THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE THEORY

# Theatricality

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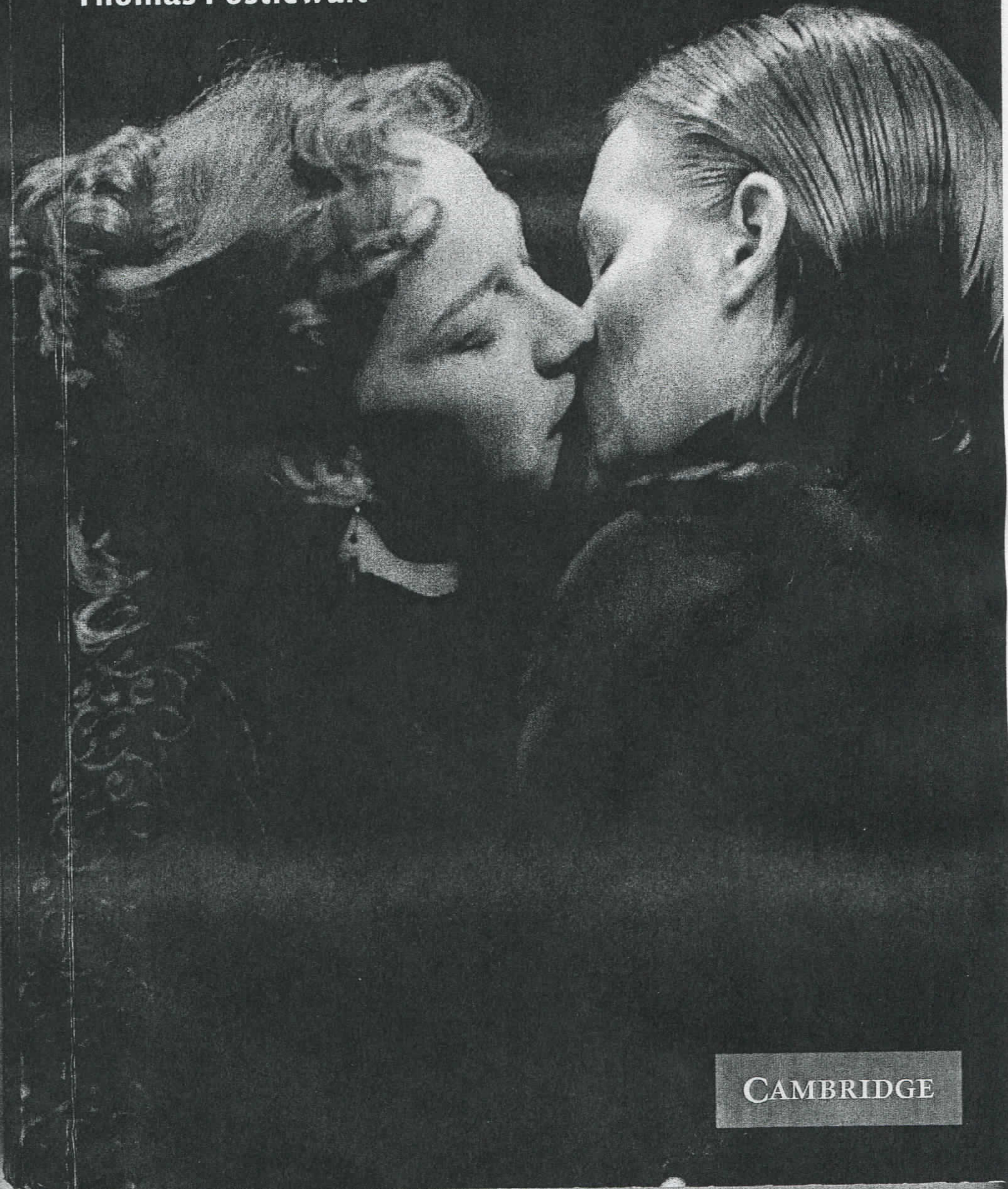

# 2 Performing miracles: the mysterious mimesis of Valenciennes (1547)

*Jody Enders*

> But if false religion is theater, and if the difference between true and false religion is the presence of theater, what happens when this difference is enacted in the theater? (Greenblatt 1988: 126)

For most historians of the medieval stage, the mystery begins with the venerable L. Petit de Julleville, who published his magnum opus on mystery plays, *Les mystères*, in 1880. There exists a manuscript, he tells us, of a *Mystère de la Passion* that was performed in 1547 in the city of Valenciennes and which enumerates a series of truly wondrous effects (II, 155). The manuscript does, in fact, exist in several versions: Bibliothèque Nationale, Fond français 12536 and Rothschild I.7.3, the latter boasting twenty-five lovely miniatures by the sixteenth-century artist Hubert Cailleau (*c.* 1526–90).[1] More interestingly, the Rothschild manuscript is unique in prefacing each of its twenty-five Days with what Elie Konigson termed "either an announcement or a description" of the principal scenic effects of the performance.[2] But if the careful Konigson had difficulty distinguishing between an *ad hoc* didascalic directive and a *post hoc* report of an actual event, then how on earth are we to understand what happened in 1547 during the miracle of the loaves and the fishes?

Theatrically and theologically, there is a vast difference between *asking* that something be done on stage and *doing something*. In Valenciennes in 1547, that "something" was a miracle. Indeed, it was not one but two separate miracles.

On Day Eight of the Rothschild manuscript of the *Passion*, we read that many special effects (*beaux secrets*) were seen "at the wedding of Architriclin, where, before everybody, the water that was poured into the jugs was transformed into wine; and more





than one hundred persons from amongst the spectators drank of it."[3] Still more stunning was the second miracle which ostensibly occurred on Day Twelve, for if the distribution itself was a special effect, the thousand audience members who received bread were presumably real individuals:

> Item, another wonderful special effect for the miracle of the five barley loaves and the two fishes, which Jesus multiplied without [anyone] seeing how this was done, so that [bread] was tossed and given to over one thousand persons from amongst the spectators and twelve full baskets were collected.[4]

The trick here is to determine whether the miraculous distributions of Valenciennes were real or imagined, or whether we simply have a scenario in which post-medieval commentators have substituted didascalia for the realities of performance (Enders 2002: 98–102). Was this a miraculous performance or the performance of a miracle? What was the significance or insignificance of the event or non-event? What was a miracle anyway? And what was theatre?

It is not a very medieval position to say that the spectators of Valenciennes could not possibly have witnessed a miracle.[5] Nor is it innocent to say that they did.

In this essay, I argue that, in Valenciennes in 1547, a question of *theological* performance was indistinguishable from a question of *theatrical* performance. If the actor playing Christ – one Jehan Rasoir – was able to feed over one thousand persons with only five barley loaves, then, on Day Twelve, he performed not the theatrical appearance of a miracle but a *bona fide* miracle.[6] He engaged in a performative act in the sense proposed by J. L. Austin for such events as marrying, christening, or betting in that a speaker's "issuing of the utterance" – in this case, Jehan's – "is the performing of an action – it is not normally thought of as just saying something" (Austin 1978: 6–7). Jehan also engaged in precisely the sort of performative act that Austin was so quick to exclude from theatre: "we could be . . . acting [in] a play or making a joke or writing a poem – in which case of course it would not be seriously meant and we shall not be able to say that we seriously performed the act concerned" (Austin 1970: 228). If Jehan Rasoir seriously multiplied his loaves and fishes, then he seriously performed the miraculous act concerned.[7] In an

exquisite theological whodunit, the "mystery" of the *Passion* lies in any endeavor to understand its apparently perfect performative consonance between theatricality and theology.

As we shall see, the events of Valenciennes suggest that theatricality was an open invitation (by means of the performance of a Passion play) to ponder the interrelations between seeing and believing, theatrical cognition and theology, mimesis and enactment, and *vraisemblance* and faith. What exactly was seen by the audience of Valenciennes? And how do we fathom today whatever it was that we decide it is? Did the sixteenth-century spectators bear witness to a divine sign? An act of God? Did they see false-seeming? Technical wizardry? Did they see the trickery of the Antichrist? The Devil's own intervention into drama, as long denounced by ecclesiastical authorities (Cox 2001)?

Theatrically speaking, sixteenth-century French theatre audiences had a distinct predilection for the thespian rendition that was, as Jean Bouchet put it, "natural and played without pretense."[8] So it was that actors in the *Mystère des actes des apôtres* at Bourges in 1536 received kudos for knowing "so well how to play-act with signs and gestures the characters whom they were representing, that the majority of those attending judged the thing to be true and not 'pretend.'"[9] Theologically speaking, the mystery play at Valenciennes demanded demystification of what spectators had seen and believed and of what post-medieval commentators and critics later considered them to have seen and believed: facts or fantasies, happy illusions or sad truths, God's miracles or the Devil's deceptions, performance or performativity. That endeavor is further complicated today by an oft-unbridgeable historiographical divide between the largely Christian medieval past and the secular sensitivities of the modern present. In both cases, however, issues of theatricality reveal the special power of theatre as medium to disclose both the specificity and the difference or "alterity" of the Middle Ages (Warning 1979, Jauss 1979). They do so in ways that may surprise us as to who is more "medieval" in their take on theology and theatre: citizens of the 1500s or of the 1900s and, now, of the twenty-first century.

In 1547, if audience members quite naturally wondered of the events before their eyes, "How did they do that?" or "What's happening here?", those questions sent them down a perilous



ideological path which implicated them in complex contemporaneous debates about such theological matters as the nature of miracles, the symbolism of the Mass, and the real presence of Christ during the Sacrament (Ozment 1975: 117–18, 24–31, 82–4; Pasquier de le Barre 1975: 311). During the turbulent years of the Reformation, Europe had never contemplated more anxiously the quintessential question of what was real, what was pretend, and what was pretense. Moreover, as Huston Diehl, Sarah Beckwith, Michal Kobialka, and Véronique Dominguez have shown so compellingly in the context of transubstantiation, debates about the nature of the sacrament resembled debates about the nature of the theatre (Diehl 1997: 9–39, 105–06, Beckwith 2001: 59–71, Kobialka 1999: 197–216, Dominguez 1999). My own argument is threefold in that any theatrical representation that laid claim to real life through reportedly real miracles assumed powerful metaphorical, political, and religious dimensions. When it came to the ways in which theatrical *make-believe* served the larger goal of audience *belief* in the ostensibly non-fictional histories of the New Testament, a mystery play in performance had a very special way of reframing the kinds of questions people asked about religion. During the Reformation it *re-formed* and *reformed* both the questions and their answers.

How was the Valenciennes audience to know what to believe? After all, to the faithful, the stories staged by Passion plays were not make-believe. Rather, they were true historical narratives, reminders of which were available everywhere: in paintings, sculptures, and architecture; in relics, at Mass, in books, in sermons, in the classroom, in the courtroom, and, of course, in drama itself. Perhaps spectators at Valenciennes believed precisely what they had *never* seen. Perhaps they failed to believe what they *did* see or, as the expression goes, they could not believe their eyes. Perhaps they did not know what to believe at all, a situation that might well have prompted them to forget that the sure and certain truths of Christ's story were never meant to be uncertain. Perhaps they confused sacred history with theatrical make-believe. One need only recall the massive ecclesiastical anxieties regarding the introduction of apocryphal materials into religious drama. Almost a century earlier in 1456, for example, clerical authorities of Angers rejected Jehan le Prieur's *Mystère de la Résurrection* as "not in conformity with the Scriptures" because

the players had proposed several additions that were "irrelevant to the subject."[10] In 1542, the Procurator General of Paris refused to allow the *confrères de la Passion* to stage the *Mistére du Viel Testament* on account of their tendency to introduce into scriptural narrative "apocryphal materials, lascivious farces, and mummeries."[11] And later in the seventeenth century, Henry d'Outreman fulminated that the devil even "sought by this nonsense to open the doors to the sacrileges of Luther and Calvin, stuffing these comedies and spectacles with *entr'actes* and profane farces which compromised the dignity of holy things and of the Ministers of the Church."[12]

By the same token, French Protestant Reformers often launched related objections, as when John Calvin feared in 1546 that, while the text of the *Actes des apôtres* was "most holy and in keeping with the divine word," a performance of it would create "great confusion" (Lebègue 1929a: 29–30; 1929b: 289–90).[13] Later, in 1566, Jacques Grévin prefaced his *Trésorière* (1559) with a poetic and theological critique of the theatrical communion of poetry and religion:

> For it is not our intention
> to mix up our Religion
> with subjects that are make-believe.
> His Scriptures God did not conceive
> so that He e'er should see the day
> that men would turn them into play.[14]

On one hand, the Catholic orientation of a work like Jean Michel's *Passion* dramatized the belief that to question one of Christ's miracles, such as the resurrection of Lazarus, was to be a pagan or a Jew:

> He never was raised from the dead.
> It was enchantment, just a scheme,
> an apparition, but a dream,
> a phony dummy, fake confection
> of what you think a resurrection
> of Laz'rus, whom you celebrate.[15]

On the other hand, questioning the nature of miracles also came to be the province of Protestants. By the time the citizens of Valenciennes saw their *Passion* during Pentecost of 1547, Francis I had just ended his reign. Originally sympathetic to Reformist



ideas, he had hardened his position after the *Affaire des Placards* of 1534 (Ozment 1975); and the situation was to become even more explosive during the wars of religion under his successor, Henri II (1547–59). The Reformer Guillaume Farel had warned that "miracles and other things which have come to pass should in no way move us to the point of pulling us away from the word of God and taking on another faith or belief other than one in accordance with the word of God."[16] Also, in an accusation that resonates with Michel's words above, the Reformer Pierre Brully even went so far as to stress that transubstantiation, as regularly enacted by Catholic priests in acts as performative as miracles, was the model for idolatry and diabolical magic: "this muttering with which priests attend the bread and the wine is better suited to witches and enchanters than to Christians."[17]

There is a way in which one might say that religion is itself the performance of true belief.[18] So too is theatre: but in different ways which are the subject of this chapter. Against the ideological backdrop of the Reformation, the mysterious mimesis of Valenciennes suggests that, where *theatrical* uncertainty reigns, so too does *theological* uncertainty. Long accustomed to suspending their *disbelief*, sixteenth-century spectators might also have stood ready to suspend their *belief*. Or to change their beliefs. Or to lead different lives based on those beliefs.

One thing was clear. Regardless of what they were seeing or mis-seeing, or were *thought* by ecclesiastics to be seeing or mis-seeing, it was theologically dangerous when they believed what they saw, or what they thought they saw, or when they believed nothing at all. It was also dangerous when they *dis*believed what they saw, or what they thought they saw, or when they disbelieved nothing at all. The tantalizing events of 1547 thus had a way of inviting an audience simultaneously to suspend both its disbelief *and* its belief – and at a historical moment when belief was everything – and when everything was changing.

At stake, then, in the *beaux secrets* of Valenciennes, is the extraordinary if not necessarily "miraculous" ability of theatre to assist in deciphering the secrets of that deepest of *arcana*: religion. At the very least, theatre lights the way for those who seek enlightenment about how human beings judge the evidence before their eyes. Even if that evidence is untrustworthy, it stands to tell us a lot about what it means when someone, medieval or

modern, says of a given event, "I saw it with my own eyes" – even if they saw it in a play, even if "it" was a miracle, and even if what was seen tells us more about individual cognition than about what really happened. We cannot understood the full import of Valenciennes unless we bear in mind that extant accounts of early performances are multidimensional documents, notwithstanding the fact that medievalists, often elated to discover any records at all, have not always used them that way.

Close analysis of the complex performance accounts of Valenciennes 1547 affirms and reaffirms that, perhaps more than any other genre, drama is about process. It takes its audiences to a moment in real time during which belief is affirmed, reaffirmed, created, recreated, developed, suspended, denied, or even destroyed (Schechner 1985: 302–09, Wilshire 1991: 136–9, 245–57). Even when a play does not lead to such patently performative events as miracles, it leaves behind real traces of the reality of emotional experiences of hope and fear, faith and skepticism, belief and disbelief. Its special contribution to culture is its uncanny ability to ground belief in the sometimes dazzling, sometimes troublesome collision of the illusion of reality and the reality of illusion. At Valenciennes, that was theatricality.

Immediately defamiliarized, the familiar account of Valenciennes presents historians of the medieval stage with a conundrum of theatricality and theology. No matter how special an effect, it takes quite a bit of bread to feed the thousand people of the Rothschild manuscript's head-count and a generous amount of wine to quench the theatrical thirst of a hundred. Furthermore, in the lengthy and detailed financial accounting of the performance of 1547, which survives in BN fr. 12536, we find nary a mention of the props which would have been necessary for both scenes of miraculous distribution: no wine, jugs, bowls, or communal cups; no bread, crusts, or crumbs, and certainly no baguettes.[19] Naturally, the absence of evidence does not amount to proof that such items were *not* there: but it does indicate that the *beaux secrets* of Valenciennes are likely to guard their secrets centuries later.

Both Konigson and Petit de Julleville endeavored to make sense of the staging claims of the Rothschild manuscript by looking to the painstaking account of the events as related by



Henry d'Outreman in his *Histoire de la ville et comté de Valenciennes* (1639). "Barely a year old at the time of the performance," writes Konigson (*MPV*, 23), Henry (b. 22 August 1546) must have gotten his information from his father, Henry Senior, who had supervised the production of 1547. According to BN fr. 12536, "Henry d'Oultreman [was a] superintendent and player of several characters and, with this, in charge of the special effects (*conducteur des secrets*) which were appropriate for Hell."[20] In this mediated testimony, Henry Junior denies that various biblical miracles came again to pass, postulating instead that the "strange and wondrous things [which] were made to appear" during the twenty-five days of the *Passion* only *resembled* the real thing by dint of "admirable" technical feats. For example, d'Outreman Junior affirms of Lucifer's sudden entrance atop a dragon, of "the souls of Herod and Judas [that] were taken up into the air by Devils," and of the miraculous cures during which "Devils were chased from the bodies of hydropics," that "the special effects for Heaven and Hell were truly prodigious, and *could really have been taken by the populace for magic spells*" (d'Outreman 1639: 396, my emphasis).[21]

Similarly, when Henry Junior arrives at the events of Days Eight and Twelve, he renders the miraculous mutation of water into wine as the *desire* of more than one hundred people to drink – not as the *fact* that they have actually drunk. Meanwhile the thousand pieces of bread distributed from five loaves seem as real as the apparently unmultiplied two fishes. In any event, Henry fails to mention any leftovers of the latter comestible:

> One could see the water changed into wine, but so *mysteriously* that *one could not believe it*; and more than one hundred people in the audience *wished to taste the wine*. The five loaves and two fishes were similarly multiplied there, and distributed to more than one thousand people; and even so, there were still twelve baskets left over . . . The *other miracles* occurring at the death of Our Savior *were themselves represented anew and miraculously*. (d'Outreman 1639: 396, my emphasis)[22]

It is indubitable that, during Day Twelve of the *Passion*, something must have happened in order for the following scene, immortalized in Fig. 2.1, to make sense. In an extremely close parallel to the Scriptures, the text of the Valenciennes *Passion* (Rothschild I.7.3) reads that Jesus's disciple, Andrew, has told his master:

2.1. The Miracle of the Loaves and the Fishes. Valenciennes *Passion*, Twelfth Day. Bibliothèque nationale, Collection J. de Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 162v°.



There is, within the company
A child of young and tender age.
To make his meager living he
Has five barley loaves, seems to me,
And similarly two fishes.
But what is all that, I pray thee,
When we need more?[23]

Jesus asks shortly thereafter, "Have you now enough, my children?" upon which the company responds "Yes, Lord."[24] In the Gospel according to John, it is clear that what happens is a miracle. Jesus asks that some five thousand men be seated and he

took the loaves; and when he had given thanks he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would.

When they were filled, he said unto his disciples, *Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.*[25]

Therefore they gathered them together, and *filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves*, which remained over and above unto them that had eaten. (John 6: 8–14, my emphasis)

On the stage in Valenciennes, it is unclear what precisely has transpired. Something on stage must render it reasonable for Jesus to send his men into the crowd to collect the remainder of the bread and for Andrew to report that "we have filled twelve baskets."[26] What was it?

Let me foreground the answer immediately. We will never know for certain. But the reasons *why* we will never know shed as much light on the nature of theatricality as they do on the occasionally massive ideological divide between medieval and modern thinking. As Bruce Wilshire lucidly phrases it, "we live on the pivot connecting the fictional and the actual and can never leap off to land solidly on either 'side.' Indeed, in the case of human life, the idea of a purely fictional or a purely actual is a delusion" (1991: 258). The problem with Valenciennes is that it defies binaries and has more than two "sides." In the four scenarios below, I suggest that the ephemeral truths of theatrical appearance (mimesis) were irreparably confused with the presumably more eternal appearance of theological truths, each in ways that speak volumes about both historicity and anachronism when we approach early texts.

1. A new miracle occurred in 1547 when God intervened to reprise His earlier one of the loaves and the fishes during the Valenciennes *Passion* (a theatrical and theological scenario awesome to the faithful of days of yore and pleasing to modern critics who find them credulous and superstitious).
2. God never intervened at all in the play but, rather, the Devil arranged to have one jug of wine serve one hundred people and five loaves of bread feed over one thousand. This second scenario would perhaps have appealed to Protestant Reformers mistrustful of miracles as well as to more secular modern critical audiences, who either agreed with the critique of Catholicism, or who found Protestants just as credulous.
3. There was no miracle of 1547; but gullible spectators believed nonetheless that they had seen one in a marvelous special effect whose scope has been exaggerated by two types of ideological bias, one religious, one secular. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such exaggeration would have been borne out by apparent similarities to the Gospel narrative of the miracle of the loaves and the fishes. In modern times, the "medieval" inability to make a distinction between a piece of staging and an act of God fits nicely with the topos that early theatre audiences were naive and unsophisticated. (Bloch 1990, Enders 2002: 105–17)
4. There was no miracle; and the audience at Valenciennes knew it, but they pretended that they had seen one anyway, a scenario that resolves any apparent difficulty of perspective. That is to say that this scenario allows for a number of reasonable transhistorical possibilities: a legitimate, if not unanimous, belief in miracles (but not in the mere theatrical *appearance* of miracles); an impressive facility with staging techniques, and spectators who were not too stupid to recognize them.

Before we turn to the details of those scenarios, let us take a moment to ponder the difficulties of verisimilitude at Valenciennes. As a medium, theatre has long depended upon the suspension of disbelief. But one cannot suspend what one does not have. Nor can one understand disbelief apart from belief. That is true despite Stanley Cavell's famous theory about the racist yokel who rushes on stage to save Desdemona from the evil black Othello: the play is "neither credible nor incredible: that ought to mean that the concept of credibility is inappropriate altogether" (1969: 329). In matters of pre-modern theology, it would have been completely inappropriate to submit that sacred writ was neither credible nor incredible. Then again, maybe it was not inappropriate at all. Maybe what it takes to "correct" Cavell's yokel is an explicit disavowal of the very "make-believe" and "pretending" upon which theatre depends (1969: 326–7). And maybe, if the stereotype of the medieval yokel did not still endure today, we would have an easier time wondering about the ways in which early audiences might have been able to suspend simultaneously both their belief *and* their disbelief. As it happens, that is precisely what we must do if we wish to understand what was happening at Valenciennes.



In terms of theatre, the Valenciennes audience needed to find the staged miracles of wine, loaves, and fishes believable enough to consider that what was transpiring before their eyes was not only possible but historically real. That realism, aided scenically through the effective use of props, was all the more urgent in that any theatrical representation of a miracle performed by Christ had been designed as a faithful portrait of a sacred event held to be true. In other words, the distribution of the loaves and the fishes had to be true to history and "verisimilar" in its present sixteenth-century moment: "verisimilar," that is, in the sense understood by the learned medieval authors of mystery plays, who had been schooled in the trivium arts of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. For example, in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, one of the most widely disseminated texts of the European Middle Ages, the Pseudo-Cicero defined the very act of creative invention as "the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing."[27] Likewise articulating his theories in the context of law, a crucial motif of any Passion play making its own case, the first-century rhetorician Quintilian argued in his *Institutio oratoria* that, like the gifted actor, any good orator was obliged to understand probabilities, impersonation, and what he called, the "appearance of truth" or *verisimilia*. In a manner strikingly similar to Aristotle's celebrated discussion in *Poetics* 1461b, he acknowledged that "there are many things which are true, but scarcely credible, just as there are many things which are plausible though false. It will therefore require just as much exertion on our part to make the judge believe what we say when it is true as it will when it is fictitious."[28] In 1547, the performance of

Valenciennes had to look true enough to point to the truth of the very thing which never looks true to anyone but true believers: a miracle. It had to look true enough, moreover, at a time when Reformist thinkers were ruling certain books of the Old Testament apocryphal and when they were taking up the additional question of whether or not miracles were true divine signs or false diabolical acts which only resembled miracles (Farel 1525: 170).

In terms of theology, the very concept of the verisimilitude of miracles posed a problem. Theology demands the unbroken continuity of belief. If early Christianity asked audiences to suspend their disbelief, it was disbelief in certain normal physical operations of the universe, in which five loaves of bread cannot possibly yield five thousand pieces nor a single jug of wine one hundred glasses. Where a mystery play absolutely required verisimilitude to do justice to its divine subject, the theological subject itself demanded the *suspension* of verisimilitude. Such suspension is, of course, one of the great themes not only of theology but of some of the very earliest tropes of the medieval church. In the Easter trope at Beauvais, for instance, one of Christ's less consistent followers, the original doubting Thomas, explains that he requires physical proof of the Resurrection before he will believe: "Except I shall see the print of the nails, / And shall touch the wound with my finger, / And thrust my hand into his side, / Know this: I will never believe."[29] Indeed, both Catholic and Protestant theology would suggest in different ways that the faithful had no need to seek verisimilitude in religion because, in religion, it is faith – not verisimilitude – that matters. Although Thomas is eventually able to see, touch, and thus believe in Christ, the theological message of the trope is that, when communicating to an audience of believers, religion never really needs what theatre *always* needs: verisimilitude. Theology demands the *absence* of precisely what makes for the *presence* of theatre. Religious faith is based on what people *cannot* see: unless they happen to witness a miracle. The medieval theatre is based on what they *can* see. Whence the anomalies of the performance of religious drama: it deploys verisimilitude there where verisimilitude has no place. True faith *never* demands what theatre *always* demands: the credible evidence of the eyes (Lucian of Samosata 1936: 83). And what was happening at Valenciennes was plainly *in*credible on so many levels.



But was it incredible enough that, as antitheatrical polemicists of all ages feared, audiences would come to the conclusion that they were watching not sacred history but pagan fictions unfold before their eyes? The mimesis of Valenciennes speaks directly to larger cultural anxieties attendant upon the belief that a mystery play might merely be a fiction about religion – or, worse still, that religion itself, as Regina Schwartz so cleverly speculates, might be nothing more than a theatrical fiction (1998: 188). Each one of our scenarios problematizes both the theatricality of theology and the theology of theatricality in its own way.

1. *Divine miracle*. If a miracle actually occurred, that was a dicey matter in that, while faithful Christians believed in the scriptural miracle of the loaves and the fishes, there was no such thing as the *Valenciennes miracle* of the loaves and the fishes. Accustomed though they were to watching miracle plays and saints' lives in which "Many miracles occurred: / Deformed people were cured, / Many dead came back to life / And the blind saw again" (Cazelles, trans. 1991: 110, ll. 389–92), sixteenth-century audiences were not necessarily prepared to believe that miracles regularly recurred during their dramas. Such interventions would have called for *Deus* Himself: not *deus ex machina*.

Nor, however, does the presence of a certain degree of skepticism mean that spectators would doubt entirely the possibility of a new miracle of 1547. Legend had it, for instance, that God had already done something of the sort when the fourth-century actor Saint Genesius "proclaimed his conversion to Christianity publicly on the stage" (Larwood 1882: 230).

As preposterous as modern audiences might find an on-stage Valenciennes miracle of the loaves and the fishes, they might wish to think twice about casting the first stone. They might instead take a closer look at any number of modern legends about miraculous distributions. If, at least prior to 11 September 2001, modern New Yorkers amused themselves by telling tales about sudden financial windfalls coming their way in the form of dollar bills floating in the East River or falling out of the back of a wayward armored truck, so too might the Valenciennes spectators have hoped and believed that, if their God could perform a miracle once, he could do it again – and do it in the context of a play. Then again, it might not have been rational for even the most devout spectator to consider that God Himself would be

kind enough to time His new miracle so perfectly with the events of a Passion play performed in His honor. Perhaps the Devil was the *metteur en scène*.

2. *Diabolical appearance of a miracle*. The position that a diabolical trick would resemble on all accounts a miraculous act of God is consistent with the Reformist critique of both theatre and theology. For his part, Guillaume Farel had admonished that a miracle-maker was liable to be the Antichrist: "Jesus certainly warned us about the miracles to be performed at the time of the Antichrist . . . For anyone who looks closely, he will find no true miracle: only trickery and deception designed to make money . . . Hasn't He demonstrated and revealed in several places the falsity of miracles and of their inventors?"[30]

And, if modern aficionados of phenomenology would be quick to mock the audience of 1547 for excessive credulity in either God or the Devil, they might quickly find the tables turned on them. Postmodernists have responded with delight to Jean Baudrillard's meditation in which an imaginary man simulates a theft in a department store by going through all the real motions (including the surreptitious concealment of the not-really-to-be-stolen item inside his jacket). Of this simulation of stealing, Baudrillard determines that "the same gestures and the same signs exist as for a real theft; in fact the signs incline neither to one side nor the other" (Poster, trans. 1988: 178).

The signs of simulation at Valenciennes also refuse to be deciphered; and, again, there are more than two sides.

3. *No miracle; audience confusion*. Maybe Konigson was right when he declared that the Valenciennes miracle of the loaves and the fishes was a matter of technical wizardry: "The baskets of food should appear from trap doors. The apostles serve the crowd (*and the spectators*)."[31] Unanswered here are additional questions: Were those baskets full of real bread or pretend bread? And how much bread was distributed during the play, if any at all?

On one hand, it seems unrealistic to presume that even the most ambitious and well-funded theatre troupe would have had the budget to break bread with a thousand and drink wine with a hundred. It seems unrealistic despite the claims to that effect of the Rothschild manuscript, despite the accounting of BN fr. 12536, which documents an impressive production management



which netted the organizers a tidy profit of some 1230 livres, and despite d'Outreman's claim that the Valenciennes performance drew "a huge crowd there on account of the arrival of outsiders coming in from France, Flanders, and elsewhere."[32] Both scripturally and theatrically, the twelve baskets of left-over bread made for a plausible prop. Five thousand pieces of bread probably did not. Nor did the drastically diminished thousand pieces to which both d'Outreman and the Rothschild manuscript of the *Passion* commit.[33] Nor did anything remotely like a thousand fishes – even if Day Twelve had been performed on a Friday, when consumption of fish would have been a likely choice for Catholics, if not *de rigueur* for some Reformers (Farel 1525: 146). The multiplied fishes are never even mentioned in the props list or in the afterlife of the Valenciennes play – although the sight and, above all, the *smell* of such a stinky prop (even if of the dried variety) would have been as unforgettable as it might have been financially prohibitive to a theatre company.

On the other hand, modern scholars of the theatre would likely have little difficulty imagining a quick distribution scenario according to which one thousand persons could each receive a piece of bread with ushers assisting. Virginia Scott ingeniously speculated that communion practices at the large cathedral at Valenciennes might hint at the speed with which hundreds – even thousands – of people might each take their turn to receive a sacred Host.[34] Indeed, two of the three men charged with conceiving and copying the text of the *Passion* were actively involved in religious life and would thus have had great experience with the distribution of hosts or food to the masses: "My Lord Philipe Caraheu, priest" and "Roland Gerard, lay cleric."[35] Still, in the list of *dramatis personae* of BN fr. 12536, we know nothing about the everyday professions of Jehan Rasoir (who played Christ in the scenes in question), of the duo of Andrieu Polet and Simon du Long Pont (who played Saint Thomas), of Percheval Dangneau (Saint Andrew); or of Jacques de Horgny (Saint Peter) except this one detail which would have come in handy during that spectacular scene of the miracle of the loaves and the fishes: Jacques de Horgny was also a special effects man (*facteur de pluiseurs* [sic] *secrets*).[36] Even so, several elements mitigate against the conclusion so charmingly reached by the Rothschild manuscript that bread was "given to over one thousand persons

from amongst the spectators and twelve full baskets were collected."[37]

We note, for example, that the extant accounts refer to bulkier pieces of bread and not to thousands of wafer-thin communion hosts which would have been easily portable but which most emphatically would not have been distributed to the faithless. In any event, the impressive effects would scarcely have seemed "miraculous" had audience members received crumbs instead of pieces of bread. We also note that the two dramatic scenes which call for miraculous distributions – a wedding feast for the wine and numerous small groups reclining in a field for the loaves and fishes – would not have been characterized by the more orderly ecclesiastical processions normally associated with receiving communion. Furthermore, we note that the detailed accounting of the Valenciennes *Passion* of BN fr. 12536 is frustratingly circumspect about the nature of its props. The costs related to decor, sets, and materials for the stage are enumerated in painstaking detail; but there is no specific information about which costumes and stage-props (*ustensilles*) were used during the performances (although these were sold off publicly to recoup expenses once the entire production was over).[38] Needless to say, bread, fish, and wine would not have survived the resale: but those items never appear on the props list at all – except in the quite different context of an article which provides for a small subsidy of 18 deniers to each actor (young or old, male or female) for their refreshment at what appears to be a sort of "intermission bar" serving beer (light or dark) and wine.[39] This subsidy was intended for the actors' personal consumption: not for public distribution, miraculous or otherwise.

And yet, that is not to say that it was *impossible* that healthy quantities of foodstuffs were indeed distributed. Consider Petit de Julleville's assessment of an earlier Passion Play at Reims (1490) that was staged at Pentecost over a period of ten days and which reportedly drew as many as sixteen thousand spectators for its splendid Crucifixion: "women offered pastries and wine, in the name of the city, to the spectators and the actors" (*LM*, II, 57).[40] The difficulty here lies in the fact that he is citing Louis Paris, who articulates nothing at all about pastries and maintains instead that the actors arranged to distribute *fruit* and wine in *their* name: "And there were actors who had buffets laden with



ornate, silver dishware; and they arranged to have wine and fruit offered in their name."[41] Nor has any of this information yet to respond satisfactorily to the question at hand: In Valenciennes, what and how much was distributed to whom?

If we recall with Konigson that the apostles served both the crowd *and the spectators*, and with Petit de Julleville that some of those spectators had paid double to be seated upon the stage, then perhaps the only audience members to be served anything in 1547 were the ones whose higher-priced entry fee had bought them a bread-crust: the "upper crust," as it were.[42] After all, there are no outrageous numbers in Jean Michel's version of the same miraculous distribution, which was performed in Angers in 1486 and which was addressed by two stage directions: *"Here six of the apostles sit down and divide numerous loaves into quarters. And the other six serve bread to the people and serve from several plates of fishes . . . Here all the people and all the apostles partake."*[43] In Angers, it simply seems that a scaled-down feeding was limited to the bodies on the stage. In Valenciennes, the "somebodies" might well have been both actors and spectators who, whatever their numbers, would have engaged in the quintessential mission of a *mystère*: they *symbolized* Christ's massive following. Whether those masses were conveniently represented in Valenciennes by the "upper crust" or by others, precision of numbers (be it one hundred, one thousand, or five thousand), does not matter so much in a metaphorical head count.

Finally, there is a fourth possible scenario.

4. *No miracle; no confusion.* In a tradition as old as ancient Greece, maybe the Valenciennes spectators accommodated the appearance of a miracle with the appearance of belief. Once upon a time, when an actor playing the madness of Ajax so exaggerated the affliction that real madness erupted everywhere, certain audience members responded with a simulation of their own: "The politer sort understood, to be sure, and were ashamed of what was going on, but instead of censuring the thing by silence, they themselves applauded to cover the absurdity of the dancing, although they perceived clearly that what went on came from the madness of the actor, not that of Ajax" (Lucian of Samosata 1936: 83). So perhaps a metaphorical distribution of 1547 prompted the audience to respond by *pretending* to eat bread or fish that was not there. If apocrypha tell us that it was possible

in pre-Christian ancient Greece, then it should also be possible in the Christian Middle Ages.

Additionally, nothing in the extant accounts speaks to the variety of audience response. It is possible that some spectators were overjoyed to break bread with the actors, others disappointed not to get any, others pleased to play along and pretend that they did, or still others confused about the whole distribution process. One thing is certain. Whether they had just experienced a fantastic effect, a miracle, a collective hallucination, or a delicious snack in a country that still exalts today its divinely *haute cuisine*, their response is unlikely to have been uniform or unanimous. Sixteenth-century spectators might have believed in each one of our four scenarios: but not in all of them at the same time. And only the fourth scenario (no miracle, no confusion) makes room for the different dimensions of contextualized response.

Historiographically, each scenario is interesting because each one highlights the problems of anachronism in the interpretation of early audience responses to theatre. It should be perfectly plausible, for instance, to resolve that, while the vast majority of the Valenciennes audience believed in the New Testament miracle of the loaves and the fishes, they were not so silly and gullible as to mistake a technical *tour de force* for a sixteenth-century miracle. It was perfectly plausible, in other words, to believe simultaneously in the mysterious sacred truth of miracles and the metaphorically miraculous representation of a theatrical *Mystère*. In fact, Gustave Cohen made a similar argument as early as 1926 when he urged his skeptical colleagues to be more patient with the medieval theatre: "Our ancestors were hardly more gullible than we are: they knew full well that Jerusalem lay at a distance of more than twenty-five centimeters from Damas[cus], but they were happy to let themselves be seduced. We are a bit more difficult, the magic has spoiled us, that's all" (1926: 70).[44] Today it remains just as pertinent to refuse to allow magic to spoil the complexity of medieval theatricality.

In the end, the theatricality of Valenciennes may well have been complex; but, in all likelihood, the 1547 *Passion* has been infinitely more confusing to antitheatrical polemicists and infinitely more problematic to theologians than it ever was to the original sixteenth-century spectators. Although there are at least four distinct possibilities for what those spectators believed about what



they were seeing, there is no evidence (beyond d'Outreman's disdain) to suggest that they were confused in the slightest. Whatever the length of time required by individual spectators to come to a conclusion about what was happening during the miracle of the loaves and the fishes – a few seconds, a few minutes, a few hours – the theatrical process led them to conclusions that were not confusing. That is the case notwithstanding d'Outreman's assertions to the contrary and notwithstanding the distressed response by contemporaneous theologians and contemporary critics to those conclusions. If some Valenciennes spectators believed that they had seen a new miracle of 1547, then they were not confused. Nor were other spectators confused if they believed that the Devil had put in an unambiguously unmiraculous appearance. Nor were others if the miraculous effect was due to trap doors. Nor were others if there was nothing especially miraculous or even convincing about that special effect. The confusion arises when critics of the sixteenth-century audience (of yesterday and today) retrofit *upon* that audience their own confusion about the theological ramifications of theatricality *for* that audience.

In that sense, the ultimate irony is the realization that the very critics who were most invested in the topos of the naively confused sixteenth-century audience failed to see that, by comparison to the indeterminacies of performance, the original New Testament miracle of the loaves and the fishes emerges as remarkably stable. The scriptural narrative is a single, unquestionable, unambiguous historical scenario uncontroverted by Christians: a miracle performed. Despite the longstanding ecclesiastical malaise about the theatre, the sacred history of miracles would likely have seemed not less true but more true because of theatricality.

Although postmodernists are largely enchanted by the indeterminacies of theatre, it is often difficult for the contemporary theorist to see in religion anything but a coercive ideological system which imposes strict binaries upon belief – perhaps because theologians have been known to see it that way. At the risk of undermining the preceding pages, I submit that Valenciennes presents a problem less of theatricality than of religious historiography. It was the Catholic church (along with the seventeenth-century champion it found in Henry d'Outreman) – and even the new Reformation churches – which expressed their concerns

that audiences might have difficulty telling the difference between history, illusion, and reality. Indeed, the Catholic church actively discouraged theatre audiences from seeking clarification on theological matters if such clarification would have necessitated recourse to the printed Protestant Bibles that were flooding the market (Lebègue 1929b: 58; 1929a: 111, *LM*, II, 80). Too much knowledge of the wrong sort was a dangerous thing. Too much knowledge is the essence of the theatricality of Valenciennes; for the spectacle of 1547 shows us that, even in the genre of seeming, verisimilitude, and probabilities, truth matters.

There is something profoundly theatrical about the ways in which individuals construct truth, be it through the evidence of the eyes, the internal psychodramas of *sic et non*, or the inductive replaying of a lifetime of experiences (Enders 1999: 25–48). Austin may well have affirmed that "'true' and 'false' are just general labels for a whole dimension of different appraisals which have something or other to do with the relation between what we say and the facts" (1970: 237–8). But he also asked and answered this question: "What, finally, is the importance of all this about pretending . . . ? Truth is" (219).[45] Be it theatrical or theological, truth *does* matter; and, even if we cannot determine it, there *is* a truth to Valenciennes. But there is something else that might matter even more to those investigating questions of theatricality. The chicken or egg question – "Is theology like theatre?" or "Is theatre like theology?" – is ultimately less important than the inescapable conclusion that the life's blood of religion and theatre each seem more real when permeated with the theatricality of the other.

NOTES

1. See Bibliothèque Nationale, Fond français (BNF) Rothschild I.7.3, *Le Mistére par personnaiges de la vie . . . en 25 iournées*; and another version of the *Mystère de la Passion de Valenciennes* of BN fr. 12536, often referred to as the *Premiere journée de la Passion de Jesu Christ* (although all twenty-five days are represented). When I refer to the Valenciennes *Passion*, I give the manuscript number to avoid confusion. BN fr. 12536 is also illustrated by Cailleau. I wish to acknowledge Dorothy Chansky and Virginia Scott for their invaluable feedback.



2. See Konigson 1969, hereafter *MPV*: 64; and Petit de Julleville 1880, hereafter *LM*, II, 155.
3. "Item aussy aux noepces dArchitéclin ou leau quon versa dans les quennes deva[n]t tous fut muee en vin et dont en burent plus de cent personnes des spectateurs et aultres beaulx secretz furent veuz" (Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 99v). The easiest access to this manuscript is through Konigson, who cites this passage with orthographic variation (*MPV*, 92); as does Petit de Julleville (*LM*, II, 155). All translations from French are mine unless otherwise indicated.
4. "Item ung aultre biau secret au miracle des cincq pains dorge et deux poissons que Iesus multiplia sans voyr nulle apparence de sorte qu'on rua et donna a plus de mille personnes des spectateurs et en fut recoeuilliet XII corbeilles plaines" (Rothschild I.7.3; fol. 162r; also cited in *MPV*, 103; and *LM*, II, 155).
5. I use "medieval" expansively here: plays composed between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries are "medieval," even when performed in the sixteenth century.
6. "Jehan Rasoir, jueur de pluiseurs parchons entre lesquelles veult juer la presence de Nostre Redempteur Jhesuschrist" (BN fr. 12536, fol. 294r; also cited in *LM*, II, 147).
7. For revisions of Austinian "infelicities" on stage, see Gould 1995, Enders 2002: 55–78.
8. "Et appert bien que par devotion / Avez joué, sans ostentation" (Jean Bouchet, Epistle 90; cited in *LM*, II, 124).
9. "Hommes graves qui savoient si bien *feindre*, par signes et gestes, les personnages qu'il représentoient, que la pluspart des assistants *jugeoient la chose être vraie et non feinte*" (Chaumeau 1566: 156; cited by Thiboust 1836: 10–11; and later in *LM*, II, 133).
10. "Regectées et en ce non comprinses aucunes addicions particulieres que aucuns des joueurs d'iceluy mistere y cuiderent adjouster à leurs plaisances, pour ce qu'elles estoient impertinentes à la matiere" (cited by Lebègue 1929a: 8).
11. "Ajoutant, pour les allonger, plusieurs choses apocryphes, et entremettant à la fin ou au commencement du jeu farces lascives et momeries" (cited by Sainte-Beuve 1869: 193).
12. "Le Diable . . . pretendoit par ces fadaises d'ouvrir la porte aux sacrileges de Luther, & de Calvin, lardant ces comedies, & spectacles d'entre-ieux, & farces profanes: qui mettoient au rabais la dignité des choses sacrées, & des Ministres de l'Eglise. . . ." (d'Outreman 1639: pt. II, ch. 16, 395).
13. Luther himself had approved of schoolboys performing biblical plays so long as there was no satire or error. For a case of a theatrical performance of 1559 erupting in heretical outbursts from the audience, see Enders 2002: 156–68.

14. "Car ce n'est nostre intention, / De mesler la Religion / Dans le sujet des choses feinctes; / Aussi jamais les lettres sainctes / Ne furent données de Dieu, / Pour en faire après quelque jeu" (cited by Parfaict 1745–9: III, 229–30n; and by Lebègue 1929b: 290).
15. "A la reale verité, / il n'estoit pas resuscité / et n'estoit rien que enchanterie, / que fantosme, que resverie, / que ung corps faint, que une fiction / de ceste resurrection / du Lazare dont on fait feste" (Michel's *Passion*, ed. Jodogne 1959: 14938–44; see also 14007–14). The troubling topic of anti-Semitism lies beyond the scope of the present study.
16. "Les miracles et aultres choses qui sont advenues ne nous doibvent mouvoir aulcunement, pour nous tirer hors de la parolle de Dieu et prendre aultre foy et creance que selon la parolle de Dieu" (Farel 1525: 170).
17. "Ce grondement duquel les prebtres usent envers le pain et le vin est mieulx seant aux sorciers et enchanteurs que aux crestiens" (cited by Pasquier de le Barre, *Journal*, 311–12). Compare Farel 1525: 224. See also Diehl 1997 on Calvin and John Foxe: 103–5.
18. Compare with "true belief" as understood by Stanislavsky 1936; and Knapp and Benn Michaels 1982.
19. The easiest access to this material is through Petit de Julleville, who reproduces a long excerpt in *LM*, II, 144–52.
20. "Henry d'Oultreman, superintendent et jueur de aulcune[s] parchons et avecq che conducteur des secret[s], lesquels il estoit oportun en infer" (BN fr. 12536, fol. 293v; also cited in *LM*, II, 146).
21. "Les secrets du Paradis, & de l'Enfer estoient tout à faict prodigieux, & capables d'estre pris par la populace pour enchantemens . . . Les ames de Herodes, & de Iudas estoient emportées en l'air par les Diables; les Diables chassés des corps, les hydropiques & autres malades gueris, le tout d'une façon admirable." *Admirable* means both "miraculous" and "to be admired." For more information on these texts, including variations and errors in transmission, see Enders 2002: 156–68.
22. "On y vit l'eau changée en vin, mais si mysterieusement, qu'on ne le pouvoit croire: & plus de cent personnes de l'auditoire voulurent gouster de ce vin; les cinc pains, & les deux poissons y furent semblablement multipliés, & distribués à plus de mille personnes: nonobstant quoy il y en eut douze corbeilles de reste. . . . Les autres miracles advenus à la mort de Nostre Sauveur furent representés avec des nouveaux miracles."
23. "Il y a en La compagnie / ung pety enfant josne et tendre / Lequel pour soubstenir sa vie / a cincq pain[s] de orge quoy que on en die / Et deux poissons sambablement" (Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 168r; also cited in *MPV*, 106). Compare, e.g., to John 6: 8–14: "And one of his disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto him, 'There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes: but what are they among so many?'" (also Luke 9: 13–17; Mark 6: 30–43; Matthew 14: 13–21).



24. "*Jésus*: En aves vous asses enfantz[?] / *Ensamble*: Ouy segneur" (Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 168r).
25. In the Valenciennes *Passion*, Jesus says: "Mes amis Chier / soies les Relief Recoeulons / quilz ne perissent En ches camps" (Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 168r; also in *MPV*, 106).
26. "*Andrieu*: douz corbelle nous avons / Emplis" (Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 168v; also in *MPV*, 106).
27. "Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut *veri similium* quae causam *probabilem* reddant" ([Cicero], ed. Caplan, I, 3, my emphasis).
28. "Sunt enim plurima vera quidem, sed parum credibilia, sicut falsa quoque frequenter verisimilia. Quare non minus laborandum est, ut iudex, quae vere dicimus quam quae fingimus, credat" (Quintilian, IV, 2.34. See also IV, 2.89; VI, 2.26–7).
29. "Nisi fixuram clavorum videro, / et digito vulnus palpavero, / atque manum in latus misero, / hoc sciatis, nunquam credidero" (ll. 62–5; in *Ordo ad peregrinum in secunda feria pasche ad vesperas*, ed. and trans. Bevington 1975: 48–9).
30. "Nostre bon maistre Jesus nous a assez adverty des miracles qui debvoient estre faictz au temps de l'Antechrist . . . Car qui bien y regarderoit, on ne trouveroit aulcun vray miracle, mais toute tromperie et de deception pour attraper argent . . . N'a-il pas demonstré et revelé en plusieurs lieux la faulseté des miracles et des inventeurs d'iceulx?" (Farel 1525: 170–2).
31. "Secret de la multiplication des pains et des poissons. Les paniers de nourriture doivent apparaître par les trappes. Les apôtres servent la foule *(et les spectateurs)*" (*MPV*, 106, my emphasis).
32. "La foule y fut si grande, pour l'abord des estrangers, qui y vindrent de France, de Flandre, & d'ailleurs" (d'Outreman 1639: 396). On the financial profit at Valenciennes, see *LM*, II, 152; and *MPV*, 21.
33. See Rothschild I.7.3; fol. 162r; and d'Outreman 1639: 396; above notes 4 and 22.
34. Virginia Scott and Gary Jay Williams both discussed this with me on 17 November 2001.
35. "Mesire Philipe Caraheu, prebstre, originateur et escripveu[r] des xxv original," "Roland Gerard clercq du beguinaige, fabricateur selon le arth de rethorique de la plus grande partye des jeu et originateur" (BN fr. 12536, fol. 294r, also cited in *LM*, II, 146).
36. For the distribution of these roles, see BN fr. 12536, fols. 294r–295v, also cited in *LM*, II, 147–9.
37. Rothschild I.7.3, fol. 162r; see above note 4.

38. "Item que quand tout fut achevet on fist une revendue en publicq de tous les habillements et utensilles lesquel[s] avoient serviz a juer ladicte passion" (BN fr. 12536, fol. 296v, also cited in *LM*, II, 151, and in *MPV*, 21).
39. "Item pour fournir a ce qu'est devisé en l'onsiesme article del obligation susdite, on distribuoit a checun superintendens, originateurs, jueurs et administrateurs vieulx et jeunes, et les filles autant que les homes, la some de XVIII denier pour rechyner et soy recreer entre deux cambrées ensambles ou a part, et povoient recouvrer audict lieu tout les escoutant come les jueurs, vin, cervoise forte et petite, et tout che quy estoit necessaire pour rechyner en payant" (BN fr. 12536, fol. 296, cited in *LM*, II, 151).
40. "Durant le jeu des femmes présentaient, au nom de la ville, du vin et des pâtisseries aux spectateurs et aux acteurs."
41. "Et durant ces actes, l'on présentoit du vin tous les jours, de la part de la ville, à ceulx qui estoient spectateurs de l'action. Les femmes estoient préposées pour présenter vin et les patisseries à ceulx qui jouaient: et y avoient des acteurs qui avoient des buffets tous couverts de vaisselle d'argent et bien ornez, et faisoient présenter vin et fruits en leur nom: ce qui se faisoit tous les jours" (Paris 1843: I, 60).
42. "Et cheux lesque[ls] voloient monter sus ung hordement lequel on avoit faict audict lieu payointe XII deniers" (BN fr. 12536, fol. 296v; cited by Petit de Julleville, *LM*, II, 152, and Konigson, *MPV*, 21).
43. "*Ycy s'assient six des apostres et departent le pain par quartiers a grand nombre. Et les autres six servent le peuple de pain et de pluseurs platz de poyssons*" (Michel's *Passion*, ed. Jodogne 1959: after 10124); and "*Ycy menguent tout le peuple et tous les apostres*" (after 10140). The stage direction in Gréban's *Passion* says only that the disciples "serve the people" (*ilz servent le peuple*) (ed. Jodogne 1965: after 12891).
44. "Nos ancêtres n'étaient pas beaucoup plus crédules que nous, il se doutaient bien que Jérusalem était séparé de Damas par plus de 25 centimètres, mais il se laissaient volontiers séduire; nous sommes un peu plus difficiles, la féerie nous a gâtés, voilà tout."
45. This statement only apparently contradicts the previous one, which applies to the declarative value of "Performative Utterances" instead of to "Pretending" per se.