

# Contents

<i>List of Plates</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	x
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Children and religion	1
The sins of the sons	4
<b>1 The Bad Boys of Bethel as Sacrilegious Type</b>	<b>12</b>
The good, the bad, and the ursine	12
Ancient views of the child	28
<b>2 Patristic and Medieval Views of 2 Kings 2.23–24</b>	<b>36</b>
Tertullian and Augustine	36
Greek fathers	43
Later Latin fathers	45
Medieval popular views	53
<b>3 Children of the Passion</b>	<b>56</b>
Abusing the Man of Sorrows	56
Iconographic reflections before 1450	59
Iconographic reflections after 1450	66
<b>4 Urchins Plaguing Saints</b>	<b>82</b>
Hagiographic adaptability	82
Pelting the <i>poverello</i>	87
<i>Pueri mali reduces</i>	93
Pictorial representations	96
Modifying Ariès through Voragine	99
<b>5 The Bethel Boys Motif at the Dawn of Modernity</b>	<b>102</b>
Reformation readings of Elisha's mockery	102
Picaresque and carnival influences	106
Cervantes	108
Shakespeare	113
Ambiguities of innocence	114
<b>6 Nineteenth-Century Antitypes</b>	<b>125</b>
Romantic and Victorian views of 2 Kings 2.23–24	125

Kierkegaard	132
Dostoevsky	138
Humour in the horror	142
<b>7 Twentieth-Century Antitypes</b>	<b>145</b>
Literary legacies of 2 Kings 2.23–24	146
‘For them, there was no better diversion’	152
Bethel boys around the world	154
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>175</b>
Real absence	181
From the road to Bethel, to Neverland	184
<i>Notes</i>	189
<i>Biblical Index</i>	233
<i>General Index</i>	238

# 1

## The Bad Boys of Bethel as Sacrilegious Type

### The good, the bad, and the ursine

The tale in 2 Kings 2 about what happened to the prophet Elisha on his way from Jericho up to Bethel is hauntingly brief: approached by some little boys (נַעֲרִים קְטַנִּים) from the city who jeer at him, chanting ‘Go up, you baldhead’ (v. 23b), he turns, sees them, curses them in Yahweh’s name, and two she-bears emerge from the woods and maul 42 of the boys (יְלָדִים, v. 24b). Afterwards, as reported in the verse that completes the pericope 2.23–25, he proceeds ‘from there’ to Mount Carmel, and thence back to Samaria.

Sceptics after the Enlightenment viewed this as one of the tales in the Bible that countenance meanness and immorality.<sup>1</sup> Hence, in the nineteenth century, efforts were made to mitigate the story’s horror by exonerating Elisha for the violence done to his mockers, and playing up the mockers’ guilt. For example, defending the destruction of the 42 boys against the claim that it was ‘an act of cruelty and revenge’ by Elisha, the English biblical scholar Thomas Hartwell Horne (1780–1862) argued that the original phrase for little boys can mean ‘young persons who are grown up’; that, coming from an idolatrous city, Bethel, they probably insulted Elisha ‘at the instigation of the priests of Baal’; and that Elisha, in cursing them in the Lord’s name, did not himself cause their demise, but rather

acted as a minister of the supreme Governor of the world; and by his order and in his name he foretold the punishment which was about to be inflicted upon these profligate idolaters. Had this denunciation proceeded from the angry resentment of the prophet only, and not from a divine impulse, such a signal event as the destruction of these profane young men of Beth-el would not have been the immediate consequence of it.

(1:609)

Similar points were made in Elisha's defence by the Methodist preacher and writer Adam Clarke (c. 1762–1832) and the Anglican churchman Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85), both of whom found the mockers' offence all the more serious because it amounted to an insult against God or the Holy Spirit.<sup>2</sup> In addition, whereas Wordsworth allowed that the mockers were children 'gathered' and 'instigated' against Elisha by their parents,<sup>3</sup> Clarke went so far as to submit that the mockers were probably a militia of young soldiers serving as a bodyguard to Ahab, and hence 'were perfectly accountable for their conduct'.<sup>4</sup>

None of these contentions was unprecedented, as we shall see. Yet certain revisionist interpretations would later be offered of what befell the boys. From the narrator's use of the phrase ותבקענה (2 Kgs 2.24b: literally 'and tore open') to describe what the bears did, an early twentieth-century commentator wishfully inferred that the boys 'were not necessarily punished by death, but were at least severely wounded'.<sup>5</sup> More recent commentators have optimistically insisted that "'tare" means "to scare"', implying that the boys were only figuratively 'torn up', or 'scared to death';<sup>6</sup> or that the phrase's denotation of 'to cut a cleft, to split into two', implies that the bears 'broke them up' in the sense of dispersing a mob.<sup>7</sup>

Although it is conventionally assumed that the attack on the 42 boys was fatal,<sup>8</sup> any scruples over this matter were cleared up to his own satisfaction by Richard G. Messner, a Christian seminarian in the mid-1950s who devoted his entire Bachelor of Divinity thesis to 2 Kings 2.23–25. Contending that God placed this story in the Bible for 'a specific purpose',<sup>9</sup> Messner pointed out that there tend to be four main opinions on this canonization: the elimination view, which simply deletes this tale from the scriptures because it does not square with a preconceived notion of God's ways; the derision view, which dismisses the tale as legendary and ridicules the Bible for trying to pass it off as true; the exhortation view, which regards the tale as legendary, but still ascribes great spiritual value to it; and the literal judgment view, which holds that the incident actually occurred in accordance with God's will as a divine judgment.<sup>10</sup> Messner defended the last view. And several decades later, the horror of the boys' punishment could still be rationalized by an interpreter who, perceiving Elisha as a 'type' of Christ, considered the mockers' insults 'so much the more odious in that they are directed at the Spirit of Christ.... Folly like this is not even proper for children!'<sup>11</sup>

None the less, such unsympathetic reactions to the boys' fate are rare, and, rightly or wrongly, few readers are likely to agree with a pair of recent scholars that this tale 'is more in the comic vein than the tragic',<sup>12</sup> or 'has all the hallmarks of a good piece of satire'.<sup>13</sup> Some might consider the difficulty with the death of 42 children to be 'largely a modern problem',<sup>14</sup> especially considering

that the seventh-century Deuteronomists who preserved the tale may have connected its motif of the bears with a prophetic warning issued in the previous century, 'Woe to you who desire the day of the Lord!... It is... as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him' (Amos 5.18–19a). Yet, just as certain rabbis of the Talmud would already balk at the story's harshness, as we shall see, so most modern Bible scholars have found the tale repugnant.<sup>15</sup> A British Victorian scholar and cleric called it 'one of the stories which naturally repel us more than any other in the Old Testament',<sup>16</sup> while an eminent German Jewish contemporary attested that, from his youth, whenever he read this passage he would thank God he 'was not created a prophet like Elisha'.<sup>17</sup> It is, as John W. Wenham puts it, a 'stumbling-block' posed by the Hebrew Bible to belief in a benevolent God.<sup>18</sup> Citing a student who said that this tale alone sufficed to turn him against the Bible, J. Sidlow Baxter observes: 'Perhaps no incident in the Old Testament has called forth more criticism than this one. The Lord's enemies have held it up as a trump card in their pack of arguments against the claim of the Bible to be the word of God'.<sup>19</sup>

One luminary specially qualified to judge the usefulness of this tale to 'the Lord's enemies' was C.S. Lewis, who, as author of *The Screwtape Letters* (1940), had sought imaginatively to fathom the Devil's own psychology. When asked his opinion of Elisha and the bears, Lewis suggested that the tale reflects 'something [in the Bible] which, in its eccentric levels... was hardly moral at all, and was in some ways not unlike the Pagan religions'.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, finding Elisha's curse 'astonishingly harsh', and the boys' punishment 'pre-moral', other commentators describe the tale as 'repugnant', 'the most embarrassing tale in the Bible', a story 'from which the Bible reader shrinks', or by which 'the modern reader cannot but be a trifle shocked', because it 'offends our moral sense' and 'will not stand examination from any moral point of view'.<sup>21</sup> The annotation in the Oxford editions of both the Revised Standard Version and the New Revised Standard Version assures us that 'not all ancient writers, to say nothing of modern, would have told a story like this to inculcate respect for a prophet', and, additionally, the RSV note lists passages in the Gospels that 'provide a better guide to Biblical teaching on how to treat children'.<sup>22</sup>

The horrific effect of 2 Kings 2.23–24 is intensified by the cool, detached mode of the tale's delivery, which, constituting with verse 25 'a self-contained narrative',<sup>23</sup> displays a remarkable concentric symmetry.<sup>24</sup> Like most biblical narratives, notes Wesley Bergen, this one offers no 'explicit narratorial judgments', and like all of Elisha's miracles, the one reported here lacks 'specific ethical or teleological framework'.<sup>25</sup> Commenting on verses 1–18 of the same biblical chapter, Hermann Gunkel observed that all primitive story-telling, including Israel's, fixes the reader's attention mainly upon what can be seen or heard; the 'inner life', not yet sufficiently disclosed to be depicted in explicit detail, 'finds only indirect expression: it is hidden behind actions and words'.<sup>26</sup>

Consistent with what Erich Auerbach regarded as the stylistic hallmark of Hebrew Bible narrative, the tale of Elisha's mockery seems 'fraught with background',<sup>27</sup> eliciting more questions than it answers. A number of these stand out in commentaries from the last hundred years or so.

*Were Elisha's mockers really boys? And where were they from?* Anticipated by the Talmud, Horne, Clarke, and others, some twentieth-century scholars have thought that Elisha's mockers were actually 'young men',<sup>28</sup> 'young hooligans',<sup>29</sup> perhaps 'young false prophets of Baal',<sup>30</sup> or at least old enough to be 'well aware of the outrage and wickedness of their conduct'.<sup>31</sup> One exegete accepts 'little children' as a rendering of the phrase נַעֲרִים קְטַנִּים at 2 Kings 2.23b, yet prefers (as did Horne) 'young persons'.<sup>32</sup> Others render the phrase as 'youths' (NIV)<sup>33</sup> or 'young lads',<sup>34</sup> on the grounds that such a translation suits the context better and is faithful to the typical usage of נַעַר elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>35</sup> However, the נַעֲרִים קְטַנִּים in this tale have more commonly been viewed as 'little children' (AV), and specifically 'little boys' (Douay, JPS), 'small boys' (RSV, NEB, NAB), or 'young boys'.<sup>36</sup> The adjective יָטָק is assumed to preclude those other meanings,<sup>37</sup> even though these 'boys' are called יְלָדִים (possibly 'youths') in the next verse, and despite the use of the phrase נַעַר קָטָן elsewhere to refer to a figure who is clearly not a small child (1 Kgs 3.7b; cf. 1 Sam. 16.11a).

There is no consensus about where exactly to locate 2 Kings 2.23–24 geographically, or about whether Elisha's mockers came from Bethel or from Jericho. Most exegetes assume that the anecdote originated in Bethel, and that Bethel is the 'city' the boys 'came out of' (v. 23b). However, some assign the tale to the environs of Jericho on the conjecture that if, as verse 24 indicates, the Bethel-bound Elisha 'turned around' to see his mockers, then they must have come from the same place he had set out from (that is, Jericho) and followed him thence.<sup>38</sup>

In connection with this question of the boys' origin, the verb in their exclamation has perplexed some exegetes, particularly Germans. As shouted at Elisha, the imperative עֲלֵה (v. 23b) has been traditionally accepted in English as an expression of repulsion: 'Go up!' (AV, RSV, NAB), 'Go on up!' (NIV), 'Go away!' (JPS, NRSV), 'Get along with you' (NEB). These renderings are in keeping with the standard Greek and Latin renderings: ἀνάβαινε (LXX) and *ascende* (Vulg.). Glaring departures from these are the renderings in the Calvinist *Geneva Bible* (1560): 'Come vp, thou balde head',<sup>39</sup> and in *The New Jerusalem Bible* (1990): "'Hurry up, baldy!" they shouted. "Come on up, baldy."<sup>40</sup> These variants correspond to the way most Germans, from Luther on, have read the phrase. The *Luther Bibel* (1534; Ausgabe letzter Hand, 1545), received as the standard version of the holy scriptures among Germans from the Reformation on, renders עֲלֵה as a summons, 'come up!' ('komm herauf!').<sup>41</sup>

Among the difficulties this rendering poses is that it does not seem suitable as a derisive expression. Hence one scholar, consistent with the rendering in the Bible translation by Martin Buber with Franz Rosenzweig ('Steig zu, Kahlkopf!'),<sup>42</sup> interprets the phrase as 'Go up!' ('Geh hinauf!'), an exclamation which he suggests could have made sense only if shouted by persons who came from that city *up from* which Elisha was heading. 'Go up!' would thus mockingly imply: 'Make yourself scarce from our city!' ('Verschwinde aus unserer Stadt!') – that is, Jericho.<sup>43</sup> None the less, while likewise rendering the jibe as 'Up, baldhead!' ('hinauf, Kahlkopf!') and suggesting that the mockers came not against Elisha but followed and called after him from behind, another scholar still seems to assume that they came from Bethel.<sup>44</sup> On the premise that Elisha, when accosted, was ascending the slope of Bethel, it has also been reasoned that they were telling him idiomatically 'to keep going, not to enter their city, which would entail stepping onto a level plateau'.<sup>45</sup>

*Why would Elisha be targeted for insult?* Taking the emphasis in the boys' insult to be on the verb, one scholar infers that Elisha had physical trouble 'going up', and thus that the boys mocked him literally for having difficulty walking.<sup>46</sup> It has also been ventured that some children of idolaters recognized Elisha by his garb as one of the prophets, and hence as someone to be ridiculed; perhaps he was even wearing Elijah's mantle.<sup>47</sup> Yet most exegetes pondering why Elisha was jeered focus upon the epithet קרן (2 Kgs 2.23: baldhead, baldpate, or baldy), while only few might share in the speculation that he actually did not have long hair, and that the boys were poking fun at him by using the term baldhead antiphrastically (like calling a fat man 'thinny').<sup>48</sup> Whereas some assume that at the time of the incident Elisha was 'showing signs of decrepitude, of old age',<sup>49</sup> others contend that he was still a young man who was to live some 50 years longer (see 2 Kgs 13.14), and who might have been afflicted by premature hair loss.<sup>50</sup> It has also been speculated that the boys' disrespect reflected the fear of baldness as a sign of leprosy (Lev. 13.42),<sup>51</sup> or that the epithet might allude to lepers who shaved their heads and were detested as outcasts.<sup>52</sup> In any case, to call someone 'baldhead' is usually assumed to have been vulgarly insulting,<sup>53</sup> and baldness itself to have been 'not an honourable sign of age in the East, but (a) of grief (voluntary baldness); (b) a discredit'.<sup>54</sup> Others concur that a bald man was an object of jokes, reproach, and suspicion in the ancient Near East as among the Greeks and Romans.<sup>55</sup>

Elisha's smooth head may have struck them as especially funny because it contrasted with his hairy master Elijah (2 Kgs 1.8).<sup>56</sup> As some modern commentators contend, following an earlier Jewish interpretation, Elisha's mockers may have sneeringly challenged him to legitimate his claim to be Elijah's successor by 'going up' (to heaven) as the latter had done (2 Kgs 2.11);<sup>57</sup> perhaps not believing in Elijah's ascension, they may have been mocking Elijah (*sic*) himself.<sup>58</sup>

Still other theories have been proffered. Some scholars deny that the epithet 'baldhead', as insulting as it may have been, had anything to do with natural baldness. They contend that the boys could not have noticed such a detail as Elisha approached them from a distance,<sup>59</sup> or that he, like other ancient Near Eastern men, would have travelled with his head covered and thus hidden from view.<sup>60</sup> On little evidence, some of these scholars and others speculate that Elisha's 'baldness' was actually a special prophetic coiffure (*eine bestimmte prophetische Haartracht*),<sup>61</sup> a tonsure,<sup>62</sup> or even a cicatrix<sup>63</sup> signifying his prophetic vocation. Such a mark, it is conjectured, would have naturally caught the attention of the boys, to whom his and the other prophets' 'extravagant eccentricities must have been a regular source of amusement'.<sup>64</sup> However, the boys' conduct may not have been simply a stupid youthful escapade (*Dummerjungenstreich*); rather, as opposed to Elisha's warm reception at Jericho (2 Kgs 2.15), they may have expressed the animosity which the citizens of Bethel, a centre of calf-worship, must have felt toward Yahweh's prophets.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps the hostility suggests that Elisha had already inveighed against the calf-worship.<sup>66</sup> Or perhaps the boys were 'warning Elisha not to speak against their immorality as Elijah had done'.<sup>67</sup>

*Why was the punishment so harsh? Who or what effected it? And was it warranted?* While 2 Kings 2.23 and Job 19.18 may show that 'juvenile disrespect for elders was ... not infrequent' in biblical times, the question remains why it was viewed 'as meriting drastic punishment'.<sup>68</sup> The large number of Elisha's mockers who were punished might suggest that 'a fairly sizable number of others must have escaped'.<sup>69</sup> However, some scholars take 42 to be a symbolically ominous number associated with death or victimization (cf. Judg. 12.6; 2 Kgs 10.14; Rev. 11.2; 13.5),<sup>70</sup> or believe that it endows the story with an air of accuracy and verisimilitude,<sup>71</sup> or refers to 'an approximate count'<sup>72</sup> or 'an organized mob'.<sup>73</sup>

Whatever the number might imply, it 'is a very large one to be destroyed by two bears'.<sup>74</sup> Yet this destruction seems, with no pun intended, to bear out the Deuteronomistic doctrine of retributive justice (see esp. Deut. 7.10; 28.15–68) whereby prophet-mockers must be punished with death for having committed a crime tantamount to deriding God himself (Deut. 18.19; Lev. 24.10–16).<sup>75</sup> In calling to mind the 'continual intermingling of salvation and miracles of punishment'<sup>76</sup> in the Hebrew scriptures, the account of the Bethel boys' fate is compared to other narratives about wrongs committed and about how those transgressions were punished through curses or divine interventions (cf. Num. 11.1–3; 21.4–7; 1 Kgs 13.7–30; 20.33–43; 21.17–29; 2 Kgs 1.2–17; 5.20–27).<sup>77</sup> Yet, like the aforementioned efforts to modify the deadly implication of the word 'tore', such contextualizing does little to mitigate the horror of Elisha's curse or of the mauling itself. So it is not surprising that some scholars find the curse and mauling suggestive of something that transcends the normal

ethical categories of right and wrong, such as ‘the ambiguity of sacred power’,<sup>78</sup> or even Rudolf’s Otto’s ‘imponderable *mysterium tremendum*’.<sup>79</sup>

Even aside from the fact that Elisha’s mockers are the only persons in the Bible cursed in God’s name,<sup>80</sup> and the only non-royal persons cursed in the Deuteronomistic history with a form of לָלַק (to curse),<sup>81</sup> it is in the curse itself that people’s ‘main objection [to this tale] lies’.<sup>82</sup> One ‘cannot repress the shudder’<sup>83</sup> elicited by reading of this imprecation, which, seeming ‘humourless and savage’,<sup>84</sup> and ‘vindictive and vengeful’,<sup>85</sup> diverges radically from the general pattern of the prophet’s compassionate intercessions.<sup>86</sup> The punishment seems glaringly ‘disproportionate to the offence’.<sup>87</sup> Viewing this passage as ‘part of a prophetic saga rather than strict history’, a commentator argues that to suppose that Elisha invoked Yahweh’s name to issue a curse with such terrible consequences ‘is derogatory to the great public figure, and borders on blasphemy’.<sup>88</sup> To eliminate this problem, other commentators suggest that the phrase ‘in Yahweh’s name’ is a redactor’s addition to the original narrative,<sup>89</sup> or that to conclude that the curse caused the bears to attack (‘as though propelled by the words [of Elisha’s curse]’<sup>90</sup>) is to succumb to the illogicality of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*.<sup>91</sup> None the less, most commentators assume that ‘the curse once uttered becomes a reality’ in the bear attack.<sup>92</sup> As Bergen points out, Elisha also causes suffering in 2 Kings 5.27, and his deeds there and in 2 Kings 2.24 ‘undermine’ the prophet’s otherwise ‘grandiose picture’.<sup>93</sup>

Given the coldheartedness his mentor Elijah displayed toward King Ahaziah and the king’s servants (2 Kgs 1.9–16), the brutal consequence of Elisha’s execration might not seem scripturally anomalous. That the curse was uttered in Yahweh’s name indicates for some, as it did for Horne, that it was by Yahweh’s power, not Elisha’s, that the bears were called out.<sup>94</sup> Not only is this one of a number of instances in the Hebrew Bible where animals serve as God’s agents, usually to punish humans,<sup>95</sup> but the boys’ offence might seem blasphemous in so far as deriding God’s prophets is equivalent to deriding God himself (cf. Deut. 18.19; Lev. 24.10–16).<sup>96</sup> Such blasphemy would be particularly grave if to call someone ‘bald-headed’ in Elisha’s time and place was really tantamount to saying he was ‘empty-headed’, had ‘no brains’, or was ‘stupid’.<sup>97</sup>

Still, the difficulties with Elisha’s curse do not end here. For Bergen, the problem is not that Elisha curses in Yahweh’s name, but that when we compare this curse with those in 2 Kings 1.10 and 1.12, our discomfort with Elisha’s curse is not lessened by either of two aspects that mitigate our discomfort with the casual way in which Elijah caused 102 men to die. The power Elijah exercised is attributed not directly to Yahweh, but to the prophet’s status as ‘man of God’, and it is Elijah himself who chooses the men’s punishment and thereby shoulders the blame for their deaths. In contrast, Yahweh is directly invoked in the Elisha story. And because the wording of Elisha’s curse is not given, the reader is left uncomfortably wondering whether it was

Yahweh who chose to impose capital punishment upon a large number of boys. Readers must finally question either the propriety of Yahweh's action, which can make him seem 'crude and insensitive' and 'a harsh tyrant',<sup>98</sup> or Elisha's propriety. As Bergen reminds us, this is not the only biblical passage to allow the first option (cf. 2 Sam. 6.6–8), but such an allowance is uncommon. And if, in contrast to 2 Kings 2.23, verse 24a's increased attention to the detail of Elisha's action (that is, his turning, seeing, and cursing) 'allows readers to transfer this blame to Elisha, it does so only at the expense of giving control over the actions of YHWH to the prophet'.<sup>99</sup>

Another conjecture is that the punishment of Elisha's mockers may have something to do with 'the idea of the collective responsibility of parents and children',<sup>100</sup> as rooted in the Pentateuch. Rehearsing an idea drawn from the Augustinian interpretation of the tale, modern scholars often infer that Elisha's mockers expressed, and hence were punished for, the irreverence of their parents and other apostate townspeople.<sup>101</sup> If, after all, 'The unripe behavior of the young generation which is growing up, always forms a shadowy reflection of the shallow opposition in moral and religious ideas which exists in public opinion',<sup>102</sup> then the boys' punishment in this tale 'would touch the parents in a way which nothing else could have done'.<sup>103</sup> Yet another speculation, whose expositors will be cited later, eliminates the need to justify the curse and punishment. This speculation questions whether a curse was uttered in the first place: perhaps a mauling incident near Bethel really happened, not as the supernatural result of a curse or as divine punishment, but as a natural calamity coinciding with Elisha's visit, of which this tale expresses a guilt-ridden recollection.

*What is the significance of the bears?* Considered 'probably the oldest sacred animal of all',<sup>104</sup> the bear has attracted considerable attention from Jungians, feminists, mythologists, and historians of religions because of its cultic and ritual identification with various forms of the 'archetypal' Great Mother in cultures around the world.<sup>105</sup> Thus one guide to 'symbols and sacred objects' goes so far as to submit, creatively but erroneously, that Elisha's ursine protectresses find their 'originals' in 'the twin Ursae, nurses of the infant Zeus when his mother Rhea (another version of Artemis) hid him in the Dictean cave', with 'the whole biblical story having been falsely deduced from an icon' – which the guide never documents – 'of the Ursae among children'.<sup>106</sup> In fact, the *ursae ex machina* of 2 Kings 2.24 are presumed to have been of the *ursus arctos syriacus* type which 'was common in ancient Palestine, and appears in the Bible as a peculiarly fierce animal'<sup>107</sup> (cf. 1 Sam. 17.34; Prov. 17.12; Hos. 13.8; Amos 5.19).

However, there has been dissent on this point. On the supposition that such bears normally keep to themselves, are playful and gentle, and will only snatch a lamb from the flock when ravenous or go berserk if robbed of their

own cubs, one exegete contends that the miracle of the murderous bears is so incongruous 'as to be almost ludicrous'.<sup>108</sup>

In the interest of ridding the biblical text of a possibly sexist innuendo, some new translations render דְּבִים ('she bears') in 2 Kings 2.24b simply as 'bears',<sup>109</sup> which happens to concur with the rendering in the Douay Old Testament (1609–10), but diverges from the more accurate, gender-specific rendering in the King James Bible, the Revised Standard Version, and the version of the Jewish Publication Society. The Douay Bible, we should recall, was translated from the Latin Vulgate, whose rendering of דְּבִים as *ursi* accords with the Septuagint's rendering, ἄρκοι, in that both those nouns are masculine plural. Yet the Hebrew from which the King James and the Revised Standard Version were translated is unambiguous: the noun דְּבִים is feminine (in this one instance in the whole Bible), as dictated by the forms of the verb of which it is the subject (וּתְבַקְעֶנָּה, וּתְצַאנָּה), and by the feminine number שְׁתֵּי (two).

*What is the tale's moral point, if any?* If Elisha may come across in 2 Kings 2.24 as 'a bad-tempered wizard who strikes immediately at those who belittle him',<sup>110</sup> it has been suggested that this is so because the authors or redactors of the tales of his miracles meant to portray him as a 'grim-faced person', inferior to the 'kind-hearted' Elijah, that 'second Moses'.<sup>111</sup> More conventionally, however, it is supposed that this tale was recorded 'to enhance the fame of the prophet',<sup>112</sup> and 'to convey a popular understanding of [his] dignity'.<sup>113</sup> As part of a perceived 'mythological colouring'<sup>114</sup> of the Elisha tradition, the story is thought to be aimed at inculcating respect for the prophet's inviolable office and sacrosanct person,<sup>115</sup> and, like the tales of his two preceding miracles (2 Kgs 2.14, 19–22), to confirm his inheritance of Elijah's spiritual powers.<sup>116</sup> Of course, not all 'men of God' in our own times have proved above reproach. Appearing in the wake of the televangelist scandals involving Jim and Tammy Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart, the 1991 *Life Application Bible* wrested from 2 Kings 2.23–24 a message for the present day. 'When we are cynical and sarcastic toward religious leaders,' warns the note on those verses, 'we are in danger of mocking not just the person, but also the spiritual message. While we are not to condone the sin that some leaders commit, we need to pray for them, not laugh at them' (p. 608).

Assuming that the bear-mauling was a natural catastrophe, other commentators on 2 Kings 2.23–24 tend to shift the focus from the prophet and onto possible motives of the people who told the story. Some read it as 'a *Bubenmärchen* to frighten the young into respect for their reverend elders',<sup>117</sup> or as 'a puerile tale' expressing 'the memory of some catastrophe which happened to coincide with Elisha's visit to Bethel and was turned to account by the local dervish-community to awe their children'.<sup>118</sup> Another commentator concurs: 'The well-known inclination of the common people to interpret such calamities as

God's punishment, and hence to inquire about guilt, could have led to the belief that the people themselves had wronged the prophet.<sup>119</sup> Agreeing that what may seem to us an accident would have struck the citizens of Bethel as an act of God, yet another interpreter opines that such tales as this were included in scripture as 'popular and effective teaching aids to instruct the people of the danger of turning away from their God, and to demonstrate that the only security lay in rigid obedience to the will of God as expressed in his law and spoken by his true prophets.'<sup>120</sup>

Regardless of whether the tale of Elisha's mockery was grounded in an actual event, scholars have displayed little interest in the negative image the story presents of the boys. So much attention is paid to the allusion to baldness, the harshness of the curse and punishment, the actions of the prophet and the bears, the question of Yahweh's role (if any), the idolatrous practices and corruptive influences of the Bethel citizenry, and the mystery of the tale's moral intent, that the questions asked about the pack of hellions whose misbehaviour triggered the incident concern mainly their age, provenance, and number. While it is said that 'neither Elisha nor the bears behave in character',<sup>121</sup> no one would say the same about the boys. On the contrary, when their rudeness is commented upon, it is alleged to be typical of boys being boys, especially in the Middle East.<sup>122</sup> The Bethel boys' punishment, in paralleling the harsh penalties stipulated for displaying contempt to parents, is seen as proof that the boys were deemed 'juvenile delinquents'.<sup>123</sup> Because Elisha's mockers have otherwise been mostly neglected, a troubling question is overlooked: what does this tale suggest about children, particularly boys, especially in their relation to holiness?

The Bethel boys' irreverence may illustrate an implication of Job 14.4: if nothing clean can be brought out of an unclean thing, the child must participate in the universal malignity of humanity.<sup>124</sup> Yet, as already suggested, the tale implicates boys in the basic twofold Deuteronomistic lesson that God's prophets are traditionally mocked and persecuted in this world, but that such injustice will be met by divine punishment (2 Chron. 36.16). The pertinence of this lesson's first part to the Elisha tale is indicated by an early medieval Jewish legend about Jeremiah. As a lad, so the story goes, Jeremiah received the divine call to prophesy to God's people but refused, saying,

Master of the universe, I cannot prophesy to them. What prophet ever came forth to them whom they did not wish to slay? When Moses and Aaron rose to act in their behalf, did they not wish to throw stones at them...? Thou didst bring it about that the curly-haired Elijah rose to act in their behalf, and they laughed at him saying: Behold how he curls his locks!... And when Thou didst bring it about that Elisha rose to act in their behalf, they said derisively to him: *Go up, thou baldhead*.<sup>125</sup>

No mention is made here of the retribution which persecutors of prophets must ultimately face.

Likewise, despite the expectation of John the Baptist that Jesus will come as both saviour and punisher (Matt. 3.12), the New Testament stresses the first part of the Deuteronomistic lesson almost to the exclusion of the second.<sup>126</sup> In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus speaks of the persecution of prophets in earlier times (Matt. 5.12). He later opens his lament over the Judean capital by exclaiming: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you!' (Matt. 23.37). This same observation is recast as a bitter rhetorical question posed by the first Christian martyr, Stephen, to the elders of Jerusalem moments before they stone him to death: 'Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they killed those who announced beforehand the coming of the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered' (Acts 7.52). Reportedly present at Stephen's stoning and 'consenting to his death' was Saul (8.1), who later, as the converted missionary Paul, rehearses the motif in praising the Christians of Thessalonica for having effectually imitated the Christian churches of Judea: 'for you suffered the same things from your own countrymen as they did from the Jews, who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out' (1 Thess. 2.14–15). In connecting the Crucifixion to the slayings of Hebrew prophets, Paul, like Stephen, provides scriptural justification for what will be the medieval Christian view of those prophets as forerunners of the persecuted Christ. A fateful corollary of this view will be the medieval typecasting of the Bethel boys as figurative precursors to Christ's persecutors.

That the New Testament emphasized the first part of the Deuteronomistic lesson does not mean that the second part was forgotten. In later centuries, the complete lesson would be rehearsed in the revealed scriptures of both Islam and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, undoubtedly as a warning to anyone who might try to obstruct the prophetic missions of Muhammad and Joseph Smith, Jr.<sup>127</sup> As for the second part of the Deuteronomistic lesson, the problem that remained peculiar to 2 Kings 2.23–24 was that there the punishable prophet-mockers were children. To be sure, the Hebrew Bible contains some brutal statements about children. The most controversial is God's demand in Exodus 22.29b, 'The first-born of your sons you shall give to me', which chillingly resonates with the *aqedah*, the story of the 'binding' of Isaac (Gen. 22.1–19).<sup>128</sup> Even if the Exodus verse is not taken literally as a demand for child-sacrifice, we know that parents were urged to subject their young offspring to harsh corporal beatings in order to 'save' the children's lives from Sheol (Prov. 23.13–14). It is generally recognized that in early Israelite history a father could kill his sons and daughters if they did something seriously wrong (Gen. 42.37; Zech. 13.3). Although Torah (excepting Exod. 22.29b) and the prophets strongly condemn child-sacrifice, Deuteronomistic law condemns

the stubborn and rebellious son to death (Deut. 21.18–21), and both the Covenant code and the priestly law stipulate that anyone who strikes or curses his father or mother must be put to death (Exod. 21.15, 17; Lev. 20.9).<sup>129</sup> The severe retributive logic of 2 Kings 2.23–24 accords with one of the divine warnings conveyed by the prophet Isaiah to the people of Judah. If boys could be mauled for showing insolence towards a sacred elder, it seems consistent that God should threaten to punish the idolatrous and socially unjust Judahites by turning the social order on its head and creating a circumstance in which boys (נַעֲרִים) shall be their princes, ‘babes [תַּעֲלֻלִים: abstractly, “caprice”] shall rule over them’, and ‘the youth [הַנַּעֲרָר] will be insolent to the elder’ (Isa. 3.4, 5b).

Still, even if to be ruled by obnoxious boys was feared as the direst of collective punishments, the modifying treatments of 2 Kings 2.23–24 in the Babylonian Talmud suggest that the early rabbinic thinkers were troubled by the idea of divinely commissioned bears mangling boys at a prophet’s prompting.<sup>130</sup> It is hinted that the whole incident could have been avoided if Elisha had not travelled alone; for ‘Whoever does not escort others or allow himself to be escorted is as though he sheds blood.’<sup>131</sup> Moreover, pre-pubescent children could not be held morally accountable for their actions. So, according to the Aggadah, whose interpretation on this point was later reiterated by the commentators Rashi (1040–1105) and Radak (David Kimhi, c. 1160–1235),<sup>132</sup> Elisha’s mockers were נַעֲרִים in the sense not of ‘children’ but of ‘youths’, that is, adult water-sellers from Jericho who ‘were bare [*menu’arim*] of precepts’.<sup>133</sup> In describing them as little (קִטְנִים), the scripture implies that they were ‘little of faith’, because their livelihood had just been ruined by his miraculous healing of Jericho’s waters (2 Kgs 2.19–22). Or, they were grown-up youths who behaved like small children and silly boys.<sup>134</sup> When Elisha looked back, what did he see that made him curse them? The Talmud, besides noting that death and calamity befall wherever the sages set their eyes, submits that he ‘saw’ that his mockers had been conceived on the Day of Atonement, when cohabitation was taboo; or that their hair was plaited like that of the heathen Amorites; or that they were oblivious of the commandments, as all their descendants must have been<sup>135</sup> – that is, in Rashi’s words, ‘that neither in them nor in their descendants would there be any “sap” of good deeds’.<sup>136</sup> Had but a single righteous man (*tzaddik*) been destined to descend from them, Elisha would not have cursed them.<sup>137</sup>

As for the punishment of Elisha’s mockers, a Talmudic rabbi regards it as ‘a miracle within a miracle’; given that ‘there was no forest nor were there any bears’, the forest and bears must have sprung up miraculously.<sup>138</sup> (Amusingly, this point finds support in a modern commentator’s quibble that יַעַר at 2 Kings 2.24b ‘signifies not “forest” but rather *maquis*’.<sup>139</sup>) The Talmud also notes that the number of the bears’ victims corresponds to the 42 sacrifices

offered by Balak (Num. 23.1, 14, 29), and that Elisha's overreaction to the boys did not go unpunished, as God, to purge him of that sin, made him endure three bouts of disease, the third one fatal.<sup>140</sup>

Talmudic exegetes in later centuries would elaborate upon why Elisha might have been targeted for derision. In the attempted literal interpretation or *peshat* in the popular *Mezudat David* (1782, Fortress of David) by David Altschuler, the idea is introduced that Elisha was mocked because he looked so different from the allegedly hairy Elijah; for Altschuler, it is as though the mockers were saying Elisha was not Elijah's equal. As noted by Isaac ben Judah Abrabanel (1437–1508) and Malbim (Meier Loeb ben Jehiel Michael, 1809–79), 'Go up, baldy!' may connote: 'Just as your hairy master ascended to heaven, you, the baldheaded disciple, may do so too.' Hence, reasoned Abrabanel, Elisha 'saw' that the boys were mocking not only him but his master as well, and that they had been ordered by their parents to do so. At Bethel, the site of Jeroboam's golden calf (1 Kgs 12.28–29), such disrespectfulness towards God's prophets could be expected.<sup>141</sup>

By transforming the boys into men and denying that God condoned Elisha's intemperate reaction against them, the Talmudic explanations of 2 Kings 2.23–24 not only discard the vexing image of the prophet as a curser of children (a character less easily absolvable than a curser of adults) but eschew the equally troublesome notion of boys as prophet-mockers, and of God as the condoner of an unethical outburst by his own prophet. Yet no such ethical scruples seem to have plagued the producers of the earliest Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, traditionally known as the Septuagint or LXX, which is thought to have been begun in the early third century BCE and completed over the next two centuries. That Elisha's mockers were children, not adults, is emphasized by the Septuagint's reference to them as *παιδάρια μικρά* (4/2 Kgs 2.23); because the noun *παιδάρια* denotes 'young children', the adjective *μικρά* ('small' or 'little') seems almost tautological.

Serious qualms about the ethical implications of the tale may account for the minor but provocative accretions to it in two of the more important variant versions of the Septuagint. One is the Septuagint revision by the mysterious second-century figure named Theodotion, upon which Origen (c. 185–254 CE) drew extensively in filling in the Septuagint's gaps in his own Hexapla (completed 245), a vast edition of the different Greek renditions of the Old Testament. The other Greek version that adds something to the Elisha tale is the 'Lucianic' or 'Antiochian' recension, one of the Septuagint's so-called *trifaria varietas* or 'threefold variety' (the other two belonging to Origen and Hesychius, d. 311) which is thought to be based largely upon a comparison with the Hexapla and is traditionally attributed to Lucian, the presbyter of Antioch martyred under Maximinus in 311 or 312 CE.<sup>142</sup>

Perhaps reflecting a desire to infer a moral rationale behind Elisha's wrath toward the boys, Theodotion's version of 4/2 Kings 2.23 inserts the following clause after Elisha's curse: 'And he said: children of transgression and idleness [τέκνα παραβάσεως καὶ ἀργίας]'.<sup>143</sup> As the noun τέκνα denotes children specifically in the sense of 'offspring' or 'descendants',<sup>144</sup> the suggestion that Elisha's mockers were born 'of transgression and idleness' is presumably meant to disparage the parents who brought them into the world and reared them. In shifting the blame for the boys' irreverence from them and onto the parents, this inserted barb casts a new light upon the subsequent bear-mauling, which in turn, rather than seeming an excessive punishment of naughty boys, might now be seen as a suitable punishment of the parents for their own corruption. The underlying idea seems to be that it is morally appropriate for transgressive and unworthy parents to lose the children they corrupt.

Whereas the inserted barb in Theodotion's version may thus be meant to make Elisha's curse more ethically palatable, the Lucianic version seems meant to justify Elisha's wrath by making the boys' crime more severe. Among Lucian's distinguishing features is his 'endeavour to seek out, and incorporate, what in the recensionist's judgement were the most ancient and best attested readings, for the conservation of which he has no hesitation in resorting to conflation'.<sup>145</sup> True to this rule, he adds the phrase 'and they stoned him' (καὶ ἐλίθαζον αὐτόν) to the verse about Elisha's mockery, perhaps to accommodate another Greek translation that mistook the ו'יתקלו (and they mocked') of the Masoretic text for ו'יסקלו ('and they stoned').<sup>146</sup> Although Alfred Rahlfs, one of the twentieth century's most thoroughgoing Lucianic researchers, dismissed the variant rendering of the Masoretic term as a doublet resulting from the confusion of קלם (mock) with סקל (stone, or put to death by stoning),<sup>147</sup> others have seen it also as possibly 'an embellishment which sought to explain the prophet's violent outburst against the children'.<sup>148</sup> Whatever the case may be, the inserted phrase turns the boys' offence into something far graver than mere taunting. In the Hebrew scriptures stoning is always presented as deadly, whether employed to execute sinners (Num. 15.36; Josh. 7.25) or holy men (1 Kgs 21.13; 2 Chron. 24.21), and this remains true in the New Testament, which reports it to be the means used to kill St Stephen (Acts 7.58–60) and other Christian martyrs (Heb. 11.37).

What became of the two versions of the Greek Old Testament produced by Theodotion and Lucian? Theodotion's version was widely used and greatly influenced the formation of later Septuagint manuscripts, and, according to St Jerome, Lucian's Septuagint recension became by 400 CE the accepted text of the Greek Old Testament throughout Asia Minor.<sup>149</sup> Yet it was Jerome's Latin Vulgate translation of both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament from their original languages that was to become the authorized Bible of the Catholic

West. And because no mention is made of stoning in the Vulgate version of 4/2 Kings 2.23, the violent punishment of the boys seems as disproportionate to their crime in that version as it did in the original Hebrew. The Vulgate rendering would therefore have done nothing to discourage a negative response to this tale among such heretical groups as the Marcionites and the Manicheans, who were predisposed to hold the entire Old Testament in contempt. As we shall see later, their leaders appear to have denounced the tale and singled it out to illustrate why they rejected the moral authority of the Jewish scriptures.

Despite the ambiguities of 2 Kings 2.23–24, various elements of the tale took on somewhat amusing lives of their own quite early in the oral and written traditions of Judaism and Christianity. For example, the Hebrew expression ‘no she-bears, no forest’ (לֹא דְבִים וְלֹא יַעַר), used for a cock-and-bull story,<sup>150</sup> came straight from the Talmudic commentary considered above. And while the medieval Jewish expression for the tonsured Roman Catholic priest, ‘bald-head’,<sup>151</sup> may or may not have derived from that tale, the laughter which a tenth-century Byzantine satirist is thought to have directed against St Paul’s receding hair might recall Elisha’s mockery.<sup>152</sup> In any case, religious thinkers and poets from the early centuries of the Christian era on through the Middle Ages evidently could expect readers to recognize allusions to that tale and to its association of Elisha with bears. One such allusion occurs in the humorous late-ancient prose text, ‘Cyprian’s Supper’ (*Cena Cypriani*), about a fanciful banquet at which all the guests are biblical characters. A fleeting glimpse is caught of Elisha when the narrator pairs certain characters with specific animal species with which they were scripturally associated: ‘Then others held their portions, which they had caught in hunting: Abraham held a portion of calf, Esau of stag, Abel of lamb, Noah of ram, Samson of lion, Elisha of she-bear [*Helisaeus ursinam*].’<sup>153</sup>

Notably, no mention is made here of the Bethel boys, even though in the Kings tale *they* became the hunted, whereas the bears, not Elisha, were the hunters. As presented in ‘Cyprian’s Supper’, the prophet could seem the supreme ingrate as he prepares to devour flesh of the same animal species that produced his two avengers. This same linkage of Elisha with the bear recurs unaltered in two Carolingian versions of ‘Cyprian’s Supper’: an abridgment prepared around 855 by the monk Hrabanus Maurus of Mainz (776/84–856), and a versification composed in 876 by John the Deacon of Rome (c. 825–880), who, still without mentioning the Bethel boys, augments an earlier allusion to Elisha in ‘Cyprian’s Supper’ by affixing their epithet for the prophet (‘bald-head’) to the latter’s name.<sup>154</sup> More than four centuries later, the irony of Elisha’s ursine diet would not have escaped Dante, whose *Commedia* refers to Elisha as ‘qual colui che si vengiò con li orsi’ (‘he who was avenged by the bears’).<sup>155</sup> This association of Elisha and the bears with revenge may show how well Dante knew his Aquinas, who had cited Elisha’s execration to affirm the

lawfulness of cursing and vengeance.<sup>156</sup> Yet in Dante, as in 'Cyprian's Supper,' the boys go unmentioned.

The same is true of an apparent allusion to Elisha's mockery in one of the 30 *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* (Prophecies concerning the highest pontiffs), which were spuriously attributed to the twelfth-century Cistercian mystic Joachim of Fiore, and have been deemed to provide 'some of the wildest and weirdest reading to be found anywhere in the world'.<sup>157</sup> Whereas the first 15 prophecies, derived from a Byzantine source, are thought to have been composed in Italy by a colleague of the Spiritual Franciscan leader Brother Angelo Clareno around the time of Pope Benedict XI's death (1304), the second 15 were probably produced by Tuscan Fraticelli just prior to 1356.<sup>158</sup> The initial prophecy of that second series opens: *Ascende Calue, ut ne amplius decalueris, qui non uereris decaluate sponsam: ut comá ursae nutrias*<sup>159</sup> (Ascend, baldhead, so that you will not lose more hair, you who are not afraid to cut off your bride's hair so that you nourish the hair of the she-bear).

Again nothing is said of the Bethel boys, though the initial phrase echoes their exclamation to Elisha. The noun *ursa* in the final clause has been taken as a *double entendre* alluding figuratively to the bears that avenged Elisha, and phonetically to the noble Orsini family, one of whose sons is the subject of the prophecy: Giovanni Gaetano Orsini (1210/20–1280), the 'unholy' Pope Nicholas III (from 1277), whose notoriety for nepotism, simony, and intrigue earned him a place in Dante's hell.<sup>160</sup> As it had been common to refer to the Orsini as *fili ursae* (sons of the bear) during the final decade of the thirteenth century,<sup>161</sup> the 'bride' in the quotation above may connote the Church, whom Nicholas ('baldhead') took advantage of politically and financially (that is, making her metaphorically bald by cutting off her 'hair') in order to benefit his family (that is, 'to nourish the hair of the she-bear').

In this prophecy, several deeply ironic inversions are suggested by the phrase calqued from 4/2 Kings 2.23 in the Vulgate, and by the linkage of that phrase with the Orsini/*ursa* association. Addressed by the same epithet as Elisha, Nicholas deserves the disrespect it suggests. As an unholy pope and thus Elisha's antithesis, he seems also an inversion of the sainted Pope Silverius (d. 537), whose excommunication of his own exilers was likened by Aquinas to Elisha's cursing his own mockers.<sup>162</sup> Doomed to hell, Nicholas has not the option to 'go up' as he is commanded to do. For in unethically nourishing the 'bear' (the House of Orsini), an animal known for its voraciousness, and whose females were considered especially ferocious when protecting their young,<sup>163</sup> this latter-day 'baldhead' does the symbolic opposite of what occurs in the Elisha tale. There, the bears protect the 'baldhead', not vice versa, and they do so by attacking, not guarding, the young – that is, the human young, not the bears' young.

The lack of any mention of the Bethel boys in the allusions to Elisha's mockery in 'Cyprian's Supper', the *Inferno*, and the *Vaticinia* might seem to

suggest that those ill-fated urchins were erased from medieval memory almost as decisively as 42 of their bodies are mangled in the biblical tale. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. By the end of the Middle Ages, 4/2 Kings 2.23–24 furnished the paradigm for a literary and artistic *topos* explicitly concerning boys. Instances of this *topos*, which I term the Bethel boys motif, exhibit the following definitive pattern: an adult, usually male and known for his holiness or for some marked eccentricity or unpopular distinction, is gratuitously mocked, stoned, or abused in some other way by a pack of anonymous urchins. The assumption that seems almost inevitably to underlie the motif can be summed up by a pronouncement 2 Kings 2.23–24 elicited from a nineteenth-century German minister and scholar: ‘Young people are always ready to make wanton sport of any peculiar appearance which they do not understand.’<sup>164</sup>

As we shall later see, variations of the Bethel boys motif in literature and art over the centuries have reflected a particular negative image of children that opposes the more conventional Jewish, Christian, and, much later, Romantic views. Let us first consider certain ancient perceptions of children that may have helped perpetuate the motif.

### **Ancient views of the child**

The association of childhood with mischief, wildness, and affrontiveness was by no means peculiar to the ancient Hebrew folklorists who told of Elisha’s encounter with the Bethel boys. The behaviour of those urchins would not have shocked Plato, whose Athenian observes: ‘Now of all wild young things a boy is the most difficult to handle. Just because he more than any other has a fount of intelligence in him which has not yet “run clear”, he is the craftiest, most mischievous, and unruliest of brutes’.<sup>165</sup> Consistent with the allusions to children as a curse in the dramas of Euripides, the fragments of Democritus and Menander, and the *dicta* of Epicurus,<sup>166</sup> the Athenian in Plato’s *Laws* recommends that corrective chastisement befitting a slave be administered to any boy by any free person in whose presence the boy commits a serious fault (bk 7, 808d). Aristotle, Plato’s former pupil, proved less zealous than Plato about punishing children. But he viewed them no less adversely as living ‘at the beck and call of appetite’,<sup>167</sup> a view that would later be elaborated upon by the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE–50 CE). For Aristotle, the child is ‘imperfect’, the child’s ‘excellence’ being ‘not relative to himself alone, but to the perfect man and to his teacher’, as the slave’s is to a master.<sup>168</sup>

Aristotle was fortunate enough to see one boy he tutored grow up and achieve unprecedented triumphs as commander and king. However, not every philosopher had the privilege of mentoring a young Alexander. Seneca, the

Roman Stoic, tutored the adolescent Nero. Later, when Nero acceded to the Roman imperial throne (54 CE), Seneca became his counsellor and minister, and lived to know all too well the grim consequences of this one bad boy. When Nero's deadly tyranny as emperor was reaching its height and his ordering of Seneca's death (65 CE) was not more than two years away, Seneca – already retired by then from Nero's service – recorded: 'It is no surprise to me, at my age, that nothing but evil attends us from our early youth; for we have grown up amid the curses invoked by our parents.'<sup>169</sup> We might only speculate that Seneca was generalizing upon the example of his psychotically murderous former pupil.

In Jewish and Christian contexts, the question of children's imperfection becomes far more complicated on account of the biblical idea of 'man's' creation in God's 'image'. As introduced in Genesis 1.26–27, this notion suggests perfection. Disregarding the old yet unresolved linguistic-theological debate about whether that priestly text refers to concrete resemblance or is meant to convey a more abstract, spiritual idea such as that of human personality in its relation to God, we need only note that the concept underwent a momentous metamorphosis as it became assimilated into Christian thought. The Hebrew scriptures never imply that the image (צֶלֶם) or likeness (דְמוּת) of God was lost through the Fall or that 'man' no longer possesses that image. In contrast, except in 1 Corinthians 11.7, which retains the Hebraic view, the New Testament consistently presents God's εἰκών or *imago* (the Greek and the Vulgate translations of צֶלֶם) as something alien to 'man' and identifies it instead with Christ, through whom the believer is transformed into that image.<sup>170</sup>

How do these biblical considerations bear upon Jewish and Christian views of children? According to St Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130–200), Adam himself 'was a child, not yet having his understanding perfected'.<sup>171</sup> However, despite this claim, or, a millennium later, the suggestion by the Jewish poet and philosopher Judah Halevi (c. 1075–1141) amid the Spanish *reconquista* that God created the first man 'in the form of an adolescent, perfect in body and mind',<sup>172</sup> Western thinkers and artists have generally assumed that the first man was created as a young adult – an idea frescoed by Michelangelo upon the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, having been inscribed much earlier in the Talmud, which asserts that Adam was not like a child but like a 20-year-old.<sup>173</sup> Yet neither the Hebrew scriptures nor the Christian scriptures indicate whether children attain that image before they reach maturity. Except in such rare, negative passages as 2 Kings 2.23–24 and Isaiah 3.4–5, or the ones cited earlier that condemn child-sacrifice while condoning the killing of unruly children, the Hebrew Bible concentrates positively upon the relation of children to the family and the importance of progeny as a sign of God's favour.<sup>174</sup> Likewise the New Testament's sole disclosure about Jesus' boyhood serves to

confirm the primacy of his relationship to God over his relationship to his earthly parents (Luke 2.49).

Notwithstanding a modern historian's examination of influences that might have shaped Jesus' childhood and youth,<sup>175</sup> one wonders whether the almost total silence in the New Testament about Jesus' so-called 'lost years' might betray a reluctance on the part of the 'inspired' authors to depict the embodiment of divine perfection as an adolescent boy. Philo, the Hellenistic Jewish thinker whose lifetime coincided with Jesus', expresses the generally low opinion of childhood that had been passed down from the ancient Greeks. Like Aristotle, he evidently regards children as irrational creatures wholly controlled by their instinctual appetites: 'In the first stage of our coming into existence' – which, in the next sentence, he labels 'the stage of boyhood' (παιδική ήλικία) –

the soul is reared with none but passions to be its comrades, griefs, pains, excitements, desires, pleasures, all of which come to it through the senses, since the reason is not yet able to see good and evil and to form an accurate judgement of the difference between them, but is still slumbering.<sup>176</sup>

In one place, Philo recounts an anecdote that approximates the Bethel boys motif in displaying the mischievous readiness of boys to mock anyone strange or eccentric. When Herod Agrippa, newly assigned to the throne of his uncle Philip's tetrarchy, stopped in Alexandria *en route* to his kingdom, the anti-Jewish faction of the city's citizenry could not contain their resentment at this elevation of a Jew:

There was a certain lunatic named Carabas.... He spent day and night in the streets naked, shunning neither heat nor cold, made game of by the children and the lads who were idling about [ἄθυρμα νηπίων καὶ μειρακίων σχολαζόντων]. The rioters drove the poor fellow into the gymnasium and set him up on high to be seen of all and put on his head a sheet of byblus spread out wide for a diadem, clothed the rest of his body with a rug for a royal robe, while someone who had noticed a piece of the native papyrus thrown away in the road gave it to him for his sceptre. And when as in some theatrical farce he had received the insignia of kingship and had been tricked out as a king, young men carrying rods on their shoulders as spear-men stood on either side of him in imitation of a bodyguard. Then others approached him, some pretending to salute him, others to sue for justice, others to consult him on state affairs. Then from the multitudes standing round him there rang out a tremendous shout hailing him as Marin, which is said to be the name for 'lord' in Syria.<sup>177</sup>

It is not clear from this report whether the anonymous 'children' and 'lads' who derided the naked lunatic are the same 'rioters' who set him up as 'king'. None the less, a significant percentage of the rioters were assumably not adults, and, as reported above, their distinctly Bethel boy-like behaviour seems blended with the carnivalesque practice of mock-kingship for a day which has been found exemplified in societies around the world.<sup>178</sup> As butt of this mockery, Carabas is used by the rioters as a surrogate for Herod, just as the mocked Elisha, according to some interpreters, was used by the boys as a stand-in for the deceased Elijah or even for Yahweh himself.

The reluctance of the authors of the canonic Gospels to depict Jesus as child seems well founded in the light of the so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas, whose account of childhood events (*paidika*) in Jesus' life is prompted by the Lucan tale of the visit of the 12-year-old saviour to the Temple.<sup>179</sup> In some instances in this apocryphal Gospel, as in the related Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the boy Jesus comes across as unchristian, malevolent, and unsettlingly prone to employing his miraculous powers to kill other children who annoy him – such as the scribe's son whom he causes to wither up for having dispersed some puddles of water; or another child whom he causes to fall down and die for having accidentally bumped his shoulder.<sup>180</sup> Given the notoriety the little Jesus earns in his village as serial killer,<sup>181</sup> it is no wonder that when one of a number of children playing on a roof is pushed off and fatally falls, the dead child's parents accuse Jesus of the crime (Thomas 9.1–2).

Despite the apocryphal tales of the little killer Jesus, tales that would persist in popular medieval literature,<sup>182</sup> children as a species took on a new significance in the canonic Gospels. There, the adult Jesus teaches that only by becoming 'like' children can someone enter heaven, and that the heavenly kingdom 'belongs' to such as them (Matt. 18.3, 19.14; Mark 10.14–15; Luke 18.16–17). These claims, the most renowned biblical statements about children, might seem to dissociate the child from the guilt of Adam (who is traditionally imagined as an adult when he committed his fatal sin) and reverse the Greek philosophical notion of the child as imperfect. To be sure, Jesus never pronounces the child perfect or innocent; if the child, like the poor, the ignorant, and the sinner, is privileged by him in the order of salvation, it is not because of any inherent spiritual qualities or dispositions.<sup>183</sup> Yet it seems safe to surmise that if Jesus' association of children with humility and salvation had persisted in the West as the only view of youngsters, the Bethel boys motif could hardly have survived the dawn of the Christian era as a theologically viable *topos*.

Although the same association is promoted by the advice of 1 Peter 2.2 ('Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk'), Jesus' exaltation of children is stiffly opposed elsewhere in the New Testament. Addressing the Christians of Rome, Paul admits to having been 'once alive apart from the

law', prior to 'when the commandment came' and 'sin revived and I died' (Rom. 7.9). Whether or not it is correct to construe this verse as 'a reminiscence of a thoughtless, carefree boyhood brought to an end (*death*) by the dawning sense of moral obligation and guilt',<sup>184</sup> the famous analogy Paul invokes elsewhere to illustrate his religious conversion seems to contradict Jesus' positive assessment of childhood: 'When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child; when I became a man, I gave up childish ways' (1 Cor. 13.11).

For Paul, abandoning 'childish ways' means realizing that both knowledge and the capacity to express it in prophecies or tongues are faulty, and are therefore to be valued less than faith, hope, and love as gifts of the spirit. In terms that seem to assume the Aristotelian notion of the child as an imperfect being whose 'excellence' is relative to the perfect man, he submitted in the preceding verse that 'when the perfect comes, the imperfect will pass away' (1 Cor. 13.10). Here 'perfect' connotes spiritual maturity ('I became a man') or the awareness that love, faith, and hope are the greatest gifts, while 'imperfect' denotes spiritual infancy ('childish ways') or reliance on tongues and prophecies. Paul, in effect, is exhorting his audience to grow up, and not to think like children (see 1 Cor. 14.20).

The implication that adulthood is spiritually superior to childhood accords with Paul's understanding of the first man. For if it was through Adam's disobedience that humankind inherited sin, condemnation, and death, he is the 'type' of Christ, the second or last Adam who acquits, justifies, and restores humankind to life (Rom. 5.12–21; 1 Cor. 15.45–47). From this typological view it would seem to follow that infancy and childhood, of all stages of life, are the two most closely linked to original sin. For Paul, all infants are born into the world as heirs of Adam's fallen state and cannot hope to be redeemed unless they convert later in life to faith in Christ, as did Paul himself on the road to Damascus. The lack of explicit evidence in the New Testament for the baptism of infants may or may not suggest that this purificatory rite symbolizing the first step towards redemption was reserved for adults.

The implicit Pauline linkage of infancy and childhood with Adamic sin achieved explicit expression several centuries later in the writings of St Augustine, especially the opening books of his *Confessions*. A fascinated observer of babies,<sup>185</sup> Augustine was convinced that the earliest symptoms of sin could be detected in infants' behaviour, and therefore that all unbaptized children, even those born of the faithful, perish (*pereunt*).<sup>186</sup> Having observed that an infant, even if fully fed, will grow angry and jealous upon seeing another infant at the mother's breast, he concluded that 'it is not the mind of infants that is innocent, but the weakness of their members' (C, 1.7.11 [7]); in other words, infants would sin if only they were physically capable of doing so. This rule, deemed 'Freudian' by a modern scholar,<sup>187</sup> was applied by Augustine to older

boys as well. It has been said that nothing reveals Augustine's preoccupation with the frailty and misguidedness of the human will more clearly than his own boyhood recollections. His African readers tended to consider a boy innocent until the latter reached puberty, 'as if,' wrote Augustine, 'there were no sins except those that are committed by the genitals.'<sup>188</sup> But Augustine, guilt-ridden for having resisted the Catholic faith as a youth, looks upon childhood as the time when all youngsters participate in the pernicious legacy of Adam's fall, much as Paul recalled having lived lawlessly as a child. Reminiscing about the beatings he and his classmates received for idleness at school, he reflects: 'Many [boys] before us had built up these ways of misery, by which we were confined to pass over, increasing greatly the labor and sorrow of the sons of Adam' (C, 1.9.14 [8]).

The association of boyhood with Adamic guilt rather than with the heavenly humility that Jesus ascribed to children becomes clear as Augustine strains to square Jesus' view with the memory of his own boyhood peccadillo: lying, theft, cheating, and indulgence in frivolity. Through such sins as these, he had been cast into 'the whirlpool of filthiness' as a boy.

Is this boyish innocence [*innocentia puerilis*]? It is not, Lord. It is not, I pray you, my God. For these are the same things, the very same things, which, as we depart from teachers and masters, from nuts and balls and pet birds, proceeding to kings, gold, estates, and slaves, continue on as more years pass in succession, just as greater punishments succeed the ferule. Therefore, our King, it was simply because they are small that you used children to symbolize humility when you commended it, saying: To such belongs the kingdom of heaven.

(1.19.30 [15])

Because the sins of the child portend those of the adult, they are more haunting than the adult's. Under this awareness, Augustine devotes a considerable portion of the next book to recalling and pondering a single act of youthful vandalism: his stealing fruits from a neighbour's pear tree with a gang of boys when he was sixteen years of age. Consistent with his appraisal of children as innately sinful 'sons of Adam', the repentant Augustine seems to associate this boyhood pilferage with Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit: 'it pleased us to do what was not permitted' (2.4.9 [19]).

While belonging to an order of mischief different from Elisha's mockery, Augustine's boyhood theft has several traits that resemble the Bethel boys motif: the perpetration of the misdemeanour by a gang of anonymous boys (Augustine being the only one identified in his account); the crime's gratuitousness ('we carried away huge loads [of pears] not for our own meals, but to throw to the swine' [2.4.9 (19)]); the corruptive propensity of gang psychology

(‘I absolutely would not have done it on my own’ [2.8.16 (22); cf. 2.9.17]); and *Schadenfreude* regarding the adult victims (‘We laughed as if tickled at the heart, because we deceived them, who did not think we had done this and would not have endured it’ [2.9.17 (22)]). Unlike Elisha’s mockers, young Augustine and his companions were not punished for their escapade. Yet overhanging his account of it is the aura of a far more ominous consequence: his soul’s perdition. Of the evil in his heart he recalls: ‘It was foul, but I loved it. I loved to perish (*perire*): I loved my defect, not that for which I committed wrong, but my wrong itself’ (2.4.9 [19]; cf. 2.6.12–14).

Despite Augustine’s memories of his own moral defects in childhood, one anonymous, unseen child does figure positively in his *Confessions*: the one whose voice, he says, prompted his conversion to the Catholic faith (8.12.29 [101]). Accordingly, there emerged in later centuries the popular apocryphal anecdote about Augustine’s miraculous seaside vision of a benign little boy, putatively the Christ Child, who questioned the ability of human intelligence to comprehend the Holy Trinity. This tale began to be represented in Italian art in the fifteenth century, later travelled northward, and first took literary form in the English adaptation of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*, *The Golden Legend* by William Caxton (c. 1422–91), who claims to have seen the miracle ‘painted on an altar of S. Austin at the black frirs at Antwerp’.<sup>189</sup> According to the tale, while walking on the North African coast and contemplating the Trinity, Augustine encountered a little child who, having dug a small pit in the sand, was ladling water into it with a spoon. Asked by Augustine what he was doing, the child replied that he intended to fill the pit with all the water of the sea. When Augustine replied that it was impossible to do that, the child responded that it would be easier and quicker to fill this pit with all the water of the sea than it would be for a mortal mind to comprehend the Trinity. The child then vanished.

Despite his conversion experience and regardless of this later legend, however, Augustine’s general attitude towards children remained one of mild horror. Aware that certain pagans charged Christ ‘with childishness [*puerilis*], because’ (in John 8.6, 8) ‘He stooped down and wrote on the ground, and, after answering the people who were questioning Him, began writing again,’ Augustine did not object to the negative notion of childishness that underlies the charge; rather, he replied that such critics fail to grasp ‘that certain virtues in great minds resemble closely the vices of little minds, not in reality, but in appearance’.<sup>190</sup> In *The Trinity* (c. 399–419) he asks, ‘what then is to be said about the mind of an infant [*de infantis mente*] which is still so small and sunk in such vast ignorance of things that the mind of a man which knows anything shudders at the darkness of that infant mind?’<sup>191</sup> All that can be said about an infant boy (*puer infans*) is that ‘with his mind unawakened he possesses nothing’ (14.14.19 [50a:447/385]). It is no wonder, then, that Augustine

believes that the mysteries of the Christian scriptures are inaccessible to children (*pueri*), and that the scriptures must therefore grow with children (C, 3.5.9 [26]: *parvuli*). *City of God* extends such notions to defend the harsh corporal punishments used to discipline children in Roman schools. Citing the paternal advice of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 30.12 ('Bow down his neck in his youth...'), Augustine suggests that such strict measures are necessary for counteracting children's natural inclination towards sloth, indolence, and other vices; like all other ills in life, the miseries of school are but a natural consequence of the perverted nature with which every child is endowed at birth as the result of Adam's sin.<sup>192</sup>

If sustained by God's grace, parental and pedagogical discipline in Augustine's view can aid in leading a child's mind out of its natural 'darkness' and towards reverence for God. Thus, in noting that a schoolboy guilty of a linguistic barbarism might be whipped for citing one of Virgil's more grammatically liberal turns of phrase as an excuse, Augustine seems not at all bothered that the punishment would be so harsh.<sup>193</sup> His rigorous stance on disciplining children bears profound ramifications for his understanding of God. If in his view fathers should beat their sons like slaves to break their wills, 'His idealisation of the severe father is clearly perceptible in his vision of the just God, who would punish wayward sons eternally, and without mercy.... Oppressive schooling was the unwitting mould for cruelly repressive religious beliefs.'<sup>194</sup>

As one might expect Elisha's mockery to have epitomized for Augustine the irreverence of unruly boys, it is not surprising that his writings contain references to the tale. However, rather than his wariness towards boys, it was another facet of his interpretation of 4/2 Kings 2.23–24 that had the most fateful impact on the way later Western church fathers regarded the tale. As we shall see, Augustine's hermeneutic fostered a typological linkage of Elisha with Christ, and hence of Elisha's mockers with the people who were doctrinally scapegoated for Christ's death: the Jews.

# Biblical Index

Except where otherwise indicated, or where a back-slash occurs, all citations of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical books, and the New Testament are by the chapter-and-verse numbers in the RSV. Where two numerical citations are separated by a slash, the one before the slash refers to the Vulgate, and the one after it, to the RSV. Citations of the Apocryphal New Testament are by the numbers in the Elliott edition (see p. xv above).

<b>Hebrew Scriptures</b>		11.1-3	17
		15.36	25
Genesis	104	21.4-7	17
1.26-27	29	21.6	36-7, 105
2-3	xi	23.1, 14, 29	24
9	104		
9.3	105	<b>Deuteronomy</b>	
9.21-25	54	7.10	17
13.11	96	18.19	17, 18
19.8	150	21.18-21	23
22.1-19	22	28.15-68	17
22.5, 12	118	32.24	105
26.1-22	45	32.42	53
32.22 (=32.23 in Hebrew Bible)	118		
32.23		<b>Joshua</b>	
37.30	118	7.25	25
37.33	183		
41.12	118	<b>Judges</b>	
42.37	22	12.6	17
49.27	91		
		<b>Ruth</b>	
Exodus		1.5	118
1.15-22	37, 183		
12.29	183	<b>1 Samuel (1 Kings in LXX and Vulg.)</b>	
20.5	47, 54	15.33	131
21.15	23	16.11	15
21.17	23	17.34	19
22.29	22		
22.31	180	<b>2 Samuel (2 Kings in LXX and Vulg.)</b>	
		6.6-8	19
Leviticus		16.5, 13	61
7.24	180	18.9-18	119
13.42	16		
17.15	180	<b>1 Kings (3 Kings in LXX and Vulg.)</b>	90
20.9	23	3.7	15
24.10-16	17, 18	12.28-29	24
26.22	183	13.7-30	17
		13.24, 26	196n.95
Numbers		17	197n.116
11.1	36		

1 Kings – <i>continued</i>		10.14	17
17.4	196n.95	13.14	16
17.17–24	183	17.25–26	196n.95
19.10	90		
19.19	93	2 Chronicles	
19.20–21	93	13.7	118
20.33–43	17	24.21	25
21.13	25	36.16	21
21.17–29	17		
		Job	
2 Kings (4 Kings in LXX and Vulg.)	52, 90	1.18–19	183
1.2, 3, 6, 16	163	14.4	21
1.2–17	17	19.18	17
1.8	16	21.8	198n.144
1.9–16	18	25.4	110
1.10	18, 117	30.9	70
1.12	18		
1.13–14	117	Psalms	
2	197n.116	1	103
2.1–18	14	1.1	103
2.2–3	91	8.3/8.1–2	57
2.9	96	17.43/18.42	58, 89
2.9–10	140	21/22	64, 92
2.11	16, 93, 217n.36	21.8/22.7	55
2.11–12	108	21.14/22.13	95
2.13	90, 93	21.17/22.16	67, 71
2.14	20	36/37.9, 11, 27	45
2.15	17, 90	41/42	201n.12
2.15–22	109	43/44	201n.12
2.17	90	44/45	39, 40–41, 202n.14
2.19–22	20, 23	45/46	201n.12
2.23	7–8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25–26, 27, 51, 56, 62, 65, 70, 71, 90, 96, 103, 109, 130, 142, 147, 149, 199n.154, 201n.6, 217n.36	46/47	41, 42, 201nn.12–13, 202n.14, 202n.17, 202nn.19–20
2.23–24	xi, xii, 6, 10, 12–28, 29, 35, 36–55, 57, 66, 87, 89, 95, 102–106, 108, 117–31, 139–42, 145–52, 159, 160, 163–64, 169, 170, 177, 186, 217n.33	47/48	201n.12
		51/52	201n.12
		68.13/69.12	70
		79.14/80.13	49
		83/84	41, 201nn.12–13, 202nn.14–16, 202nn.19–20
		84/85	41, 201nn.12–15
2.23–25	12, 194n.57	109	103–104
2.24	12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 23, 38, 51, 91, 112, 128, 130, 131, 149, 201n.6	112.1/113.1	57
2.25	12, 14	127.3	175
4.8–37	38	128.3	180
4.32–37	183	128.3–4	175
5.1–27	38		
5.10–14	199n.154	Proverbs	
5.20–27	17	17.12	19, 119
5.27	18	19.29	55
9.11	46, 90	23.13–14	22
		28.15	91

Ecclesiastes		Zephaniah	
7.9/7.8	91	3.3	91
Song of Solomon, or Song of Songs		Zechariah	
4.2	42	3.2	103
Isaiah	92	8.5	7
1.2	57	9.11	79
1.4	55	13.3	22
3.4	137, 162, 170	<b>Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical books</b>	
3.4–5	23, 29	Wisdom of Solomon	
3.24	96	11.18/11.17	92
8.18	57	Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach	
11.6	84, 91, 118	13.21/13.17	92
22.12	96	30.12	35
31.15 (=38.15 in LX)	184	2 Maccabees	
44.3	198n.144	15.25	70
57.4	104	<b>New Testament</b>	
63.1–6	71	Matthew	7, 56
65.20	51, 203n.39	2.16	183
65.25	91	2.17–18	184
Jeremiah	92, 103, 184	3.12	22
2.30	48	4.22	178
5.6	91	5.10	95
15.3	196n.95	5.10–12	91
15.17	103	5.12	22, 92, 95
29.26	90	5.44	103
31.15	231n.37	6.2	70
Lamentations		7.15	92
3.10–11	92	8.3	54
3.14	55, 70	10.16	92
Ezekiel	92	10.25	163
4.14	180	10.35–36	178
14.15–21	196n.95	10.37	178
22.27	91	10.38	178
39.17–20	196n.95	11.25	84
Hosea		12.24	163
9.7	90	12.46–50	178
13.7–8	183	16.14	93
13.8	19, 119	18.1–5	176, 201n.6
Amos		18.2	41
5.18–19	14	18.2–3	40
5.19	19	18.3	1, 7, 31, 134, 224n.36
Habakkuk		18.5	177
1.8	91	18.6	128, 130, 134

Matthew – <i>continued</i>		11.15, 18–19	163
18.10	130	12.52–53	178
19.12	179	14.26	178
19.13	179	14.27	178
19.13–15	175, 201n.6	14.33	178
19.14	31, 41, 116, 134–35	16.10	129
19.29	178	18.15	179
23.37	22	18.15–17	175, 201n.6
27.22–23	42	18.16	134
27.27–29	55	18.16–17	31
27.27–31	203n.44	18.17	1
27.33	38	18.29–30	178
27.39–40	40	23.6–12	203n.44
27.40, 42	103	23.11	203n.44
27.41	56	23.21	42
27.54	64	23.27	56, 58
		23.28	56, 113
Mark	7, 56	23.28–29	73
1.20	178	23.28–31	58
3.22	163	23.34	42
3.31–35	178		
9.33–37	201n.6	John	
9.35–37	176	2.4	178
9.37	177	7.35	104
10.13	179	8.6, 8	34
10.13–16	175, 201n.6	8.59	58, 89
10.14	134	10.12	92
10.14–15	31	16.5	50
10.15	1	19.1–3	203n.44
14.65	203n.44	19.2	55
15.13	42	19.6	42
15.16–17	55	19.17	38
15.16–20	203n.44		
15.22	38	Acts of the Apostles	
15.39	64	2.38	105
16.16	106	5.1–6	48
		7.52	22
Luke		7.58–60	25
1.17	140	8.1	22
2.41–52	31	13.10	182
2.42–49	178	20.29	92
2.51	178	23.3	103
4.25–26	183		
5.11	178	Romans	
6.22–23	91	5.12–21	32
7.11–17	183	7.9	32
8.19–21	78		
9.8	93	1 Corinthians	
9.46–48	176, 201n.6	1.18–29	87
9.48	177	11.7	29
9.58	56	13.10	32
10.3	92		

1 Corinthians – <i>continued</i>		1 Peter	
13.11	32, 128, 134, 224n.36	2.2	31
13.12	224n.36	5.8	37
14.20	32, 39, 41, 45, 175	1 John	
15.45–47	32	3.10	182
Ephesians		Revelation	
2.2	40, 182	7.2	96
5.6	182	11.2	17
6.1–3, 4	89	13.5	17, 96
6.16	89		
Colossians		<b>Apocryphal New Testament</b>	
3.6	182	Infancy Gospel of Thomas	
1 Thessalonians		3.1–4.2	200n.180
2.14–15	22	9.1–2	31
1 Timothy		Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew	31
1.20	45	26 and 29	200n.180
Hebrews		Gospel of Peter	
2.13	57	2.5	204n.52
9.14	79	3.7–9	203n.44–204
11.37	25	3.8	204n.52
13.12	51	Acts of Pilate, in Gospel of Nicodemus	
James		1.3	63
3.9	200n.170	Acts of John	101
3.15	96	56	219.73

# General Index

- Aaron, 21  
Abel, 26, 44, 45  
Abenner, 84  
Abrabanel, Isaac ben Judah, 24  
Abraham, 26, 44, 45  
Adam (first man), 186  
    as adult, 31  
    associated with childhood, 125, 132  
    fall of, 33, 62  
    fallen nature of, 84, 86  
    sinfulness of, 11, 87, 105, 110  
    sons of, 33  
    transgression of, 132  
    as 20-year-old, 29  
    as type of Christ, 32  
Abrams, M.H., 222n.2  
Adams, Robert Martin, 226n.8  
adolescence  
    as 'the criminal age', 145  
    Peter Damian's vision during, 51  
Adorno, Theodor W., 225n.61  
Aegidius, 53–4  
Aertsen, Pieter, 69, 212n.168  
Aggadah, 23  
aggadic interpretation, 37  
aggadic rabbis, 119  
Aggsbach Altar, *see* Breu, Jörg  
Agrippa von Nettesheim, 7  
Ahab, 13  
Ahaziah, 18  
Ahl, Diane Cole, 218n.65  
Ainger, Alfred, 222n.7  
Aldrich, Thomas Bailey: *The Story of a Bad Boy*, 131  
Alemán, Mateo: *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 106–7  
Alexander the Great, 28, 138  
Alice in Wonderland, 185  
*Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, 204n.46  
*Allegory of Poverty* (fresco), 98  
Alphandéry, Paul, 215n.11  
Altichiero, 64, 65, 66, 75  
Altschuler, David: *Mezudat David*, 24  
Ambrose, St, 38  
Ambrosius (son of Hans Holbein the Elder), 68  
Anabaptists, 106  
Ananias, 48  
Andrea da Firenze, 63, 64  
angelic being (as child), 99  
Angelo Clareno, 27  
Angelomus, 50, 51, 53  
Anselm of Canterbury, St, 58  
Applebone, Peter, 190n.44  
Apt, Ulrich, 75  
Arendt, Hannah, 74  
Ariès, Philippe, xv, 66, 77, 80, 99–100, 107, 125, 176  
    criticisms of, 100  
    'discovery of childhood', 102, 106  
    'idea of childhood', 8, 100, 102, 114, 181  
Aristotle, 28, 30, 32, 115  
Arnold, Thomas, 1, 128–9, 131, 184, 188  
Arnt, Master, 71  
Aron, Robert, 200n.175  
Arsenal Bible, 60  
Artemis, 19  
Arthur (legendary king), 87  
Ascent of the Cross (scene from Christ's Passion), 48–50, 52  
    in art, 60–1, 70  
Ascension (Gospel scene), 49–51  
Auerbach, Erich, 15  
Augustine, St, 44, 45, 48, 55, 57, 86, 115, 117, 118, 121  
    *Against Faustus the Manichaeon*, 38–9, 41, 49  
    attitude toward children, 32–5, 42, 84, 85, 102, 110–11, 116, 125, 127, 131, 138, 153, 175  
    led to conversion by child's chant, 111  
    *City of God*, 35, 49  
    *Confessions*, xv, 32–4, 109–11, 132, 177  
    Expositions on Psalms, 39–43, 201n.10  
    figurative exegetical method of, 46  
    on infant baptism, 105  
    on tale of Elisha's mockery, 38–43, 47  
    *The Trinity*, 34–5  
    his vision of the Christ Child, 34  
    *see also* fruit-stealing motif  
Avanzi, Jacopo, 75

- Baal  
 priests/prophets of, 12, 15  
 culture of, 92  
*see also* Beelzebub
- Bachelard, Gaston, 172
- Bachofen, J.J., 196n.105
- Bacon, Francis, 179
- Baegert, Derick, 74, 208n.79
- Bähr, Karl Christian Wilhelm Felix,  
 191n.2
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, 107, 141
- Bakker, James (Jim), 20
- Bakker, Tammy Faye, 20
- Bakó, Zsuzsanna, 214n.200
- Balak, 24
- Balavariani*, 84
- Baldass, Ludwig von, 207n.63
- Ballantyne, Robert Michael: *The Coral Island*, 164
- baptism  
 of infants, 105–6  
 ‘the remission of sins’, 105  
 fate of children who lack, 32
- Bardi Saint Francis Master Dossal (Bardi Dossal), 97
- Bardon, Geoffrey, xiii, 191n.55
- Bardy, Gustave, 202n.28
- Baring, Anne, 195n.104
- Baring–Gould, S., 215n.3
- Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 83–4
- Barna da Siena, 64
- Barnes, Djuna, 226n.6
- Barnes, Timothy David, 201n.4
- Barnett, George L., 222n.4
- Barré, H., 205n.12
- Barrie, J.M.: *Peter Pan* (*P1*, *P2*, *P3*), xvii,  
 176, 185–8  
*see also* lost boys, the; Neverland; Peter Pan
- Barth, Karl, 175
- Bartholomew of Pisa, 217n.44
- Bearing of the Cross (scene from Christ’s Passion: aka Procession to Calvary, Road to Calvary, Via Dolorosa, Way of the Cross), 11, 56, 58, 59, 113, 159, 187  
 in art, 60–6, 69, 70–3, 74, 76–81, 137, 221n.45  
 evoked in *Breaking the Waves* (von Trier), 173  
*see also* Bruegel, Pieter
- Beelzebub, 163–4
- Beer, Cecilia, 208n.75
- Beeson, Jack, 167
- Beichner, Paul E., 204n.49
- Benedict XI, Pope, 27
- Benozzo Gozzoli, 98–9
- Benzinger, Immanuel, 194n.55
- Berg, Jan Hendrick van den, 188
- Bergen, Wesley, 18, 19
- Bernard of Clairvaux, St, 56–7, 70
- Bernardone, Francesco, *see* Francis of Assisi, St
- Bernardone, Pietro (father of St Francis), 88, 90, 91–2, 93, 95, 97–8, 153–4
- Bethel boys motif (or type), xii, 184  
 approximated in *Parzival* (Wolfram), 87  
 compared to fruit–stealing motif, 33–4, 132  
 defined and delineated, xi, 6–7, 33  
 and humour, 143–4  
 Lucianic version of, 143  
 non–Western examples of, 10–11  
 obstinacy of, 188  
 opposed to Christ’s exaltation of children, 176–7  
 perpetuation and persistence of, 175–6  
 pertinence to modern social sciences, 142  
*manifest in:*  
*Bengal Nights* (Eliade), 157  
*Breaking the Waves* (von Trier), 173–4  
*The Brother’s Karamazov* (Dostoevsky), 139–42  
 the Christian West, 83–4  
*Confessions* (Augustine), 33–4, 132  
 the *Corsair* affair (crisis in Kierkegaard’s life), 135–8  
*Doctor Faustus* (Mann), 157–8  
*Don Quixote of La Mancha* (Cervantes), 108–9  
 eastern Christian hagiography, 82–3  
 Franciscan iconography, 96–9  
 Francis’s legends and biographies, 87–96, 152–4  
*The Glass Licentiate* (Cervantes), 111–13  
 ‘The Golden Pot’ (Hoffmann), 132  
 “‘Guilty’/”Not Guilty?’” (Kierkegaard), 133  
*Lizzie Borden* (Elmslie and Beeson), 167–8  
*The Memoirs of a Survivor* (D. Lessing), 168–72  
 Nietzsche’s life, 138

Bethel boys motif – *continued*

- The Painted Bird* (Kosinski), 158–61  
 Passion iconography and art, 59–81, 84  
*Pinocchio* (Collodi), 143–4  
*The Red Balloon* (Lamorisse), 164  
*The Sailor Who Fell From Grace with the Sea* (Mishima), 166–7  
 Shakespeare's plays, 112–14  
*Siddhartha* (Hesse), 157  
*Silence* (Endo), 162–3  
 the tale of Carabas (told by Philo), 30–1  
*The Town Beyond the Wall* (Wiesel), 161–2  
*The Trial* (Kafka), 156  
*see also* Elisha's mockery
- Bett, Henry, 199n.157  
*Bible moralisée*, ix, 60  
*Biblia pauperum*, ix, 54–5, 60, 62, 205n.25  
 Rotulus Seragliensis No. 52 (Istanbul), 206n.44, 217n.33
- Bierce, Ambrose, 7  
 Blake, William  
*Songs of Experience*, 125  
*Songs of Innocence*, 125
- Blatty, William Peter: *The Exorcist*, 182  
 Bles, Herri met de, 76–7, 211n.137  
 Blinzler, J., 177  
 Bly, Robert, 4–5  
 Boas, George, 4, 7, 182  
 Bodenheimer, F.S., 196n.107  
 Böll, Heinrich: *The Clown*, 9  
 Bonaventure, St: *Major Life* and *Minor Life* of St Francis, 94–5, 97, 101, 108, 152, 153  
*Book of Mormon, The*, 197n.127  
 Borden, Lizzie, 167–8  
*see also* Elmslie, Kenward  
 Boswell, James, 221n.36  
 Bottigheimer, Ruth, 127–8  
*The Bible for Children (BC)* of, xv  
 'boy accursed for a hundred years, the', 51  
 Boyd, Robert T., 192n. 6  
 'Boyhood deeds of Finn' (*Macgnimartha Finn*), 85–6  
 boyhood myths, 185–6, 187–8  
 boys (*also* schoolboys), 37–8, 187  
 as 'angels of God', 139, 185  
 associated with the devil, 184  
 distinguished from girls, 5, 8–9  
 of the Middle East, 21, 155  
 identity of Elisha's mockers as, 15–16  
 irreverence of, 165  
 as 'merciless race', 139, 141, 185  
 peer pressure among, 184  
 and religion, 1  
 violence of, 4–6, 8, 166  
*see also* Bethel boys motif; boyhood myths; Elisha's mockery; gangs of youths; juvenile delinquency; lost boys; *ragazzo di strada*
- Breaking the Waves*, *see* von Trier  
 Breu, Jörg, 71, 211n.137  
 Aggsbach Altar, 63, 72–3, 74  
 Brichto, Herbert Chanan, 192n.7  
 broken homes, *see* families, breakdown of  
 Brown, Arnold R., 230n.71  
 Brown, Peter, 200n.188  
 Brown, Robert, 196n.106  
 Bruegel, Pieter  
*Children's Games*, 77, 78  
*Procession to Calvary*, 77–9, 104  
 Protestant sympathy of, 213n.183  
 Buber, Martin, 16  
 Buddha, the (Siddhārtha Gautama), 1, 157  
 Bukovics, E. de, 214n.204  
 Bulger, James, 5  
 Bundel, Willem van den, 120  
 Bunyan, John, 74, 78, 122  
 Burney, Charles Fox, 195n.65  
 Butler, Samuel: *The Way of All Flesh*, 145  
*Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 215n.4  
 Byron, William, 220n.19
- Caccini, Giovanni: *Phalaris and the Bull of Perillus*, 75–6  
 Caesarius, St, 45–9, 50, 52, 57, 82, 202n.32  
 Caiaphas, 71  
 Cain, 78  
 Cairns, Ed, 190n.35  
 Calkins, Raymond, 192n.21, 228n.40  
 Calvin, John  
 on games and pastimes, 78  
 on infant baptism, 105–6  
 Calvinists, 112  
 on games and pastimes, 78  
 in *Breaking the Waves* (von Trier), 173  
*see also* Geneva Bible
- Campbell, Joseph, 2  
 Caplan, Usher, 227n.18  
 Carabas ('Marin'), 30–1  
 Carlino, Lewis John, 167

- Carmina Burana*, 63  
carnival, 107  
  practice of mock-kingship, 31  
Cashford, Jules, 196n.104  
Cassel, Paul, 199n.164  
Cassian, John, *see* John Cassian, St  
Cassian of Imola, St, 82  
Catechism of the Catholic Church, 179  
Catherine of Siena, St, 75  
Cats, Jacob (aka vader Cats): *Kinder-Spel*, 77–8  
Cavallini, Pietro, 61, 70  
Caxton, William, 34  
Cazelles, Raymond, 207n.55  
Celano, Thomas de,  
  on children, 86  
  *First Life and Second Life of St. Francis*  
  (FL, SL), xvi, xvii, 86, 88–96, 100,  
  216n.31, 217n.44  
  *Legenda ad usum chori*, 93, 94  
Century of the Child, 4, 144  
Cervantes, Miguel de, 102, 107, 114, 137,  
  151, 161  
  *The Dog's Colloquy*, 109–11  
  *Don Quixote of La Mancha*, 108–9,  
  111–12, 184  
  *Exemplary Stories*, 109, 111  
  *The Glass Licenciata*, 111–13, 161, 184  
  *see also* Don Quixote; Tomás Rodaja  
Chamberlain, Lesley, 225n.62  
Chelazzi Dini, Giulietta, 206n.47  
Chiara, Giuseppe, 162  
Childhood Cult, *see* Cult of Childhood  
childlessness, 179–80, 230n.18  
children's Bibles, 79, 119, 121, 122, 127–8  
  *see also* Bottigheimer, Ruth  
Children's Crusade, 6, 84  
*Children's Games*, *see* Bruegel, Pieter  
'Children's Lake' (*Loch Macraide*), 85  
Christ (Jesus, the Man of Sorrows), 11,  
  42–3, 92, 96, 98, 124, 125, 129, 137,  
  138, 172, 184  
  accused of childishness, 34  
  anti-familial stance of, 178–9  
  identified with Elisha, ix, 11, 13, 35, 38,  
  42, 48–9, 55, 56–62, 65–6, 70–1, 75,  
  89, 92, 121, 158, 163  
  Beatitudes, 91  
  blessing of children by, 7, 114, 115,  
  134–5, 179, 201n.6  
  boyhood of ('lost years'), 29–30  
  cursing by, 103  
  exaltation and love of children, 37–8,  
  40, 84, 116, 163, 175  
  inseparable with the Old Testament, 36  
  Guardini on, 176–77  
  mockery of, 56, 60, 62, 103–4, 121, 203  
  miraculous birth of, 1  
  as *puer*, 84  
  as run-away child, 178  
  Sermon on the Mount, 22  
  Spirit of, 13  
  summoning of children by, 134, 171,  
  175, 176, 178–9  
  as vengeful, 53  
  in the Winepress (iconographic motif),  
  71  
  *see also* Ascension; Ascent of the Cross;  
  Bearing of the Cross; Crowning  
  with Thorns; Crucifixion;  
  Departure from the Praetorium;  
  *Ecce homo*; Christ Child; Elisha's  
  mockery; Flagellation of Christ;  
  Lamentation; Nailing to the Cross;  
  Passion of Christ; Resurrection;  
  Trial before Herod; Trial before  
  Pilate  
Christ Child (Holy Infant), 7  
  in art, 66, 97, 99  
  envisioned by Augustine, 34  
  as killer, 31  
Christian, William A., Jr, 220n.18  
Christopher, St, 65  
Christopher Robin (character of A.A.  
  Milne), 165  
Chrysostom, John, St, 43, 100  
Clarke, Adam, 13, 15  
Claudius of Turin, 50  
Cogan, Mordechai, 193n.36  
Cole, Penny J., 204n.51  
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 125  
Collodi, Carlo, 186  
  *The Adventures of Pinocchio*, 142–4, 145,  
  185, 187  
  *see also* Pinocchio  
Column of Trajan (Rome), 206n.45  
Comay, Joan, 192n.21  
Comenius, Johannes Amos, 115, 184,  
  219n.7  
Comte, Auguste, 3  
concentration camps, 161–2, 170  
Constable, Thomas L., 193n.30  
Conway, Martin, 209n.109  
Cook, Frederic Charles, 193n.37

- Corswant, W., 197n.128  
 Courreau, Jean, 202n.33  
 Coveney, Peter, 222n.3, 226n.4  
 Coventry, Thomas, 126–7  
 Cranach, Lucas, 75  
 Crossan, John Dominic, 203n.43  
 Crouch, Nathaniel, 129, 131  
*Youths Divine Pastime*, 122–3  
 Crowning with Thorns (scene from Christ's Passion), 187  
 in art, 54, 60, 67, 72, 210n.116, 210n.129, Plate 2  
 Crucifixion (Christ on Calvary), 11, 38–43, 49, 52, 56–7, 183, 187  
 in art, 60–1, 62, 63, 64–5, 66, 67, 70, 74–5, 78–9, 80, 81, 214n.204  
 child's reaction to a picture of, 137–8  
 'populous Calvary', 60  
*see also* Ascent of the Cross  
 Crusoe, Robinson (character of Daniel Defoe), 179–80  
 Culley, Robert C., 193n.23, 195n.77  
 Cult of Childhood, 4, 6–7  
 backlash against, 181  
 Cuzin, Jean–Pierre, 211n.136  
 Cyprian, St, 105  
 'Cyprian's Supper', 26–7  
 Cyprus, 65
- Dante Alighieri, 26–7, 85  
*Commedia* (including the *Inferno*), 26, 27  
 Darmstadt Passion altar, 64  
*lyden ende die passie ons Heren Jhesu Christi, Dat*, 209n.112  
 'daughters of Jerusalem', 56, 58, 73, 113, 183  
 David, 44, 61  
 David, Gerard, 73  
 d'Avranches, Henry (Henricus Abrincensis), 88  
*Legenda versifica* of, 93  
 De Amicis, Edmondo: *Cuore*, 142  
 Deissmann, Adolf, 206n.44, 217n.33  
 Deist, F., 197n.111  
*De laudibus sancte crucis*, 59–60  
 Delevoy, Robert L., 213n.178  
 Del Lungo, Isidoro, 199n.161  
 DeMause, Lloyd, xvi, 4, 219n.68  
*De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, 46, 202n.30
- Democritus, 28  
 Departure from the Praetorium (scene from Christ's Passion), 187  
 in art, 63  
 Deposition (scene from Christ's Passion), 187  
 in art, 62  
 Derbes, Anne, 205n.29, 217n.44  
 Desbonnets, Théophile, 216n.28, 218n.50  
 Deuteronomistic doctrines and views, 17–18, 22–3, 90, 161  
 Devil, the (Satan), 45, 79, 129  
 children of, 182  
 'the Evil One', 108, 109  
 psychology of, 14  
*Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domine*, 58, 59, 215n.6  
 Dickens, Charles, 127  
*Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature, A*, 223n.9  
 Didron, Adolphe Napoléon, 205n.21  
 Dilday, Russell H., 191n.5  
 Dillenberger, John, 214n.194  
 Dobson, James (and Gary L. Bauer):  
*Children At Risk: The Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Our Kids*, 181, 231n.27  
 Donaueschingen altar, *see* Holbein, Hans the Elder  
 Don Juan, 179–80  
 Don Quixote, 133, 137, 161, 163, 179–80, 187  
 boys' tormenting of, 108–9, 111–12  
 'Passion' of, 108  
*see also* Cervantes, Miguel de  
 Dorothy (character of Frank Baum), 185  
 Dossi, Dosso, 75  
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor, 151, 184  
 and children, 138–9  
*The Brothers Karamazov*, 138–42, 143  
*The Diary of a Writer*, 8, 138  
*The Idiot*, 138  
*A Raw Youth*, 139  
 Drake, Maurice, 215n.5  
 Duerr, Hans Peter, 85  
 Durantini, Mary Frances, 213n.185  
 Dürer, Albrecht, 68, 71, 72, 74, 210n.116  
*Large Passion*, 67  
 Dvořák, Max, 210n.127  
 dwarves, 63, 207n.57

- Ecce homo* (scene from Christ's Passion), 187  
 in art, 67–70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80–1, 208n.79, 210n.125
- Edel, Leon, 227n.18
- Ehrlich, Arnold B., 192n.17
- Ekserdjian, David, 212n.163
- 'Elfenalter', 68
- Eliade, Mircea, 2, 7, 156–7, 215n.12  
*Bengal Nights*, 157, 158
- Elijah, 16, 18, 21, 31, 43, 45, 51, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 108, 109, 117, 118, 127, 139–40, 183, 194n.57, 197n.116, 217n.36  
 in art, 227  
*see also* Klein, A.M.
- Eliot, George, 127
- Elisha (var. Eliseus, Helisaeus, Heliseus), *passim*
- Elisha's mockery (biblical tale), xi–xiii, 11, 6, 33–4, Plates 2, 3, 6  
 in art, 59–60, 120–1, 131, 217n.33  
 carnival and grotesque elements in, 107  
 compared with St Francis's abuse, 87–96, 152–4  
 deadly consequence of, 180, 187  
 elaborated upon in the Septuagint, 24–6  
 Freudian perspective on, 145  
 imagined aftermath of, 120–1, 151, Plate 7  
 Lucianic embellishment upon, 161  
 musical composition inspired by, 151  
 popularity of, 102  
 typologically linked with Christ's Passion, 22, 38–62, 65–6, 70–1, 75, 89, 121, 163  
 medieval popular view of, 53–5  
*interpreted or retold by*:  
 T. Arnold, 128–29, 131  
 Augustine, 38–43, 47  
 N. Crouch (in *Youths Divine Pastime*), 122–3  
 Erasmus, 102–3  
 N. Fontaine, 121  
 Greek Church fathers, 43–5  
 T. Fuller, 117–18  
 J. Hall, 117  
 Jowett, 131  
 C.S. Lewis, 14  
 Luther, 103–5  
 modern biblical scholars, 12–21  
 M. Poole, 117, 118–19
- post-Augustinian Latin Church fathers, 45–53
- rabbinic (Talmudic) thinkers, 23–4
- Ruskin, 130–1
- Tertullian, 36–8, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 201n.6
- Thomas Aquinas, 26–7
- I. Watts (*Divine Songs*), 123–4  
*literary pertinence to*:  
 'Baldhead Elisha' (Klein), 148–50  
 Christopher Robin (character of Milne), 165
- Christ with children (Gospel scene), 176–81  
 the *Commedia* (Dante), 26–7  
 'Cyprian's Supper', 26–7  
*Don Quixote of La Mancha* (Cervantes), 108–9  
*The Glass Licenciate* (Cervantes), 111–13  
*The Golden Bough* (Frazer), 164–5  
*The Lord of the Flies* (Golding), 163–4  
 'The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple' (Lamb), 126–7  
*Peter Pan* (Barrie), 186–8  
 a poem by Ogden Nash, 165–6  
 'A sidewalk café' (Padilla), 151–2  
*Stranger in a Strange Land* (Heinlein), 150–1  
*Ulysses* (Joyce), 146–8  
*Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, 27–8, 146  
*see also* Bethel boys motif
- Elkind, David: *The Hurried Child: Growing Up Too Fast Too Soon*, 181, 231n.25
- Elliot, Robert C., 196n.87, 216n.17
- Elmslie, Kenward: *Lizzie Borden* (opera), 167–8, 173
- Endo, Shusaku: *Silence*, 162–3
- Endter, Wolfgang: *Kurfürstenbibel*, 214n.196
- Engbrechtsz. (abbrev. of Engbrechtszoon; var. Engelbrechtsz.), Cornelis, 67, 69
- Englebert, Omer, 216n.25, 227n.31
- Entry into Jerusalem (Gospel scene: aka Palm Sunday):  
 in art, 62–3, 76, 109, 221n.45  
 dramatized in *Carmina Burana*, 63
- Epicurus, 28
- Erasmus, Desiderus, 102–3  
*Lucubrationes*, 102  
*Praise of Folly*, 103

- Erikson, Erik, 3  
 Esau, 26  
 Eschenbach, Wolfram von, *see* Wolfram von Eschenbach  
 Euripedes, 28  
 Euthymius the Athonite (aka the Enlightener), St, 215n.8  
 Eve (first woman), 110, 186  
   Mary as, 61  
 Eyck, Jan van, 64, 72
- Fairchild, Robert, 190n.33  
 Falkenburg, Reindert L., 210n.128  
 families, breakdown of (broken homes), x, xi, 8, 181  
 Farmer, David Hugh, 227n.28  
 Farrar, Frederic William, 192n.8, 228n.41  
 Faulkner, William, 181  
 Faust, 179–80  
 Faustus of Milevis, 38–9, 53, 150  
   *see also* Augustine  
 Féchín, St, 84–5  
 Fedotov, George P., 215n.10  
 Fenian legend, 85  
 Field, Frederick, 198n.142  
 Fielding, Henry: ‘Apology for the Clergy’, 124  
 Fiedler, Leslie, 9, 10, 176, 182, 185  
   ‘The Eye of Innocence’ (‘EI’), xvi, 181  
   on the ‘good bad boy’, 131  
 Finn, *see* ‘Boyhood deeds of Finn’  
 Flagellation of Christ (scene from the Passion): in art 210  
 Fontaine, Nicolas, 122  
   *L’Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*, 121  
 ‘fools for Christ’s sake’ (*saloi*), 83  
 Forbush, William Byron, 226n.2  
 Forcione, Alban, 109  
 Forsyth, Ilene H., 100, 220n.21  
 Fortini, Arnaldo, 216n.31, 228n.31  
 Fournier, Paul, 215n.11  
 Franciscan Order, *see* Order of Friars Minor  
 Francis of Assisi, St (Francesco Bernardone, *il poverello*), 58, 84, 87–99, 100, 107, 137, 140, 151, 163, 187, 217n.44  
   abuse and derision of, 61, 94–9, 112, 152–4  
   compared to Christ, 88, 108–9  
   compared to the mocked Elisha, 88–96, 99, 108–9  
   iconography of, 61, 81, 84, 96–7  
   liturgical legends of, 93–4  
   modern biographies of, 152–4  
   wed to Lady Poverty, 98  
   *see also* Bernardone, Pietro; Bonaventure, St; Celano, Thomas de; *Legenda trium sociorum*; Order of Friars Minor; Pica; Renunciation of Worldly Goods, St Francis’s
- Franits, Wayne E., 219n.68, 221n.32  
 Franken, Frans, II, 208n.79  
 Frankfurt altar, *see* Holbein, Hans the Elder  
 Franz, Marie-Louise von: *Puer Aeternus*, 188, 231n.47  
 Frazer, James George, 7, 164–5  
 Freud, Sigmund, 2–3, 7, 146  
   *The Future of an Illusion*, 2  
   theory of infantile sexuality, 145  
   *Totem and Taboo*, 3  
 Fricke, Klaus Dietrich, 195n.65  
 Friedländer, Max J., xvi, 212n.161, 213n.182, 214n.188  
 Fröbel, Friedrich, 176  
 Froissart, Jean, 184  
 Frueauf, Rueland, 75  
 fruit-stealing motif  
   in the *Confessions* (Augustine), 33–4, 132, 184  
   in *Demian* (Hesse), 132  
   in ‘The Golden Pot’ (Hoffmann), 132  
   compared to Bethel boys motif, 33–4, 132  
 Fuller, Thomas, 117–18, 119
- Gabler, Hans Walter, 226n.7  
 Gadamer, Hans-Georg, 7  
 gangs of youths, 145  
   in East Europe, 158  
   Elisha’s mockers as example of, 107  
   in *The Memoirs of a Survivor* (D. Lessing), 168–72  
   in early Ireland (*fiána*), 85–6  
   *pícaro* not associated with, 107  
   *see also* Bethel boys motif  
 Garboli, Cesare, 212n.163  
 Gaster, Theodore H., 192n.21, 228n.40  
 Gavelle, Émile, 211n.137  
 Geneva Bible (Calvinist), 15  
 Geneviève, St, 130

- Gennepe, Arnold van: *Les Rites de passage*, 1  
 Germain of Auxerre, St, 130  
 Gerson, Horst, 209n.99  
 Gibson, Michael, 213n.177  
 Gifford, Don, 226n.8  
 Gilgamesh, 187  
 Gimbutas, Marija, 196n.105  
 Ginzberg, Louis, 197n.125  
 Giotto, ix, 61, 97, 99, Plate 5  
 Giovanni di Paolo, 63  
     Pecci Altarpiece, 207n.53  
 girls  
     distinguished from boys, 5, 8–9  
     female childhood, 185  
 Glassner, Barry, 190n.28  
 Goffen, Rona, 99, 218n.47, 218n.55  
 Goldberg, Cary, 190n.25  
 Golding, William, 169, 182  
     *Lord of the Flies*, 8, 163–4, 166, 168  
 Goode, Erica, x  
 Goodwin, Jan, 190n.35  
 Goppelt, Leonhard, 195n.76  
 Gordon, Cyrus H., 228n.41  
 Gordon, James, 231n.33  
 Gorissen, Friedrich, 64, 207n.67  
 Görtschacher, Urban, 208n.79  
 Gray, John, 194n.47  
 Great Mother archetype, 19  
 Green, Julien, 228n.31  
 Gregory of Rimini ('torturer of children'), 85  
 Gregory of Tours, St, 82  
 Gregory XIII, Pope, 82  
 Grenaille, François de  
     *L'honneste fille*, 114  
     *L'honneste garçon*, 114  
 Grintz, Yehoshua M., 197n.113  
 Guardini, Romano, 176–7, 180  
 Guido II (bishop of Assisi), 93, 97  
 Gumperts Bible, 60  
 Gunkel, Hermann, 14  
 Gutmann, David, 190n.30, 230n.10  
  
 Habig, Marion, 216n.27, 218n.50  
 Haidt, John Valentine, 78  
 Halevi, Judah, 29  
 Hall, G. Stanley: *Adolescence*, 145  
 Hall, Joseph, Bishop, 120  
     *Contemplations*, 117  
 Ham, 54  
 Hanson, R.P.C., 201n.3  
  
 Harris, Ryan, 6  
 Harrison, Jefferson C., 212n.167  
 Hart–Davies, D.E., 194n.50  
 Hartwell, Samuel W., 226n.2  
 Hastings, James, 194n.51  
     *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 2  
 Hawley, Jack Stratton, 191n.54  
 Hazard, Paul, 188  
 Heemskerck, Marten van, 76  
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 125  
 Heine, Heinrich, 136  
 Heinlein, Robert A.: *Stranger in a Strange Land*, 150–1  
 Held, Julius, 212n.168  
 Henry, Avril, 204nn.53–4, 205n.25, 217n.33  
 Henry d'Avranches, *see* d'Avranches, Henry  
 Hentschel, Georg, 193n.34  
 Heraclitus, 7  
 Herbst, Hans, 211n.137  
*Herder Dictionary of Symbols, The*, 7  
 Hermann, Johannes, 195n.70  
 Hermann, Placid, 216n.23  
 Herod Agrippa I, 30, 31  
 Herod Antipas, 203n.44  
 Herod Philip, 30  
 Herod the Great, 183  
 Heschel, Abraham J., 216n.32  
 Hesiod, 196n.106  
 Hesse, Hermann, 156–7  
     *Demian*, 132  
     *Siddhartha*, 157  
 Hesychius, 24  
 Hildebert, 52  
 Hillman, James, 175, 181  
     'Abandoning the Child' ('AC'), xv  
 Hippolytus of Rome, 190n.39  
*Hitchcock's New and Complete Analysis of the Holy Bible*, 218n.206  
 Hobbes, Thomas  
     on children, 116  
     *The Citizen*, 115–16  
     *Leviathan*, 115  
 Hobbs, T. Raymond, 195n.62  
 Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus: 'The Golden Pot', 132  
 Holbein, Hans the Elder, 72  
     Donaueschingen altar, 67–8  
     Frankfurt altar, 67–8  
     Kaisheim/Munich High Altar, 67–8, 71  
 Hollstein, F.W.H., 213n.171

- Holmes, Urban Tignor, Jr, 216n.20  
 Holy Spirit (Holy Ghost), 47, 48, 52  
*homo religiosus*, 1  
 Honeycut, Roy L., Jr, 192n.8  
 Honorius Augustodunensis, 50, 53  
 Hooke, Samuel Henry, 197n.114  
 Hopkins, Keith, 200n.194  
 Horne, Thomas Hartwell, 12, 15, 18  
 Hosokawa, Ryuichiro, 190n.34  
 Hrabanus Maurus, 26, 50, 51, 53, 84  
 Hubmaier, Balthasar, 106  
 Hübner, Johann: *Zweimal zwei und fünfzig auserlesene biblische Historien aus dem Alten und Neuen Testamente*, 121–2  
 Huckleberry Finn, 9, 185  
   as ‘good bad boy’, 131  
   *see also* Twain, Mark  
 Hugh of Saint-Victor, 50, 53  
 Hughes, Richard, 182  
   *A High Wind in Jamaica*, 164  
 Huizinga, Johann, 7  
   notion of *homo ludens*, 11  
 Humbert of Romans: *Legenda liturgica antiqua Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 94  
 infant baptism, *see* baptism  
 Infant Jesus, *see* Christ Child  
 Infant Notre Dame: in art, 99  
 Irenaeus, St, 29  
 Isaac, 44, 45, 121  
   binding (*aqedah*) of, 22  
 Isidore, St, 49–50, 52, 53, 203n.37  
 Iswolsky, Hélène, 225n.69  
 Ivanov, Vyacheslav I., 225n.62  
 Jackson, F.J. Foakes, 191n.5  
 Jacquemart de Hesdin: *Très Belles Heures de Jean de France, Duc de Berry*, 63  
 Jakobs, Alan, 223  
 James, Henry, 127  
 James, M.R., 205n.26  
 James, William: *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2, 3–4  
 Janson, H.W., 206n.45  
 Jefferies, Richard, 127  
 Jellicoe, Sidney, 198n.142  
 Jeremiah: in legend, 21  
 Jeroboam, 24  
 Jerome, St, 49, 103  
   biblical translation by, 25–6  
 Jesus, *see* Christ  
 Jews, the (Israelites), 30, 36, 45, 47–9, 51, 52, 55, 57, 84, 103–5, 114, 132, 180–1  
   scapegoating of, 35, 39–43  
 Joachim of Fiore, 27, 84, 146–7, 148  
   *See also* *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*  
 Joest von Kalkar, Jan, 69  
 John, St, 62  
 John Cassian, St: *Conferences*, 100–1  
 John of Damascus, St, 215n.8  
 Johnson, A.R., 217n.32  
 Johnson, Samuel, 116  
 John the Baptist, St, 22  
 John the Deacon, 26  
 Jones, Gwilym H., 195n.62  
 Jones, William Henry Samuel, 199n.166  
 Jørgensen, Johannes, 153  
 Joseph, St (husband of Mary), 178, 200n.181  
 Joseph of Arimathea, St, 80  
 Jowett, Benjamin, 128  
   ‘On the Interpretation of Scripture’, 131  
 Joyce, James, 150  
   *Dubliners*, 147  
   *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, 147  
   *Stephen Hero*, 146–7  
   *Ulysses*, 146–8  
 Jung, Carl Gustav, 2  
 Jungians, 19, 188  
 Jupan, Ludwig (aka Meister Loedewich), 71  
 Justin Martyr, St, 43  
 juvenile delinquency, 21, 145, 197n.123  
   in early Ireland, 216n.22  
   *see also* boys; Elisha’s mockery; Bethel boys motif  
 Kafka, Franz  
   *The Castle*, 156  
   ‘Children on a Country Road’, 155  
   *Das Kind und die Stadt*, 155  
   paedophobia of, 155  
   *The Trial*, 156  
 Kafka–*Handbuch*, 228n.47  
 Kaftal, George, 218n.54  
 Kaisheim/Munich altar, *see* Holbein, Hans the Elder  
 Kalkar: *Altarpiece of the Passion*, 71, 72  
 Kaniecki, Michael, 229n.56  
 Kant, Immanuel, 136  
 Karl, Frederick R., 228n.42  
 Karlsruhe Passion altar, 67, 73, 76

- Katzheimer, Wolfgang: Würzburg Altar, 67, 71
- Kazantzakis, Helen, 228n.33
- Kazantzakis, Nikos: *Saint Francis*, 153–4
- Kendrick, Walter, 221n.29
- Kerényi, Károly, 2
- Kerouac, Jack: as ‘good bad boy’, 131
- Key, Ellen, 4
- Kierkegaard, Søren, 139, 151, 174, 176, 187  
attitude towards childhood, 133–5  
childhood of, 132  
and the *Corsair* affair, 135–8  
*Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, 134  
*Eighteen Upbuilding Discourses*, 224n.36  
*Either/Or*, 133  
*Fear and Trembling*, 7  
“‘Guilty’/‘Not Guilty?’” (aka Quidam’s diary), 133  
journals of, xvi, 134  
‘Letter to the Reader’, 133  
*The Point of View*, 223n.28  
*Practice in Christianity*, 134, 137  
*Prefaces*, 225n.57  
*Repetition*, 133  
*Stages on Life’s Way*, 133, 134  
tormented by children, 136–8  
*pseudonyms of*:  
Anti-Climacus, 134, 137, 138, 178  
Constantine Constantius, 133  
Frater Taciturnus, 133, 181  
Johannes Climacus, 1, 134  
Johannes de Silentio, 178  
Judge William (ethicist), 133, 179–80
- Kimhi, David ben Joseph, *see* Radak
- Kinnear, Karen L., 190
- Kipling, Rudyard, 185, 186
- Kittel, Rudolf, 195n.62
- Klein, A.M. (Abraham Moses)  
‘Elijah’ (poem), 148  
‘Baldhead Elisha’ (poem), 148–50
- Kleinschmidt, Beda, 218n.55
- Klostermann, August, 194n.44
- Koch, Robert Alan, 62, 76, 206n.46, 212n.166
- Korah (*Core*), sons of, 39, 41
- Kosinski, Jerzy  
*Notes of the Author of ‘The Painted Bird’*, 229n.56  
*The Painted Bird*, 158–61, 164
- Kraków: wood panel depiction of Elisha’s mockery, 120, Plate 6
- Krishna, 10
- Kuhn, Reinhard, 155–6, 219n.68
- La Fontaine, Jean de, 115
- La Hyre (La Hire), Laurent de, ix, 75  
*The Death of the Children of Bethel*, 120–1, 151, Plate 7
- Laib, Conrad, 65
- Lamb, Charles, 125–8, 148, 150  
childhood of, 126–7  
*Essays of Elia*, 126  
‘The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple’, 126–7  
‘Parental Recollections’, 222n.6
- Lamentation (scene from Christ’s Passion): in art, 74
- Lamorisse, Albert: *The Red Balloon*, 164, 172
- Landersdorfer, Simon, 194n.60
- Landow, George P., 223n.13
- Larrañaga, Ignacio, 153
- Layard, Ernest, 1, 4
- Lazarillo de Tormes, 106–7
- Leeuw, Gerardus van der, 2
- Légasse, S., 197n.124, 230n.8
- Legenda trium sociorum*, 216n.28
- León Bible*, 59, 60
- Leontius, 83
- Lessing, Doris  
*The Fifth Child*, 182–3  
*The Memoirs of a Survivor*, 168–72
- Levenson, Jon D., 197n.128
- Levin, Ira: *Rosemary’s Baby*, 182
- Lewis, C.S.: *The Screwtape Letters*, 14
- Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 230n.8
- Lieb, Norbert, 209n.89
- Life Application Bible, The*, 20
- Limbourg brothers (Pol, Hennequin, and Herman): *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, 63, 72, 73
- Lindblom, J., 194n.62
- Lippo Memmi, 64
- Little Prince, the, 10, 186, 188  
as myth of puerile individualism, 185
- Lombard, Lambert, 69
- Lombroso, Cesare, 145  
*L’uomo delinquente*, 142
- Long, Burke O., 193n.23
- Longinus (soldier at Christ’s Crucifixion), 64
- lost boys, the (characters in Barrie’s *Peter Pan*), 10, 186–7
- Lot (biblical character), 96

- Lower Church of San Francesco (Assisi), 97–8
- Lowrie, Walter, 223n.27
- Lucas, E.V., 222n.5
- Lucas van Leyden, 67, 69, 72, 74, 79
- Lucian, *see* Septuagint
- Lukács, Georg, 111
- Lumby, J. Rawson, 193n.31
- Luther, Martin, 15, 102–5, 121  
*Commentary on Psalm 109*, 103  
*Lectures on Genesis*, 104–5  
*see also Luther Bibel*
- Lutherans, 105, 174
- Luther Bibel* (Luther's German Bible), 15, 79
- LXX, *see* Septuagint
- Lyman, Richard B., 200n.185
- Macalister, A., 194n.55
- Madonna and Child (Virgin and Child), 79, 100
- Malbim (Meier Loeb ben Jehiel Michael), 24
- Manichean heresy, 52
- Manicheans (Manichaeans), 26, 46, 47
- Mann, Thomas: *Doctor Faustus*, 157–8, 161
- March, William: *The Bad Seed*, 182
- Marcion, 36, 37, 53, 150  
*see also* Tertullian
- Marcionites, 26  
 heresy of, 52
- Marcus, David, 192n.13, 197n.123, 216n.17
- Marcus, Ivan G., 219n.70
- Marijnissen, Roger H., 77, 209n.112, 213n.176
- Mark, St, bishop of Arethusa, 82
- Marrow, James H., xvi, 61, 62, 70, 207n.59, 210n.128
- Martindale, Andrew, 62–3, 206n.47
- Martini, Simone, *see* Simone Martini
- Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 160
- Mary (the Virgin), 58, 62, 74  
 disowned by Jesus, 178  
 left son-less by Crucifixion, 183  
 maternal clinging of, 178  
 as mother of the church, 61  
 mourning, 65  
 as new Eve, 61  
 swooning of, 61, 79  
*see also* Madonna and Child
- Mary Magdalene, 173  
 master of Cologne: 'Large Calvary', 64, 68
- Master of Delft, 69, 70, 74
- Master of Liesborn, 211n.140
- Master of Pulkau, 68
- Master of Schöppingen  
 Schöppingen alterpiece, 70  
 Soester Altar, 70
- Master of the Darmstadt Passion altar, 64
- Master of the Jünteler Epitaph, 66, 70
- Master of Veronica, 65
- Matheney, M. Pierce, Jr, 192n.8
- Mauchline, J., 192n.21
- Maximinus, 24
- Mazzanti, Enrico, 143
- McCone, Kim R., 216n.22
- McKendrick, Malveena, 220n.19
- McKillop, Alan D., 222n.4
- Meckenem, Israhel van, 208n.79, 211n.137
- Meditatio pauperis in solitudine*, 96, 98
- Meiss, Millard, 207n.52
- Meister des Münsterer Nikolaustodes, 75
- Meister Loedewich, *see* Jupan, Ludwig
- Melanchthon, Philip: Melanchthonian editors, 105
- Mellini, Gian Lorenzo, 207n.63
- Memling, Hans, 71
- Menander, 28
- Menz, Cäsar, 206n.41
- Merian, Matthäus, 79  
*Icones biblicae*, 78, 119–20
- Messner, Richard G., 13
- Methodists, 128
- Michelangelo, 29
- Miedzian, Myriam, 190n.36
- Million Man's March, the, 5
- Milne, A.A.  
 'Lines and Squares', 165, 229n.66  
*Winnie the Pooh*, 165
- Milton, John: *Paradise Lost*, 163
- Mishima, Yukio: *The Sailor Who Fell From Grace with the Sea*, 166–7, 187
- 'mispers', 187
- Molière, 102
- Monroy, Juan Antonio, 220n.17
- Montaigne, 7, 114
- Montgomery, James A., 194n.62
- Morin, Germain, 202n.34
- Morrison, Blake, 5
- Moses, 20, 21

- Mostaert, Jan, 68–9, 70, 74  
 Mowgli (character of Kipling), 9, 186, 187–8  
     as myth of puerile individualism, 185  
 Muhammad, the Prophet, 22  
 Muller, Norman E., 210n.128, 213nn.172–3  
 Multscher, Hans, ix, 65, 66, 70, 72, 74, 81  
     Wursach Altar, 65, Plate 4  
 Munkácsy, Mihály, 80–1  
 Mürken, Axel Hinrich, 206n.51  
 mystery drama, 68  
  
 Naaman, 38  
 Nabakov, Vladimir, 181  
 Nagy, Joseph Falaky, 216n.22  
 Nailing to the Cross (scene from Christ's Passion), 187  
     in art, 61, 73–4  
 naked child (art motif), 99  
 Namerari Tjapaltjarri, Mick, 191n.55  
 Napoleon, 138  
 Narcissus, 120, 121  
 Nash, Ogden, 9, 11, 164–5  
 Neff, Amy, 59, 61, 62, 206n.39  
 Nelson, Richard D., 192n.14  
 Nero, 29  
 Neumann, Erich, 196n.105  
 Neverland (in Barrie's *Peter Pan*), 10, 165, 184, 185–8  
 Newell, William Wells, 231n.38  
*New Jerusalem Bible, The*, 15  
 Nicholas III, Pope, 27, 199n.161  
 Niccolò di Tuldo, 75  
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 185  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 138  
 Niobe, 120  
 Noah, 26, 54, 105, Plate 2  
 North Saxon master, 68  
 Novalis, 125  
  
 Oates, Joyce Carol, 182  
 O'Hagan, Andrew, 231n.46  
 Old Martha (character of Wiesel), 161–2, 187  
 Oostanen, Jacob Cornelisz. van, 210n.116  
 Opie, Iona, 191n.52  
 Opie, Peter, 191n.52  
 Order of Friars Minor (Franciscan Order), 93, 94, 95, 96  
     Spiritual and Conventual factions of, 99  
  
 Origen, 24, 37, 49, 203n.36  
     Hexepla, 24  
 Orsini, Giovanni Gaetano, 27  
*Orsini polyptych*, see Simone Martini  
 Otto, Rudolf, 18  
     *The Idea of the Holy*, 3  
  
 Pacino di Bonaguida, 97  
 Padilla, Heberto: 'A sidewalk café' (poem), 151–2  
 Pafford, J.H.P., 222n.58  
 Palm Sunday, see Entry into Jerusalem  
 Panofsky, Erwin, 208n.85  
 parents, 175, 179  
     Adam and Eve as first, 110  
     afraid of children, 176  
     Cain's disobedience of his, 78  
     corruptive influence of, 86–7  
     of Elisha's mockers, xi, 20, 43, 46–7  
     Jesus' relationship with his, 178  
     as obstacles to child's progress towards Jesus, 178  
 Passion of Christ (Stations of the Cross), 50, 52, 104  
     presence of children during, 11, 56–81, 84, 120, 136, 137, 187  
     typologically linked with Elisha's mockery, 22, 38–62, 65–6, 70–1, 75, 89, 121, 163  
     see also Ascent of the Cross; Bearing of the Cross; Christ; Crowning with Thorns; Crucifixion; Departure from the Praetorium; Deposition; *Ecce homo*; Elisha's mockery; Flagellation of Christ; Lamentation; Nailing to the Cross; Trial before Herod; Trial before Pilate  
 Pattison, Robert, 127  
 Paul, St (Saul), 22, 26, 45, 87, 89, 100, 175  
     on children, 31–2, 40  
     on giving up childish ways, 32, 134  
 Peake, Arthur S., 191n.5  
 Pelikan, Jaroslav, xv, 219nn.5–6  
 Penner, Bruce: *The Bears of Elisha* (musical score), 151  
 Perella, Nicholas J., 225–6n.74  
 Peter, St, 48  
 Peter Damian, 50–1, 53, 55  
 Peter Pan, 9–10, 165, 166, 185–8  
     as myth of puerile individualism, 185  
 Peter Riga: *Aurora*, 53–4

- Pharaoh, 37  
 Phelps, William Lyon, 228n.39  
 Philip, Lotte Brand, 207n.65  
 Phillips, Angela, 4  
 Philo of Alexandria, 28, 30, 115  
*Philopatris*, 198n.152  
 Pica (St Francis's mother), 93, 97  
*pícaro* (literary type), 102, 106–7  
   compared with Elisha's mockers, 107  
 Pickering, Frederick P., 206n.41  
*Pictor Carmine*, 60  
 Pied Piper of Hameln, 170, 179  
 Pierhal, J., 228n.34  
 Pietersz., Pieter, 69  
 Pilate, Pontius, 52, 63, 68, 71, 72,  
   203n.44, 210n.129  
 Pinocchio, 9, 186, 188  
   as myth of puerile individualism, 185  
   *see also* Collodi, Carlo  
 Pisano, Giovanni, 60  
 Pisano, Nicola, 79  
   *Pisa Pulpit*, 60  
   *Siena Pulpit*, 60  
*Planctus Mariae*, 58–9  
 Plato, 28  
   *Laws*, 175  
   *Lysis*, 175  
   *Meno*, 175  
   *Republic*, 175, 176  
 Plon, Eugene, 214n.199  
 Pollock, Zailig, 227n.18  
 Polzin, Robert, 195n.81  
 Pontius Pilate, *see* Pilate, Pontius  
 Poole, Matthew, 117, 118–19  
 Poole, Roger, 135–6  
 Pope, Marvin H., 195n.68  
 Pope–Hennessy, John, 211n.136  
 Postman, Neil: *The Disappearance of  
   Childhood*, 181, 231n.23  
*poverello, il, see* Francis of Assisi, St  
 Princeton University Index of Christian  
   Art, The, 205n.19  
 Procession to Calvary, *see* Bearing of the  
   Cross; Bruegel, Pieter  
 Procopius of Gaza, 43–5, 82  
 Promise Keepers, the, 5  
 Prosper of Aquitaine, St, 45  
 Prudentius, 82  
 Prus, Boleslaw: 'The Sins of Childhood', 8  
 Pseudo–Bede, 58, 203n.37  
 Puffer, J. Adams, 226n.2  
 Puritans, 122  
 Qur'an, 197n.127  
 Rachel (biblical character), 184  
 Radak (David ben Joseph Kimhi), 23  
*ragazzo di strada* (street kid), 143  
   *see also* boys  
 Rahlfs, Alfred, 25, 198nn.142, 147  
 Rank, Otto, 2  
 Raphael, 71  
   *see also Spasimo di Sicilia, Lo*  
 Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac), 23  
 Ratgeb, Jerg, 67, 210n.125  
 Redondo, Augustin, 220n.18  
 Reeves, Marjorie, 199n.158  
 Rehm, Martin, 195n.62  
 Renan, Ernest, 150  
   *Life of Jesus*, 80  
 Reni, Guido, 75  
 Reno, Janet (U.S. Attorney General), 5  
 Renunciation of Worldly Goods, St  
   Francis's, 66, 71, 93  
   in art, 96–9, Plate 5  
*Responses (Resposiones ad orthodoxos de  
   quibusdam necessariis quaestionibus)*,  
   43–4  
 Resurrection, 49, 183  
*Revell Bible Dictionary, The*, 193n.28  
 Rhea (mother of Zeus), 19, 196n.106  
 Rich, Frank, 191n.45  
*riote du monde, La*, 85  
 Road to Calvary, *see* Bearing of the Cross  
 Robels, Hella, 210n.127  
 Robinson, Bernard P., 194n.60  
 Robinson, J., 195n.62  
 Rofé, Alexander, 197n.130  
 Roger of Salisbury, 54  
 Rohde, F., 205n.16, 209n.94  
 Rolland, Kayla, x  
 Roman friezes, 62  
*Roman Martyrology, The*, 215n.3  
 Romantics (Romanticism), 125  
   attitude toward childhood, 131, 132,  
   138, 176, 228n.47  
 Rosasco, Betsy J., 210n.128,  
   213nn.172–3  
 Rose, Jacqueline, 185  
 Rosenberg, A.J., 197n.132  
 Rosenberg, Jakob, 212n.161  
 Rosenberg, Pierre, 212n.163, 221n.49  
 Rosenzweig, Franz, 16  
 Rossier, H.L., 192n.11  
 Roth, Elisabeth, 205n.12

- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 115, 125, 131, 176  
*Émile*, 116–17
- Rowe, William Woodin, 225n.63
- Rowlands, John, 211n.137
- Rugby (British school), 1, 128, 130
- Rule of St Benedict, 84
- Rūmi, Jalāluddīn, 10–11
- Rupert of Deutz, 50, 51–2, 53, 55, 57
- Ruskin, John, 128, 129–31
- Sabatier, Paul, 155  
*Life of St. Francis*, 152–3
- Sachs, Hans, 78
- Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de, 185, 186
- Salvini, Roberto, 206n.38
- Samson, 26
- Šanda, A., 194n.60
- Sandberg-Valvalà, Evelyn, 205n.31
- Satan, *see* Devil
- Saul, *see* Paul, St
- Saxl, Fritz, 206n.45
- Schäuffelein, Hans, 210n.123, 210n.125
- Schechter, Harold, 190n.32
- Schellenberg, Johann Rudolf, 80  
*60 biblische Geschichten des neuen Testaments*, 80
- Schiller, Friedrich, 125
- Schiller, Gertrude, 61, 64–5, 209n.96, 214n.196  
*Iconography in Christian Art (ICA)*, xvi
- Schinkelaltar (St Mary, Lübeck), 74, 208n.79
- Schmitt, Hans-Christoph, 193n.38
- Schnack, Jutta, 208n.79
- Schochet, Elijah Judah, 196n.95
- Schongauer, Martin, 71–2, 76
- Schöppingen altarpiece, *see* Master of Schöppingen
- Schultz, James A., 191n.53, 216n.18
- Screech, M.A., 56  
*Laughter at the Foot of the Cross (LFC)*, xvi
- Second Crusade, 56
- Seneca, 28–9, 46, 86
- Septuagint (LXX), 20, 38, 184, 201n.6  
 Lucian's (aka Lucianic or Antiochian) recension of, 24, 25, 62, 65, 83, 113, 142, 143, 143, 161  
 Origen's edition (Hexapla) of, 24  
 Theodotion's revision of, 24–5, 44, 46  
*See also* Theodotion
- Serck, Luc, 213n.171
- Serrano-Plaja, Arturo, 225n.63
- Seuse (Suso), Heinrich: *Das Minnebüchlein*, 59
- Shakespeare, William, 102, 107, 151  
*Coriolanus*, 113  
*1 Henry IV*, 114  
*2 Henry IV*, 114  
*King Lear*, 114  
*The Merchant of Venice*, 113–14  
*Much Ado About Nothing*, 114  
*Richard III*, 114  
*The Winter's Tale*, 114
- Shimei (biblical character), 61
- Shunammite's child, the (biblical character), 38, 183
- 'sibling society', 4–5
- Siddhārtha Gautama, *see* Buddha, the
- Silverius, St, Pope, 27
- Simeon, St, 83, 140
- Simone Martini, 64, 74, 207n.56  
*Orsini Polyptych*, 62–3
- Simon of Cyrene, 73
- Simons, Menno, 106
- Sixth Seal of the Apocalypse, 96
- Skinner, John, 194n.55
- Slaughter of the Innocents, 7, 183–4  
 in art, 121
- Slotki, Israel Wolf, 191n.5
- Smart, Alastair, 218n.55
- Smith, Joseph, Jr, 22
- Snaith, Norman H., 192n.21
- Snyder, James, 209n.105
- Socrates, 136, 176
- Sodoma (Giovanni Antonio Bazzi), 75
- Sodom and Gomorrah, 36, 55
- Soester Altar, *see* Master of Schöppingen
- soul, the  
 as child, 99  
 'contrary states of', 125
- Spasimo di Sicilia, Lo* (Raphael), 72, 73  
 replicas of, 73
- Speculam humanae salvationis*, 55
- Speyer, Julian, 94  
*Vita S. Francisci*, 93
- Spock, Benjamin, 115
- Stade, Bernhard, 194n.61, 198n.148
- Stange, Alfred, xv, 209n.89
- Stanton, Marietta: *Our Children Are Dying*, 181, 231n.26
- Starbuck, Edwin Diller, 2
- Steiner, George, 8

- Stek, J.H., 192n.8  
 Stephen, St, 22, 25  
 Stokes, Margaret, 205n.21  
 Storch, Levin, 209n.96  
 Strigel, Bernhardin, 71  
 Summerfield, Geoffrey, 222n.60  
*Supplicationes variae*, 60–1  
 Suso, *see* Seuse, Heinrich  
 Swabian master, 67  
 Swaggart, Jimmy Lee, 20  
 Swift, Jonathan, 147  
 Székely, András, 214n.200
- Taddeo Gaddi, 98  
 Tadmor, Hayim, 193n.36  
 Talmud, 15, 23–4, 26, 118  
 ‘temple–boys’, 65, 208n.75  
 Terras, Victor, 139, 225n.63  
 Tertullian, 36–8, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 201n.6  
*Against Marcion*, 36  
 Theodore Prodromus, 45  
 Theodotion, 128, 182  
   Septuagint revision of, 24–5, 44, 46  
 Thode, Henry, 218nn.54, 65  
 Thomas Aquinas, St, 26–7  
 Thornton, Weldon, 226n.8  
 Thorvaldsen, Bertel, 80, 137  
 Tindall, William York, 226n.9  
 Titus and Vespasian, 49, 51, 53, 54, 60, Plate 3  
 Tom, W., 194n.44  
 Tomás Rodaja (character of Cervantes: aka ‘glass man’), 111–13, 137, 161, 163  
 ‘torturer of children’, *see* Gregory of Rimini  
 Traherne, Thomas, 125  
*Très Belles Heures de Jean de France, Duc de Berry*, *see* Jacquemart de Hesdin  
*Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, *see* Limbourg brothers  
 Trial before Herod (scene from Christ’s Passion): in art, 60  
 Trial before Pilate (scene from Christ’s Passion): in art, 80–1  
 Twain, Mark (pseud. of Samuel Clemens), 127  
*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 131, 185  
*See also* Huckleberry Finn
- United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child, 8
- Upper Church of San Francesco (Assisi), 97–8
- Varet, Alexandre–Louis: *De l’éducation chrétienne des enfants*, 114  
*Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* (attrib. to Joachim of Fiore), 27–8, 146  
 Vaughn, Henry, 125  
 Veronica, 67  
 Vespasian, *see* Titus and Vespasian  
 Via Dolorosa, *see* Bearing of the Cross  
 Victorians  
   tastes in art, 129  
   notions on education, 129  
   sympathy for children, 130  
 Virgil (Vergil), 35, 85  
*Vita beate virginis Marie et Salvatoris rhythmica*, 58  
 Virgin, the, *see* Mary  
 von Trier, Lars, 172–4  
*Breaking the Waves*, ix, 173–4, Plate 8  
 Voragine, Jocabus de, 84, 99, 100–1  
*The Golden Legend (GL)*, xvi, 34, 218n.49  
 Vor Frue Kirke (Copenhagen), 137, 214n.199  
 Vorreux, Damien, 217n.43  
 Vos, Dirk de, 210n.128  
 Vos, Howard F., 193n.28
- Wach, Joachim, 230n.13  
 Walafrid (Walahfrid) Strabo, 50, 51, 53  
 Walker, Barbara G., 196n.106  
 Walsh, Jerome T., 197n.116  
 Ware, Timothy (Kallistos), 215n.10  
 Warner, Marina, 5  
 Warrangkula Tjupurrula, Johnny (‘Johnny W.’), xiii  
*Man and Naughty Boys’ Water Dreaming*, 10, Plate 1  
 Wasiolek, Edward, 141, 225n.63  
 Watt, Ian, 179, 185–6  
 Watts, Isaac, 129, 131  
*Divine Songs*, 123–4, 127  
 Way of the Cross, *see* Bearing of the Cross  
 Weber, Max, 217n.32  
 Weinraub, Bernard, 231n.28  
 Wenham, John W., 14  
 West, D.J., 226n.2  
 Wiesel, Elie, 231n.20  
*The Town Beyond the Wall*, 161–2, 170  
 Willis, Fred C., 212n.168

- Winn, Marie: *Children Without Childhood*,  
181, 231n.24
- Wiseman, Donald J., 193n.33
- Witham, W. Tasker, 226n.3
- Wixom, William D., 214n.195
- Wolfram von Eschenbach: *Parzival*, 87
- Wolgemut, Michael, 208n.79, 210n.125
- Wordsworth, Christopher, 13
- Wordsworth, William, 125
- Wursach Altar, *see* Multscher, Hans
- Würthwein, Ernst, 193n.36
- Würzburg Altar, *see* Katzheimer, Wolfgang
- Wycliffe, John: Bible of, 46–7
- Wydytz, Hans, 79, 208n.79
- Yarblonsky, Lewis, 226n.2
- Yeats, William Butler, 147
- Zakovitch, Yair, 194n.46
- Zeus, 19, 196n.106
- Zinzendorf, Count von, 78
- Ziolkowski, Eric, 200n.178, 220n.20,  
224n.41, 225n.60
- Ziolkowski, Jan M., 198n.153
- Ziolkowski, Theodore, 223n.26
- Zwingli, Ulrich, 105–6