Charpentier’s Music for Molière’s *Le Malade imaginaire* and Its Revisions

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When, in 1673, Marc-Antoine Charpentier composed his first full-scale comédie-ballet in collaboration with the playwright Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (dit Molière), he became involved in the bitter struggle between Molière and Jean-Baptiste Lully. Throughout the 1660s, *les deux Baptistes* had worked closely in providing, for the entertainment of Louis XIV, a series of experiments combining theater, ballet, vocal solos and ensembles, and machine effects.¹ But by the spring of 1672, Lully had decided that his own future lay in opera. Observing the successes of Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert, initially with *La Pastorale d’Issy* (1659) and later with *Pomone* (1671), Lully wrested from Perrin (who was incarcerated for debt) the royal privilege for the Académie Royale de Musique and, soon after, obtained a series of draconian decrees designed systematically to reduce his musical competition.² On Colbert’s advice, Lully formulated a new privilège, which, in effect, gave him dictatorship over all musical performances in the whole of France: no public concerts were permitted without his authority, Parisian theater troupes were prohibited from “putting on plays accompanied with more than two airs


and two instruments," and no one in the kingdom could perform any stage work that was sung throughout, under penalty of ten thousand livres fine and confiscation of the theater, decorations, machines, and costumes. As soon as this agreement became known, there was an uproar from musicians and actors alike. Molière appealed to the king, who persuaded Lully to modify his exorbitant restrictions.

Letters Patent, formally canceling the privilège granted to Perrin and assigning it to Lully, were drawn up on 13 March 1672 and were made effective by the royal council on 14 April, in spite of opposition. A later ordinance obtained on 12 August 1672 prohibited theater troupes in Paris from employing more than six singers and twelve instrumentalists and, furthermore, proscribed the hiring of musicians in Lully's current employ or of dancers on the royal payroll. On 15 November 1672 Lully's Académie Royale de Musique opened its doors in a remodeled tennis court on the rue Vaugirard (Jeu de Paume de Bel-Air). The collaboration of Molière and Lully had ended.

Molière soon found another musical colleague in Charpentier, recently returned from Rome and his studies with Giacomo Carissimi. A revival of Molière's Le Médecin malgré lui on 28 June 1672 may have marked their first collaboration. In this version of the play, a new

3 "Faire aucunes représentations accompagnées de plus de deux airs et deux instruments." Quoted in Julien Tiersot, La Musique dans la comédie de Molière (Paris, 1922), p. 130.

4 The "Établissement de l'Académie Royale de musique en faveur du Sieur de Lully" is reprinted in Demuth, French Opera, pp. 282–83; and in Benoit, Musiques de cour, pp. 37–38.

5 Cited in Tiersot, La Musique dans la comédie de Molière, p. 130. Demuth, French Opera, p. 118, states that "the idea for a monopoly in stage musical productions came from Molière, who had confided his plan to Lully when he was his collaborator."

6 Carissimi was then musical director at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum. According to the Mercure galant, February 1681, Charpentier spent three years in Rome, where he studied with Carissimi. It is not known whether he actually attended the college or served as one of its musicians, but he certainly was familiar with (and perhaps even performed in) some of Carissimi's oratorios; the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses a copy of Carissimi's Jephé in Charpentier's handwriting (VM1 1477). No doubt Charpentier received his first instruction in musical theater in Rome from Carissimi. This led to the many theatrical works he later wrote for the Jesuit colleges in and around Paris. See Robert W. Lowe, Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'opéra de collège (Paris, 1966). Upon his return to Paris, Charpentier may have performed in the orchestra for the premiere of Psyché (1671), and later in Le Ballet des ballets (1672), which would have brought him into contact with Molière: the livrets printed by Ballard for the court premières of these two works (FMn, ThB 2078 and ThB 2392) list a Charpentier among the violins in the orchestra for the "Air pour les Polichinelles & les Matassins" of the Entrée de la Suite de Mome in both works (Le Ballet des ballets included excerpts from Psyché, as well as other comédies-ballets). If this violinist is indeed Marc-Antoine Charpentier, it is the earliest known reference to him in Paris.
drinking song ("Qu'ils sont doux, bouteille jolie!") would have been required to replace Lully's original song in the first act. Their subsequent collaboration on the Parisian premiere of La Comtesse d'Estarbagnas was more ambitious and featured a new musical version of Le Mariage forcé, which replaced Le Ballet des ballets, Lully's original pastiche of the king's favorite selections from other comédies-ballets, which had been performed at the court premiere. Since Lully owned the rights to the original musical intermèdes to Le Mariage forcé, Molière was obliged to replace them with new verses, which were set to music by Charpentier. This production opened at the Palais-Royal on Friday, 8 July 1672, and was given fourteen times that summer.

Charpentier also participated in a brief revival of Molière's Les Fâcheux, performed before slender audiences during the long, dull season at the end of the summer of 1672. Originally written and performed in 1661 with dances by Beauchamps, Les Fâcheux included a sung courante for which Lully had provided the music. According to one of the troupe's registers, Charpentier was paid on 30 August 1672 for a production that included "danse, symphonie, et musique"—"musique" referring to vocal music. Possibly Charpentier wrote some music to replace Lully's courante, which is lost or remains to be identified.

In anticipation of the Carnival season of 1673, Molière began to prepare a new comédie-ballet, with the intent of regaining Louis XIV's support and receiving his royal invitation for a court premiere. Molière was approached by Charles Coyepeau (dit Dassoucy), an old friend, poet, musician, and fellow libertin, whom Molière knew from his provincial tours. Dassoucy had heard about Molière's split with Lully and, with hopes of renewing their prior association, offered to

7 Found in Recueil complet de vaudevilles et airs choisis (Paris, 1753), p. 2 (F-PeF), where it is dated 1666 and attributed to Lully. J. B. Weckerlin, Souvenirs du temps passé (Paris, 1861), p. 22, correctly attributes the air to Charpentier on the evidence of a concordant manuscript source that bears the composer's name. H. Wiley Hitchcock, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Comédie-Française," this JOURNAL, XXIV (1971), 277, n. 59, suggests the possibility of a later date. Three versions of this sung air (including the version cited above) are given in Eugène Despois and Paul Mesnard, eds., Œuvres de Molière, VI (Paris, 1881), 121–22.

8 For this production, Le Mariage forcé was apparently performed as a musical play-within-the-play. For Charpentier's music, see John S. Powell, ed., Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Music for Molière's Comedies (Madison, forthcoming).

9 "Registre d'Hubert" (see n. 27), entries for 30 August to 4 October 1672 (F-PeF). See also William Leonard Schwartz, "Molière's Theater in 1672–1673: Light from Le Registre d'Hubert," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, LVI (1941), 395–427.
write incidental music "purely for [his] own pleasure." But Dassoucy, by then in his seventies, had lost what comic gift and musical talent he once possessed, and Molière chose, instead, the younger Charpentier. In an open letter addressed to Molière, Dassoucy sarcastically remarked:

I was both charmed and surprised with the news I heard yesterday; I am told that you are on the brink of giving your machine play to the incomparable M... to set to music, even though his musical settings do not entirely measure up to your noble lyrics and even though this man—who is without doubt an oddball—is, however, not so odd that some similar specimen might be found in the [asylum of the] Incurables.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\) "Si vous daignez vous souvenir de la promesse que vous me fites lorsque je vous allai voir durant votre dernière maladie, aujourd'hui que perdant M. de Lully, vous ne sauriez tomber que de bien haut, possible que vous ne tomberez pas au moins du ciel en terre, vous auriez quelque pitié de vos chers enfants, qui sont à la veille de se rompre le col, et ne les sacrifieriez pas à l'ignorance de ceux qui ne me connaissent pas ou à l'envie de ceux qui me connaissent... vous ayant offert et vous offrant encore par cette lettre de faire votre musique purement pour mon plaisir, et d'ailleurs ne pouvant douter ni de l'affection que j'ai toujours eue pour votre personne, ni de l'estime que j'ai de votre mérite, non plus que de ma capacité..." ("If you deign to remember the promise you made to me when I saw you during your last illness, today, in losing M. de Lully, you managed to fall only from the highest position possible were you to fall from the heavens to the earth; you might show some pity for your dear children, who are on the brink of breaking their necks, and not sacrifice them to the ignorance of those who do not know me, nor, just as bad, to those who do;... having offered you before and offering you again by this letter to write your music purely for my own pleasure, and otherwise not doubting either the affection that I have always had for you, or the esteem that I have for your merit, any more than my own capacity...") Cited in Mongrédiien, Recueil des textes, I, 400. Toward the end of his life, Dassoucy wrote another epistle, this time in verse, decrying his fate at Molière's hand:

J'ai toujours été serviteur
De l'incomparable Molière,
Et son plus grand admirateur...
Que voulez-vous? C'est un malheur,
L'abondance fut la misère,
Et le petit et pauvre hère
Ne quadre point à gros seigneur.

I have always been the faithful servant
Of the incomparable Molière,
And his greatest admirer...
But what do you want? This is a misfortune,
Abundance flies from misery,
And the poor little devil
Does not square with the great lord.


\(^{11}\) "Je fus charmé et surpris tout ensemble d'une nouvelle que j'appris hier; on m'assura que vous étiez sur le point de donner votre pièce de machines à l'incompar-
The machine play to which Dassoucy refers must be Molière's final comédie-ballet, Le Malade imaginaire. Molière and Charpentier may have been collaborating on this new musical production as early as the summer of 1672, since on 10 July the composer was reimbursed by the company for several trips undertaken to Molière's home in the suburban village of Auteuil.12

Le Malade imaginaire was Charpentier's first major work for the Parisian stage, and it was his only opportunity to work in direct collaboration with Molière on a production from its conception through the final stages of rehearsal and performance. Charpentier was called upon to create a musical equivalent for Molière's unique blend of farce, fantasy, and social satire. Pastoral allegory, Italianate coloratura, slapstick, and Moorish music all have their place in Charpentier's score.13 The musical fantasy world created by Charpentier and Molière culminates in the final Cérémonie des Médecins, where reality has no place, the language (half spoken, half sung) is in a quasi-Latinate gibberish, and apothecaries' mortars and pestles are used as percussion instruments in the orchestra.

Rehearsals for Le Malade imaginaire began on 22 November 1672 and continued into February of 1673.14 The long-awaited invitation...
from Louis XIV never arrived, possibly due to the political machinations of Lully, who no longer wished to share with Molière either the stage or the king’s graces. Instead, the entertainment opened at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal on 10 February 1673 before a Parisian audience. The lengthy period of preparation may well have been extended because of the declining state of Molière’s health, brought on by years of overwork, during which he pursued a dual career as a successful playwright and comic actor, and combined with the stress of his terrible struggles against rival companies and bigots, the worries as manager of the company, his matrimonial crises (which, La Grange testifies, he frequently acted out in his comedies), the constant demands of the king, which could not be ignored, and his difficulties with the ambitious Lully.

*Le Malade imaginaire* is a devastating satire of the abuses of contemporary medicine—Molière’s last attack upon the pseudoscience of the doctors—and reflects its author’s preoccupation with his own poor health.15 The rehearsals took their toll, and by opening night Molière’s condition had worsened. A week later, during his fourth performance in the leading role of Argan, the hypochondriac, Molière suddenly fell ill while performing in the Cérémonie des Médecins and died at his home shortly thereafter. Further performances were postponed until 3 March, by which time the actor La Thorillière was prepared to replace Molière in the title role.16

15 Three years earlier Molière had been lampooned in a farce entitled *Elomire hypochondre* ("Elomire" being an anagram for Molière), which accused him of thinking he was in the throes of consumption, whereas, in fact, his illness was imaginary. In this final play, born of his own suffering and produced when he must have been aware that his illness was mortal, Molière turns his own condition to the same comic account as he had already done the foibles of others.

16 Documented in *Le Registre de La Grange*, I, 142–43 (see n. 27): "Ce mesme Jour aprez la Comedie sur les 10 heures du soir Monsieur de Moliere mouriast dans sa maison[,] Rue de Richelieu, ayant joué le roolde dud' malade Imaginaire, fort Incommode d’un Rhume et fuction sur la poitrine qui luy Causoit Une grande toux de sorte que dans les grans Effortz qu’il fist pour cracher[,] il se rompit une veyne dans le Corps et ne vescut pas demye heure ou trois quartz d’heures depuis ladr veyne Rompue. Son Corps Est Enterré a St. Josef[,] ayde de la paroisse St. Eustache. Il y a une tombe Eslevée d’un pied hors de terre.

Dans le desordre ou la troupe se trouva aprez cette perte Irreparable le Roy eust desssein de joindre les acteurs qui la composoient aux Comediens de l’hostel de bourgogne[,] Cependant aprez avoir esté le dimanche 19 et mardy 21 sans Jouer En attendant les ordres du Roy[,] on recommencea le Vendredy 24me fevrier[,] par le misantrope.”

("This very day, after the comedy, at ten in the evening, M. de Molière died in his home on the rue de Richelieu, having played the role of the aforementioned imaginary invalid and greatly hampered by a rhume et fuction in his chest, which gave him a terrible cough, so that in the great effort he made to spit he ruptured a vein in his chest.
The early performances of Le Malade imaginaire were upset by the untimely death of the troupe’s director and leading actor. Thereafter, musical life in Parisian theater was a struggle to survive in the face of Lully’s active opposition.

Charpentier continued as the leading composer for the Troupe de Guénégaud (as Molière’s company was called after his death) and, later, for the Comédiens du Roy (the Comédie-Française). Throughout his active musical career (ca. 1672–1704), Charpentier furnished music for some twenty productions, including revivals of Molière’s earlier comédies-ballets. During this time he constantly had to contend with Lully’s ordinances, which further reduced his musical resources. Four days after Molière’s death, on 21 February 1673, Lully obtained from the king a decree (made effective on 30 April) forbidding theaters from employing more than two singers and six violins and limiting these to musicians not in the employ of the Académie Royale de Musique. This restriction forced Charpentier to revise his intermèdes to Le Malade imaginaire for the 1674 season by reducing most of the sung music to two parts.

Charpentier’s revisions of his music for Le Malade imaginaire have created confusion for modern scholars interested in reconstructing this entertainment. The two livrets printed for the 1673 première and

and did not live a half hour or three-quarters after the mentioned vein broke. His body was interred at St. Joseph, aided by the parish priest of St. Eustache. There is a tomb erected a foot above ground.

“In the turmoil in which the troupe was thrown after this irreparable loss, the king planned to combine the actors composing the troupe with the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Meanwhile, having not performed Sunday the 10th and Tuesday the 21st while awaiting orders from the king, we began again Friday, February 24th, with Le Miastre.”

According to the “Registre d’Hubert,” the final nine performances of the season were given “au double” (raised prices). The king’s brother and his wife attended the Sunday performance (5 March): “Monsieur et Madame sont venus avec toute leur suite ce jour d’huy” (“Monsieur and Madame came today with their entire entourage”).

17 These revivals of Molière’s works include: Le Malade imaginaire (4 May 1674 and 11 January 1686); Psyché (5 October 1684); Le Sicilien (4 January 1695); and Le Dépit amoureux (date unknown). See Hitchcock, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Comédie-Française,” pp. 255–81, for a full account of Charpentier’s association with the Comédiens du Roy. Charpentier’s music for Le Malade imaginaire (Premier Intermède and the Act II, scene 5, duet), Le Sicilien, and Le Mariage forcé is included in Powell, ed., Marc-Antoine Charpentier.

18 Names of four singers, however, appear in the expense lists, and probably the comédiens themselves participated as choristers in the finale—as some did for the 1675 performances of Thomas Corneille’s machine play Ciché (see n. 88). Lully’s 30 April ordinance is reproduced in Pierre Mélese, Le Théâtre et le public à Paris sous Louis XIV, 1659–1715 (Paris, 1934), pp. 417–18, where it is misdated 1672 (see n. 101).
the 1674 revival provide lyrics for music hitherto thought lost, that is, music missing from Charpentier’s autograph manuscripts contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Moreover, the music is found in two different volumes, its parts scattered and disorganized. For the first major revision in 1674, Charpentier reused some of the original music and put it together with his newly composed music and verbal notes. A second revision, possibly carried out in 1685, refers to music of both the original and the 1674 versions and adds some new music of its own.19

Scholars have long lamented the loss of most of the Premier Intermède music (although two vocal selections were rediscovered in a publication of Charpentier’s music from Thomas Corneille’s machine play Cîrçè).20 Also missing is the only music performed in the context of the spoken play, Act II, scene 5, where the lovers Cléante and Angélique perform “un petit opéra impromptu” for her fiancé and father. Three attempts have been made to reconstruct this missing music, either by adding newly composed music or by borrowing music written by Charpentier for other works.21

19 Hitchcock, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Comédie-Française,” p. 258, n. 13, explains the disorder in Charpentier’s autographs: “Of the three cabiers in which music for the First Version is included, cabier XVI (containing now only the original overture) is the ‘correct’ one: when Charpentier began his Second Version, he must have removed from this cabier the music of the second and third intermèdes (presumably because they were not altered for the Second Version) and put it in cabier XVII with the other materials of the revision; he also, and probably even earlier, removed his setting of Molière’s original prologue from its position following the First Version overture and gave it (arbitrarily, it would seem) the cabier number 1.” The title pages of Charpentier’s versions carry the headings: “Ouverture du prologue du Malade imaginaire [with “dans sa splendeur” apparently added later]” (XVI, fol. 49: “Overture to the Prologue of Le Malade imaginaire ‘in its splendor’”); “Le Malade imaginaire avec les deffences” (XVI, fol. 52: “Le Malade imaginaire before the prohibitions”); “Le Malade imaginaire rajusté autrement pour la 3ème fois” (VII, fol. 34: “Le Malade imaginaire again revised for the 3rd time”).

20 See n. 21.

21 Camille Saint-Saëns published an arrangement of the intermèdes for Le Malade imaginaire (Paris, [1894]) in which he included much of his own music along with Charpentier’s; Saint-Saëns’s emendations are considerable, and the original design of Charpentier and Molière is all but unrecognizable. Saint-Saëns chose to ignore the troublesome Premier Intermède, and he provided his own music for the Act II, scene 5, duet. In 1925 Julien Tiersot published a reconstruction of this intermède (Polichinelle [Paris]), largely based on his discovery of the two Italian songs in Airs de la comédie de Cîrçè. Tiersot borrowed music from other Charpentier works to fill out his reconstruction, and he provided for the singing Night Watch his own music composed in the style of Charpentier. The most recent edition is that of H. Wiley Hitchcock, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Prologues et intermèdes du Malade imaginaire de Molière (Geneva, 1973). A scholarly edition of the music contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale autographs (supplemented by Airs de la comédie de Cîrçè for the Premier
While working on this problem in the archive of the Comédie-Française in Paris, I came upon a collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theater music that had escaped the attention of modern musical scholars. Entitled “Théâtre français, Tom II,” this collection is the only extant source of the music for *Le Malade imaginaire* that is missing from Charpentier’s “Mélanges autographes.” For numbers common to the two sources, the correspondence between their respective readings is striking, with only minor variants in rhythm or melody. Together with the music of Charpentier’s “Mélanges autographes,” the score contained in “Théâtre français, Tom II” makes available for the first time all of the music that Charpentier wrote for Molière’s comedy (see Table 10).

With the discovery of this important source, it is also possible to piece together an explanation of Charpentier’s multiple versions of his score for *Le Malade imaginaire*. Four general categories of seventeenth-century sources and documents form the basis of these reconstructions. The first of these comprises the primary musical sources: Charpentier’s “Mélanges autographes” (F: Pn, Ms Rés Vm 259) and

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23 This similarity of readings leads one to wonder whether the score version of “Théâtre français, Tom II” was assembled from the original performing parts.

the manuscript copy in "Théâtre français, Tom II." A second important source is Charpentier's instructions included with the music in the autograph manuscripts. A third category of literary sources is the extant livrets printed for the first run of Le Malade imaginaire in 1673 and for the 1674 revival. These livrets contain the sung and spoken words of the intermèdes along with staging descriptions and are particularly helpful in explaining the 1674 revisions. A fourth important category of documents encompasses the theatrical chronicles, financial records, and notes on the mise-en-scène kept by members of Molière's original company (the Troupe du Roy) and later by the Troupe de Guénégaud and by the Comédiens du Roy. From these financial records we can witness the effects of Lully's restrictions on the numbers of singers, dancers, and instrumentalists performing in theatrical productions.

One of the first problems encountered with Charpentier's score is the existence of two prologues. The original prologue, entitled "Eglogue en musique et en danse," was written on the assumption that, as usual, Molière and his Troupe du Roy would be invited by Louis XIV to present the première performance of Le Malade imaginaire at court. Designed as a pastoral compliment to the king in

Notes pertaining to the different prologues can be found in Vol. XIII, fols. 1-40; Vol. XVI, fols. 52r-53r; Vol. VII, fols. 34v, 51r-51v; to the Premier Intermède versions in Vols. XVI, fols. 53v-55; and VII, fols. 34r-35; to the Second Intermède versions in Vols. XVI, fols. 57r-59, 55-56; and VII, fol. 35v; and to the versions of the Troisième Intermède (Cérémonie des Médecins) in Vols. XVI, fols. 69-88; XVI, fol. 56; and VII, fol. 35v.


A fascinating and often detailed picture of musical life in Molière's theater can be gleaned by means of these chronicles and financial accounts kept by members of Molière's troupe. The Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française owns five registers, the earliest dating from 1659 and named after the comédiens who kept them. The most detailed of these chronicles is that of the troupe's secretary, Charles Varlet de La Grange, entitled "Extrait des receples et des affaires de la comédie depuis Pasques de l'année 1659 apartenant au Sr de La Grange l'un des Comédiens du Roy (1659-85)." See facsimile edition, Le Registre de La Grange, cited in n. 14 above. Other important accounts are the "Registre de La Thoirillière" (1663-64), the "Registre d'Hubert" (1672-73), the "Registre de la Troupe de Guénégaud" (1673-80), and the "Registre des Comédiens du Roy" (1680- ). The registers of La Thoirillière, Hubert, and La Grange occasionally give specific information regarding the payments made to singers, instrumentalists, and dancers and for other incidental musical expenses— including commissions to composers, choreographers, and music directors.

The music is found in F:PN, Ms Rés Vm f 259: Vol. XVI, fols. 49-50 (Overture), and Vol. XIII, fols. 1-40 ("Eglogue en musique et en danse"), see pp. 3-73 of Hitchcock's edition (cited in n. 21 above).
celebration of his triumphant return from a military campaign in the Spanish Netherlands,\(^{29}\) this allegorical prologue became useless when the anticipated court invitation did not materialize.

*Le Malade imaginaire* began its first performance run on 10 February 1673.\(^ {30}\) It remains uncertain whether or not the original prologue was performed in the first run of the play. Although clearly designed for court presentation, the lyrics of this prologue were included in the

\(^{29}\) In the *livret* of 1673 the Prologue begins: “Après les glorieuses fatigues et les exploits victorieux de notre auguste monarque, il est bien juste que tous ceux qui se mêlent d’écrire travaillent ou à ses louanges, ou à son divertissement. C’est ce qu’ici l’on a voulu faire, et ce prologue est un essai des louanges de ce grand prince, qui donne entrée à la comédie du Malade imaginaire, dont le projet a été fait pour le délasser de ses nobles travaux.” (“After the glorious exertions and victorious exploits of our august monarch, it is fitting that all whose concern is with writing should devote themselves to celebrating his fame or to diverting his leisure. That is what we have endeavored to do here, and this prologue is intended as a tribute to a great prince and an introduction to the comedy of *Le Malade imaginaire*, which was devised for his relaxation after his mighty achievements.”) Louis invaded the Netherlands and presided at the beginning of the campaigns from May to June of 1672; he returned “victorious” to Saint-Germain on 1 August 1672, but the war lasted until 1678.

\(^{30}\) The expenses and net intake for the production are recorded in *Le Registre de La Grange* (1, 142–44) and are reproduced below. Added information from the “Registre d’Hubert” is given in parentheses (the entry in Hubert’s “Registre” for the 10 February premiere is reproduced in Schwartz, “Molière’s Theater,” p. 425):

**Le Malade imaginaire**

[first performance run]

Friday, 10 February 1673, “1°” Representation du malade Imaginaire... 1902#”; in margin: “Pièce Nouvelle et dernière de Mr. de Molière” (“New and final play by M. de Molière”)

Sunday, 12 February 1673, 1459#

Tuesday, 14 February 1673, 1879# 108

Friday, 17 February 1673, 1219#[Molière died that evening]

Friday, 3 March 1673, 1500#; “Vendredi 3° Mars on Recommencea le Malade Imaginaire[,] Mr. de la Thollière Joua le Roole de Mr. de Molière” (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 268# 58”) (“Friday, 3 March, we recommenced *Le Malade imaginaire*; M. de la Thollière played the role of M. de Molière” (“ordinary and extraordinary expenses, 268# 58”))

Sunday, 5 March 1673, 1606# 108 (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 269# 58”) Tuesday, 7 March 1673, 1181# (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 269# 58”)

Friday, 10 March 1673, 1285# 108 (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 269# 58”)

Sunday, 12 March 1673, 1363# 108 (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 271# 155”)

Tuesday, 14 March 1673, 2034# 108 (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 269# 58”)


Tuesday, 21 March 1673, 663# 108 (“frais [ordinaires] et extra[ordinaires] 269# 58”)

La Grange provides a detailed account of the expenses for music and dance in the entry quoted below.
livret printed for the 1673 Paris premiere.\textsuperscript{31} According to La Grange, the extensive amount of music and dance forced the troupe into debt:

The expenses of the play Le Malade imaginaire have been great due to the prologue and the interludes filled with dances, music, and properties and have amounted to two thousand four hundred livres: 2400#.\textsuperscript{32} The daily expenses have been great due to twelve violinists at 3#, twelve dancers at 5#10s, three symphonists at 3#, seven male and female singers, of which there were two at 11#, the others at 5#10s. Payments to M. Beauchamps for the ballets, to M. Charpentier for the music. One share to M. Baraillon for the costumes. Thus the aforesaid expenses have amounted daily to 250#.

When the performances ended at Easter, the troupe still owed more than 1000# of the aforesaid extraordinary expenses.\textsuperscript{33}

The lengthy allegory of the first prologue is the kind of elaborate tribute that later became standard in Lully's operas. It accounts for nearly one-half of the extant music written for the play and may well explain the excessive amount of rehearsal time required before Le

\textsuperscript{31} According to Edouard Thierry, Documents sur Le Malade imaginaire: Estat de la recette et dépense faite par ordre de la compagnie (Paris, 1886), p. 37. n., “L'Eglogue, composée évidemment pour la cour, pouvait ne pas être représentée à Paris” (“The Eclogue, evidently composed for court, could not have been performed in Paris”). But then La Grange implies that the original prologue was performed when he emphasizes the unusual costs due to the “prologue and the interludes filled with dances, music, and properties” (see n. 33 below). A version of the original prologue, entitled La Couronne de fleurs (modern ed. by H. Büsser [Paris, 1907]), is found in Charpentier’s autographs (F.Ph, Ms Rés Vm1 259, Vol. VII, fols. 35"–50") among music and notes pertaining to the 1685 revisions of Le Malade imaginaire. It was apparently performed by the singers in the service of the duchesse de Guise, many of whom are identified in the score. Henri Quittard, “Un Prologue inédit de Molière pour Le Malade imaginaire,” Journal des débats politiques et littéraires, no. 194 (14 July 1905), “Supplement,” suggests that it is a preliminary version, but Hitchcock, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Comédie-Française,” pp. 280–81, convincingly argues that it is, in fact, a later reworking of the prologue, which was performed “late in 1685 or early in 1686.” Hitchcock lists it as H. 486 in his Catalogue raisonné (pp. 354–55).

\textsuperscript{32} Seventeenth-century French currency consisted of the following denominations: 12 derniers (d) = 1 sol (s); 20 sols or sous = 1 livre (#); 3 livres = 1 écu; 10 livres = 1 pistole; 5 livres 10 sols = 1 demi Louis d’or; 11 livres = 1 Louis d’or.

\textsuperscript{33} “Les frais de lad. Pièce du malade Imaginaire ont Esté grands a Cause du prologue et des Intermedes remplis de danses[,] Musique et Ustencilles, et se sont montés a deux mil quatre Cent livres[;] 2400#.

“Les frais Journaliers ont Esté grands a cause de douze Violons a 3#, douze danseurs a 5# 10s, 3 Symphonistes a 3#, 7 Musiciens ou Musiciennes, dont Il y en a deux à 11#, les autres a 5# 10s[, ] Recompenses a Mr Beauchamps pr. les ballets, a Mr Charpentier pour la Musique, Une part a Mr Baraillon pr. les habit[;] Ainsy l’esd. frais se sont montez par Jour a 250#.

“Lors qu’on cessa les représentations a Pasques la troupe devoit encor plus de 1000# desds. frais Exres” (Le Registre de La Grange, I, 144).
Malade imaginaire went into production. This prologue is a complete playlet with its own cast of characters and consists of six scenes (see Table 1). It begins with Flora calling her shepherds and shepherdesses together to announce the return of Louis. With the king comes the

Table 1

An Outline of the Prologue to Le Malade imaginaire, 1673

Ouverture à 4

Eglogue en musique et en danse:

Scene 1
“Quitez, quittez vos troupeaux” (sop., b.c.)*

Scene 2
“Berger, laissons là tes feux” (2 sop., 2 ten., b.c.)
Ritornelle à 3
“Quelle nouvelle parmi nous” (2 sop., mezzo-sop., 2 ten., bass, b.c.)
“Vos voeux sont exaucés” (sop., b.c.)
“Ah! Ah! Ah! Quelle douce nouvelle” (choeur à 5, str. à 4, b.c.)
Entrée de ballet (rondeau à 4)

Scene 3
“De vos flûtes bocagères” (sop., b.c.)
“Formons entre nous” (choeur à 5, b.c.)
“Mon jeune amant” (2 sop., mezzo-sop., 2 ten., b.c.)

Scene 4
Le Combat (entrée à 4)
“Quand la neige fondue” (ten., b.c.)
Bourée (à 4)
“Le foudre menaçant” (ten., b.c.)
Bourée (as above)
“Des fabuleux exploits” (ten., b.c.)
Ritornelle à 4 (gavotte)
“LOUIS fait à nos temps” (ten., b.c.)
Ritornelle à 4 (as above)
Le Combat (as above)

Scene 5
“Laissez, laissez, bergers” (bass, str. à 3, b.c.)
“Laissons, laissons là sa gloire” (choeur à 5, b.c.)
“Bien que, pour éta les vertus immortelles” (2 sop., mezzo-sop., b.c.)
Les Zéphirs (entrée à 4)

Scene 6
“Ah! Que d’un doux succès” (sop., 2 ten., bass, b.c.)
“Joignons tous dans ces bois” (choeur à 5, str. à 4, b.c.)
Air des Satyres (entrée à 4)
Second air des Satyres (menuet à 4)

* This and the following tables will use these abbreviations: sop. (soprano), mezzo-sop. (mezzo-soprano), ten. (tenor), h.c. (basse-contre), b.c. (basse-continue), str. à 4 (four-part strings), chœur à 5 (five-part chorus, mixed).
reign of love and pleasure. Flora proposes a contest with prizes for the shepherd who can best sing of "les vertus et les exploits du plus auguste des rois." Two shepherds respond to the challenge and present their songs and dances. Upon hearing them, Pan concludes:

To sing of LOUIS's intrepid courage,
There is no voice skilled enough,
No words grand enough to paint the picture;

Leave to him his glory,
And attend only to his pleasure.14

For Louis's entertainment, the fauns and shepherds present the comedy _Le Malade imaginaire_.15

The names of six singers appear in Charpentier's autograph score of the original prologue: Miles Mouvant and Hardy (sopranos), Milé Marion (mezzo-soprano), M. Poussin (baute-contre), M. Forestier (tenor), and M. Frison (bass).16

14 Pour chanter de LOUIS l'intrépide courage,
Il n'est point d'assez docte voix,
Point de mots assez grands pour en tracer l'image:

Laissez, laissez là sa gloire,
Ne songez qu'à ses plaisirs.

15 Louis Auld, "The Unity of Molière's Comedy-Ballets: A Study of Their Structure, Meanings, and Values" (Ph. D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1968), points out the play of contrasts between the enormous, spectacular prologue and the entertainment that follows: the prologue sets an idealized mood that the play soon dissipates, "as farce or bourgeois comedy suddenly replaces the allegorical or mythological characters of the opening moments."

16 A "Mr Guay" is listed in Charpentier's score for the music of the Second Intermède (F:Ph, Ms Rés Vm 269, Vol. XVI, fol. 62), which completes the list of seven paid singers given in Le Registre de La Grange (see n. 33, paragraph 2, above). This is, no doubt, the same "M. Gaye" listed in the "Registre de la Troupe de Guénégaud," III (Archives de la Comédie-Française), among the frais extraordinaires for the 17 March 1675 premiere of _Cirè_.

Louis-Joseph Poussin, "musicien ordinaire de la chambre du Roi" (cf. Emile Campardon, _Documents inédits sur J.-B. Poquevin Molière_ [Paris, 1871], p. 45), first appears listed along with Forestier in La Grange's Registre for the 1671 premiere of _Psyché_ (p. 126) among the singers recruited to sing "sur le Théâtre a Visage descouvert habiliez comme les Comediens" ("onstage, unmasked, and dressed like the actors"). Thierry, _Documents sur Le Malade imaginaire_, p. 90, shows that Poussin appeared as the fourth Moorish woman in the second interlude of the 1673 premiere of _Le Malade imaginaire_. M. Forestier is also listed in the "Registre d'Hubert" for the fourth performance (15 July 1672) of Molière's and Charpentier's new musical production of _La Comtesse d'Écarbagnas_ and _Le Mariage force_. "Danceurs Musiciens et Violons 116#: a Mrs De [Beauchamps] et [Charpentier] 22#: Pour trois jours d'Augmenta[tr]ion a Mrs forestier et le Roy 12#." ("Dancers, singers, and violinists, 116#: for MM. de Beauchamps and Charpentier, 22#: for three days of pay increase to M. Forestier and Le Roy, 12#.")
Since most of its music is missing from Charpentier’s “Mélanges autographes,” the Premier Intermède has caused problems for potential musical editors of *Le Malade imaginaire*. It is another complete playlet, sung partly in Italian, partly in French, but it does not relate to the central action of the play. The characters and the situation are drawn from the Italian *commedia dell’arte*. The main character of the interlude, Polichinelle (the French counterpart of Pucinello), is identified at the end of the first act as the lover of Toinette, maidservant in the household of Argan. In seven brief scenes, Polichinelle serenades his mistress, an old woman burlesquely replies, Polichinelle is constantly interrupted by fiddlers and dancers, he is arrested by the Night Watch, beaten, and finally released when he bribes his captors.

The only known source containing music for this interlude is “Théâtre français, Tom II” (pp. 136–55; see Ex. 1). The score begins with the two Italian songs, “Notte e di” and “Zerbinetti,” then continues with the *jeu de scène* described in the 1673 *livret*:

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37 Only the air “Notte e di” (and its prelude, added for the third revision) and an Air des Arches (also added for the third revision) are left of the music for the Premier Intermède (found in Vol. XVI, fols. 53r–55r). On fol. 35 Charpentier refers the reader to Vol. XVII for the transposed version of “Notte e di” and to “livre A page 116” for “Zerbinetti” used in the 1685 revision.

38 K. H. Hartley, “An Italian Source for Part of the Premier Intermède in *Le Malade imaginaire*,” *Modern Language Notes*, LXXIX (1964), 309, believes that the Premier Intermède was inspired by a similar scene in Giordano Bruno’s *Il candelaio* (Act V, scene 25), an Italian comedy from which Molière freely borrowed characters, the comic action, and some dialogue. He suggests (p. 309) that as a young man Molière probably saw *Il candelaio* performed on the provincial stages by the great Italian comedians of Fiorilli or Biancocelli and later relied on his memory for these borrowings.

39 Although the interlude serves to remind the audience of carnival, the season during which *Le Malade imaginaire* was premiered, the only direct link between the play and the first interlude is Toinette’s lines in Act I, scene 8: “Je n’ai personne à employer à cet office, que le vieux usurier Polichinelle, mon amant, et il m’en coutera pour cela quelques paroles de douceur, que je veux bien dépenser pour vous. Pour aujourd’hui il est trop tard; mais demain, du grand matin, je l’enverrai quêter, et il sera ravi de...” (“I know of only one person for this task, the old usurer Polichinelle, my lover, and it will cost me a few sweet words for this, which I am happy to dispense for you. For today it is too late; but tomorrow morning early I will send someone in search of him, and he will be delighted to...”)

40 The literary text of the Premier Intermède later published in La Grange’s 1682 edition of Molière’s works (see n. 43) is, in effect, a conflation of the *intermèdes* described in the 1673 and 1674 *livrets*. The music in “Théâtre français, Tom II” follows the literary order of the 1682 edition and preserves all of the existing musical numbers for the 1673 and 1674 versions of the Premier Intermède, without representing any one of the three performing versions discussed below.

41 This music will be published in Powell, ed., *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*. 
Example 1
Charpentier, *Le Malade imaginaire*, Premier Intermède

Scene 1
*Récit* (spoken): “O amour, amour, pauvre Polichinelle”

Air

**Ritournelle**

[Viols]  

[Basse continue]

[Polichinelle]

[B.c.]

Notte e di v’amo e v’ado-ro-

Scene 2

*Response de la Signora*

[Ritournelle]  

[Viols]

[Basse continue]

[La Vicille]

Zer-bi-net-ti, Zer-bi-net-ti

[B.c.]

Scene 3

*La Fantasie avec interruption*

[Viols]

Quelle impertinente harmonie vient interrompre icy ma voix?

[Basse continue]

Paix-la, taisez vous, violons, laissez-moy me plaindre a mon aise des cruautez de mon Inexorable.
Ex. 1, cont.

Scene 4

Chœur avec interruption (Le Guet)

[Violons]

[Archers et Basse continue]

qui diable est cela? est-ce la mode de parler en Musique?

qui va là? qui va là?

Qui va là?

[Basse continue]

Scene 5

Chœur

[Archers]

Nous le te-nons, a nous, ca-ma-ra-des, a nous, de-pe-chez

B.c. Nous le te-nons, a nous, ca-ma-ra-des, a nous, de-pe-chez B.c.

Chœur

ah trais-tre, ah fri-pon c'est donc vous, fa-quin ma-raut pen-dart,

Basse,

chanta[n]te et continue
Ex. 1, cont.

Scene 6

*Air pour les Croquignoles*

[Violons]

[Basse continue]

*Récit* (spoken): “Un et deux, trois et quatre”

*Chœur*

[Archers]

ah! ah! vous en voulez pas sez.

*Air pour les coups de haton*

[Violons]

[Basse continue]

*Récit* (spoken): “Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six”

*Chœur*

tenez M² voila six pistoles que je vous donne

ah! l'hon-neste hom-me! ah l'a-me noble et bel-le
Ex. 1, cont.

Scene 7

Entrée: Lourée

Chanson

First interlude: Polichinelle, at night, comes to serenade his mistress. He is first interrupted by fiddlers, with whom he has a heated discussion, then by the Night Watch, composed of singers and dancers.\footnote{Premier Intermède: Polichinelle, dans la nuit, vient pour donner une sérénade à sa maîtresse. Il est interrompu d’abord par des violons, contre lesquels il se met en colère, et ensuite par le Guet, composé de musiciens et de danseurs.}

The words of the two Italian songs do not appear in the 1673 livret but were first printed in the book of 1674. La Grange was sufficiently convinced of their authenticity to include them in his 1682 edition of Molière’s complete works;\footnote{Les Œuvres de Monseigneur de Molière, VI, Reuves, corrigées, & augmentées; enrichies de figures en taille douce (Paris: Denys Thierry, 1682), 122–261.} however, a later study by Xavier de Courville concludes that the words were not written by Molière but were added to the play after his death.\footnote{“Sur un intermède de Molière,” Revue musicale (Feb. 1925), pp. 157–64.} These two songs undoubtedly did not figure in Molière’s original design of the intermède, since their inclusion would create inconsistencies in the literary text.
Polichinelle pays no attention to the old woman’s banter and remarks (line 640, after both he and the old woman have sung) that the violins interrupted his serenade. Later he announces (lines 665–71) that before singing he will play a little prelude so as to better “prendre son ton,” forgetting that he has already sung his serenade without having either played a prelude or tuned his lute.

Judging by the 1673 livret and the extant music contained in “Théâtre français, Tom II,” the February 1673 version of the Premier Intermède must have taken the form shown in Table 2. The final chaconne might well have been a later addition to the music of the Premier Intermède, since Charpentier’s notes for the 1685 revisions mention it as part of a jeu de scène that is not part of the 1673 version.

Music is dramatically integrated into the spoken play in Act II, scene 5, where a musical performance is used as a means by which the

<table>
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“O amour, amour, pauvre Polichinelle” (spoken by Polichinelle; lines 565–82)
La Fantasie à 4
La Fantasie (as above, but with verbal interruptions by Polichinelle)
“Par ma foi! Cela me divertit” (spoken by Polichinelle; lines 662–71)
“Qui va là?” (h.c., ten., bass, b.c.)
Entrée à 4 (with spoken interruptions by Polichinelle)
“Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! Comme je leur ai donné l’épouvante!” (spoken by Polichinelle; lines 700–704)
“Nous le tenons à nous” (ten., bass, b.c.)
“Ah traitre, ah fripon” (h.c., ten., bass, b.c., with spoken interruptions by Polichinelle)
Air pour les Croquignoles (à 4)
“Ah! Ah! Vous en voulez passer” (h.c., ten., bass, b.c., with spoken interruptions by Polichinelle)
Air pour les coups de batons (à 4)
“Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six” (spoken by Polichinelle)
“Ah! L’Honneste homme!” (h.c., ten., bass, b.c.)
“Adieu, Seigneur Polichinelle” (h.c., ten., bass, b.c., with spoken interruptions by Polichinelle)
Entrée: Louré I (à 4)
Louré II (partition réduite)*
Chaconne (partition réduite)*

* Note added on p. 153: “La Louré qui suit ne ce joué qu’au cas que celle cy ne soit pas joué, comme il n’en faut qu’une on prend celle que l’on veut.” (“The following louré is played only in the instance that the previous one is not played; since only one is necessary, either can be played.”)

* These line numbers correspond to those found in Molière, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Georges Mongrédien, IV (Paris, 1965).
young lovers Cléante and Angélique exchange confidences under the watchful eye of Argan (the girl's father), her chosen fiancé Thomas Diafoirus, and his father, Monsieur Diafoirus (both doctors). Argan requests that his daughter sing for their guests, and the “music master,” Cléante, proposes “un petit opéra impromptu.” The plot that

Example 2
Charpentier, Le Malade imaginaire, Act II, scene 5

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*Saint-Saëns provided music of his own composition to the words of this dialogue in his 1894 edition, Le Malade imaginaire (Paris), pp. 5–11. In his original setting Charpentier skillfully blends recitative-like passages with free arioso and dance rhythms in reflecting the changing nuance of passion between Cléante and Angélique. Here, music allows for a degree of character development, as Cléante expresses in song a quality of passion lacking in many other molièresque young lovers. We see him enter, dejected and confused (mm. 1–8); later he becomes more and more passionate (mm. 35–40, 43–45, 46–50) and finally triumphant (mm. 56–66). Angélique displays a similar range of passions, from resignation (mm. 9–18), to joy (mm. 50–55), to hate (mm. 71–75), and to resolved disobedience to her father (mm. 77–85). Each change of emotion is carefully mirrored in Charpentier's musical setting, whereby passages of rhythmically charged recitative transform imperceptibly into recitative-arioso, arioso, and aria style (this dialogue in its entirety is transcribed in Ex. 2). Schwartz, “Molière's Theater,” pp. 431–22, points out that the "Registre d'Hulbert" lists payments for singing lessons for the young actor Michel Baron: 10 January 1673, "à Mons' Baron pour deux mois de musique . . . 15# 15s" ("to M. Baron for two months of music . . . 15# 15s"); 10 February 1673, "A M' Baron pour son maître a chanter . . . 22#" ("to M. Baron for his singing teacher . . . 22#")—perhaps it was Baron (and not La Grange, as tradition has it) who had been cast for the singing part of Cléante.*
Ex. 2, cont.


Angelique

Vous me voy-ez, Tir-cis, tris-te et mé-lan-co-

-li-que, aux ap-presta de l’hy-men, dont vous vous a-lar-mez: Je le-ve au ciel les

yeux, Je vous re-gar-de, Je sou-pi-re. C’est vous en di-re, as-
Ex. 2, cont.

Argan

Cléante

Ouais! je ne croyais pas que ma fille fût si habile que de chanter ainsi à livre ouvert, sans hésiter.

Hélas! bel-le Phi-

lis, se pou-roit-il que l'amou-

reux Tir-cis eust as-sez de bon-

heur, pour a-voir quel-que place dans vo-tre coeur? Je ne

m'en dé-fends point dans cet-te pei-

ne ex-tre-me: oùy Tir-cis, Je vous
Ex. 2, cont.

Cléante

ai - me. O! pa-ro-le plei-ne d’ap-pas! ay-je bien en-ten-

-du, he - las re-di-tes-la, Phi-lis, que je n’en dou-te-

[\textsuperscript{49} \textit{[d-\#]}} Angélique

pas. Ouv, Tir-cis, Je vous ai - me. De

[\textsuperscript{45} \textit{[d-\#]}} Angélique

gra - ce en-cor, Phi-lis. Je vous ai - me. Re-com-men-
Ex. 2, cont.

Angélique
- cez cent fois, ne vous en las - sez pas. Je vous ai - me, je vous

Cléante
ai - me, oû, Tîr - cis, Je vous ai - me. Dieux.

Roys, qui sous vos pieds re-gar - dez tout le mon-

-de, pou-vez-vous com - pa - rer vo-tre bon-heur au mien?
Mais, Philis, une pensée vient troubler ce doux transport: un rival, un rival... Ah! Je le hais plus que la mort, et sa présence...
Cléante describes is, in effect, the story of Angélique and Cléante in pastoral guise: their meeting at the theater, his resolution to see her again even though she is kept under close restraint, his decision to ask for her hand, only to learn that she had been promised to someone else, his ruse contrived to gain entrance to her house in order to learn his fate from the shepherdess herself, and his eventual meeting with the unworthy rival of whom the father approves. The musical dialogue begins with the shepherd (sung by Cléante) on the verge of despair because the father’s presence prevents the shepherdess from speaking. Assuming the names of stock pastoral characters, Cléante and Angélique by deception establish a courtship, which was not permitted to develop earlier in the play by means of spoken dialogue.47

47 Molière draws upon an important theatrical convention that permitted only certain types of characters to express themselves in song. This convention is pointed up by Polichinelle in the Premier Intermède when he exclaims upon hearing the singing archers, “What the devil is this? Is it now the fashion to speak by singing?” In Act I, scene 2, of Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, the dancing master explains the convention to his uncomprehending pupil Monsieur Jourdain, who complains of seeing singing shepherds everywhere:
As a musical cure for Argan’s ill humor, which was caused by his discovery of Cléante’s deception described above, his brother Béralde announces an entertainment: a Carnevaltide masque of gypsies in Moorish dress, which even a malade cannot resist. Béralde explains that they are “Egyptiens, vêts en Mores, qui font des danses méleées de chansons, où je suis sûr que vous prendrez plaisir; et cela vaudra bien une ordonnance de Monsieur Purgon” (“gypsies, dressed like Moors, who intermingle dances and songs, which I am sure you will enjoy; and this is worth much more than one of Monsieur Purgon’s prescriptions”). The livret to Le Malade imaginaire describes this intermède as follows:

—Je vous l’ai déjà dit, c’est un petit essai que j’ai fait autre fois des diverses passions que peut exprimer la musique.
—Fort bien.
—Allons, avancez. Il faut vous figurer qu’ils sont habillés en bergers.
—Pourquoi toujours des bergers? On ne voit que cela partout.
—Lorsqu’on a des personnages à faire parler en musique, il faut bien que, pour la vraisemblance, on donne dans la bergerie. Le chant a été de tout temps affecté aux bergers; et il n’est guère naturel en dialogue que des princes ou des bourgeois chantent leurs passions.
—I have already told you, it is a little essay I made in the past upon the different passions that music can express.
—Very well.
—Here, come forward. You must imagine that they are dressed like shepherds.
—Why always shepherds? One sees nothing but that everywhere.
—When we have characters that are to speak in music, it is necessary for verisimilitude that it be given in the pastoral style. Singing has always been assigned to shepherds; and it is not at all natural, in dialogue, for princes or the middle class to sing their passions.)
Music is also used to juxtapose characters on different planes when Cléante and Angélique, by singing, completely deceive their “audience.” Auld, “The Unity of Molière’s Comedy-Ballets,” p. 157, states: “In Le Malade imaginaire, on the other hand, the poet has learned to combine critical judgment with sympathy for the character. It is as though he were reconciled to allowing Argan his one realm of fantasy. That fantasy, in fact, finds a point of comparison in the complete folly of the famous Diafoirus team, father and son. Their scene lacks music; it never tempts the audience from its critical position; and it contains a counterpoint of critical remarks from the more reasonable characters present. Moreover, if there is no music to accompany their antics, they are asked to watch (uncomprehendingly) as the two lovers improvise their pastoral duet, expressing themselves, through the force of their love, on that level where all is music. By contrast the doctor and his scarecrow son appear all the more absurd.” A similar scene appears later in Raymond Poisson’s comédie-ballet Les Fous divertissants (1680), where two young lovers perform before an older suitor love scenes from Lully’s latest operas, Proserpine (Act III, scene 2) and Bellerophon (Act II, scenes 1 and 2).

* A similar masque of Moorish characters serves to distract the deceived Dom Père in the finale to Molière’s earlier comédie-ballet, Le Sicilien; ou, L’Amour peintre (1667).
The brother of the hypochondriac presents him for his entertainment several male and female gypsies dressed as Moors, who perform dances intermingled with songs. 49

Music for the 1673 version is found in Charpentier's autograph manuscripts, with performers' names notated alongside their respective parts, 50 as noted earlier. The order of numbers, as determined by the livret and the musical score, is given in Table 3.

A slightly different reading of the Second Intermède appears in "Théâtre français, Tom II" (pp. 159–67), where the overture is lacking and some of the numbers are redistributed. This score specifies four female Moors and gives their parts in the treble clef. Different singers are assigned solo passages, and the final ensemble ("Oui, suivons ses ardeurs") is a two-part arrangement remarkably similar to that of the 1685 revision. 51 The order of the final dances is also altered, with numbers added, as shown in Table 4. The redistribution of solos and the rearrangement of vocal ensembles, together with the added dances, all suggest that this reading is, in fact, another version of the intermède, which, no doubt, emerged after the February 1673 premiere but before Lully's restriction compelled Charpentier to rewrite the vocal ensemble for two singers.

49. "Le frère du Malade imaginaire lui amène, pour le divertir, plusieurs Égyptiennes et Égyptiennes, vêtus en Moors, qui font des danses entremêlées de chansons." Auld, "The Unity of Molière's Comedy-Ballets," p. 107, points out the interplay of appearance and reality at work in this intermède: "Our intellectual faculties are aroused as the disjunction between what is happening and what is supposed to be happening is brought to our attention. The same device appears in Le Malade imaginaire, with an added complication: 'Ce sont des Égyptiens, vêtus en Moors,' says Bérarde, which he has brought to chase his brother's ill humors (II, ix). Of course, these are neither Gypsies nor Moors, but professional French dancers. Omitting mention of their true state, the author stresses the illusory quality of their apparent identity. Costume and dance thus corroborate the effect of the vers pour les personnages. All contribute to the impression that nothing is as it seems. All require constant mental adjustments."


51. See p. 145. Some of these solo passages were later printed in song collections, "Il est doux à notre âge" and "Quand d'aimer on nous presse" appear in Aîres de la comédie de Cícé (pp. 29–34) along with the two Italian airs from the Premier Intermède, and Hitchcock, Catalogue raisonné, H. 495 c, p. 358, notes the existence of a solo voice and b.c. arrangement of "Profitz du printemps," "Les Plaisirs les plus charmants," and "Ne perdons [sic] pas" in an early eighteenth-century (?) collection entitled "Recueil de chansons, trios, et duos" (F:PH, VmI 4822, fol. 98\*).
Table 3

An Outline of the Second Intermède in *Le Malade imaginaire*, 1673

- Ouverture à 4
- Intermède à 4 voix
- Premier ritornelle à 4
  - “Profitez du printemps” (sop., b.c.)
- Ritornelle à 3
  - “Les Plaisirs les plus charmants” (sop., b.c.)
  - “Profitez du printemps” (as before)
  - Ritornelle à 3 (as before)
  - “Ne perdez point ces précieux moments” (mezzo-sop., b.c.)
  - “Profitez du printemps” (as before)
- Ritornelle à 4 (as before)
  - “Quand d’aimer on nous presse” (h.c., b.c.)
- Seconde grande ritornelle à 4
  - “Il est doux à notre âge” (sop., b.c.)
- Seconde grande ritornelle à 4 (as before)
  - “L’Amant qui se dégage” (mezzo-sop., b.c.)
  - Seconde grande ritornelle à 4 (as before)
  - “Quel parti faut-il prendre” (h.c., b.c.)
  - “Faut-il nous en défendre” (mezzo-sop., b.c.)
  - “Devons-nous y rendre” (sop., b.c.)
  - “Oui, suivons ses ardeurs” (sop., mezzo-sop., h.c., b.c.)
- Premier Air des Mores à 4
- Second Air: Canaries (à 4)

*Le Malade imaginaire* concludes with the satiric Cérémonie des Médecins, a burlesque arranged for Argan by Béralde. As Béralde explains how he plans to make his brother the central character in the

Table 4

An Outline of the Second Intermède for *Le Malade imaginaire*, according to “Théâtre français, Tom II”

- Entrée (à 4; Second Air: Canaries in the autograph score)
- Gigue (à 4; not included in the autograph score)
- Air pour les Mores (*partition réduite,* Premier Air des Mores in the autograph score)
- Premier Passepied (*partition réduite,* not included in the autograph score)
- Second Passepied (*partition réduite,* not included in the autograph score)
musical initiation ceremony, with all the members of the cast playing parts, Angélique dutifully objects:  

—But uncle, it seems to me that you are making fun of my father too much.
—But my niece, it is not so much making fun of him as playing up to his fantasies. And all of this is among ourselves. We can each take a part and so give the comedy for our own amusement. After all, it's Carnival time. Quickly, let's go and prepare everything.  

Argan, he points out, knows as much about the healing arts as many doctors (since they do not know very much) and, furthermore, that the knowledge of Latin, various illnesses, and their remedies all result from donning the cap and gown. Béralde, therefore, provides a musical mock reception into the Faculty of Medicine, in which a doctorate degree is conferred upon the hypochondriac Argan by a troupe of actors disguised as physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries. This farcical ceremony represents an abridged parody of actual rituals, from the beginning of study to the final conferring of degree ("donner le bonnet"), that were customary during Molière's time; it is Argan's fantastic apotheosis into the suprahuman realm of Doctorhood, similar to Monsieur Jourdain's ennoblement as Turkish aristocrat in the finale of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (La Cérémonie Turque).  

In this final *intermède*, Argan, no longer able to distinguish between fact and fancy, is finally elevated from his mundane bourgeois existence into the musical fantasy world of the Polichinelle interlude. Béralde recognizes the difference between fantasy and reality and uses that difference to obtain Argan's consent to the marriage.  

—Mais, mon oncle, il me semble que vous vous jouez un peu beaucoup de mon père.
—Mais, ma nièce, ce n'est pas tant le jouer que s'accommoder à ses fantaisies. Tout ceci n'est qu'entre nous. Nous y pouvons aussi prendre chacun un personnage, et nous donner ainsi la comédie les uns aux autres. Le carnaval autorise cela. Allons vite préparer toutes choses.

*In Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* and *Le Malade imaginaire* Molière makes the foibles of his main character sympathetic to us. Both pay for their monomanias, the first with a beating, the second, in a much more touching way, with the discovery of the true motives of his seemingly loving wife. But in neither case is there a revelation to the character of his basic error. On the contrary, in both cases the character's fondest wish is granted. One can compare Orgon's bitter discovery of his mistake and the irony of his mother's continued refusal to believe what he has seen 'with his own eyes, seen,' to Argan's happy state at the end of the ceremony in which he is initiated into the ranks of the Latin-speaking purgers, bleeders and killers. In both works the central character, rather than being brought down suddenly and brutally from his private fantasy, remains there with the approval of the other characters. The apotheosis is more than a parody of a standard device of machine spectacle; it is in a sense as true an apotheosis as that of Psyché. The device permitted Molière to move from realistic scenes to the gaiety and release of fantasy—a comic version of the metaphysical" (Auld, "The Unity of Molière's Comedy-Ballets," p. 170).
The *livret* of 1673 states, "This is a burlesque ceremony about a man who is confirmed a doctor in recitative, song, and dance."\(^{55}\) Charpentier's autograph score\(^{56}\) begins with a pompous overture, during which the doctors dance an *entrée*.\(^{57}\) This dance is followed by an orchestral air for the attendants (*tapiissiers*) to prepare the hall and a solemn march for the Faculty of Medicine to take their places according to rank:\(^{58}\)

Ouverture à 4  
Les Tapiissiers (entrée à 4)  
La Marche (entrée à 4)

The Praeses (President of the Faculty of Medicine) gives an opening address in praise of medicine, his words interspersed with instrumental ritornelli:\(^{59}\)

Première ritornelle à 3  
Première ritornelle (as above)  
Second ritornelle à 3  
Second ritornelle (as above)  
Troisième ritornelle à 4

Then five questions are posed in macaronic Latin to the Bachelierus Argan, who, caught up in the nonsense language of the "doctors," correctly responds to the last four questions with the same answer: "Clysterium donare, postea seignare, ensuita purgare." The Faculty

\(^{55}\) "C'est une Cérémonie burlesque d'un homme qu'on fait médecin en récit, chant et danse."


\(^{57}\) Charpentier writes after the second ending of this overture: "Fin de l'entrée des médecins," which implies that the doctors enter to the music of the overture.

\(^{58}\) The stage direction printed in Molière's *Oeuvres complètes*, IV, 454, reads: "Plusieurs tapiissiers viennent préparer la salle et placer les bancs en cadence; ensuite de quoi toute l'assemblée (composée de huit porte-seringues, six apothicaires, vingt-deux docteurs, celui qui se fait recevoir médecin, huit chirurgiens dansants, et deux chantants) entre, et prend ses places, selon les rangs." ("Several decorators come to prepare the hall and position the benches in time to the music; then the entire assembly [composed of eight syringe-bearers, six apothecaries, twenty-two doctors who are to administer the examination, eight dancing and two singing surgeons] enter and take their seats according to rank.")

\(^{59}\) These ritornelli occur after the lines "Atque bonum appetitum," "Tant de gens omni genere," "Principes et reges soumissos videsitis," "Has plaça honorabiles," and "Vostris capacitatis," according to Charpentier's verbal instructions, fols. 73–74.
delivers in chorus the mock applause:60 “Bene, bene respondere” (sop., mezzo-sop., h.c., ten., bass, four-part str., and b.c.).

The ceremony continues with a dance, in which the surgeons and apothecaries bow to the new doctor and invest him with the baccalauréate cap (le bonnet): Air des Réverences (entrée à 4). After the Bachelier Argan makes his acceptance speech, the Faculty of Medicine chorally responds in mock praise with orchestral accompaniment augmented by apothecary mortars, in two parts, as percussion:61 “Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat” (five-part chorus, four-part str., b.c.). For a final entrée de ballet, the surgeons and apothecaries dance, and the chorus, interspersed with solos by two of the surgeons, is repeated. The Faculty of Medicine, of which Argan now thinks he is a member, files out, again in order of rank:

Les Chirurgiens et apothicaires (entrée à 4)

“Puiss-t-il voir doctas” (ten., b.c.)

“Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat” (petite reprise)

“Puissent toti anni” (h.c., b.c.)

Les Chirurgiens et apothicaires (as above)

“Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat” (grande reprise)

As production costs for the March 1673 performance run escalated, the Troupe du Roy faced severe financial problems. Upon suspension of theatrical performances at Lent, several of the leading

60 Charpentier writes in his score (fol. 74), “Ensuite purgare / Chœur,” which indicates that the chorus is sung for the first time after the Bachelier’s response to the second question (“Clisterium donare, postea seignare, ensuita purgare”). He later writes: “Après le second clisterium on reprend la reprise ce dessus / après le 3ème clisterium on ne chante rien / après le quatrième clisterium on reprend tout le bene bene” (fol. 77–78), implying that for the third response the abbreviated reprise is sung, for the fourth response nothing, and for the fifth response the entire chorus. Eugène Despois and Paul Mesnard, eds., Œuvres de Molière, 14 vols. (Paris, 1873–1900), IX, 445, n. 4, call this into question: “Le livret original semble prouver que le grand choeur du Bene s’entonnait pour la première fois après la première réponse du Bachelier, c’est-à-dire après les mots sensus assoupire (réplique qui, ne venant qu’une fois, aura moins frappé Charpentier que celle d’Ensuita purgare qu’il a notée au-devant du Chœur.” The reading in “Théâtre français, Tom II” offers a logical solution to this problem: after the music of the abbreviated reprise (pp. 172–73) is written “Chœur 4 fois,” followed by the entire chorus (pp. 173–76); this no doubt implies that, contrary to Charpentier’s verbal notes, the abbreviated chorus should be sung after the first four replies by the Bachelier, and the full chorus after his fifth answer. In Vol. XVI, fol. 74, to the left of the vocal staves, the names of the following singers who participated in the 1673 premiere are inscribed: “Mouvant” and “hardy” (treble clef), “Marion” (soprano clef), “Poussin” (alto clef), “forestier” (tenor clef), and “frison” (bass clef).

61 The version contained in “Théâtre français, Tom II” ends with this chorus.
actors and actresses (including La Thorillièrè, who replaced Mollière in the role of Argan after Mollière’s death) left the troupe for the rival company at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. During this time of dissolution, Lully persuaded the king that the Salle du Palais-Royal was the only theater capable of accommodating his Académie Royale de Musique; Louis evicted the Troupe du Roy from their newly remodeled theater and gave it (rent free) to Lully for his own musical productions. \(^{62}\) La Grange adds a rueful note to his Registre:

Those of the actors and actresses who remained found themselves not only without a troupe but without a theater—the king having seen fit to give possession of the Salle du Palais-Royal to M. de Lully, Superintendant of His Majesty’s Music, which obliged them to seek another establishment and to take measures to form a new troupe. \(^{63}\)

The king dealt personally with the resulting upheaval in his professional theater by combining the remaining actors of the Troupe du Roy with those of the Théâtre du Marais, a company that was rapidly going bankrupt through the production of elaborate machine plays. Both troupes were then ordered to move into the Hôtel de Guénégaud on the rue Mazarine, along with all of their theatrical equipment. Under the leadership of La Grange and Mlle Mollière, the reorganized company opened its season on 9 July 1673 with Mollière’s Tartuffe.

The Troupe de Guénégaud performed Le Malade imaginaire fifty times in 1674. Expenses from the troubled first run were finally paid, and in January of 1674 the king issued a lettre de cachet prohibiting any competing performances of the play until its first printing. \(^{64}\)

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\(^{62}\) “Permission accordée au dit seur de Lully de représenter ses ouvrages de musique dans la Salle du Palais Royal, du avril 1673.” (“Permission granted to the said Sieur de Lully to perform his musical works in the Salle du Palais-Royal beginning April 1673.”) Manuscript Anonyme, F:Po, C-954; cited in Demuth, French Opera, p. 120, n.

\(^{63}\) “Ceux des acteurs et actrices qui Restoient se trouveront non seulement sans troupe[,] Mais sans Theatres[,] le Roy ayant trouvé apropo de donner la Jouissance de la salle du palais Royal à Mr de Lully, sur Intendant de la musique de sa Mte[,] Ce qui les obligea de chercher un autre Establissement et de prendre des Mesures pour faire une nouvelle troupe” (Le Registre de La Grange, 1, 147).

\(^{64}\) “Le 7me Janvier 1674[,] la troupe obtint une lettre de Cachet portant deffences a tous autres Comediens qui a ceux de la troupe du Roy de jouer le malade Imaginaire Jusques a ce que lad. piece fust Imprimée.” (“The 7th of January 1674, the troupe obtained a lettre de cachet prohibiting all other actors except those of the Troupe du Roy from performing Le Malade imaginaire until the said play has been printed.”) Le Registre de La Grange, 1, 157.
August the Troupe de Guénégard was invited to Versailles to participate in a grand divertissement celebrating Louis's successful armchair campaign against Franche-Comté. The ensemble from the Hôtel de Bourgogne was also present and performed Racine's new tragedy Ipogénie. But Lully dominated the entertainment with Cadmus et Hermione (1673), the earlier pastorale La Grotte de Versailles (1668), and his new opera, Aleste. Le Malade imaginaire now finally received its court performance, as it served as a comic interlude for the other entertainments in this, the last of the grand fêtes of Louis's reign.⁶⁵

Lully's patent of 1673 forced Charpentier to rewrite some of the sung intermèdes for the 1674 season. This new production, which opened on 4 May 1674, constituted the second performance run and played continuously through July of that year.⁶⁶ The Registre de La


⁶⁶ These performances are documented in Le Registre de La Grange (I, 159–66) and in the “Registre de la Troupe du Roy,” listed below with the date, the receipts, and other indications derived from Le Registre de La Grange, and with the extraordinary expenses (and other indications) taken from the “Registre de la Troupe du Roy” within parentheses:

- Friday, 4 May 1674, 802# (70#); in margin: “Reprise avec partie d'auteur ploujr Mille de Moliere”
- Sunday, 6 May 1674, 490# (70#)
- Tuesday, 8 May 1674, 529# (70#)
- Friday, 11 May 1674, 424# (84# 168)
- Tuesday, 15 May 1674, 593# (84# 48)
- Friday, 18 May 1674, 265# (84# 98)
- Sunday, 20 May 1674, 297# (84# 168)
- Tuesday, 22 May 1674, 520# 105 (90# 168)
- Friday, 25 May 1674, 519# (90# 168)
- Sunday, 27 May 1674, 516# (90# 168)
- Tuesday, 29 May 1674, 464# (90# 168)
- Friday, 1 June 1674, 420# 105 (90# 168)
- Sunday, 3 June 1674, 547# (90# 168)
- Tuesday, 5 June 1674, 416# 105 (90# 168)
- Friday, 8 June 1674, 366# (90# 168)
- Sunday, 10 June 1674, 552# 58 (90#)
- Tuesday, 12 June 1674, 413# (90# 168)
- Friday, 15 June 1674, 516# 105 (90# 168)
- Sunday, 17 June 1674, 611# (91# 169)
- Tuesday, 19 June 1674, 570# 105 (91# 168)
- Friday, 22 June 1674, 432# 55 (91# 68)
- Sunday, 24 June 1674, 446# 105 (91# 68)
- Tuesday, 26 June 1674, 452# 105 (91# 68)
Grange (I, 158) lists the specific items that constituted the extraordinary expenses, as given in Table 5. And the "Registre de la Troupe du Roy" lists payments to the singers, dancers, instrumentalists, decorators, assistants, and workers who participated in the 4 May 1674 revival, shown in Table 6. Mlle Babet’s name appears among the expenses of a number of other productions between 1674 and 1684. The names of M. Carles (theorbo) and M. Delaporte (clavecin) also appear in the same register among the expenses of a 1 May 1674.

Friday, 29 June 1674, 812# (88# 65)
Sunday, 1 July 1674, 485# 105 (91# 65)
Tuesday, 3 July 1674, 386# (91# 65)
Friday, 6 July 1674, 446# 155; in margin: “Voyage à la cour 42# de frais”
Sunday, 8 July 1674, 512# (91# 65)
Tuesday, 10 July 1674, 685# 55 (91# 65)
Friday, 13 July 1674, 581# (91# 65)
Sunday, 15 July 1674, 883# (91# 65)
Tuesday, 17 July 1674, 561# (91# 65)
Friday, 20 July 1674, 534# 55 (91# 65)
Sunday, 22 July 1674, 790# (91# 65)
Tuesday, 24 July 1674, 685# (91# 65)
Friday, 27 July 1674, 457# (91# 65)
Sunday, 29 July 1674, 447# 191# 65
Tuesday, 31 July 1674, 431# 105 (91# 65)

Individual performances of Le Malade imaginaire were scattered throughout the remainder of the year:

Friday, 10 October 1674, 474# 155 (91# 105)
Sunday, 21 October 1674, 614# (91# 105; “Debit Mr. Charpentier sur la pars quatre livres”)
Tuesday, 23 October 1674, 424# (94# 105)
Friday, 26 October 1674, 397# (94# 105)
Sunday, 28 October 1674, 620# (94# 105)
Tuesday, 30 October 1674, 320# (96# 65)
Friday, 2 November 1674, 435# 105 (96# 45)
Saturday, 3 November 1674, 412# (96# 45)
Sunday, 4 November 1674, 402# (96# 45)
Friday, 7 December 1674, 359# (88#; “neuf livres sur le pied de Mr. baraillon & Mr. Charpentier”)
Sunday, 9 December 1674, 588# 105 (145# 158)

Mlle Babet is also listed in the “Registre de la Troupe du Roy” for a 17 May 1681 production of L’Inconnu performed at Versailles and for 21 and 23 July 1684 performances of Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (along with M. Bourdelot). The same violinists are listed in the “Registre de la Troupe du Roy” for the 17 March 1675 premiere of Cirè and for the 17 November 1675 premiere of L’Inconnu. Expenses for the latter production also list “Clavessin: La Porte,” and “Théorbe: Carle Andre,” presumably the same “M. Carles” who played in the May 1674 revival of Le Malade imaginaire. M. Poussin previously participated in the premiere of Le Malade imaginaire (see n. 56) and also appears listed for the 17 March 1675 premiere of Cirè mentioned above; perhaps he took over the baute-contre role in Le Malade imaginaire as early as the October 1674 performances.
### Table 5

Expenses of the 4 May 1674 Revival of *Le Malade imaginaire*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musique 17#</th>
<th>Ouvriers* et assistants 7#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violons 16# 10s</td>
<td>2 laquais et decorateurs 3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistants 20#</td>
<td>surcroit de chandelier 4# 11s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saulteurs 11#</td>
<td>[Total:] 70# 10s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*“Ouvriers” were the workers who operated the machinery and set changes.*

### Table 6

Payments for the 4 May 1674 Revival of *Le Malade imaginaire*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Madelle Babet [soprano]</th>
<th>5# 10s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Bourdelou [basse-contre]</td>
<td>5# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Carles [theorbo]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Delaporte [harpsichord]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duvielle [violin]</td>
<td>2#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marchand [violin]</td>
<td>2# 5s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conuerset [violin]</td>
<td>2# 5s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du fresne [violin]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courselles [violin]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Mont [violin]</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Montagne</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nivelon</td>
<td>2# 5s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du torre</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Fibre</td>
<td>2# 5s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fronton [fonton?]</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montinot [Montenot?]</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coupet</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaumont</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Fibre [Fibure?] Italien</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buterne</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reneteau</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contois</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lionz</td>
<td>1#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francois le porteur des violons</td>
<td>1# 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 souteurs</td>
<td>4#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 menuisiers</td>
<td>6#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 manu[elles?]</td>
<td>7#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 chandelles</td>
<td>4#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 decorateurs</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
production of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, where names of some of the instrumentalists listed in Table 6 (Duvillier, Nivellon, Marchand, Du Mont, Conuerset, and Du fresne) also appear. Charpentier's score lists Mlle Babet and M. Poussin, but it seems clear that Poussin took on the *haute-contre* role at a later date, since the "Registre de la Troupe du Roy" shows that Bourdelou was paid for the May 1674 performances (see Table 6).

An entirely different and less elaborate prologue appears in the *livret* printed by Guillaume Adam for this 1674 revival. Instead of praising the king, the shorter prologue features a shepherdess who sings of an illness, love, which the quack doctors are powerless to cure:

> These unreliable cures, of which simple folk<br>Believe you know the healing properties,<br>Are ineffective in curing my ills;<br>And all of your jargon will be taken in only by an IMAGINARY INVALID.

For her entertainment and diversion, the faunes and gypsies expand the shepherdess's complaint against the worthless doctors into an improvised spectacle (*Le Malade imaginaire*). This Autre Prologue is described in the 1674 *livret* as follows:

> The stage represents a forest. The revelation of the stage is accompanied by a pleasant clamor of instruments. Then a shepherdess appears and tenderly complains of her inability to find a remedy to ease the heartache she endures. Several faunes and gypsies, gathered together for festivities and games befitting them, encounter the shepherdess. They listen to her complaints and provide a very entertaining spectacle.

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68 See n. 26 above. Molière possibly wrote the words himself to the second prologue before his untimely death. La Grange apparently accepted these words as authentic, since he included them along with the words of the original prologue in the first "authentic" 1682 edition of the play (n. 43).

69 Ces remèdes peu sûrs, dont le simple vulgaire<br>Croît que vous connaîsez l'admirable vertu,<br>Pour les maux que je sens n'ont rien de salutaire,<br>Et tout votre caquet ne peut être reçu<br>Que d'un MALADE IMAGINAIRE.

70 "Les peines qu'elle endure" might well allude to Molière's despair over the king's apparent indifference to his latest production.

71 "Le théâtre représente une forêt. L'ouverture du théâtre se fait par un bruit agréable d'instruments. Ensuite une Bergère vient se plaindre tendrement de ce qu'elle ne trouve aucun remède pour soulager les peines qu'elle endure. Plusieurs Faunes et AEgipans, assemblés pour des fêtes et des jeux qui leur sont particuliers, rencontrent la Bergère. Ils écoutent ses plaintes et forment un spectacle très divertissant."
The Autre Prologue is preserved in Charpentier’s “Mélanges autographes”72 and in “Théâtre francois, Tom II.”73 The music consists of an overture, a vocal solo interspersed with ritornelli, and a concluding reprise of the overture. Charpentier’s autographs contain a four-part overture, whereas a different overture in partition réduite appears in “Théâtre francois, Tom II.” Verbal instructions in the composer’s autograph score (contained in brackets below) leave few doubts concerning the organization of this second prologue:

*Le Malade imaginaire* (“with the prohibitions” added);
ouverture à 4
[Prologue: Large intercalation Climeine]74
Ritournelle à 4
“Votre plus haut savoir” (sop., b.c.)
[ritournelle immediately after]
“Hélas! hélas! je n’ose découvrir” (sop., b.c.)
[the above ritournelle immediately after]
“Ces remèdes peu sûrs” (sop., b.c.)
[after which the violins begin the overture again]75

Judging by Charpentier’s verbal instructions and the *livrets* printed for the 1674 performances, the Premier Intermède underwent numerous changes and revisions. Discrepancies between the composer’s notes and the printed *livrets* are so extreme that we must conclude that two distinct versions of the Premier Intermède must have coexisted during these early performances. Charpentier’s verbal instructions read as follows:76

72 MS Rés Vm! 259, Vol. XVI, fols. 52–53v. This Autre Prologue is also in Hitchcock’s edition, pp. 74–80.
73 Pages 132–36.
74 “Grande intercalate Climeine” may simply indicate two full statements of the ritornello. There is no question about the ritornello being performed here, as it appears fully written out in “Théâtre francois, Tom II,” p. 134. In his edition, *Prologues et intervalles du Malade imaginaire*, p. xxx, Hitchcock points out that the stock pastoral name Climeine does not appear in the *livret* of 1674 but may be Charpentier’s personalization of the unnamed “bergère.”
75 *Le Malade imaginaire* ("avec les défénces" added); ouverture à 4
[Prologue: grande intercalate Climeine]
Ritournelle à 4
Votre plus haut savoir (sop., b.c.)
[ritournelle immédiatement après]
Hélas! hélas! je n’ose découvrir (sop., b.c.)
[ritournelle cy-dessus immédiatement après]
Ces remèdes peu sûrs (sop., b.c.)
[après quoy les violons recommancent l’ouverture]
76 Vol. XVI, fols. 53r–55.
First interlude.

The Fantasy, without interruptions, is played backstage. Polichinelle enters, and when he is ready to sing before Toinette’s windows, the violinists conducted by Spacamond\textsuperscript{77} again begin the Fantasy, with interruptions.

Spacamond gives Polichinelle a beating, after which the fiddlers play the Air of the Archers, after which the following Italian air is sung ["Notte e di"].

The violinists quickly begin playing again the Air of the Archers.\textsuperscript{78}

The reconstruction given in Table 7 is based on this verbal description from Charpentier’s autographs and the extant music preserved in “Théâtre français, Tom II.” The 1674 livret, on the other hand, describes an entirely different comic action:

Seignor Pantalon, accompanied by a Doctor and a Buffoon, comes to serenade his mistress and sings these words: ["Notte e di"]. An old woman comes to the window and replies to Seignor Pantalon: ["Zerbinetti"].\textsuperscript{79}

The altercation between Polichinelle and the Night Watch does not appear in the 1674 livret; rather, the intermède described consists only of the two Italian airs.

These two Italian songs ("Notte e di" and "Zerbinetti") printed in the 1674 livret form the basis of a revised Premier Intermède, which replaced the original 1673 version.\textsuperscript{80} No reference is made to Polichinelle’s run-in with the Night Watch; instead, a new cast of secondary

\textsuperscript{77} Spacamond is an Italian Capitano character (Spaccamonte, or “mountain carver”), who presumably is the captain of the Night Watch (Le Guet).

\textsuperscript{78} Premier ["Second" crossed out] intermède.

L’on joue derrière le théâtre la fantaisie sans interruption.

Polichinelle entre et lors qu’il est prest de chanter devant les fenestres de toynette les violons conduits par Spacamond recommencent la fantaisie avec ses interruptions. Spacamond donne des bastonnades à Polichinelle et le chasse, après quoy les violons joient l’air des archers, en suite de quoy l’on chante l’air Italian qui suyt ["Notte e di"].

Les violons recommencent aussy tost l’air des archers.

\textsuperscript{79} “Un Seignor Pantalon accompagnée d’un Docteur & d’un Trivelin, vient donner une Sérénade à Sa Maistresse, & chante ces paroles: ["Notte e di"]). Une Vieille se présente à la fenestre, et répond au Seignor Pantalon: ["Zerbinetti"]). Music for this staging is found in “Théâtre français, Tom II,” pp. 136–41, in its entirety; in Charpentier’s autographs (Vol. XVI, fols. 53–55; “Notte e di” only); and in Airs de la comédie de Circe, pp. 35–43, "Notte e di" and "Zerbinetti" only.

\textsuperscript{80} The two Italian airs appear in Hitchcock’s edition, pp. 91–97 and 98–102; his transcription is based on the combined readings of the latter two sources.
CHARPENTIER'S MUSIC FOR *LE MALADE IMAGINAIRE*

Table 7

Reconstruction of the Musical Contents of an Alternate Version of the Premier Intermède in *Le Malade imaginaire*

| La Fantasie à 4          |  |
| "O amour, amour, pauvre Polichinelle" (spoken by Polichinelle)* |
| La Fantasie (as above, but with verbal interruptions by Polichinelle) |
| Air pour les coups de bâtons (à 4)** |
| Air des Archers***       |
| "Notte e di" (h.c., b.c.) |
| Air des Archers (as above) |

* These spoken lines serve to prepare Polichinelle to sing before Toinette's windows, and their presence is implied in Charpentier's notes reproduced above.
** Although Charpentier's notes do not specify this Air pour les coups de bâtons, it seems a logical musical accompaniment to Polichinelle's beating.
*** "This Air des Archers might well be one of the two lourés included in "Théâtre François, Tom II," p. 153, that are danced after the Night Watch bids goodnight to Polichinelle. In his 1685 revisions of this intermède, Charpentier added another Air des Archers, which is thematically based on the central portion of the preceding Italian song, "Zerbinetti."

Characters (Seignor Pantalon, the Doctor, the Buffoon, and the Old Woman) is introduced. This new version was considerably shorter than the 1673 version, and it conformed in detail to Lully's 1673 ordinance. But the version described in Charpentier's notes also conforms to the limits Lully imposed on vocal music. It represents, in fact, a simplification of the 1673 intermède in which the music and the comic action is pared down by omission of the choral numbers and many of the dances. Polichinelle's opening serenade is added toward the end, almost as an afterthought, and the old woman's response ("Zerbinetti") does not yet enter into the entertainment. This version draws upon material from the original intermède, introduces a new character (Spacamond) into the action, and adds a new vocal number ("Notte e di"). This, in turn, points to the existence of an intermediate version predating the 1674 revisions.

Charpentier's 1674 revisions of the Second Intermède were apparently made solely to comply with Lully's restrictions. They preserve

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81 This version of the Premier Intermède described in the 1674 livret is almost identical to that described in Charpentier's notes to his 1685 revisions; see p. 136.
82 It is unclear in Charpentier's notes whether Polichinelle returns onstage (after having been driven away) to sing "Notte e di" or whether Spacamond (or some other character) sings Polichinelle's serenade in his place.
the original order of the 1673 version and consist of a reassignment of the several solos and a duo arrangement of “Oui, suivons ses ardeurs.” His verbal instructions describe this revision:

Second interlude. Overture in D la-re-sol.

After the overture, the first ritornello in all parts; “Profitez du printemps”; small ritornello; “Les plaisirs”; “Profitez”, small ritornello; “Ne perdez pas”; “Profitez”; large ritornello in 4 parts; after the ritornello, “Quand d’aider on nous presse . . . toutes les douCEURS” (on this last syllable, all of the violins enter on the ritornello).  

This is followed by the duet arrangement for Mlle Babet and M. Poussin.  

M. Poussin (“Il est doux à notre âge”); the above ritornello.  
Mlle Babet (“L’amant qui se desgagne”; the above ritornello. M. Poussin (“Quel party faut-il prendre”); Mlle Babet (“Faut-il nous en defendre”);  
Mlle Babet (“Devons-nous y rendre”); Mlle Babet and M. Poussin (“Oui, suivons ses ardeurs”).  

In the final entrée de ballet, the dancing Moors enter to the music of the ritornello then dance one of the two concluding airs, as described in Charpentier’s verbal notes:

Ritornello, as above, to bring in the Moorish women. After the ritornello, the Air of the Moors or Canaries is played to make the monkeys jump.  

Charpentier’s 1674 revisions of the Cérémonie des Médecins consists entirely of verbal instructions:

Ceremony of the Doctors. Overture in F ut-fa. After the overture, the Air of the Decorators to decorate the hall.

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83 “Second intermède. Ouverture en de la ré sol. Après l’ouverture, première ritornelle à toutes les parties; profitsez du printemps; petite ritorn.; les plaisirs; profitsez; petite ritorn.; ne perdez pas; profitez; grande ritornelle à 4 parties; après la ritorn. quand d’aymer on nous presse . . . toutes les douCEURS (sur cette dernier syllable entrent tous les violons pour la ritornelle)” (Vol. XVI, fol. 55).

84 Page 157 in Hitchcock’s edition.

85 Mr Poussin (“Il est doux à notre âge”); ritornelle cy dessus.  
Mlle Babet (“L’amant qui se desgagne”); ritornelle cy dessus.  
Mr Poussin (“Quel party faut-il prendre”); Mlle Babet (“Faut-il nous en defendre”); Mlle Babet (“Devons-nous y rendre”); Mlle Babet et Mr Poussin (“Ouy, suivons ses ardeurs”).  

86 “Ritornelle comme cy dessus pour reconduire les moresss. Après la ritornelle on jouera l’air des mores ou les canaries pour faire sauter les singes” (Vol. XVI, fol. 56).
The Air of the March.
After "atque bonum appetitum," the first ritornello.
After "tant de gens omni genere," the same thing.
After "placas honorabiles," the second ritornello.
After "vostris capacitibus," the large ritornello in 4 parts.
After "ensuita purgare," "bene bene respondere," etc.
After he has received the bonnet, the Air of the reverences is played.  

These notes do not mention the "Vivat" chorus or the ballet entrée for the surgeons and apothecaries, so we must conclude that the 1674 version was an abridgment of the original, concluding with the Air des révérences. There is no evidence that a two-voice arrangement of the five-part chorus "Bene, bene respondere" was ever made, which would have been necessary in order to comply with Lully's restrictions; but it is likely that some of the comédiens themselves participated as singers in this chorus, as they did in the premiere of Thomas Corneille's machine play Cirè a year later.  

The reading of the Cérémonie des Médecins preserved in "Théâtre francois, Tom II," is an abbreviated version of the original intermède that might well reflect the changes it underwent through repeated performances. The music of the Overture, Les Tapiessiers, and La Marche is identical to the 1673 version preserved in Charpentier's autographs. Of these three ritornelli, only the first and third appear, and they are followed by the petite reprise and the full chorus of "Bene, bene respondere." The music ends with the final entrée de ballet, Les...
révérences, and the chorus “Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat”\(^{92}\) in light of Lully’s relationship with the Troupe de Guénégaud at this time, it is ironic that the final page of the score bears the erroneous inscription: “fin Mr Lully 1673.”

Lully’s 1673 ordinance did not affect the amount of ballet or of machine spectacle permitted in theatrical productions, so the Troupe de Guénégaud devoted its efforts to this type of entertainment. On 17 March 1675 it premiered *Circe*, a pièce de machines by Thomas Corneille with *intervenées* written by Donneau de Visé and set to music by Charpentier. The troupe received special permission from the king for the extensive amount of music, which included an overture, ballet numbers, vocal solos, and ensembles for up to five parts. In a letter to his brother dated 24 June 1675, the critic Pierre Bayle remarked, “If Molière’s troupe were permitted to perform with music, dance, and instruments according to their inclination, *Circe* would tower above all operas played until now.”\(^{93}\)

This production of *Circe* revived the long-standing feud between Lully and the Troupe de Guénégaud. With ballets, stage machinery, and scenic resources, the company once more threatened to rival the pomp and splendor of Lully’s Académie Royale de Musique. Furthermore, by borrowing professional singers from the Opéra and combining them with their own singing comedians, the troupe was capable of performing vocal ensembles and choruses with five or more parts. Lully countered by obtaining another ordinance (21 March 1675), which strictly limited their singers to two actors in the troupe.\(^{94}\)

Louis XIV once again had to intervene in the internal affairs of his professional theaters in the summer of 1680. Rivalry between the two main theatrical companies in Paris was strong when the leading actress of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, Mlle Champmeslé, defected to join...

\(^{92}\) The “Vivat” chorus bears the inscription “Choeur 3 fois” (p. 178); the order of the clefs and the correspondence of parts with the autograph version is identical to that of the “Bene, bene respondere” chorus described above (n. 91).


\(^{94}\) La Grange records in his *Registre* (I, 184) that he and Dauvilliers approached the king on 7 July 1676 to have these restrictions revoked, but their petition was unsuccessful: “Le Mardy 7 Juillet on na point Joué a cause d’un Voyage qui a Esté fait par les Srs. delagrange et Dauvilliers a Compiègne pour voir le Roy au Retour de l’armée et pour demander permission pr la musique et la danse.” (“Tuesday, 7 July, nothing was performed due to the voyage undertaken by La Grange and Dauvilliers to Compiègne, to see the king upon the return of the army and to request permission for sung music and dance.”)
Table 8
Performance History of *Le Malade imaginaire* at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal and the Hôtel de Guénégaud (1673–86)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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| 1673 | February 10, 12, 14, 17*  
      | March 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21* |
| 1674 | May 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29**  
      | June 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29**  
      | July 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31**  
      | October 19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 30  
      | November 2, 3, 4  
      | December 7, 9 |
| 1677 | October 26, 29, 31  
      | November 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16 |
| 1678 | March 15, 18, 20  
      | October 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27 |
| 1679 | January 10, 13, 15  
      | February 24, 26  
      | August 25, 27, 29  
      | October 6, 8 |
| 1680 | March 11, 13  
      | July 2, 5  
      | September 6, 15 |
| 1681 | January 5  
      | March 14, 16  
      | May 27  
      | August 3  
      | October 9  
      | December 18, 26 |
| 1682 | April 17, 19  
      | October 30  
      | November 3 |
| 1683 | March 1  
      | August 27, 29  
      | December 14 |
| 1684 | February 14  
      | June 29  
      | July 12  
      | November 10, 12  
      | December 11 |
| 1685 | March 29  
      | June 29  
      | September 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21***  
      | October 6, 7, 21*** |
| 1686 | [February 11 at Versailles]***  
      | February 20  
      | June 4, 6  
      | August 3  
      | October 9, 13, 30 |

* Premiere run.  
** First revival, with revised music.  
*** Third revision of the music.
the Troupe de Guénégauld. To prevent a crisis at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, the king ordered these two troupes to merge. The new company, formed 25 August 1680, was known collectively as the Comédiens du Roy and later as the Comédie-Française. *Le Malade imaginaire* was immediately introduced into the new company’s repertoire on 6 September 1680. The *mise-en-scène* for this production is recorded in the notes kept by their chief stage designer:95

The stage is a chamber with an alcove in the background. First act: a chair, table, handbell, and a purse of jetons, a fur-lined coat, six pillows, a cane. First interlude: a guitar or lute, 4 muskets, 4 dark lanterns, 4 sticks, a bladder. Second act: 4 chairs are needed, a handful of switches, some paper. Second interlude: 4 kettledrums. Third interlude: the chair for the President and two long benches are needed, eight syringes, 4 ladders, 4 hammers, 4 mortars, 4 pestles, six stools, and the red robes.

It is necessary to change the stage for the first interlude to represent a town or some streets, and the chamber appears as before. Three pieces of smooth tapestry and some rods and cords are needed.96

From the above inventory it is obvious that the musical interludes occupied a prominent place in this 1680 production. The guitar or lute would have been used for Polichinelle’s serenade “Notte e di,” while the sticks and bladders were no doubt used to administer his *bastonnades*.97 In the second act, the paper was probably a prop used during the performance of Cléante’s and Angélique’s duet.98 ‘The four *tambours de basque* would have been used in the Second Intermède to accompany the *entrée* of the dancing Moors and leaping monkeys.

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95 Henry Carrington Lancaster, ed., *Le Mémoire de Mablot, Laurent, et d'autres décorateurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne et de la Comédie-Française au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1920), pp. 13–24. This document, begun by Laurent Mablot in 1653 and continued by Michel Laurent, describes the stage design and costumes for 192 plays and includes drawings of sets for 47 plays produced during the period 1631–81.


“Il faut changer le théâtre au premier intermede et represanter une ville ou des rues, et la chambre paroist comme l'on a commancé. Il faut 3 piece de tapisserie de haute isese et des perches et cordes.”

97 This list of props suggests that some of the scenes of the original 1673 version of the *Premier Intermède* were included along with Polichinelle’s Italian serenade.

98 Argan alludes to the presence of this prop when he interrupts the dialogue by saying: “Ouais! je ne croyais pas que ma fille fut si habile que de chanter ainsi à livre ouvert, sans hésiter.” (“My word! I didn’t know that my daughter was so adept as to sing from open score without hesitation.”)
Props listed for the Troisième Intermède suggest a staging similar to the 1673 and 1674 versions: a chair for the President of the Faculty, benches for the doctors, stools for the six apothecaries, syringes for the eight syringe bearers, ladders, rods, cords, and tapestry for the decorators, and four mortar and pestles for the orchestra of the “Vivat” chorus.

The new Comédie-Française continued to test Lully’s ordinances by incorporating more and more music into its productions of Les Fous divertissants (1680), La Pierre philosophale (1681), and Endimion (1681), all of which included vocal ensembles and dances.99 The company finally overstepped its bounds with the 19 July 1682 revival of Pierre Corneille’s Andromède, which featured a new prologue and musical interludes by Charpentier.100 No fewer than six actors and actresses were called upon to sing in this production. This circumvention of his restrictions provoked Lully to request from the king another ordinance, which was logged in the “Registre des Comédiens du Roy, 1682–83”:

The 27th of this month [1682] Sieur de Lully obtained a new ordinance from the king restricting the comedians from including in their comedies more than two actors or actresses of the company who are allowed to sing. Signed the 30th of July, this present month. Refer to the preceding ordinances of 30 April 1673 and 21 March 1675.101

99 Les Fous divertissants: Comédie (1680), Raymond Poisson, music contained in F.Pn Ms Rés Vm1 259, Vol. XVIII, fols. 1–13; La Pierre philosophale (1681), Thomas Corneille and Donnove de Visé, music contained in F.Pn Ms Rés Vm1 259, Vol. XVIII, fols. 17–20; Endimion: Tragédie mêlée de musique (1681), anon., music found in F.Pn Ms Rés Vm1 259, Vol. XVIII, fols. 36–45.

100 Andromède: Tragédie (1682), music found in F.Pn Ms Rés Vm1 259, Vol. XVIII, fols. 52–68.

101 Le 27me de ce mois Le S’ de Lully a obtenu une nouvelle ordonnance du Roy portant défense aux Comédiens de mettre des voix dans les Comédiens excepté deux acteurs ou actrices de la Compagnie qui pourront chanter. Signifiée le 30me Juillet présent mois. Vidé les ordonnances précédentes des 30 Avril 1673 et 21 Mars 1675 (fol. 107v). The same ordinance is noted in Le Registre de La Grange, I, 297: “Ce même Jour [30 July 1682] le S’ Lully fist signifier une Nouvelle ordonnance portant defence aux Comedians d’avoir de la musique. lade ordre du 27 du prêtre mois. Vide 30 Avril 1673 et 21 Mars 1675.” (“This same day Sieur Lully signed a new ordinance restricting the comédiens from having sung music; the aforesaid ordinance of the 27th of the present month. See 30 April 1673 and 21 March 1675.”) An earlier entry in Le Registre de La Grange (I, 144) contains a reference to it. The original entry was made during the Lenten break of 1673, after the first run of Le Malade imaginaire: “Ordonnance du Roy du 30 Avril 1673 portant defence et reglement pour les voix et danseurs que le Roy permet d’avoir aux Comedians[,] Confirmez depuis en faveur du Sr Lully le 21 Mars 1675 et 30 Juillet 1682.” (“Ordinance of the king of 30 April 1673 carrying restrictions and regulations for the singers and dancers that the king permits the comédiens to have, since confirmed in favor of Sieur Lully on 21 March 1675 and 30 July 1682.”)
By this time the troupe already had several actors and actresses who doubled as singers when needed, but Lully's latest restriction stifled further ambitions by strictly limiting their number. In 1684 the troupe admitted a professional singer as a permanent gagiste:

It was resolved what will be done concerning Mlle Fréville, singer. Namely, that the troupe will give her yearly eight hundred livres wage or pension, provided that she sing in the plays and perform such roles as the company finds appropriate, and moreover the said company will grant her two hundred livres for the upkeep of the stage, the aforementioned two sums amounting to one thousand livres paid quarterly beginning the first of October of the present year 1684.102

Charpentier once again revised his intermèdes for a production of Le Malade imaginaire, which was eventually presented for the king at Versailles on 11 January 1686.103 He arranged the vocal music for Mlle Fréville and de Villiers, whose names appear in Charpentier's

102 “On a Resolu ce que avoir esté agisé cy devant touchant la damle Fréville Musicienne. Sçavoir Que la troupe luy donnera huit cent livres de gages ou pension par Année à la Charge qu'elle chantera dans les pieces et Jouera tels rolles que la Compagnie trouvera à propos. Et de plus Lad. Compagnie luy accorde deux cent livres pour l'Entretenir proprement au Théâtre Lesquelles dices deux sommes se montent à mille Livres, Laquelle somme luy sera payé par quartier à commencer du 1er octobre de la présent année 1684.” According to Le Registre de La Grange (I, 340), Mlle Fréville was auditioned in a performance of Molière's Dom Juan; ou, Le Festin de Pierre on 28 September 1684 before she was hired as a permanent member of the company on 1 October. Le Registre de La Grange, across from 5 December 1684 entry (p. 344): “Mlle Freville, gagiste à 800# et 200# p' ses petits gages du 1er Octobre dernier” (“Mlle Fréville, supernumerary at 800# and 200# for her work from 1st October last”).

103 The date of this third version can be deduced circumstantially, since Mlle Fréville (listed in Charpentier's score) did not join the troupe until 1684. Hitchcock, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Comédie-Française,” pp. 275–77, states that “it must have been roughly contemporaneous with the Dialogue d'Angélique et de Médor,” since the music for this play, which premiered at the Comédie-Française on 1 August 1685, begins on the verso of Vol. VII, fol. 52. In the Preface to his edition of Le Malade imaginaire (p. xxii), Hitchcock speculates that Charpentier revised his score for this single Versailles performance, but this is doubtful. The comedians frequently premiered a production at court before transferring it to their own theater, or else they performed a work from their current repertoire en visite before the king or wealthy patrons. Le Malade imaginaire had just completed a revival of nine performances at the Comédie-Française between 15 September and 22 October 1685 (refer to Table 1)—the longest run of the play since 1674—before it was performed at Versailles on 11 January 1686; afterward, it was performed only intermittently throughout 1686. Judging from the company's past record, this third version was most likely prepared for the September and October performances, rather than for the single January performance at Versailles.
autograph score and are also listed in the “Registre des Comédiens du Roy” among the cast of sixteen actors and actresses, eleven dancers, seven violinists, a harpsichordist, and a carpenter, all of whom participated in this visite (see Table 9). For the most part, the 1685 revisions consist of Charpentier’s verbal instructions concerning staging and the order of numbers, for which the composer refers frequently to music contained in other cabiers of his “Mélanges autographes.” Some of the old music was transposed to suit the voices of Fréville and de Villiers, and a few instrumental numbers were written especially for this new production.

The 1685 prologue remained essentially the same as the alternate prologue of 1674, with the addition of a new Air des Satires. Charpentier’s notes describe the 1685 prologue as follows:

104 Vol. VII, fols. 34r–35r and fols. 51r–51v. This probably is the same de Villiers who participated in the 1672 performances of La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas and Le Mariage forcé, and thereafter left Molière’s troupe on 11 August 1672. La Grange records the contract with de Villiers (I, 136–37): ‘N’Encores que le S’ De Villiers qui Est entré dans la troupe sur le pied de gagiste a raison de huit cent livres par an a compter depuis pasques dernier en est sorty ainsi il na esté dans la place qu’on luy avoit accordée que depuis le 29 Avril jusqu’au 11 Aoust de la presente année C’est a dire trois mois et quelques Jours.” (“Again note that Sieur de Villiers, who joined the troupe as a supernumerary at the rate of eight hundred livres a year reckoning from last Easter, has left; thus, he has been in the position accorded to him only since 29 April until 11 August of the present year, that is, three months and several days.”) Hubert’s “Registre” confirms de Villiers’s arrival in his entry for 3 June (“M’ De Villiers est arrivé ce jour d’huy”). According to Georges Mongrédién and Jean Robert, Les Comédiens français de XVIIe siècle (Paris, 1981), p. 107, this is Jean Deschamps (dit de Villiers, ca. 1648–1701), who left the troupe of the prince de Condé and returned to the Comédie-Française with a full share of the earnings on 29 June 1684. La Grange reports him among the list of actors receiving a half-share at the Comédie-Française from August 1686 to May 1683. For more information regarding de Villiers, see Schwartz, “Molière’s Theater,” pp. 405–406; and Le Registre de La Grange, I, 136, 137, 240, 268, 269, 316, 331, 335, 341, 353.

105 Performances listed in the “Registre des Comédiens du Roy” for 30 April 1685 to 6 April 1686 follow (with the extraordinary expenses given in parentheses):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 June 1685</td>
<td>(50#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 September</td>
<td>(frais extraordinaires de la piece et au Cabaret 64# 28; Pour avoir accomodé le clavecin 6#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 September</td>
<td>1685 (60#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 September</td>
<td>1685 (60#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 September</td>
<td>1685 (60#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 September</td>
<td>1685 (60#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 September</td>
<td>1685 (62# 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 October</td>
<td>1685 (62#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 October</td>
<td>1685 (61# 68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 October</td>
<td>1685 (64# 149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 January</td>
<td>1686 (at Versailles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 February</td>
<td>1686 (55#: “menus frais et basse continue oubliez 1# 15”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

106 The music for this new Air des Satires is found in Vol. VII, fol. 51, with the notes added on fols. 51r–51v; it is transcribed in Hitchcock’s edition, pp. 81–83.
**Le Malade imaginaire** otherwise readjusted for the third time.

Overture in C sol-ut-fa (*cahier* XVII).

Prologue: “Votre plus haut savoir” in C sol-ut-fa for Mlle Fréville ([*cahier*] XVII) with its ritornelli in the music.

[Air des] Satires follows “Votre plus haut savoir” *cahier* 45.\(^{107}\)

### Table 9

**Expenses for *Le Malade imaginaire*, Performed at Versailles on 11 January 1686**

("Registre des Comédiens du Roy")

Noms des Danceurs qui ont esté employez au balet du Malade Imaginaire. Lesquelles ce sont fournis de bas de soyes et d’escarpins:

Mrs La Montagne
  - Desau
  - Dufort
  - Barber
  - Levesque
  - Nivelon
  - Dua
  - Des Noyers
  - St Michel et le petit Courselle
  - Renaud

Acteurs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mrs La Grange</th>
<th>Guérin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Du Croisy</td>
<td>Des Mares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosimond</td>
<td>Raison L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Villiers</td>
<td>Beauval</td>
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<tr>
<td>D’Auvilliers</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Actrices:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mles Guérin</th>
<th>La Grange</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beauval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fréville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>La petite La Grange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pour Louison</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poisson</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Rieu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verdier pour le Clavessin plus sept Violons faisant en tout dix neuf hommes, plus un menuisier pour faire la décoration 4# 10s pr la Journée et sa nouriture.

[A further note, across from 29 March 1686 in the “Registre des Comédiens du Roy,” lists these expenses:]

A onze danceurs pr Le Malade Imaginaire . . . . 33#
A sept violons et au sieur Verdier . . . . 24#

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\(^{107}\) "Le Malade Imaginaire rajusté autrement pour la 3\textsuperscript{ère} fois.

Ouverture en c sol ut fa (cahier XVII).

Prologue: votre plus haut savoir en c sol ut fa pour Melle fréville XVII avec ses ritornelle[ses] dans la musique.

Satires ensuite de votre plus haut savoir, cahier 45" (Vol. VII, fol. 34").
The following notes also appear with the newly added Air des Satires:

[Air des] Satires for the end of the Prologue to *Le Malade imaginaire* realigned for the third time.

After this entry of satyrs, the overture is played until the first act, and, if it is too long, one continues to play the same Air des Satires.\(^{108}\)

Charpentier’s extant revisions of the Polichinelle interlude consist of verbal instructions, an instrumental prelude for “Notte e di,” and a new Air des Archers.\(^{109}\) His verbal notes read as follows:

First interlude: *entrée* of the Polichinelles driven away by the Harlequins, as before, to the chaconne.

After the *entrée*: Prelude for “Notte e di.”

“Notte e di” transposed to E mi-la with its ritornelli for Mlle Fréville; the transposed song is in *câbler* XVII.

After this song, the violins improvise a prelude in G re-sol-natural to give the key to M. de Villiers, who will sing “Zerbinetti,” after which the violins will play the following air until the second act [Air des Archers].\(^{110}\)

And a later note includes further stage directions:

Polichinelles driven away by the Harlequins, as before.

First interlude: “Notte e di” in E mi-la; “Zerbinetti” in G re-sol.\(^{111}\)

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\(^{108}\) “Satires pour la fin du Prologue du Malade Imaginaire rajusté pour la 3ème fois. Après cette entrée de satyres, on joue l’ouverture jusque au premier acte, et si elle est trop longue on continuera à jouer Le mesme air des satyres” (fols. 51–51').

\(^{109}\) The prelude is found in Vol. VII, fols. 34'–35'; transcribed in Hitchcock’s edition, p. 91. The autograph manuscript version of this prelude is essentially the same as the reading in “Théâtre français, Tom II,” p. 136, but with one measure omitted and the two violin parts occasionally reversed. The new Air des Archers is in Vol. VII, 35–35'; transcribed in Hitchcock’s edition, pp. 89–90.

\(^{110}\) “Premier intermède: entrée des Polichinelles chassées par les arlequins comme autre sur la chacon.

“Après l’entrée: Prélude pour notte e di. Notte e di transposé en e mi la avec les ritornelles de la suite pour Mademoiselle Fréville; la chanson à transposer est dans le cahier XVII.

“Après cette chanson les violons préludent de caprice en g ré sol bequaire pour donner le ton à M de villiers qui chantera Zerbinetti, après quoy les violons joueront jusque au second acte l’air suivant [Air des Archers].”

The left margin of fol. 35 bears the inscription “Zerbinetti est dans le livre A page 216” (“Zerbinetti” is in book A, page 216). Regarding these lost autograph manuscripts, see n. 10 above.

\(^{111}\) “Polichinelles chassés par les Arlequins comme jadis.

Premier intermède: notte e di en e mi la; zerbinetti en g ré sol” (fol. 51').
These notes describe yet another version of the Premier Intermède, beginning with an entire group of Harlequins driving another group of Polichinelles offstage—perhaps to the music of the chaconne found in “Théâtre français, Tom II.” Then the two Italian airs are performed in what Hitchcock identifies as “a transvestite farce”\[112\] Mlle Fréville sang Polichinelle’s serenade transposed a sixth higher, while M. de Villiers sang the old woman’s response in his own octave.\[114\] The altercation between Polichinelle and the Night Watch is summed up in the new Air des Archers, which is thematically related to “Signora” de Villier’s song, “Zerbinetti” (beginning with the words “Quei sguardi languidi”). From the various accounts of the mise-en-scène, it becomes clear that the comic action (and, therefore, the music) of the Premier Intermède developed and evolved from one performance run to the next. Trial and error must have played a significant part in stage performances, and jeux de scènes such as the Harlequins/Polichinelles stampede no doubt were a continuation of a successful comic situation left over from a previous performance run.

The Second Intermède revisions featured a new four-part Overture\[115\] and a two-voice arrangement of the vocal ensembles, verbally described in Charpentier’s autographs:

Second Interlude of the Moors; overture in cahier 45.

Ritornello for “Profitez du printemps” in D la-re-sol for Mlle Fréville, during which the Moors enter dancing in time to the music, and after which “Profitez du printemps” is sung, with its ritornelli; after the violins play a prelude in A mi-la-re, M. de Villiers sings “Quand d’aimer on nous presse” in A mi-la-re; then the violins play the ritornello in D la-re-sol, during which the Moors perform figured dance.

The remainder of the scene is in D la-re-sol, with little else changed.\[116\]

These verbal instructions indicate that the changes in the Second Intermède consisted of adding figured dancing to the two four-part

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\[112\] Pages 154–55.
\[113\] Preface to his edition, p. xxv.
\[114\] The version of “Zerbinetti” preserved in “Théâtre français, Tom II” is scored for the tessitura of a male alto.
\[116\] “Second Intermède des Mores; ouverture dans le cahier 45.
“Ritornelle de profitez du printemps en de la ré sol [four] Melle fréville pendants la quelle les mores entrent en cadence, et après la quelle on chant profitez du printemps avec ses ritornelles; en suite de quoy les violons ayant prélude en A mi la ré, Monsieur de villiers chantera quand d’aymer on nous presse en a mi la ré; après quoy les violons jouent la ritornelle en de la ré sol, pendant laquelle les mores figurent.
“Le reste de la scène est en d la ré sol, en changeant fort peu de choses” (Vol. VII, fol. 35).
ritornelli that frame the vocal duet and transposing one of the solos with its prelude ("Quand d'aimer on nous presse"), perhaps done more for musical variety than for the convenience of de Villier’s vocal tessitura.

Charpentier’s notes for the changes in the final interlude are brief:

Third Interlude: Ceremony of the Doctors.

As usual, except there is a second air added for the decorators, cabier XLVI.\textsuperscript{117}

This added dance number includes the following inscription:

Second air for the decorators from \textit{Le Malade imaginaire}, revised for the third time, immediately following their first air.\textsuperscript{118}

Whereas the Premier Intermède was subject to numerous revisions in the musical score and to experimentation with the comic action, the Cérémonie des Médecins was left relatively unchanged, no doubt because this fantastic conclusion is so closely tied in with the psychological denouement of the play. In his verbal instructions, Charpentier points up the long-standing performance tradition of the Cérémonie des Médecins when he laconically notes “comme à l’ordinaire.” But the music written for its 1673 premiere, with its choruses in five parts, would, in 1685, have been in flagrant violation of Lully’s July 1682 ordinance that restricted the number of singing actors to two. The earlier ordinance of 1675 had little actual effect on the elimination of dance from theatrical productions, but Lully’s decree regulating the number of singers allowed on Parisian stages was repeatedly invoked and enforced. Even if the comédiens themselves sang in the five-part choruses (as they probably did for the 1674 revival), such actions in 1685 would not have been allowed.

But the version contained in “Théâtre français, Tom II” (pp. 168–82), provides a clue to the kind of choral performance that might have been permitted under Lully’s regulations. All of these choruses are in six-staff score, with the following clefs: treble, alto, tenor, bass,

\textsuperscript{117} “Troisième Intermède: Cérémonie des Médecins.

“Comme à l’ordinaire, accepté [sic] qu’il y a un second air d’ajouté pour les tapisseries, cabier XLVI.”

This second air for the \textit{tapisseries} is found in Vol. XXII, fol. 31\textsuperscript{r}; transcribed in Hitchcock’s edition, p. 129. It does not appear in “Théâtre français, Tom II.”

\textsuperscript{118} “Second air pour les tapisseries du malade imaginaire reformé po(ur) la 3e fois, immédiatement après leur premier air.”
treble, and bass. This apparently four-part choral arrangement is
notated above premier dessus violin and base-continue parts;¹¹⁹ presumably other strings filled in the harmonies by playing from the choral
parts. But unlike the Premier Intermède choruses, in which the text
appears (in whole or in part) below each vocal line,¹²⁰ the choruses of
the Troisième Intermède consistently show the text under the top
staff alone. The implication here is evident: whereas a four-part choral
arrangement with orchestral accompaniment would flagrantly violate
Lully’s restrictions, the performance of accompanied unison choral
chant might not overstep the bounds imposed on music permitted in
comedies. Furthermore, choral chant would be perfectly in keeping
with the ritualistic atmosphere of the doctoral initiation ceremony.
When Charpentier succinctly writes “comme à l’ordinaire,” he may
well be alluding to a theatrical tradition that developed over the years
through repeated revivals of Le Malade imaginaire.

Music and dance were essential to Molière’s conception of theater.
The ever-increasing use of musical “ornements” in his productions
during the 1660s (recorded in the registres) finally caused Molière, in
1671, completely to remodel the Théâtre du Palais-Royal to accom-
modate music, machines, and theatrical spectacle. Indeed, until the
Florentine obtained the privilège for his Académie Royale de Musique,
Molière and Lully were on the verge of establishing French opera on
the stage of the Palais-Royal. Their creation, the comédie-ballet, was a
unique and vibrant form of lyric theater derived from the combined
heritage of the farce and the ballet de cour, and, in its mature form (Le
Bourgeois Gentilhomme and Le Malade imaginaire), the comédie-ballet set
the standard for a new type of theater that psychologically related
music and dance to the plot. In Charpentier, Molière found a collaborator who, although untried in the theater, was musically the
equal of Lully. Their one finished product, Le Malade imaginaire, is a
complex blend of satire, comedy, and burlesque fantasy that can now
be fully evaluated and appreciated with Charpentier’s inspired musi-
cal score. It is regrettable that their brilliant association was cut short
by the playwright’s premature death at the age of fifty-one.

After Molière’s death, Lully successfully suppressed the further
development of musical theater outside of the Académie Royale de
Musique, and during the last quarter of the seventeenth century his
tragédies-lyriques took first place in the theatrical life of Paris. The

¹¹⁹ This is substantiated by a note-for-note comparison with Charpentier’s
autographs of the 1673 version.
### Table 10

Musical Sources for *Le Malade imaginaire*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>F: Pn. Ms Rés Vm 1259 (Mélanges autographes)</th>
<th><em>Airs de la comédie de Circé</em></th>
<th>&quot;Théâtre français, Tom II&quot; (F: PeS)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prologue original (1673)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ouverture</td>
<td>XVI, 49-50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Églogue en musique et en danse</td>
<td>XIII, 1-40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Autre prologue (1674)</td>
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<td>Ouverture (I)</td>
<td>XVI, 52-52</td>
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<td>Ouverture (II)</td>
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<td>Plaine de la Bergère</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air des Satyres</td>
<td>VII, 51-51</td>
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<td>Premier Intermède</td>
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<td>&quot;Notte e di&quot;</td>
<td>XVI, 53-55</td>
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<td>&quot;Zerbinetti&quot;</td>
<td>VII, 34-35</td>
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<td>La Fantasie</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Qui va là?&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Entrée à 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Nous le tenons à nous&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Ah traiire, ah fripò&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Air pour les Croquignoles</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Ah! Ah! Vous en voulez passer&quot;</td>
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<td>Air pour les coups de bâtons</td>
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<td>&quot;Ah! L'Honneste homme!&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Adieu, Seigneur Polichinelle&quot;</td>
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<td>Entrée: Loué I</td>
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<td>Loué II</td>
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<td>Chaconne</td>
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<td><em>Air des Archers</em> (1685)</td>
<td>VII, 35-35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Act II, scène 5 (dialogue)</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Belle Philis&quot;</td>
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<td>Second Intermède</td>
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<td>Ouverture (1673)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intermède à 2 voix (1685)</td>
<td>VII, 35</td>
<td>(selections)</td>
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<td>Premier Air des Mores</td>
<td>XVI, 65-66</td>
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<td>Second Air: Canaries</td>
<td>XVI, 67</td>
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<td>Gigue</td>
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<td>Premier Passepied</td>
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<td>Second Passepied</td>
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<td>Troisième Intermède</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ouverture</td>
<td>XVI, 69-69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les Tapisseries</td>
<td>XVI, 71-72</td>
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<td>Second Air (1685)</td>
<td>XXII, 31</td>
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<td>La Marche</td>
<td>XVI, 72-73</td>
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<td>Ritornelles</td>
<td>XVI, 73-74</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Bene, bene respondere&quot;</td>
<td>XVI, 74-78</td>
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<td>Air des révérences</td>
<td>XVI, 79</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat&quot;</td>
<td>XVI, 80-88</td>
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</table>

Notes:
- F: Pn. Ms Rés Vm 1259 (Mélanges autographes)
- *Airs de la comédie de Circé*
- "Théâtre français, Tom II" (F: PeS)
- pp. 132-33
- pp. 134-36
- pp. 136-39
- pp. 139-41
- pp. 141-43
- pp. 143-44
- pp. 144-45
- pp. 145-46
- pp. 146-50
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- pp. 156-58
- pp. 168-69
- p. 170
- pp. 170-71
- pp. 171-72 (1st and 3rd only)
- pp. 173-76
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- pp. 178-82 (abridged)
spectacle of music, singers, and dancers together with sumptuous costumes and sets delighted the eyes and ears of spectators. Louis XIV gave his full support to Lully’s tragédies-lyriques, where his own gloire was constantly eulogized in the mythological adventures of Apollo or Hercules. In doing so, the king ungraciously abandoned Molière and his troupe to grant extraordinary favors to the ambitious Lully: a gratuitous present of the Palais-Royal (where Molière’s company was then acting), the opera privilège, and numerous ordinances designed to give Lully a virtual monopoly on secular music-making in France, even a court appointment as Conseiller-Sécrétaire du Roy. It is easy to understand the enthusiasm (real or pretended) of Louis’s court for Lully and his operas, an enthusiasm promptly shared by the people of Paris. The audiences that formerly attended the tragedies of Racine at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, the tragédies à machines at the Théâtre du Marais, or Molière’s comedies, farces, and comédies-ballets at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal were now drawn to the musical spectacles at Lully’s Académie Royale de Musique. Beginning with Le Malade imaginaire, Lully sought to suppress music and dance in the theatrical productions of his rivals. His success in effecting a division between dramatic and lyric theater gave rise to the development of three long-standing Parisian institutions: the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, and the Comédie-Française.