 [1998])[7]
Adventure in Washington (Columbia Pictures, 1941)
The Adventures of Huck Finn (Buena Vista, 1993)
The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (MGM, 1960)
The Adventures of Penrod and Sam (Warner Bros, 1931)[8]
The Adventures of Pinocchio (New Line Cinema, 1996)
Adventures of Rusty (Columbia Pictures, 1945)[9]
The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (United Artists, 1938)
Afraid of the Dark (FLF, 1992)†[10]
Against a Crooked Sky (Doty-Dayton, 1976)
Age of Indiscretion (MGM, 1935)
Air Bud (Buena Vista, 1997)
Air Bud: Golden Receiver (Miramax, 1998)
Again Pioneers (RFA, 1950)
Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore (Warner Bros, 1975)
All Mine to Give (RKO Radio Pictures, 1958)[11]
All Monsters Attack (Maron Films, 1971 [1969])[12]
All the Kind Strangers (ABC, 1974)
All the Way Home (Paramount Pictures, 1963)
Almost Angels (Buena Vista, 1962)
Alsino and the Condor (Libra Cinema 5, 1983 [1982])[13]
Amahl and the Night Visitors (NBC, 1951)
Amazing Grace and Chuck (TriStar Pictures, 1987)
The Amazing Mr. Blunden (First American Films, 1974 [1972])†
The Amazing Panda Adventure (Warner Bros, 1995)
Ambassador Bill (Fox Film Corporation, 1931)
Ambushed (HBO, 1998)
An American Christmas Carol (ABC, 1979)
American Empire (United Artists, 1942)
Anchors Aweigh (MGM, 1945)
And So They Were Married (Columbia Pictures, 1936)
…And Your Name Is Jonah (CBS, 1979)
Angels in the Endzone (ABC, 1997)
Angels in the Outfield (Buena Vista, 1994)
Angels with Dirty Faces (Warner Bros, 1938)[14]
Anna and the King of Siam (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1946)[15]
Anya's Bell (CBS, 1999)
The Apple Dumpling Gang (Buena Vista, 1975)
Arabian Adventure (AFD, 1979)[16]
Arizona Badman (1935)*
Armed and Innocent (CBS, 1994)
As Time Runs Out (CBS, 1999)
Assignment in Brittany (MGM, 1943)
Attack of the Monsters (AIP-TV, 1969)[17]
The Atomic City (Paramount Pictures, 1952)[18]
Au Revoir les Enfants (Orion Classics, 1987)[19]

Back to Bataan (RKO Radio Pictures, 1945)
The Bad News Bears (Paramount Pictures, 1976)
The Bad News Bears Go to Japan (Paramount Pictures, 1978)
The Bad News Bears in Breaking Training (Paramount Pictures, 1977)
Baker's Hawk (Doty-Dayton, 1976)
Ballad in Blue (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1966 [1965])†
The Bandit of Sherwood Forest (Columbia Pictures, 1946)
Bandits (WFMD, 1991)[20]
Bandits of Orgosolo (PCF, 1964 [1961])[21]
Banjo Hackett (NBC, 1976)
Barefoot Boy (Monogram Pictures, 1938)
Bashu, the Little Stranger (IHC, 1990 [1989])[22]
Battlestar Galactica (Universal Pictures, 1979)
The Beastmaster (MGM/UA, 1982)[23]
Bedknobs and Broomsticks (Buena Vista, 1971)
Behold a Pale Horse (Columbia Pictures, 1964)
The Believers (Orion Pictures, 1987)
Bellman & True (Island Pictures, 1988 [1987])†

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[1] This index is not intended to be an exhaustive reference of film depictions of juvenile masculinity, but restricted to the particular focuses of chapters 4 and 6 as there outlined in conjunction with availability for viewing.
[2] Where I encounter conflicting information about a film's year of release, I usually list the date given in the AFI Catalog of Feature Films (available online at https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/showcase), but I do make a few exceptions.
[3] The states rights system was "a method used to distribute and profit from goods and services by selling the rights to further sell or to subcontract them within specific regions and states" (Hall and Neale 2010, 10).
[4] *Les quatre cents coups* (France).
[5] *La discesa di Aclà a Floristella* (Italy).
[6] Followed by *Adam: His Song Continues* (1986), which is not directly relevant to depictions of juvenile masculinity in film.
[7] *Beshkempir* (Kyrgyzstan); co-produced with France.
[8] This is the title seen in the opening, but the copyright was filed under *Penrod and Sam* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/4849).
[9] First film in the Rusty series.
[10] UK-France co-production.
[11] The film premiered in the UK in 1957 before its general release in the US (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/53480).
[12] *Gojira-Minira-Gabara: Oru kaijû daishingeki* (Japan).
[13] *Alsino y el cóndor* (Nicaragua); co-produced with Cuba, Mexico and Costa Rica.
[14] Part of the Dead End Kids series.
[15] Both this film and *The King and I* (1956) were ultimately based on the memoirs of Anna Leonowens novelized by Margaret Landon in *Anna and the King of Siam* (1943).
[16] US-UK co-production.
[17] *Gamera tai daiakuju Giron* (Japan).
[18] Released in some Los Angeles-area theaters as *19 Elevado St.* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/50401).
[19] The French title (translated *Goodbye Children*) was retained for the film's distribution in the UK and North America; co-produced by France, West Germany and Italy.
[20] *Bandidos* (Mexico-Spain co-production).
[21] *Banditi a Orgosolo* (Italy).
[22] *Bashu, gharibeye koochak* (Iran).
[23] US-West Germany co-production.

Ben (Cinerama Releasing, 1972)
The Beniker Gang (Lorimar, 1984)
Best Man Wins (Columbia Pictures, 1948)
Benji (MSR, 1974)
Beware of Children (AIP, 1961 [1960])†[24]
Bicycle Thieves (Arthur Mayer & Joseph Burstyn, 1949 [1948])[25]
Big (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1988)
The Big Cage (Universal Pictures, 1933)
The Big Chance (First Division Pictures, 1933)
Big Fella (Leo Brecher, 1939 [1937])†[26]
The Big Green (Buena Vista, 1995)
The Big Operator (MGM, 1959)
Big Red (Buena Vista, 1962)
Big Shots (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1987)
Bigger Than Life (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1956)
Bingo (TriStar Pictures, 1991)
The Biscuit Eater (Paramount Pictures, 1940)
The Biscuit Eater (Buena Vista, 1972)
Black Beauty (Paramount Pictures, 1971)†
Black Jack (1979)[27]
Black Joy (Oakwood Entertainment, 1986 [1977])†
The Black Orchid (Paramount Pictures, 1959)
The Black Stallion (United Artists, 1979)
The Black Stallion Returns (MGM/UA, 1983)
The Black Windmill (Universal Pictuers, 1974)†
Blame It on the Night (TriMark Pictures, 1984)
Blank Check (Buena Vista, 1994)
Bless the Beasts and Children (Columbia Pictures, 1971)
The Blind Bird (CBS, 1967 [1964])[28]
Blood on the Arrow (Allied Artists, 1964)
The Blue Bird (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1976)[29]
Blue Fin (Topar Films, 1978)‡
The Blue Yonder (Disney Channel, 1985)
Bobby Ware Is Missing (Allied Artists, 1955)
Bogus (Warner Bros, 1996)
Boot Polish (J.H. Hoffberg, 1958 [1954])[30]
Boots and Saddles (Republic Pictures, 1937)
Border Street (Globe Film Distributors, 1950 [1948])[31]
Born to Run (NBC, 1979 [1977])‡[32]
The Borrowers (NBC, 1973)
Bottoms Up (Warner Bros/Seven Arts, 1962 [1960])†
The Bowery (United Artists, 1933)
Boy (Grove Press, 1970 [1969])[33]
A Boy, a Girl and a Dog (Film Classics, 1946)
The Boy and the Pirates (United Artists, 1960)
The Boy from Stalingrad (Columbia Pictures, 1943)
A Boy Ten Feet Tall (Paramount Pictures, 1965 [1963])†[34]
Boy Trouble (Paramount Pictures, 1939)
Boy Who Caught a Crook (United Artists, 1961)
The Boy Who Stole a Million (Paramount Pictures, 1960)†
The Boy Who Stole the Elephant (NBC, 1970)[35]
The Boy with Green Hair (RKO Radio Pictures, 1948)
The Boys from Brazil (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1978)

[24] Released in the UK as *No Kidding*.
[25] *Ladri di biciclette* (Italy).
[26] Slide lists the film as being released in 1940 without the approval of the PCA (1998, 186).
[27] No contemporary North American release date is provided on IMDb, but the film did play at film festivals in Toronto, New York and Chicago (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0078870/?ref_=nv_sr_1).
[28] *Slepaya ptitsa* (Soviet Union).
[29] US-Soviet Union co-production; remake of the 1940 film of the same name in which Shirley Temple had the starring role, her younger juvenile co-star being too young at the time of filming for inclusion in this thesis (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/8325).
[30] In Hindi with English subtitles (India).
[31] *Ulica Graniczna* (Poland).
[32] UK-AU co-production; originally released with the title *Harness Fever*.
[33] *Shônen* (Japan).
[34] Released in the UK as *Sammy Going South*.
[35] Aired in two parts on The Wonderful World of Disney (Sept. 20 and 27).

The Boys of St. Vincent (CBS, 1992)††[36]
Boys' Ranch (MGM, 1946)
Boys' School (Columbia Pictures, 1939 [1938])[37]
Boys Town (MGM, 1938)
The Brand of Hate (1935)*
The Brass Legend (United Artists, 1956)
The B.R.A.T. Patrol (ABC, 1986)[38]
The Brave One (RKO Radio Pictures, 1956)
The Bravos (ABC, 1972)
Breaking the Ice (RKO Radio Pictures, 1938)
The Bride Goes Wild (MGM, 1948)
Bright Road (MGM, 1953)
Brighty of the Grand Canyon (FFCA, 1966)
The Browning Version (Paramount Pictures, 1994)†
The Buccaneer (Paramount Pictures, 1959)[39]
Bugsy Malone (Paramount Pictures, 1976)†[40]
Bump in the Night (CBS, 1991)
Burning Secret (Vestron Pictures, 1988)†[41]
Burnt Offerings (United Artists, 1976)
Bush Christmas (Universal Pictures, 1947)‡[42]
Bushwhacked (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1995)
The Butcher Boy (Warner Bros, 1998 [1997])[43]
By the Light of the Silvery Moon (Warner Bros, 1953)[44]

Caesar and Cleopatra (United Artists, 1946 [1945])†
Cahill United States Marshal (Warner Bros, 1973)
California Gold Rush (Republic Pictures, 1946)[45]
California Passage (Republic Pictures, 1950)
Call the Mesquiteers (Republic Pictures, 1938)[46]
Calling Wild Bill Elliott (Republic Pictures, 1943)[47]
Camp Nowhere (Buena Vista, 1994)
Canon City (Eagle-Lion Films, 1948)
Canyon River (Allied Artists, 1956)
Captain Grant's Children (Amkino Corporation, 1939 [1936])[48]
Captain Johnno (PBS, 1989 [1988])‡
Captains Courageous (MGM, 1937)
Carbine Williams (MGM, 1952)
Careful, He Might Hear You (Twentieth Century-Fox,1984 [1983])‡
Casey's Shadow (Columbia Pictures, 1978)
The Castaway Cowboy (Buena Vista, 1974)
The Castaways on Gilligan's Island (NBC, 1979)
Cattle Drive (Universal Pictures, 1951)
Challenge to White Fang (Premiere Releasing, 1975 [1974])[49]
The Champ (MGM, 1931)[50]
The Champ (MGM, 1979)
Central Station (Sony Pictures Classics, 1998)[51]

[36] This film and *The Boys of St. Vincent: 15 Years Later* were broadcast on successive nights, the latter including some flashbacks that supplement the primary depictions of juvenile masculinity in the first.
[37] *Les disparus de St. Agil* (France).
[38] Aired in one part on The Magical World of Disney.
[39] Remake of *The Buccaneer* (1938), which does not feature a similar juvenile male character.
[40] UK-US co-production.
[41] UK-West Germany co-production.
[42] Australia-UK co-production.
[43] US-Ireland co-production.
[44] Sequel to *On Moonlight Bay* (1951), both films adapted from Booth Tarkington's Penrod stories, which were also the basis of *The Adventures of Penrod and Sam* (1931).
[45] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[46] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[47] Part of the Wild Bill Elliott series.
[48] *Deti kapitana Granta* (Soviet Union); the basis for this film and *In Search of the Castaways* (1962) was Jules Verne's *Les enfants du capitaine Grant* (1868), translated into English as *A Voyage round the World* (1877).
[49] *Il ritorno di Zanna Bianca* (Italy); co-produced with West Germany and France.
[50] Remade in 1953 as *The Clown*.

Chetniks! (The Fighting Guerrillas) (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1943)
Cheyenne Wildcat (Republic Pictures, 1944)[52]
Chicago Calling (United Artists, 1952)
Child in the Night (CBS, 1990)
A Child Is Missing (CBS, 1995)
A Child Is Waiting (United Artists, 1963)
Child of Glass (NBC, 1978)[53]
The Child Saver (NBC, 1988)
Child's Cry (CBS, 1986)
Child's Play (United Artists, 1988)
Child's Play 2 (Universal Pictures, 1990)
The Childhood of Maxim Gorky (Amkino Corporation, 1938)[54]
Children of Heaven (Miramax, 1998 [1997])[55]
Children of the Corn (New World Pictures, 1984)
Children of the Damned (MGM, 1964)†
China Doll (United Artists, 1958)
Chitty Chitty Bang Bang (United Artists, 1968)†
A Christmas Carol (MGM, 1938)
A Christmas Carol (United Artists, 1951)†[56]
Christmas on Division Street (CBS, 1991)
A Christmas Memory (CBS, 1997)
A Christmas Story (MGM/UA, 1983)
A Christmas to Remember (CBS, 1978)
Chronicle of a Boy Alone (1965)[57]
Cinderella Liberty (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1973)
A Circle of Children (CBS, 1977)
Circumstantial Evidence (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1945)
The City of Lost Children (Sony Pictures, 1995)[58]
Clara's Heart (Warner Bros, 1988)
The Client (Warner Bros, 1994)
The Climb (Spellbound Pictures, 1999 [1997])††[59]
Cloak & Dagger (Universal Pictures, 1984)[60]
The Clown (MGM, 1953)[61]
The Clown and the Kids (Childhood Productions, 1968)[62]
Cocoon (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1985)
Cold River (Pacific Int'l Enterprises, 1982)[63]
The Color of Paradise (Varahonar Company, 1999)[64]
Colorado Pioneers (Republic Pictures, 1945)[65]
The Colossus of New York (Paramount Pictures, 1958)[66]
Come Next Spring (Republic Pictures, 1956)
Confirm or Deny (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1941)
Conquest of Cheyenne (Republic Pictures, 1946)[67]
The Constant Woman (1933)*[68]
Cornbread, Earl and Me (AIP, 1975)
Count Your Blessings (MGM, 1959)
Courage of Black Beauty (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1957)
The Courtship of Eddie's Father (MGM, 1963)

[51] *Central do Brasil* (Brazil); co-produced with France.
[52] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[53] Aired on The Magical World of Disney.
[54] *Detstvo Gorkogo* (Soviet Union).
[55] *Bacheha-Ye aseman* (Iran).
[56] Released in the UK as *Scrooge*.
[57] *Crónica de un niño solo* (Argentina); the film did not have a contemporary theatrical release in the US, but was released on video in 1994 by Award Film International (see *Robby* [1968] for another example of this).
[58] *La cité des enfants perdus* (France).
[59] Co-produced with New Zealand.
[60] The film is based on the same short story (Cornell Woolrich's "The Boy Cried Murder") as both *The Window* (1949) and *Eyewitness* (1970), but is not a remake of either.
[61] Remake of *The Champ* (1931).
[62] US-Bulgaria co-production; released in Bulgaria in 1967.
[63] The copyright notice at the end of the film is dated 1979.
[64] *Rang-e khoda* (Iran).
[65] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[66] Released on a double bill with *The Space Children* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/52503).
[67] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[68] Reissued in 1938 as *Hell in a Circus*.

The Cowboy and the Bandit (1935)*
The Cowboys (Warner Bros, 1972)
Crime in the Streets (Allied Artists, 1956)
Crime School (Warner Bros, 1938)[69]
CrissCross (MGM, 1992)
Cross My Heart (MK2 Diffusion, 1991 [1990])[70]
A Cry from the Streets (Tudor Pictures, 1959 [1958])†
Cry for the Strangers (CBS, 1982)
Cujo (Warner Bros, 1983)
The Cure (Universal Pictures, 1995)
Curley (United Artists, 1947)
Cyclone of the Saddle (1935)*

Damien: Omen II (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1978)
Damn the Defiant! (Columbia Pictures, 1962)†[71]
Damnation Alley (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1977)
A Damsel in Distress (RKO Radio Pictures, 1937)
Danger Flight (Monogram Pictures, 1939)
Danger – Love at Work (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1937)
Dangerous Exile (RFDA, 1958 [1957])†
Dangerous Holiday (Republic Pictures, 1937)
Daniel Boone (RKO Radio Pictures, 1936)
Danny Boy (PRC, 1945)
Dark Forces (New Image, 1983 [1980])[72]‡
Darling, How Could You! (Paramount Pictures, 1951)
D.A.R.Y.L. (Paramount Pictures, 1985)
David (ABC, 1988)
The Day of the Locust (Paramount Pictures, 1975)
Day of the Outlaw (United Artists, 1959)
The Day the Earth Stood Still (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1951)
The Daydreamer (Embassy Pictures, 1966)
Dead End (United Artists, 1937)[73]
Deadly Duo (United Artists, 1962)
The Deadly Trackers (Warner Bros, 1973)
Dear Brigitte (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1965)
Death Valley (Universal Pictures, 1982)
Deception: A Mother's Secret (NBC, 1991)
The Deep End of the Ocean (Columbia Pictures, 1999)
Deep Waters (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1948)
The Defiant Ones (United Artists, 1958)[74]
The Demon Murder Case (NBC, 1983)
Dennis the Menace (Warner Bros, 1993)
The Desperate Hours (Paramount Pictures, 1955)
Desperate Measures (TriStar Pictures, 1998)
Desperate Search (MGM, 1953)
Destry (United Artists, 1955)
The Devil and Max Devlin (Buena Vista, 1981)
Devil Girl from Mars (Spartan Films, 1955 [1954])†
The Devil Is a Sissy (MGM, 1936)
Devil Times Five (Cinemation, 1974)[75]
The Devil's Playground (EMC, 1979 [1976])‡
Diabolique (Kino International, 1955)[76]
Dick Tracy (RKO Radio Pictures, 1945)[77]

[69] Remake of *The Mayor of Hell* (1933) and part of the Dead End Kids series.
[70] *La fracture du myocarde* (France).
[71] Released in the UK as *H.M.S. Defiant*.
[72] Released in Australia as *Harlequin*.
[73] First film in the Dead End Kids series.
[74] The film was remade in 1986, but the stricter criteria applied to that decade eliminated it from inclusion in the thesis even though the same juvenile male character appeared in it.
[75] The movie was filmed and first advertised under the title *People Toys*, the rights then purchased by Seymour Borde & Associates in 1976 who renamed it *The Devil Times Five*; a 1978 article, however, claims it was distributed four years earlier as *Devil Time Five* and this is the name I viewed it under (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/55701).
[76] *Les diaboliques* (France); remade in 1974 as *Reflections of Murder*.
[77] First film in the Dick Tracy series.

Dick Tracy (Buena Vista, 1990)
Digby, the Biggest Dog in the World (Cinerama Releasing, 1974 [1973])†
Dinky (Warner Bros, 1935)
Dinosaurus! (Universal Pictures, 1960)
The Divided Heart (Republic Pictures, 1955 [1954])†
Divorce in the Family (MGM, 1932)
Do You Know the Muffin Man? (CBS, 1989)
Doctor Dolittle (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1967)
Dodge City (Warner Bros, 1939)
A Dog of Flanders (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1960)
A Dog of Flanders (Warner Bros, 1999)
A Dog's Best Friend (United Artists, 1960)
Dondi (Allied Artists, 1961)
The Doorway to Hell (Warner Bros, 1930)
The Double McGuffin (Mulberry Square, 1979)
Down the Wyoming Trail (Monogram Pictures, 1939)
Down to the Sea in Ships (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1949)
Down with Misery (LFDC, 1950 [1945])[78]
A Dream of Kings (NGP, 1969)
Dreaming Out Loud (RKO Radio Pictures, 1940)
Drums (United Artists, 1938)†[79]
Dunston Checks In (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1996)
Dutch (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1991)

The Earthling (Filmways Pictures, 1980)[80]
Earthquake (Universal Pictures, 1974)
Echoes of a Summer (Cine Artists, 1976)††[81]
The Education of Little Tree (Paramount Pictures, 1997)††
The Egyptian (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1954)
Elephant Boy (United Artists, 1937)†
Emil and the Detectives (UFC, 1933 [1931])[82]
Emil and the Detectives (Olympic Pictures, 1938 [1935])†
Emil and the Detectives (Buena Vista, 1964)
Empire of the Sun (Warner Bros, 1987)
The Enchanted Forest (PRC, 1945)
Escapade (DCA, 1957 [1955])†
The Escape (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1939)
The Escape Artist (Orion Pictures, 1982)[83]
Escape to Paradise (RKO Radio Pictures, 1939)
Escape to Witch Mountain (Buena Vista, 1975)
Escape to Witch Mountain (ABC, 1995)
E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial (Universal Pictures, 1982)
Eternity and a Day (MIP, 1999 [1998])[84]
Europe '51 (I.F.E. Releasing, 1954 [1952])[85]
Every Home Should Have One (Quartet Films, 1978 [1970])†
Every Little Crook and Nanny (MGM, 1972)
Everybody's Baby (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1939)[86]
Existence (Bryanston Distributing, 1973)†[87]
Explorers (Paramount Pictures, 1985)
Eye of the Devil (MGM, 1967 [1966])†

The Fallen Idol (SRO, 1949 [1948])†
Family Honeymoon (Universal Pictures, 1949)
Family Sins (CBS, 1987)
Fangs of the Wild (Astor Pictures, 1942)
Fanny and Alexander (Embassy Pictures, 1983 [1982])[88]

[78] *Abbasso la miseria!* (Italy).
[79] Released in the UK as *The Drum*.
[80] US-Australia co-production.
[81] US-Canada co-production.
[82] *Emil und die Detektive* (Germany).
[83] The film was shot in 1979 (Holmstrom 1998, 350-51).
[84] *Mia aioniotita kai mia mera* (Greece); co-produced with France, Italy and Germany.
[85] *Europa '51* (Italy).
[86] Part of the Jones Family series.
[87] Released in the UK as *The 14*.

The Fantastic World of D.C. Collins (NBC, 1984)
Father and Scout (ABC, 1994)
A Father for Charlie (CBS, 1995)
Father Is a Bachelor (Columbia Pictures, 1950)
Fatty Finn (Hoyts Distribution, 1980)‡
Female Artillery (ABC, 1973)
Fighting Back (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1948)
Fighting Father Dunne (RKO Radio Pictures, 1948)
The Final Conflict (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1981)[89]
First Kid (Buena Vista, 1996)
Fish Hawk (Embassy Pictures, 1981)††[90]
The Fish That Saved Pittsburgh (United Artists, 1979)
Fisherman's Wharf (RKO Radio Pictures, 1939)[91]
Five Little Peppers and How They Grew (Columbia Pictures, 1939)[92]
Five Minutes to Live (Sutton Pictures, 1960)[93]
The Flame and the Arrow (Warner Bros, 1950)
Flash (ABC, 1997)
Flight of the Innocent (MGM, 1993 [1992])[94]
Flight of the Navigator (Buena Vista, 1986)
Flipper (MGM, 1963)
Flipper (Universal Pictures, 1996)
Flood (NBC, 1976)
Flood Tide (Universal Pictures, 1958)
The Fly (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1958)[95]
Flying Fists (Victory Pictures, 1937)
Follow Me, Boys! (Buena Vista, 1966)
The Fool Killer (Allied Artists, 1965)
For a Lost Soldier (Strand Releasing, 1993 [1992])[96]
For the Love of Aaron (CBS, 1994)
For the Love of Rusty (Columbia Pictures, 1947)[97]
For the Love of Willadean (NBC, 1964)[98]
Forbidden Games (TFC, 1952)[99]
Forever Young (Warner Bros, 1992)
Forever Young, Forever Free (Universal Pictures, 1977 [1975])[100]
Fort Dobbs (Warner Bros, 1958)
Free Willy (Warner Bros, 1993)
Free Willy 2: The Adventure Home (Warner Bros, 1995)
Free Willy 3: The Rescue (Warner Bros, 1997)
Fresh (Miramax, 1994)
Friday the 13th: A New Beginning (Paramount Pictures, 1985)
Friday the 13th: The Final Chapter (Paramount Pictures, 1984)[101]
From the Mixed-Up Files of Mrs. Basil E. Frankweiler (Cinema 5 Distributing, 1973)
Frontier Days (1934)*
The Frontiersmen (Paramount Pictures, 1938)
Fun in Acapulco (Paramount Pictures, 1963)
Funny Games (Attitude Films, 1998 [1997])[102]

[88] *Fanny och Alexander* (Sweden); co-production with France and West Germany.
[89] Third film in the Omen trilogy: *The Omen* (1976); *Damien: Omen II* (1978).
[90] Premiered at the MFF in 1979.
[91] Remake of *Peck's Bad Boy* (1934).
[92] Part of the Pepper Family series.
[93] The film was re-released in 1966 by AIP as *Door-to-Door Maniac* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/21484).
[94] *La corsa dell'innocente* (Italy).
[95] The 1986 remake does not feature a similar juvenile male character.
[96] *Voor een verloren soldaat* (The Netherlands).
[97] Part of the Rusty series.
[98] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color: "A Taste of Melon" (Mar. 8) and "Treasure in the Haunted House" (Mar. 15).
[99] *Jeux interdits* (France).
[100] *e'Lollipop* (South Africa).
[101] The film was intended to be the final installment in the Friday the 13th series (Mancuso 2015). The three films that preceded it (1980; 1981; 1982) are not relevant to the thesis.
[102] English-titled Austrian film.

Gallant Lady (United Artists, 1934)[103]
The Gambling Terror (Republic Pictures, 1937)
Game of Danger (AAP, 1955 [1954])†[104]
The Gamma People (Columbia Pictures, 1956)†
The Gate (New Century Vista, 1987)[105]
The Gay Sisters (Warner Bros, 1942)
General Spanky (MGM, 1936)
Gentleman's Agreement (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1948)
Germany Year Zero (SDC, 1949 [1948])[106]
Get Out Your Handkerchiefs (New Line Cinema, 1978)[107]
Getting Even with Dad (Warner Bros, 1994)
The Ghost City (Monogram Pictures, 1932)
Ghost in the Machine (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1993)
The Ghost Rider (1935)*
The Giant of Metropolis (GFE, 1963 [1961])[108]
Ginger (Fox Film Corporation, 1935)
The Girl Next Door (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1953)
The Gladiator (Columbia Pictures, 1938)
Gloria (Columbia Pictures, 1980)
The Gnome-Mobile (Buena Vista, 1967)
The Go-Between (Columbia Pictures, 1971)†
Go Toward the Light (CBS, 1988)
God's Gun (CFD, 1978 [1976])[109]
Godzilla vs. Hedorah (AIP, 1972 [1971])[110]
Godzilla vs. Megalon (CSID, 1976 [1973])[111]
Godzilla's Revenge (Maron Films, 1971 [1969])[112]
Going Bananas (CFD, 1987)
The Golden Fortress (PBS, 1981 [1974])[113]
The Golden Seal (Samuel Goldwyn, 1983)
Good Morning (1962 [1959])[114]
The Good Son (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1993)
Goodbye, Mr. Chips (MGM, 1939)[115]
Goodbye, Mr. Chips (MGM, 1969)[116]
Good-bye, My Lady (Warner Bros, 1956)
Goodnight, Mister Tom (PBS, 1999 [1998])†
The Goonies (Warner Bros, 1985)
Gorgo (MGM, 1961)†
The Grand Highway (Miramax, 1988 [1987])[117]
The Great American Pastime (MGM, 1956)
The Great Brain (Osmond International, 1978)
The Great Elephant Escape (ABC, 1995)
The Great Gildersleeve (RKO Radio Pictures, 1942)[118]
The Great Lover (Paramount Pictures, 1949)
The Great Man Votes (RKO Radio Pictures, 1939)
The Great Mike (PRC, 1944)
Great Stagecoach Robbery (Republic Pictures, 1945)[119]
The Green Wall (Altura Films, 1972 [1969])[120]
Gregory K. (ABC, 1993)

[103] The film was remade in 1938 as *Always Goodbye*, which featured an actor too young to qualify for inclusion in this thesis.
[104] Released in the UK as *Bang! You're Dead*.
[105] US-Canada co-production.
[106] *Germania anno zero* (Italy).
[107] *Préparez vos mouchoirs* (France).
[108] *Il gigante di Metropolis* (Italy).
[109] *Diamante Lobo* (Italy); co-produced with Israel.
[110] *Gojira tai Hedora* (Japan).
[111] *Gojira tai Megaro* (Japan).
[112] *Gojira-Minira-Gabara: Oru kaijû daishingeki* (Japan); also known as *All Monsters Attack*, which is a translation of the Japanese subtitle.
[113] *Sonar Kella* (India); film was shown at the CIFF in 1975 before its TV broadcast on PBS.
[114] *Ohayô* (Japan); a release date in the US is provided on IMDb, but no contemporary distributor (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0053134).
[115] US-UK co-production.
[116] US-UK co-production.
[117] *Le grand chemin* (France); remade in 1991 as *Paradise*.
[118] None of the other films in the Great Gildersleeve series focus on the juvenile character of Leroy and he is absent from its last installment.
[119] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[120] *La muralla verde* (Peru).

Gun Code (PRC, 1940)
Gun Duel in Durango (United Artists, 1957)
Guns of Diablo (MGM, 1965)

Halfaouine: Boy of the Terraces (IFC, 1990)[121]
Halloween (Columbia Pictures, 1978)
Hamad and the Pirates (NBC, 1971)[122]
Hammers Over the Anvil (Beyond Films, 1993 [1992])‡
Hand in Hand (Columbia Pictures, 1961)†
Hands of a Stranger (Allied Artists, 1962)
Hans Christian Andersen (RKO Radio Pictures, 1952)
The Happy Road (MGM, 1957)
The Happy Time (Columbia Pictures, 1952)
The Happy Years (MGM, 1950)
Harry Black and the Tiger (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1958)†[123]
Hawaii Calls (RKO Radio Pictures, 1938)
The Hawk (1935)*[124]
Headin' for Trouble (1931)*
The Healer (Monogram Pictures, 1935)[125]
Heart of the Rockies (Republic Pictures, 1937)[126]
Hearts of Humanity (Majestic Pictures, 1932)
Heaven Only Knows (United Artists, 1947)
Heavyweights (Buena Vista, 1995)
Hell's Five Hours (Allied Artists, 1958)
Hell's House (1932)*
A Hen in the Wind (SFA, 1975 [1948])[127]
Her Twelve Men (MGM, 1954)
Hercules against the Mongols (AIP-TV, 1964 [1963])[128]
Here Come the Tigers (AIP, 1978)
Here Comes the Groom (Paramount Pictures, 1951)
The Hero (Embassy Pictures, 1972 [1971])†[129]
Hey Boy! Hey Girl! (Columbia Pictures, 1959)
Hey! Hey! USA (GFD, 1938)†[130]
High and Dry (Universal Pictures, 1954)†[131]
High and Low (Continental Distributing, 1963)[132]
High Fury (United Artists, 1948 [1947])†[133]
High Gear (1933)*
The Hills Run Red (United Artists, 1967 [1966])[134]
A Hole in the Head (United Artists, 1959)
Holiday Affair (RKO Radio Pictures, 1949)
Hollow Reed (CFP, 1997 [1996])†
Holy Matrimony (Buena Vista, 1994)
Home Alone (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1990)
Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1992)
Home Alone 3 (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1997)
Home in Oklahoma (Republic Pictures, 1946)
Homesteaders of Paradise Valley (Republic Pictures, 1947)[135]
Hondo (Warner Bros, 1954)
Honey, I Shrunk the Kids (Buena Vista, 1989)
Honkytonk Man (Warner Bros, 1982)
Hook (TriStar Pictures, 1991)

[121] *Asfour Stah* (Tunisia).
[122] Aired in two parts on The Wonderful World of Disney (Mar. 7 and 14).
[123] Released in the UK as *Harry Black*.
[124] The version I sourced from YouTube has the TV print title *Trail of the Hawk* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/5841).
[125] Reissued a few years later as *Little Pal* to capitalize on Mickey Rooney's new 'star' status (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/3956).
[126] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[127] *Kaze no naka no mendori* (Japan).
[128] *Maciste contro i Mongoli* (Italy).
[129] UK-Israel co-production; released in the UK as *Bloomfield*.
[130] The film was intended to be released in the US under the title *Chicago Ben*, subject to numerous revisions to make it acceptable to the PCA, but its distribution never took place (Slide 1998, 76).
[131] Released in the UK as *The Maggie*.
[132] *Tengoku to jigoku* (Japan).
[133] Released in the UK as *White Cradle Inn*.
[134] *Un fiume di dollari* (Italy).
[135] Part of the Red Ryder series.

The Hoosier Schoolmaster (Monogram Pictures, 1935)
Hope and Glory (Columbia Pictures, 1987)†
The Horse Without a Head (NBC, 1963)[136]
The Hostage (CIP, 1966)
House of Cards (Universal Pictures, 1969)
The House of Dies Drear (PBS, 1984)
The House on Telegraph Hill (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1951)
Houseboat (Paramount Pictures, 1958)
How Green Was My Valley (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1941)
Huck and the King of Hearts (Trimark Pictures, 1993)
Huckleberry Finn (Paramount Pictures, 1931)[137]
Huckleberry Finn (United Artists, 1974)[138]
Hue and Cry (STC, 1949 [1947])†
The Hunted Lady (NBC, 1977)

I Could Go On Singing (United Artists, 1963)[139]
I Know My First Name Is Steven (NBC, 1989)
I-Man (ABC, 1986)
I Wanna Hold Your Hand (Universal Pictures, 1978)
If… (Paramount Pictures, 1969 [1968])†
In Love with Life (1934)*
In Old Monterrey (Republic Pictures, 1939)
In Search of the Castaways (Buena Vista, 1962)[140]
The Indian in the Cupboard (Paramount Pictures, 1995)
Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom (Paramount Pictures, 1984)[141]
Inner Sanctum (Film Classics, 1948)[142]
The Innocent (NBC, 1994)
The Innocents (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1961)†[143]
Into the West (Miramax, 1993 [1992])†[144]
Intruder in the Dust (MGM, 1950)
Invaders from Mars (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1953)
Invaders from Mars (CFD, 1986)
The Invincible Gladiator (GFE, 1963 [1961])[145]
The Invisible Boy (MGM, 1957)
Invitation to Happiness (Paramount Pictures, 1939)
The Iron Master (1933)*[146]
The Island (Universal Pictures, 1980)
The Island on Bird Street (Showtime, 1998 [1997])[147]
It (ABC, 1990)
It Can Be Done Amigo (Worldwide Entertainment, 1974 [1972])[148]
It Happened in Europe (Lopert/Goldridge, 1949 [1948])[149]
It Happened in Hollywood (Columbia Pictures, 1937)
It Runs in the Family (MGM, 1994)[150]
It Started in Naples (Paramount Pictures, 1960)
It Takes a Thief (Valiant Films, 1961 [1960])†[151]

It's Great to Be Young! (FAF, 1957 [1956])†
It's in the Bag! (United Artists, 1945)
Ivan's Childhood (Shore International, 1963 [1962])[152]
Ivory Hunter (Universal Pictures, 1952 [1951])†[153]

Jack and the Beanstalk (Warner Bros, 1952)
Jack and the Beanstalk (NBC, 1967)
Jack Frost (Warner Bros, 1998)
Jack the Bear (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1993)
Jack the Giant Killer (United Artists, 1962)
Jackass Mail (MGM, 1942)
Jacob Two-Two Meets the Hooded Fang (Cinema Shares, 1978)††
Jacob Two-Two Meets the Hooded Fang (Oasis International, 1999)††
Jaws (Universal Pictures, 1975)
Jaws 2 (Universal Pictures, 1978)
Jeremiah Johnson (Warner Bros, 1972)
Jim the World's Greatest (Universal Pictures, 1976)
Jimmy the Kid (New World Pictures, 1982)
Joe the King (Trimark Pictures, 1999)
John and Julie (DCA, 1957 [1955])†
Johnny Holiday (United Artists, 1950)
Johnny on the Run (1953)†[154]
Johnny Shiloh (NBC, 1963)[155]
Josh and S.A.M. (Columbia Pictures, 1993)
Joshua's Heart (NBC, 1990)
Journey to the Beginning of Time (New Trends, 1966 [1955])[156]
Judgment (HBO, 1990)
The Juggler (Columbia Pictures, 1953)
Jungle 2 Jungle (Buena Vista, 1997)
The Jungle Book: Mowgli's Story (1998)
Jurassic Park (Universal Pictures, 1993)
Just Around the Corner (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1938)
Just William's Luck (United Artists, 1948)†

Kavik, the Wolf Dog (NBC, 1980)††
Kazaam (Buena Vista, 1996)
Keeper of the Flame (MGM, 1942)
Kenner (MGM, 1969)
Kenny & Company (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1976)
The Kentuckian (United Artists, 1955)
A Kid for Two Farthings (Lopert Films, 1955)†
The Kid from Cleveland (Republic Pictures, 1949)
The Kid from Left Field (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1953)
The Kid from Left Field (NBC, 1979)
The Kid from Nowhere (NBC, 1982)
Kid Vengeance (CFD, 1977)[157]
The Kid with the 200 I.Q. (NBC, 1983)
The Kid with the Broken Halo (NBC, 1982)
Kidco (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1984)
Kidnapped (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1938)
Kim (MGM, 1951)
The King and I (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1956)[158]

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[136] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color: "The 100,000,000 Franc Train Robbery" (Sept. 23) and "The Key to the Cache" (Oct. 6).
[137] Sequel to *Tom Sawyer* (1930).
[138] Sequel to *Tom Sawyer* (1973).
[139] US-UK co-production.
[140] The basis for this film and *Captain Grant's Children* (1936) was Jules Verne's *Les enfants du capitaine Grant* (1868), translated into English as *A Voyage round the World* (1877).
[141] Second film in the Indiana Jones trilogy: *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981); *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), neither of which are relevant to the thesis.
[142] Final film in the Inner Sanctum series.
[143] Based on Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* (1898), as is *The Turn of the Screw* (1974) and *Presence of Mind* (1999).
[144] Co-produced with Ireland.
[145] *Il gladiatore invincible* (Italy); co-produced with Spain.
[146] This is the title seen in the opening, but it is listed in the AFI Catalog as *Iron Master* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/7810).
[147] English-titled Danish film.
[148] *Si può fare… amigo* (Italy); co-produced with Spain and France.
[149] *Valahol Európában* (Hungary).
[150] Sequel to *A Christmas Story* (1983); later titled *My Summer Story*.
[151] Released in the UK as *The Challenge*.
[152] *Ivanovo detstvo* (Soviet Union).
[153] Released in the UK as *Where No Vultures Fly*.
[154] There is no distribution information for North America on IMDb (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0165837/companycredits?ref_=tt_dt_co), but Brown claims it was the first CFF movie to be shown in the US, winning the award for Best Children's Film at a festival in Connecticut (2017a, 90).
[155] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color (Jan. 20 and 27).
[156] *Cesta do praveku* (Czechoslovakia).
[157] US-Israel co-production.
[158] Both this film and *Anna and the King of Siam* (1946) were ultimately based on the memoirs of Anna Leonowens novelized by Margaret Landon in *Anna and the King of Siam* (1943).

A King in New York (Classic Entertainment, 1973 [1957])†
King of the Hill (Gramercy Pictures, 1993)
King of the Wild Stallions (Allied Artists, 1959)
Kolya (Miramax, 1997 [1996])[159]
Konrad (PBS, 1985)
Korczak (NYF, 1991 [1990])[160]
Kramer vs. Kramer (Columbia Pictures, 1979)

Ladies Love Brutes (Paramount Pictures, 1930)
Lady in White (New Century Vista, 1988)
Landscape in the Mist (NYF, 1990 [1988])[161]
Lassie (Paramount Pictures, 1994)
Lassie Come Home (MGM, 1943)[162]
Lassie: The New Beginning (ABC, 1978)
Lassie: Well of Love (1970)[163]
Lassie's Great Adventure (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1963)[164]
Last Action Hero (Columbia Pictures, 1993)
The Last Flight of Noah's Ark (Buena Vista, 1980)
The Last Gangster (MGM, 1937)
Last Moments (Picturmedia, 1977 [1974])[165]
Last of the Redmen (Columbia Pictures, 1947)
The Last Survivors (NBC, 1975)
The Last Wagon (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1956)
Law of the Canyon (Columbia Pictures, 1947)[166]
Law of the North (Monogram Pictures, 1932)
Law of the Wolf (Arthur Ziehm, 1941)
The Lawnmower Man (New Line Cinema, 1992)
Leather Burners (United Artists, 1943)
Leave It to Beaver (ABC, 1997)
The Legend of Ruby Silver (ABC, 1996)
Léolo (FLF, 1993 [1992])††[167]
Let the Balloon Go (Interplanetary Pictures, 1977 [1976])‡
Let's Kill Uncle (Universal Pictures, 1966)
Let's Sing Again (RKO Radio Pictures, 1936)
Liar Liar (Universal Pictures, 1997)
Lies My Father Told Me (Columbia Pictures, 1975)††
Life Is a Long Quiet River (MK2 Diffusion, 1990 [1988])[168]
Life Is Beautiful (Miramax, 1998 [1997])[169]
Life Returns (Universal Pictures, 1938)[170]
Listen, Darling (MGM, 1938)
Little Big League (Columbia Pictures, 1994)
Little Boy Lost (Paramount Pictures, 1953)
Little Buddha (Miramax, 1994)†[171]
Little Criminals (CBC, 1995)††
Little Fugitive (Joseph Burstyn, 1953)
A Little Game (ABC, 1971)
Little Giants (Warner Bros, 1994)
The Little Kidnappers (United Artists, 1954 [1953])†[172]
Little Lord Fauntleroy (United Artists, 1936)
Little Lord Fauntleroy (CBS, 1980)†
Little Man Tate (Orion Pictures, 1991)
Little Men (Mascot Pictures, 1934)
Little Men (RKO Radio Pictures, 1941)

[159] *Kolja* (Czech Republic).
[160] Poland-Germany co-production.
[161] *Topio stin omihili* (Greece).
[162] First film in the Lassie series.
[163] Listed as a TV movie on IMDb, but no contemporary broadcaster is listed (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0381360/companycredits?ref_=tt_dt_co).
[164] Edited together from a five-part episode in the ninth season of the *Lassie* television series titled "The Journey".
[165] *Il venditore di palloncini* (Italy).
[166] Part of the Durango Kid series.
[167] Co-produced with France.
[168] *La vie est un long fleuve tranquille* (France).
[169] *La vita è bella* (Italy).
[170] While produced in 1934, there is no record of the film's release until 1938 (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/5223).
[171] Co-produced with Italy and France.
[172] Released in the UK as *The Kidnappers*.

Little Mister Jim (MGM, 1947)
Little Monsters (United Artists, 1989)
The Little Prince (Paramount Pictures, 1974)†[173]
The Little Rascals (Universal Pictures, 1994)
The Littlest Angel (NBC, 1969)
A Little Romance (Warner Bros, 1979)[174]
The Littlest Horse Thieves (Buena Vista, 1977 [1976])†[175]
The Littlest Outlaw (Buena Vista, 1955)[176]
The Lone Hand (Universal Pictures, 1953)
Lone Texas Ranger (Republic Pictures, 1945)[177]
The Loneliest Runner (NBC, 1976)
The Long Day Closes (Sony Pictures, 1993 [1992])†
The Long Days of Summer (ABC, 1980)
The Long Haul (Columbia Pictures, 1957)†
Long John Silver (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1955)[178]
Lord Jeff (MGM, 1938)
Long Live Death (Max L. Raab Productions, 1971)[179]
Lord of the Flies (Continental Distributing, 1963)†
Lord of the Flies (Columbia Pictures, 1990)
Lorenzo's Oil (Universal Pictures, 1991)
Lost in the Desert (Columbia Pictures, 1975 [1969])[180]
The Lost Volcano (Monogram Pictures, 1950)[181]
Love Is on the Air (Warner Bros, 1937)
Love That Brute (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1950)[182]
Lovey: A Circle of Children, Part Two (CBS, 1978)[183]

Mac and Me (Orion Pictures, 1988)
Maciste in King Solomon's Mines (Embassy Pictures, 1964)[184]
Macon County Line (AIP, 1974)
Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome (Warner Bros, 1985)‡[185]
Madame Rosa (ARC, 1978 [1977])[186]
The Magic of Lassie (IPSC, 1978)
The Magic Weaver (Allied Artists, 1965 [1960])[187]
The Magnet (Universal Pictures, 1951 [1950])†
Maid of Salem (Paramount Pictures, 1937)
Major Payne (Universal Pictures, 1995)
Make a Wish (RKO Radio Pictures, 1937)
Making Contact (New World Pictures, 1986 [1985])[188]
Man and Boy (Columbia Pictures, 1972)
The Man Between (United Artists, 1953)†
The Man from Clover Grove (ACR, 1973)
Man from God's Country (Allied Artists, 1958)
The Man from Hell (1934)*
The Man from Left Field (CBS, 1993)
The Man from the Alamo (Universal Pictures, 1953)
Man Hunt (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1941)
The Man I Married (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1940)
The Man in the Net (United Artists, 1959)
The Man in the Santa Claus Suit (NBC, 1979)
Man of the House (Buena Vista, 1995)

[173] UK-US co-production.
[174] US-France co-production.
[175] UK-US co-production; released in the UK as *Escape from the Dark*.
[176] A Spanish-language version was also shot and titled *El pequeño proscrito* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/51564).
[177] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[178] Co-produced with Australia where it was released in 1954; sequel to *Treasure Island* (1950).
[179] *Viva la muerte* (France and Tunisia).
[180] *Dirkie* (South Africa).
[181] Part of the Bomba, the Jungle Boy series.
[182] Remake of *Tall, Dark and Handsome* (1941).
[183] Sequel to *A Circle of Children* (1977).
[184] *Maciste nelle miniere del re Salomone* (Italy).
[185] The final film in the Mad Max trilogy: *Mad Max* (1980 [1979]); *The Road Warrior* (1982 [1981]).
[186] *La vie devant soi* (France).
[187] *Mariya-iskusnitsa* (Soviet Union).
[188] *Joey* (West Germany); dubbed in English for its North American release (Haase 2007, 107).

Man on Fire (MGM, 1957)
The Man Who Knew Too Much (Paramount Pictures, 1956)[189]
The Man Without a Face (Warner Bros, 1993)
Man, Woman and Child (Paramount Pictures, 1983)
Man's Best Friend (1935)*
Manny's Orphans (1978)[190]
The Marauders (MGM, 1955)
Marie Antoinette (MGM, 1938)
Marshal of Cripple Creek (Republic Pictures, 1947)[191]
Marshal of Laredo (Republic Pictures, 1945)[192]
Marshal of Reno (Republic Pictures, 1944)[193]
Masked Raiders (RKO Radio Pictures, 1949)
Mason of the Mounted (Monogram Pictures, 1932)
Masquerade (United Artists, 1965)
Massarati and the Brain (ABC, 1982)
The Mating of Millie (Columbia Pictures, 1948)
Maximum Overdrive (DEG, 1986)[194]
Maya (MGM, 1966)
The Mayor of Hell (Warner Bros, 1933)[195]
Me and the Kid (Orion Pictures, 1993)
Meatballs (Paramount Pictures, 1979)††
Medium Cool (Paramount Pictures, 1969)
Melody (Levitt-Pickman, 1971)†
Melody for Three (RKO Radio Pictures, 1941)
Men of Boys Town (MGM, 1941)[196]
Menace on the Mountain (NBC, 1970)[197]
Mercury Rising (Universal Pictures, 1998)
Mexicali Rose (Republic Pictures, 1939)
The Miami Story (Columbia Pictures, 1954)
The Middleton Family at the New York World's Fair (1939)[198]
A Midsummer Night's Dream (Warner Bros, 1935)
The Mighty (Miramax, 1998)
The Mighty Ducks (Buena Vista, 1992)
The Mighty McGurk (MGM, 1947)
Milk Money (Paramount Pictures, 1994)
The Million Dollar Duck (Buena Vista, 1971)
Millionaire Kid (1936)*
Mind Games (MGM, 1989)
Mio in the Land of Faraway (Miramax, 1988 [1987])[199]
The Miracle of Our Lady of Fatima (Warner Bros, 1952)
Mister Scoutmaster (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1953)
Misty (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1961)
Mixed Company (United Artists, 1974)
Mokey (MGM, 1942)
Mon Oncle Antoine (Gendon Films, 1972 [1971])††
Mondo (Shadow Distribution, 1997 [1995])[200]
Money, Women and Guns (Universal Pictures, 1959)
The Monster of Highgate Ponds (Continental Distributing, 1962 [1961])†[201]
The Monster Squad (TriStar Pictures, 1987)
The Montana Kid (Monogram Pictures, 1931)
Montreal Main (New Cinema, 1974)††
Moochie of the Little League (ABC, 1959)[202]
Mooncussers (NBC, 1962)[203]
Moonfleet (MGM, 1955)
Moonlight on the Prairie (Warner Bros, 1935)
Mosby's Marauders (NBC, 1967)[204]
The Mosquito Coast (Warner Bros, 1986)
Mother's Boys (Dimension Films, 1994)
Mountain Rhythm (Republic Pictures, 1943)
Mr. Celebrity (PRC, 1941)
Mr. Hobbs Takes a Vacation (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1962)
Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill (Eagle-Lion Films, 1949 [1948])†
Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (Columbia Pictures, 1939)
Mr. Winkle Goes to War (Columbia Pictures, 1944)
Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch (Paramount Pictures, 1934)
The Mudlark (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1950)†[205]
Muppet Treasure Island (Buena Vista, 1996)
The Music Man (Warner Bros, 1962)
My Ain Folk (Films Inc., 1977 [1973])†[206]
My Bill (Warner Bros, 1938)[207]
My Brother Talks to Horses (MGM, 1947)
My Childhood (Films Inc., 1977 [1972])†
My Dog Rusty (Columbia Pictures, 1948)[208]
My Dog Shep (SGP, 1946)
My Father's Glory (Orion Classics, 1991 [1990])[209]
My Friend Flicka (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1943)
My Life as a Dog (Skouras Pictures, 1987 [1985])[210]
My Little Loves (NYF, 1987 [1974])[211]
My Mother's Castle (Orion Classics, 1991 [1990])[212]
My Pal Gus (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1952)
My Side of the Mountain (Paramount Pictures, 1969)
My Six Loves (Paramount Pictures, 1963)
The Mystery of the Million Dollar Hockey Puck (Maple Pictures, 1975)††

Naked Childhood (Altura Films, 1968)[213]
The Naked Island (Zenith International Films, 1962 [1960])[214]
The Naked Runner (Warner Bros, 1967)†
The Nanny (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1965)†
Napoleon and Samantha (Buena Vista, 1972)
The Narrow Margin (RKO Radio Pictures, 1952)
Navajo (Lippert Pictures, 1952)
The Navigator: A Medieval Odyssey (Circle Films, 1988)‡[215]
Necessary Parties (PBS, 1988)
Nevada (RKO Radio Pictures, 1944)
Nevada City (Republic Pictures, 1941)
Never Take No for an Answer (Souvaine Selective, 1952 [1951])†[216]
The NeverEnding Story (Warner Bros, 1984)[217]
The NeverEnding Story II: The Next Chapter (Warner Bros,

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[189] Remake of *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934)† wherein the kidnapped child is a girl rather than a boy.
[190] The film is copyrighted 1978, but IMDb lists no contemporary theatrical release (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0207597/?ref_=nv_sr_1). The version I have is the 1987 release on VHS by Vestron Video.
[191] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[192] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[193] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[194] Remade in 1997 as *Trucks*, but featuring an actor too old for inclusion in this thesis.
[195] Remade in 1938 as *Crime School*.
[196] Sequel to *Boys Town* (1938).
[197] Aired in two parts on The Wonderful World of Disney (Mar. 1 and 8).
[198] The film was distributed freely to exhibitors to show on the bottom half of double bills (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/6798).
[199] *Mio min Mio* (Sweden); co-produced with the Soviet Union and Norway.
[200] French with English subtitles (France).
[201] CFF production.
[202] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color: "A Diamond is a Boy's Best Friend" (Oct. 2) and "Wrong Way Moochie" (Oct. 9).
[203] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color: "Graveyard of Ships" (Dec. 2) and "Wake of Disaster" (Dec. 9).
[204] Edited down from three episodes on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color: "Willie and the Yank: The Deserter" (aired Jan. 8), "Willie and the Yank: The Mosby Raiders" (aired Jan. 15) and "Willie and the Yank: The Matchmaker" (aired Jan. 22).
[205] UK-US co-production.
[206] Sequel to *My Childhood* (1972).
[207] Remake of *Courage* (1930).
[208] Part of the Rusty series.
[209] *La gloire de mon père* (France).
[210] *Mitt liv som hund* (Sweden).
[211] *Mes petites amoureuses* (France).
[212] *Le château de ma mere* (France); sequel to *My Father's Glory*.
[213] *L'enfance nue* (France).
[214] *Hadaka no shima* (Japan).
[215] Australia-New Zealand co-production.
[216] UK-Italy co-production.
[217] US-West Germany co-production.

1991)[218]
The NeverEnding Story III (Miramax, 1996)[219]
The New Adventures of Pinocchio (New Line Cinema, 1999)[220]
The New Gulliver (Serlin-Burstyn, 1935)[221]
New Mexico (United Artists, 1951)
Newsies (Buena Vista, 1991)
The Next Voice You Hear… (MGM, 1950)
The Night of the Hunter (United Artists, 1955)
Night of the Hunter (ABC, 1991)
Nicholas and Alexandra (Columbia Pictures, 1971)[222]
Night Passage (Universal Pictures, 1957)
Night Train for Inverness (Paramount Television, 1960)†
The Nightcomers (AVCO Embassy Pictures, 1972 [1971])†[223]
Nine Days a Queen (Gaumont, 1936)†[224]
No Deposit, No Return (Buena Vista, 1976)
No Greater Glory (Columbia Pictures, 1934)
No Room at the Inn (Stratford Pictures, 1949 [1948])†
North (Columbia Pictures, 1994)
The North Star (RKO Radio Pictures, 1943)
Nowhere to Run (Columbia Pictures, 1993)

Odongo: An Adventure of the African Frontier (Columbia Pictures, 1956)†
The Ogre (Kino International, 1998 [1996])[225]
The Old Barn Dance (Republic Pictures, 1938)
The Old Man and the Sea (Warner Bros, 1958)
Old Yeller (Buena Vista, 1958)
Oliver! (Columbia Pictures, 1968)†
Oliver Twist (Monogram Pictures, 1933)
Oliver Twist (United Artists, 1951 [1948])†
Oliver Twist (CBS, 1982)[226]
Oliver Twist (ABC, 1997)
Olly, Olly, Oxen Free (Sanrio Communications, 1978)
On Borrowed Time (MGM, 1939)
On Moonlight Bay (Warner Bros, 1951)[227]
On the Sunny Side (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1942)
Once Upon a Time (Columbia Pictures, 1944)
One Little Indian (Buena Vista, 1973)
One Wish Too Many (Continental Distributing, 1964 [1956])†[228]
Only Yesterday (Universal Pictures, 1933)
Oregon Trail Scouts (Republic Pictures, 1947)[229]
The Orphan (World Northal, 1979)[230]
An Orphan Boy of Vienna (GFS, 1937 [1936])[231]
Orphan Train (CBS, 1979)
O'Shaugnessy's Boy (MGM, 1935)
The Other (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1972)
Other Voices, Other Rooms (Artistic License, 1997 [1995])†[232]

[218] US-Germany co-production; released in Germany in 1990.
[219] US-Germany co-production; released in Germany in 1994.
[220] Co-produced with the UK and Germany; sequel to *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (1996).
[221] *Novyy Gulliver* (Soviet Union).
[222] US-UK co-production; the historical background for this film also served as the basis for *Rasputin and the Empress* (1933), *Rasputin: The Mad Monk* (1966) and *Rasputin* (1996).
[223] Prequel to *The Innocents* (1961).
[224] Released in the UK as *Tudor Rose* with the subtitle *The Story of Lady Jane Grey*.
[225] France-Germany co-production (English language).
[226] US-UK co production.
[227] This film and its sequel *By the Light of the Silvery Moon* (1953) were adapted from Booth Tarkington's Penrod stories, which were also the basis of *The Adventures of Penrod and Sam* (1931).
[228] CFF production.
[229] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[230] Also released under the title *Friday the 13th… The Orphan*, but it is not related to the *Friday the 13th* franchise that began the following year (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/56770).
[231] *Singende Jugend* (Austria); co-produced with the Netherlands.
[232] US-UK co-production.

Our Flags Lead Us Forward (UFC, 1934 [1933])[233]
Our Mother's House (MGM, 1967)†
Out California Way (Republic Pictures, 1946)
Out West with the Peppers (Columbia Pictures, 1940)[234]
Outpost in Malaya (United Artists, 1952)†[235]
Outlaws of the Range (1936)*
Over the Edge (Warner Bros, 1980)
Over the Top (Warner Bros, 1987)

Pablo and the Dancing Chihuahua (NBC, 1968)[236]
Paco (Cinema National, 1976)[237]
The Painted Hills (MGM, 1951)[238]
Paper Tiger (Joseph E. Levine, 1975)†
Paradise (Buena Vista, 1991)[239]
Paris, Texas (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1984)[240]
Pather Panchali (Edward Harrison, 1958 [1955])[241]
Paula (Columbia Pictures, 1952)
Peck's Bad Boy (Fox Film Corporation, 1934)[242]
Peck's Bad Boy with the Circus (RKO Radio Pictures, 1938)
Pelle the Conqueror (Miramax, 1988 [1987])[243]
Penrod and Sam (Warner Bros, 1937)
Penrod's Double Trouble (Warner Bros, 1938)
The People under the Stairs (Universal Pictures, 1991)
A Perfect World (Warner Bros, 1993)
Pet Sematary II (Paramount Pictures, 1992)
Pete 'n' Tillie (Universal Pictures, 1972)
Pete's Dragon (Buena Vista, 1977)
Peter Lundy and the Medicine Hat Stallion (NBC, 1977)
Phantasm (AVCO Embassy, 1979)
Phantom of the Plains (Republic Pictures, 1945)[244]
Phantom Stallion (Republic Pictures, 1954)
The Phantom Tollbooth (MGM, 1970)
The Phynx (Warner Bros, 1970)
The Pied Piper (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1942)
The Pigeon That Took Rome (Paramount Pictures, 1962)
The Pit (New World Pictures, 1981)††
Pixote (Unifilms, 1981)[245]
Plymouth Adventure (MGM, 1952)
Police Court (Monogram Pictures, 1932)
Pontiac Moon (Paramount Pictures, 1994)
Pony Soldier (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1952)
Popi (United Artists, 1969)
The Poseidon Adventure (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1972)
The Possession of Joel Delaney (Paramount Pictures, 1972)
Prelude to Fame (Universal Pictures, 1950)†
Presence of Mind (Cargo Films, 1999)[246]
The Prince and the Pauper (Warner Bros, 1937)
The Prince and the Pauper (Walt Disney, 1962)†
The Private War of Major Benson (Universal Pictures, 1955)
Problem Child (Universal Pictures, 1990)
Problem Child 2 (Universal Pictures, 1991)
Problem Child 3 (NBC, 1995)
Professional Soldier (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1936)

[233] *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Germany).
[234] Part of the Pepper Family series.
[235] Released in the UK as *The Planter's Wife*.
[236] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color (Jan. 28 and Feb. 4).
[237] US-Colombia co-production.
[238] Part of the Lassie series.
[239] Remake of *The Grand Highway* (1987).
[240] West Germany-France co-production.
[241] Bengali with English subtitles (India); first film in the Apu Trilogy: *Aparajito* (1959 [1956]) and *The World of Apu* (1960 [1959]).
[242] Remade in 1939 as *Fisherman's Wharf*.
[243] *Pelle erobreren* (Denmark); co-production with Sweden.
[244] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[245] *Pixote: A lei do mais fraco* (Brazil).
[246] Based on Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* (1898), as is *The Innocents* (1961) and *The Turn of the Screw* (1974).

The Proud Rebel (Buena Vista, 1958)
Public Opinion (1935)*
Pulse (Columbia Pictures, 1988)
Pumpkinhead (United Artists, 1989)

Quantrill's Raiders (Allied Artists, 1958)
The Quest (Miramax, 1986)‡[247]
The Quiet One (Arthur Mayer & Joseph Burstyn, 1949)
Quo Vadis (MGM, 1951)

The Rabbit Trap (United Artists, 1959)
Rachel and the Stranger (RKO Radio Pictures, 1948)
Racing Luck (Republic Pictures, 1935)
Radio Flyer (Columbia Pictures, 1992)
Rage (Warner Bros, 1972)
The Raid (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1954)
The Railroad Man (Continental Distributing, 1965 [1956])[248]
The Railway Children (Universal Pictures, 1971 [1970])†
The Rainbow Jacket (ABC, 1956 [1954])†
Rainbow on the River (RKO Radio Pictures, 1936)
Ransom! (MGM, 1956)
Ransom (Buena Vista, 1996)
The Ransom of Red Chief (ABC, 1998)
Rascal (Buena Vista, 1969)
Rasputin (HBO, 1996)[249]
Rasputin and the Empress (MGM, 1933)[250]
Rasputin: The Mad Monk (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1966)†[251]
Reach for Glory (RFI, 1963 [1962])†
Rebel in Town (United Artists, 1956)
The Reckless Buckaroo (Crescent Pictures Corporation, 1935)[252]
The Red Balloon (Lopert Films, 1957 [1956])[253]
Red Coat (CFP, 1977 [1975])[254]
The Red Head (Harold Auten, 1933 [1932])[255]
The Red Pony (Republic Pictures, 1949)
The Red Pony (NBC, 1973)
Red River Range (Republic Pictures, 1938)[256]
The Red Rope (Republic Pictures, 1937)
The Red Stallion (Eagle-Lion Films, 1947)
Redneck (International Amusements, 1975 [1973])[257]
The Reflecting Skin (Miramax, 1990)†[258]
Reflections of Murder (ABC, 1974)[259]
Reg'lar Fellers (PRC, 1941)
The Reivers (NGP, 1969)
The Renegade Trail (Paramount Pictures, 1939)
Return from Witch Mountain (Buena Vista, 1978)[260]
The Return of Count Yorga (AIP, 1971)
The Return of Rin Tin Tin (Eagle-Lion Films, 1947)
Return of the Bad Men (RKO Radio Pictures, 1948)
Return to Warbow (Columbia Pictures, 1958)
Rich Kids (United Artists, 1979)
Ri¢hie Ri¢h (Warner Bros, 1994)
Ride a Wild Pony (Buena Vista, 1975)†[261]
Ride with the Wind (ABC, 1994)
A Rider of the Plains (Syndicate Pictures, 1931)[262]
Ridin' Down the Canyon (Republic Pictures, 1942)
Ringo and His Golden Pistol (MGM, 1966)[263]
Rivals (AVCO Embassy Pictures, 1972)
River of No Return (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1954)
Road to Happiness (Monogram Pictures, 1941)
The Road Warrior (Warner Bros, 1982 [1981])‡[264]
Roarin' Guns (1936)*
Roarin' Lead (Republic Pictures, 1936)[265]
Robby (1968)[266]
Robinson Crusoe and the Tiger (Embassy Pictures, 1972 [1970])[267]
Robot Monster (APC, 1953)
The Rocket Man (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1954)
The Rocking Horse Winner (Universal Pictures, 1950 [1949])†
Rocky Mountain Rangers (Republic Pictures, 1940)[268]
Rocky V (MGM/UA, 1990)
Roll Along Cowboy (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1937)
Roll, Freddy, Roll! (ABC, 1974)
Rolling Home (SGP, 1946)
Rome, Open City (Arthur Mayer & Joseph Burstyn, 1946 [1945])[269]
Roogie's Bump (Republic Pictures, 1954)
Rookie of the Year (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1993)
Room for One More (Warner Bros, 1952)
Rough Riding Ranger (1935)*
Run Wild, Run Free (Columbia Pictures, 1969)†
Runaway! (ABC, 1973)
Russkies (New Century Vista, 1987)
Rustlers of Devil's Canyon (Republic Pictures, 1947)[270]
Rusty Leads the Way (Columbia Pictures, 1948)[271]
Rusty Saves a Life (Columbia Pictures, 1949)[272]
Rusty's Birthday (Columbia Pictures, 1949)[273]
The Ryan White Story (ABC, 1989)

The Sad Horse (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1959)
Saddle Tramp (Universal Pictures, 1950)
Safari (Columbia Pictures, 1956)†
Safe at Home! (Columbia Pictures, 1962)
The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea (AVCO Embassy, 1976)†
Salaam Bombay! (Cinecom Pictures, 1988)[274]
Salem's Lot (CBS, 1979)
Salty (Saltwater, 1973)
The Salvage Gang (Continental Distributing, 1964 [1958])†[275]

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[247] Released in Australia as *Frog Dreaming*.
[248] *Il ferroviere* (Italy).
[249] The historical background for this film also served as the basis for *Rasputin and the Empress* (1933), *Rasputin: The Mad Monk* (1966) and *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971).
[250] The historical background for this film also served as the basis for *Rasputin: The Mad Monk* (1966), *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971) and *Rasputin* (1996).
[251] The historical background for this film also served as the basis for *Rasputin and the Empress* (1933), *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971) and *Rasputin* (1996).
[252] The version I sourced on DVD lacks its original opening and thus titles it according to a Spectrum Pictures' production schedule; it is listed in the AFI Catalog by the title it was submitted under to the New York censor board: *Reckless Buckaroos* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/6217).
[253] *Le ballon rouge* (France).
[254] *Giubbe rosse* (Italy).
[255] *Poil de Carotte* (France).
[256] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[257] *Senza ragione* (Italy); co-produced with the UK.
[258] UK-Canada co-production.
[259] Remake of *Diabolique* (1955).
[260] Sequel to *Escape to Witch Mountain* (1975).
[261] UK-US co-production; filmed in Australia.
[262] This is the title seen in the opening, but it is listed in the AFI Catalog as *Rider of the Plains* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/5627).
[263] *Johnny Oro* (Italy).
[264] Released in Australia as *Mad Max 2*, the second film in the Mad Max trilogy: *Mad Max* (1980 [1979]); *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome* (1985).
[265] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[266] The film did not have a contemporary theatrical release in the US, but was released on video in 1981 by Award Film International (see *Chronicle of a Boy Alone* [1965] for another example of this).
[267] Spanish dubbed in English (Mexico).
[268] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[269] *Roma città aperta* (Italy).
[270] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[271] Part of the Rusty series.
[272] Part of the Rusty series.
[273] Part of the Rusty series.
[274] In Hindi with English subtitles (India).

Sammy, the Way-Out Seal (NBC, 1962)[276]
Samson and Delilah (Paramount Pictures, 1950)
The San Antonio Kid (Republic Pictures, 1944)[277]
The Sand Castle (Louis De Rochemont Associates, 1961)
The Sandlot (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1993)
The Sandpiper (MGM, 1965)
Santa Claus (K. Gordon Murray Productions, 1960 [1959])[278]
Santa Claus Conquers the Martians (Embassy Pictures, 1964)
Santa Fe Stampede (Republic Pictures, 1938)[279]
Santa Fe Uprising (Republic Pictures, 1946)[280]
Sarah and Son (Paramount Pictures, 1930)
Savage Sam (Buena Vista, 1963)
Scalawag (Paramount Pictures, 1973)†
Scene of the Crime (Kino International, 1987 [1986])[281]
Scrooge (Paramount Pictures, 1935)†
Scrooge (NGR, 1970)†
The Search (MGM, 1948)[282]
Searching for Bobby Fischer (Paramount Pictures, 1993)
Second Best (Warner Bros, 1994)†
The Second Jungle Book: Mowgli & Baloo (TriStar Pictures, 1997)
The Secret Garden (MGM, 1949)
The Secret Garden (CBS, 1987)
The Secret Garden (Warner Bros, 1993)
Secret Witness (CBS, 1988)
Secret World (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1969)[283]
Secrets of the Heart (1997)[284]
Secrets of the Pirates' Inn (NBC, 1969)[285]
The Servants of Twilight (Trimark Pictures, 1991)
Seryozah (KIP, 1961 [1960])[286]
The Shadow on the Window (Columbia Pictures, 1957)
Shadows on the Sage (Republic Pictures, 1942)[287]
The Shaggy D.A. (Buena Vista, 1976)[288]
The Shaggy Dog (Buena Vista, 1959)
Shane (Paramount Pictures, 1953)
Shattered Family (CBS, 1993)
Shep Comes Home (Lippert Pictures, 1948)
Sheriff of Las Vegas (Republic Pictures, 1944)[289]
Sheriff of Redwood Valley (Republic Pictures, 1946)[290]
The Shining (Warner Bros, 1980)
The Shining (ABC, 1997)
A Shining Season (CBS, 1979)
Shipwrecked (Buena Vista, 1991 [1990])[291]
Shoeshine (Lopert Pictures, 1947 [1946])[292]
Sidewalks of New York (MGM, 1931)
The Sign of the Beaver (CBS, 1997)
The Sign of the Cross (Paramount Pictures, 1933)
Sign of the Wolf (Monogram Pictures, 1941)
The Silence (Janus Films, 1964 [1963])[293]
The Silence (NYF, 1999 [1998])[294]
The Silent Call (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1961)
Silent Fall (Warner Bros, 1994)
Silver Bullet (Paramount Pictures, 1985)
Simon Birch (Buena Vista, 1998)
Sincerely Yours (Warner Bros, 1955)
Sing You Sinners (Paramount Pictures, 1938)
The Singing Nun (MGM, 1966)
Sitting Pretty (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1948)[295]
Six Pack (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1982)
The Sixth Sense (Buena Vista, 1999)
Skateboard (Universal Pictures, 1978)
Skippy (Paramount Pictures, 1931)
Sky Riders (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1976)[296]
Slander (MGM, 1957)
Slappy and the Stinkers (TriStar Pictures, 1998)
Sleepless in Seattle (TriStar Pictures, 1993)
A Slight Case of Murder (Warner Bros, 1938)[297]
Sling Blade (Miramax, 1996)
The Slingshot (Sony Pictures, 1994 [1993])[298]
Small Change (New World Pictures, 1976)[299]
Smart Woman (Allied Artists, 1948)
Smile (United Artists, 1975)
Smiley (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1957 [1956])†[300]
Smiley Gets a Gun (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1959 [1958])‡
Smith! (Buena Vista, 1969)
Snake River Desperadoes (Columbia Pictures, 1951)[301]
Snow Treasure (Allied Artists, 1968)
So Dear to My Heart (RKO Radio Pictures, 1949)[302]
Soapbox Derby (Continental Distributors, 1964 [1958])†[303]
Solarbabies (MGM, 1986)
Something Evil (CBS, 1972)
Something for Joey (CBS, 1977)
Something So Right (CBS, 1982)
Something Wicked This Way Comes (1983)
Somewhere in Berlin (Central Cinema, 1949 [1946])[304]
Somewhere in the Darkness (1999)‡[305]
The Son of Rusty (Columbia Pictures, 1947)[306]
Son of the Navy (Monogram Pictures, 1940)
Son of the Border (RKO Radio Pictures, 1933)
Song of Arizona (Republic Pictures, 1946)
Song of Russia (MGM, 1944)
Song of the South (RKO Radio Pictures, 1946)
Soul Food (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1997)
Sounder (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1972)
South Central (Warner Bros, 1992)
The Space Children (Paramount Pictures, 1958)[307]
Space Raiders (New World Pictures, 1983)
The Spanish Gardener (RFDA, 1957 [1956])†
A Special Kind of Love (CBS, 1978)
Spot Marks the X (ABC, 1986)

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[275] CFF production.
[276] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color (Oct 28. and Nov. 4).
[277] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[278] Spanish dubbed in English (Mexico).
[279] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[280] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[281] *Le lieu du crime* (France).
[282] US-Switzerland co-production.
[283] *La promesse* (France).
[284] *Secretos del corazón* (Spain); there is no theatrical release information on IMDb despite its Oscar nomination for Best Foreign Language Film (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120090/?ref_=nv_sr_1).
[285] Aired in two parts on Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color (Nov. 23 and 30).
[286] Russian with English subtitles (Soviet Union).
[287] Part of the Three Mesquiteers series.
[288] Sequel to *The Shaggy Dog* (1959).
[289] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[290] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[291] *Haakon Haakonsen* (Norway); co-production with Sweden and the US.
[292] *Sciuscià* (Italy).
[293] *Tystnaden* (Sweden).
[294] *Sokout* (Iran).
[295] First film in the Mr. Belvedere trilogy: *Mr. Belvedere Goes to College* (1949); *Mr. Belvedere Rings the Bell* (1951).
[296] US-Greece co-production.
[297] Remade in 1952 as *Stop, You're Killing Me*.
[298] *Kådisbellan* (Sweden-Denmark co-production).
[299] *L'argent de poche* (France).
[300] The film was shot in Australia; its sequel *Smiley Gets a Gun* was an Australian production.
[301] Part of the Durango Kid series.
[302] The live action sequences of the film were primarily produced in 1946 (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/25736).
[303] CFF production.
[304] *Irgendwo in Berlin* (Germany).
[305] A North American release date is provided on IMDb, but no distributor (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0183799/?ref_=nv_sr_1).
[306] Part of the Rusty series.
[307] Released on a double bill with *The Colossus of New York* (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/52743).

Stagecoach to Denver (Republic Pictures, 1946)[308]
Stakeout! (CIP, 1962)
The Stalking Moon (NGP, 1968)
Stand by Me (Columbia Pictures, 1986)
Star Kid (Trimark Pictures, 1998)
The Star Maker (Paramount Pictures, 1939)
Star Wars: Episode I – The Phantom Menace (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1999)
Stars in My Crown (MGM, 1950)
The Steamroller and the Violin (Artkino Pictures, 1962 [1961])[309]
The Stone Boy (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1984)
Stop, You're Killing Me (Warner Bros, 1953)[310]
Storm Boy (Roadshow Film, 1976)‡[311]
Storm Center (Columbia Pictures, 1956)
Storm Fear (United Artists, 1955)
Stowaway in the Sky (Lopert Pictures, 1962 [1960])[312]
Strange Affection (JBA, 1959 [1957])†[313]
Strange Monster of Strawberry Cove (NBC, 1971)[314]
The Stranger in Between (Universal Pictures, 1952)†[315]
The Stranger's Hand (DCA, 1954)†[316]
Streets of New York (Monogram Pictures, 1939)
Strike Up the Band (MGM, 1940)
Sudden Terror (NGP, 1971 [1970])†[317]
Suddenly (United Artists, 1954)
Sugar Cane Alley (Orion Classics, 1984 [1983])[318]
Summer of the Monkeys (Buena Vista, 1998)††
Summerdog (Salisbury Associates, 1977)
Summertime (United Artists, 1955)[319]
The Sun Comes Up (MGM, 1949)[320]
Sun Valley Cyclone (Republic Pictures, 1946)[321]
Swallows and Amazons (1977 [1974])†[322]
The Swarm (Warner Bros, 1978)
Swiss Family Robinson (RKO Radio Pictures, 1940)
Swiss Family Robinson (Buena Vista, 1960)
Switching Parents (ABC, 1993)
Symphony of Living (Chesterfield Motion Pictures, 1935)

Take Me to Town (Universal Pictures, 1953)
Tale of the Three Jewels (Arab Film, 1996 [1995])†[323]
Talk About a Stranger (MGM, 1952)
Tall, Dark and Handsome (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1941)[324]
The Tall Stranger (Allied Artists, 1957)
Tall Tale (Buena Vista, 1995)
Tarantulas: The Deadly Cargo (CBS, 1977)
Tarzan and the Amazons (RKO Radio Pictures, 1945)
Tarzan and the Great River (Paramount Pictures, 1967)
Tarzan and the Jungle Boy (Paramount Pictures, 1968)
Tarzan and the Leopard Woman (RKO Radio Pictures, 1946)
Tarzan and the Trappers (Sol Lesser Productions, 1958)
Tarzan and the Valley of Gold (AIP, 1966)
Tarzan Finds a Son! (MGM, 1939)
Tarzan Goes to India (MGM, 1962)
Tarzan Triumphs (RKO Radio Pictures, 1943)
Tarzan's Desert Mystery (RKO Radio Pictures, 1943)
Tarzan's Fight for Life (MGM, 1958)
Tarzan's New York Adventure (MGM, 1942)
Tarzan's Savage Fury (RKO Radio Pictures, 1952)
Tarzan's Secret Treasure (MGM, 1941)
Tarzan's Three Challenges (MGM, 1963)
The Ten Commandments (Paramount Pictures, 1956)[325]
The Tender Years (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1948)
Tension at Table Rock (RKO Radio Pictures, 1956)
Terminator 2: Judgment Day (TriStar Pictures, 1991)[326]
Terror in a Texas Town (United Artists, 1958)
Terror of Frankenstein (CBS, 1988 [1977])[327]
Terror out of the Sky (CBS, 1978)
Testament (Paramount Pictures, 1983)
Tex Rides with the Boy Scouts (GNP, 1937)
Texas Pioneers (Monogram Pictures, 1932)
The Texas Rangers (Paramount Pictures, 1936)
That Certain Feeling (Paramount Pictures, 1956)
There Was No War in '72 (FMD, 1995)[328]
These Are the Damned (Columbia Pictures, 1965 [1962])†[329]
They Shall Have Music (United Artists, 1939)
Thirteen Women (RKO Radio Pictures, 1932)
This Rebel Breed (Warner Bros, 1960)
This Special Friendship (PCF, 1967 [1964])[330]
Thoroughbreds Don't Cry (MGM, 1937)
Those We Love (World Wide Pictures, 1932)
A Thousand Clowns (United Artists, 1965)
Thunder in the East (Paramount Pictures, 1953)
Tiger Town (ABC, 1983)
Time Bandits (AVCO Embassy Pictures, 1981)†
Time Lock (DCA, 1959 [1957])†
A Time to Live (NBC, 1985)
The Tin Drum (New World Pictures, 1980 [1979])[331]
The Tin Star (Paramount Pictures, 1957)
To All My Friends on Shore (CBS, 1972)
To Find My Son (CBS, 1980)
To Kill a Mockingbird (Universal Pictures, 1962)
Tobor the Great (Republic Pictures, 1954)
Toby Tyler (Buena Vista, 1960)[332]
Tom and Huck (Buena Vista, 1995)
Tom Brown's School Days (RKO Radio Pictures, 1940)
Tom Brown's Schooldays (United Artists, 1952 [1951])†
Tom Brown's Schooldays (PBS, 1973 [1971])†
Tom Sawyer (Paramount Pictures, 1930)
Tom Sawyer (CBS, 1973)
Tom Sawyer (United Artists, 1973)
Tom Sawyer, Detective (Paramount Pictures, 1938)
Tom Thumb and Little Red Riding Hood (K. Gordon Murray Productions, 1965 [1962])[333]
Tomorrow at Ten (Governor Films, 1964 [1963])†
Tomorrow's Youth (Monogram Pictures, 1934)
Tomorrow, the World! (United Artists, 1944)
Too Many Parents (Paramount Pictures, 1936)
Topaze (RKO Radio Pictures, 1932)
Touch and Go (TriStar Pictures, 1986)

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[308] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[309] *Katok i skripka* (Soviet Union).
[310] Remake of *A Slight Case of Murder* (1938).
[311] No contemporary American distributor is listed on IMDb, but the success of this film led to *Blue Fin* (1978), which *was* shown theatrically in the US (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0076767/companycredits?ref_=tt_dt_co).
[312] *Le voyage en ballon* (France).
[313] Released in the UK as *The Scamp*.
[314] Aired in two parts on The Wonderful World of Disney (Oct 31 and Nov 7).
[315] Released in the UK as *Hunted*.
[316] UK-Italy co-production.
[317] Released in the UK as *Eyewitness*.
[318] *Rue cases nègres* (France).
[319] US-UK co-production; released in the UK as *Summer Madness*.
[320] Part of the Lassie series.
[321] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[322] IMDb includes an American release date in May of 1977 but lists no distributor (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0072233/?ref_=nv_sr_2).
[323] *Hikayatul jawahiri thalath*; co-produced with Palestine, Belgium and Spain.
[324] Remade in 1950 as *Love That Brute*.
[325] Remake of *The Ten Commandments* (1923).
[326] Sequel to *The Terminator* (1984).
[327] *Victor Frankenstein* (Ireland); co-produced with Sweden.
[328] *B'shivim ushtayim lo hayta milhama* (Israel).
[329] Released in the UK as *The Damned*.
[330] *Les amitiés particulières* (France).
[331] *Die Blechtrommel* (West Germany).
[332] The on-screen title includes "or Ten Weeks with a Circus", as does the book by James Otis on which it was based (1881).
[333] *Caperucita y Pulgarcito contra los monstruos* (Mexico).

Touch of Truth (CBS, 1994)
Tough Guy (MGM, 1936)
Tower of London (Universal Pictures, 1939)
Tower of London (United Artists, 1962)
The Toy (Show Biz, 1979 [1976])[334]
The Toy (Columbia Pictures, 1982)
The Trail of the Lonesome Pine (Paramount Pictures, 1936)
Trail of the Rustlers (Columbia Pictures, 1950)[335]
Trail to Laredo (Columbia Pictures, 1948)[336]
Treasure Island (MGM, 1934)
Treasure Island (RKO Radio Pictures, 1950)
Treasure Island (NGP, 1972)†[337]
The Treasure of Lost Canyon (Universal Pictures, 1952)
Treasure of Matecumbe (Buena Vista, 1976)
The Tree of Wooden Clogs (NYF, 1979 [1978])[338]
Trigger, Jr. (Republic Pictures, 1950)
Trigger Trail (Universal Pictures, 1944)
Tucson Raiders (Republic Pictures, 1944)[339]
The Turn of the Screw (ABC, 1974)[340]
Two Bits (Miramax, 1995)
Two Grooms for a Bride (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1957 [1955])†[341]
Two-Gun Man from Harlem (1938)*
The Two Little Bears (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1961)

The Uncle (1966 [1965])†[342]
Uncle Joe Shannon (United Artists, 1978)
Uncle Willie's Bicycle Shop (SPC, 1954)†[343]
Under California Stars (Republic Pictures, 1948)
Under My Skin (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1950)
The Underdog (PRC, 1943)
The Unholy Wife (RKO Radio Pictures, 1957)
The Unseen (Paramount Pictures, 1945)
The Unstoppable Man (Sutton Pictures, 1961)†
Unstrung Heroes (Buena Vista, 1995)
The Unwelcome Stranger (Columbia Pictures, 1935)
The Unwritten Code (Columbia Pictures, 1944)

The Valley of Gwangi (Warner Bros/Seven Arts, 1969)
Valley of the Lawless (1936)*
Vampire Circus (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1972)†
The Vanishing Riders (1935)*
The Vengeance of Ursus (Medallion Pictures, 1963 [1961])[344]
Veronico Cruz (Cinevista, 1990 [1988])[345]
Vice Versa (STC, 1949 [1948])†
Vice Versa (Columbia Pictures, 1988)
Vigilantes of Boomtown (Republic Pictures, 1947)[346]
Vigilantes of Dodge City (Republic Pictures, 1944)[347]
Village of Dreams (MFV, 1998 [1996])[348]
Village of the Damned (MGM, 1960)†
Village of the Giants (Embassy Pictures, 1965)
Visit to a Chief's Son (United Artists, 1978)[349]

Viva Knievel! (Warner Bros, 1977)

Wagon Wheels Westward (Republic Pictures, 1945)[350]
Wait Until Spring, Bandini (Orion Classics, 1990 [1989])[351]
Walk the Proud Land (Universal Pictures, 1956)
Walkabout (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1971)†‡
The War (Universal Pictures, 1994)
War Dogs (Monogram Pictures, 1942)
The War Lord (Universal Pictures, 1965)
War of the Buttons (Warner Bros, 1995 [1994])†[352]
Warriors of Virtue (MGM, 1997)
The Water Babies (SGC, 1979 [1978])†[353]
Way Back Home (RKO Radio Pictures, 1931)
Way Down South (RKO Radio Pictures, 1939)
The Way of the West (1934)*
The Way West (United Artists, 1967)
The Weapon (Republic Pictures, 1957 [1956])†
Wednesday's Child (RKO Radio Pictures, 1934)
Welcome, or No Trespassing (Artkino Pictures, 1965 [1964])[354]
Welcome to Hard Times (MGM, 1967)
Wells Fargo Gunmaster (Republic Pictures, 1951)
Went the Day Well? (A.F.E. Corporation, 1944 [1942])†
West of Zanzibar (Universal Pictures, 1955)†
Westward Ho, the Wagons! (Buena Vista, 1956)
What Price Vengeance (Rialto Productions, 1937)
What the Peeper Saw (AVCO Embassy Pictures, 1973 [1972])†[355]
When a Fellow Needs a Friend (MGM, 1932)[356]
When Every Day Was the Fourth of July (NBC, 1978)
When Father Was Away on Business (CFD, 1985)[357]
When I Grow Up (Eagle-Lion Classics, 1951)
When the Bough Breaks (STC, 1949 [1947])†
When You Remember Me (ABC, 1990)
Where Are the Children? (Columbia Pictures, 1986)
Where Have All the People Gone (ABC, 1974)
Where Pigeons Go to Die (NBC, 1990)
Where the Red Fern Grows (Doty-Dayton, 1974)
Where the River Runs Black (MGM, 1986)
Where's Willie? (TEC, 1978)
Whistle Down the Wind (Pathé-America, 1962 [1961])†
White Fang (ACR, 1975 [1973])[358]
White Mane (United Artists, 1953)[359]
The Whiz Kid and the Carnival Caper (NBC, 1976)[360]
The Whiz Kid and the Mystery at Riverton (NBC, 1974)[361]
Who Has Seen the Wind (Astral Films, 1977)††[362]
Who Killed Doc Robbin (United Artists, 1948)
Whoever Slew Auntie Roo? (AIP, 1972 [1971])
Wide Awake (Miramax, 1998)
Wild America (Warner Bros, 1997)
The Wild Child (United Artists, 1970)[363]
The Wild Country (Buena Vista, 1971)
Wild Horse Roundup (1936)*
Wild West (PRC, 1946)

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[334] *Le jouet* (France).
[335] Part of the Durango Kid series.
[336] Part of the Durango Kid series.
[337] Co-produced with Italy.
[338] *L'albero degli zoccoli* (Italy).
[339] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[340] Based on Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* (1898), as is *The Innocents* (1961) and *Presence of Mind* (1999).
[341] Released in the UK as *The Reluctant Bride*.
[342] A release date in the US is provided on IMDb, but no contemporary distributor (see https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0059843).
[343] Released in the UK as *Isn't Life Wonderful*.
[344] *La vendetta di Ursus* (Italy).
[345] *La deuda interna* (Argentina).
[346] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[347] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[348] *Eno nakano bokuno mura* (Japan).
[349] The film was filmed on location in Kenya in 1973 and copyrighted 1974 (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/55444).
[350] Part of the Red Ryder series.
[351] Co-produced with Belgium, France and Italy.
[352] Co-produced with Ireland and France.
[353] Co-produced with Poland.
[354] *Dobro pozhalovat, ili Postoronnim vkhod vospreshchen* (Soviet Union).
[355] Co-produced with Italy.
[356] The film was released in the Warner Archive Collection as *When a Feller Needs a Friend*, which was a title under which it was reviewed upon original release (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/7330).
[357] *Otac na sluzbenom putu* (Yugoslavia).
[358] *Zanna Bianca* (Italy); co-produced with Spain and France.
[359] *Crin blanc: Le cheval sauvage* (France).
[360] Aired in two parts on The Magical World of Disney (Jan 11 and 18).
[361] Aired in two parts on The Magical World of Disney (Jan 6 and13).
[362] Distributed to US theaters in 1980 by Cinema World.
[363] *L'enfant sauvage* (France).

Will Penny (Paramount Pictures, 1968)
William at the Circus (United Artists, 1948)†[364]
Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory (Paramount Pictures, 1971)
The Wind and the Lion (MGM, 1975)
The Window (RKO Radio Pictures, 1949)
Winnetou and the Crossbreed (Hampton International, 1973 [1966])[365]
The Winslow Boy (Eagle-Lion Films, 1950 [1948])
The Winslow Boy (Sony Pictures, 1999)†[366]
Witness (Paramount Pictures, 1985)
The Wizard (Universal Pictures, 1989)
The Woman Alone (Gaumont, 1937 [1936])†[367]
Woman Obsessed (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1959)
Wonder Boy (Snader Productions, 1951)†[368]
The World Accuses (CMPC, 1934)
Wounded Game (IFEX, 1979 [1977])[369]

Xtro (New Line Cinema, 1983 [1982])†

Yanco (JFD, 1964 [1961])[370]
A Yank at Eton (MGM, 1942)
The Yearling (MGM, 1947)
The Yellow Balloon (Allied Artists, 1953)†
You Are Not Alone (Wells Films, 1980 [1978])[371]
You Said a Mouthful (Warner Bros, 1932)
Young America (Fox Film Corporation, 1932)
The Young and the Damned (AMEK, 1952 [1950])[372]
Young Aphrodites (Janus Films, 1966 [1963])[373]
Young Bess (MGM, 1953)
Young People (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1940)
The Young Runaways (NBC, 1978)[374]
Young Sherlock Holmes (Paramount Pictures, 1985)
Yours, Mine and Ours (United Artists, 1968)

Zebra in the Kitchen (MGM, 1965)
Zero for Conduct (Cine Classics, 1947 [1933])[375]
Zoo in Budapest (Fox Film Corporation, 1933)

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[364] Released in the UK as *William Comes to Town*.
[365] *Winnetou und das Halbblut Apanatschi* (West Germany); co-produced with Italy and Yugoslavia.
[366] US-UK co-production.
[367] Released in the UK as *Sabotage*.
[368] Shot in 1949 (Henrey 2013, 69) and released in the UK as *The Wonder Kid*.
[369] *Podranki* (Soviet Union).
[370] In Nahuatl and Spanish with no subtitles (Mexico); film has very little dialogue.
[371] *Du er ikke alene* (Denmark).
[372] *Los olvidados* (Mexico).
[373] *Mikres Afrodites* (Greece).
[374] Aired on The Magical World of Disney.
[375] *Zéro de conduite : Jeunes diables au college* (France).

Filmography[1]

Where the theatrical release or television broadcast dates for world cinema films differ from those in North America, they are placed in square brackets. British films are marked with †, Canadian films with †† and Australian films with ‡.

The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T. (Columbia Pictures, 1953)
Adam (NBC, 1983)
Auntie Mame (Warner Bros, 1958)
A Bag of Marbles (Gaumont, 2017)[2]
The Beastmaster (MGM/UA, 1982)[3]
Ben-Hur (MGM, 1959)
Ben-Hur (ABC, 2010)
Ben-Hur (Paramount Pictures, 2016)
Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ (MGM, 1925)
Better Watch Out (Well Go USA Entertainment, 2017)‡
The Bible: The Epic Miniseries (History Channel, 2013)
Bicycle Thieves (Arthur Mayer & Joseph Burstyn, 1949 [1948])[4]
Black Bread (Cameo Media, 2011 [2010])[5]
The Black Stallion (United Artists, 1979)
The Boy (Chiller Films, 2015)
The Boy in the Striped Pajamas (Miramax, 2008)
The Boy with Green Hair (RKO Radio Pictures, 1948)
Braveheart (Paramount Pictures, 1995)
Brightburn (SPE, 2019)
Captains Courageous (MGM, 1937)
The Champ (MGM, 1931)
The Champ (MGM, 1979)
A Child Called Jesus (Tribune Entertainment, 1989 [1987])[6]
Children of the Corn (FTS, 2009)
A Christmas Carol (MGM, 1938)
Cinema Paradiso (Miramax, 1990 [1988])[7]
Citizen Kane (RKO Radio Pictures, 1941)
Commando (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1985)
Conan the Barbarian (Universal Pictures, 1982)
The Cowboys (Warner Bros, 1972)
Cub (Artsploitation Films, 2015 [2014])[8]
The Cure (Universal Pictures, 1995)
The Da Vinci Code (Columbia Pictures, 2006)
David Copperfield (MGM, 1935)
The Devil's Playground (EMC, 1979 [1976])‡
Do You Know the Muffin Man? (CBS, 1989)
Edges of the Lord (Miramax, 2001)
Empire of the Sun (Warner Bros, 1987)
E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial (Universal Pictures, 1982)
Evolution (IFC Midnight, 2016 [2015])[9]
Exodus: Gods and Kings (Twentieth Century-Fox, 2014)
The Exorcist (Warner Bros, 1973)
The Fallen Idol (SRO, 1949 [1948])†
Father (Continental Distributing, 1967 [1966])[10]
Free Willy (Warner Bros, 1993)
Fresh (Miramax, 1994)
The Garden of Eden (Medusa Distribuzione, 1998)[11]
Germany Year Zero (SDC, 1949 [1948])[12]
The Go-Between (Columbia Pictures, 1971)†
God's Gun (CFD, 1978 [1976])[13]
Godspell (Columbia Pictures, 1973)
The Goonies (Warner Bros, 1985)
The Gospel according to St. Matthew (Continental Distributing, 1966 [1964])[14]
The Gospel of John (THINKFilm, 2003)
The Gospel of John (Lionsgate, 2014)
The Gospel of Luke (Lionsgate, 2015)
The Gospel of Mark (Lionsgate, 2015)
The Gospel of Matthew (Lionsgate, 2014)
Great Expectations (Universal Pictures, 1934)
The Greatest Story Ever Told (United Artists, 1965)
The Green Years (MGM, 1946)
Gregory K. (ABC, 1993)
Heaven Is for Real (TriStar Pictures, 2014)
The Hero (Embassy Pictures, 1972 [1971])†[15]
Hollow City (GFI, 2004)[16]
Home Movie (IFC Films, 2008)
How Green Was My Valley (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1941)
I Know My First Name Is Steven (NBC, 1989)
In the Name of Ben-Hur (The Asylum, 2016)
The Indian in the Cupboard (Paramount Pictures, 1995)
Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade (Paramount Pictures, 1989)
Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom (Paramount Pictures, 1984)
Indictment: The McMartin Trial (HBO, 1995)
Innocent Voices (SCR, 2005 [2004])[17]
Intolerance: Love's Struggle throughout the Ages (Triangle Distributing, 1916)
Io sono con te (Bolero Film, 2010)[18]
Ivan's Childhood (Shore International, 1963 [1962])[19]
Jesus (CBS, 2000 [1999])
Jesus Christ Superstar (Universal Pictures, 1973)
Jesus Christ Superstar (UHE, 2000)
The Jesus Film (Warner Bros, 1979)
Jesus, Mary and Joseph (1972)[20]
Jesus of Montreal (Orion Classics, 1990 [1989])††[21]
Jesus of Nazareth (NBC, 1977)†[22]
Johnny (PFE, 2010)
Johnny Got His Gun (Cinemation Industries, 1971)
Joseph (TNT, 1995)
Joseph and His Brethren (Colorama Features, 1962 [1961])[23]
Joshua (FSP, 2007).
The Jungle Book (Buena Vista, 1967)
The Kid (FNP, 1921)

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[1] This filmography excludes those films reviewed for chapters 4 and 6 that depict juvenile masculinity in cinema during the periods 1930-1979 and 1980-1999 respectively *unless* mentioned in the main text of these chapters or elsewhere in the thesis. The list of nearly1300 movies specific to juvenile masculinity is included as *Appendix F*.
[2] *Un sac de billes* (France).
[3] US-West Germany co-production.
[4] *Ladri di biciclette* (Italy).
[5] *Pa negre* (Spain).
[6] *Un bambino di nome Gesù* (Italy).
[7] *Nuovo Cinema Paradiso* (Italy).
[8] *Welp* (Belgium).
[9] *Évolution* (France).
[10] *Apa* (Hungary).
[11] *I giardini dell'Eden* (Italy).
[12] *Germania anno zero* (Italy).
[13] *Diamante Lobo* (Italy); co-produced with Israel.
[14] *Il vangelo secondo Matteo* (Italy).
[15] UK-Israel co-production; released in the UK as *Bloomfield*.
[16] *Na Cidade Vazia* (Angola).
[17] *Voces inocentes* (Mexico).
[18] Translates from Italian as *I Am with You*; world-wide English title *Let It Be*.
[19] *Ivanovo detstvo* (Soviet Union).
[20] *Jesús, María y José* (Mexico); original distributor unknown.
[21] *Jésus de Montréal*.
[22] UK-Italy co-production.
[23] *Giuseppe venduto dai fratelli* (Italy).

Kid Vengeance (CFD, 1977)
Killing Jesus (NGC, 2015)
The King of Kings (Pathé Exchange, 1927)
King of Kings (MGM, 1961)
La Terra Trema (Mario de Vecchi, 1965 [1948])[24]
Lassie Come Home (MGM, 1943)
The Last Boy (Vertical Entertainment, 2019)†
Last Days in the Desert (BGP, 2016)
The Last Temptation of Christ (Universal Pictures, 1988)
Letters to God (CEG, 2010)
Lifted (SMF, 2010)
Little Lord Fauntleroy (United Artists, 1936)
Little Red Wagon (Phase 4 Films, 2012)
The Long Days of Summer (ABC, 1980)
Lord of the Flies (Continental Distributing, 1963)†
Machuca (Menemsha Entertainment, 2005 [2004])[25]
The Maldonado Miracle (Showtime Networks, 2003)
The Man Without a Face (Warner Bros, 1993)
Mary, Mother of Jesus (NBC, 1999)
Matthew (Visual Bible, 1993)
The Messiah (1975)[26]
The Milky Way (U-M Film Distributors, 1970 [1969])[27]
The Miracle Maker (ABC, 2000)†[28]
Mixed Company (United Artists, 1974)
Monty Python's Life of Brian (Orion Pictures, 1979)†
Moses (TNT, 1996)
My Side of the Mountain (Paramount Pictures, 1969)
The Night of the Hunter (United Artists, 1955)
North (Columbia Pictures, 1994)
The Odd Life of Timothy Green (Walt Disney, 2012)
Old Yeller (Buena Vista, 1958)
Oliver! (Columbia Pictures, 1968)†
Oliver Twist (Monogram Pictures, 1933)
The Omen (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1976)
The Omen (Twentieth Century-Fox, 2006)
Our Flags Lead Us Forward (UFC, 1934 [1933])[29]
Over the Top (Warner Bros, 1987)
Partisan (Well Go USA Entertainment, 2015)‡
The Passion of the Christ (Newmarket Films, 2004)
Paul the Apostle (TNT, 2000)
Pay It Forward (Warner Bros, 2000)
A Perfect World (Warner Bros, 1993)
The Poseidon Adventure (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1972)
The Prodigy (Orion Pictures, 2019)
The Purge (Universal Pictures, 2013)
Quo Vadis (MGM, 1951)
Raiders of the Lost Ark (Paramount Pictures, 1981)
Rambo: First Blood Part II (TriStar Pictures, 1985)
Rambo III (TriStar Pictures, 1988)
Redneck (International Amusements, 1975 [1973])[30]
Risen (Columbia Pictures, 2016)
The Robe (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1953)
Rocky (United Artists, 1976)
Rocky II (United Artists, 1979)
Rome, Open City (Arthur Mayer & Joseph Burstyn, 1946 [1945])[31]
Rose's Songs (Bunyik Entertainment, 2007 [2003])[32]
The Roundup (Menemsha Films, 2012 [2010])[33]
Run Boy Run (Menemsha Films, 2016 [2013])[34]
Russkies (New Century Vista, 1987)
Searching for Bobby Fischer (Paramount Pictures, 1993)
The Secret Garden (MGM, 1949)
Shoeshine (Lopert Pictures, 1947 [1946])[35]
Simon Birch (Buena Vista, 1998)
Sinister II (Focus Features, 2015)
The Sixth Sense (Buena Vista, 1999)
Sleepers (Warner Bros, 1996)
Small Change (New World Pictures, 1976)[36]
Solomon (TNT, 1997)
Son of God (Twentieth Century-Fox, 2014)[37]
Son of Man (Kino Lorber Films, 2010 [2006])[38]
Sounder (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1972)
Stand by Me (Columbia Pictures, 1986)
Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1999)
Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones (Twentieth Century-Fox, 2002)
Star Wars Episode III: Revenge of the Sith (Twentieth Century-Fox, 2005)
The Story of Jesus for Children (BHV, 2000)[39]
The Terminator (Orion Pictures, 1984)
Terminator 2: Judgment Day (TriStar Pictures, 1991)
Theeb (Film Movement, 2015 [2014])†[40]
The Tin Drum (New World Pictures, 1980 [1979])[41]
Tom Sawyer (Paramount Pictures, 1930)
Tomorrow, the World! (United Artists, 1944)
Tough Guy (MGM, 1936)
The Unborn (Rogue Pictures, 2009)
The Unspoken (Paladin, 2016)††
Visit to a Chief's Son (United Artists, 1978)[42]
When I Saw You (Kino Lorber, 2014 [2012])[43]
Whisper (Universal Pictures, 2007)
The White King (Film Movement, 2017 [2016])†
Wild America (Warner Bros, 1997)
The Wizard of Oz (MGM, 1939)
Yankee Doodle Dandy (Warner Bros, 1942)
The Yearling (MGM, 1947)
The Young Messiah (Focus Features, 2016)

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[24] Translates from Italian as *The Earth Trembles*.
[25] In Spanish with English subtitles (Chile).
[26] *Il messia* (Italy); original distributor unknown.
[27] *La voie lactée* (France).
[28] UK-Russia co-production; subtitled *The Story of Jesus* for DVD release.
[29] *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Germany).
[30] *Senza ragione* (Italy); co-produced with the UK.
[31] *Roma città aperta* (Italy).
[32] *A Rózsa énekei* (Hungary).
[33] *La rafle* (France).
[34] *Lauf Junge lauf* (Germany); co-produced with Poland and France.
[35] *Sciuscià* (Italy).
[36] *L'argent de poche* (France).
[37] Abridged from *The Bible: The Epic Miniseries* (2013).
[38] Primarily in Xhosa with English subtitles (South Africa).
[39] Abridged from *The Jesus Film* (1979) and supplemented with new material.
[40] In Arabic with English subtitles; international co-production with Jordan, UAE and Qatar.
[41] *Die Blechtrommel* (West Germany).
[42] The film was filmed on location in Kenya in 1973 and copyrighted 1974 (see https://catalog.afi.com/catalog/moviedetails/55444).
[43] *Lamma shoftak* (Jordan).

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