LE MALADE IMAGINAIRE
AND ITS REVISIONS

I was both delighted and surprised with a piece of news that I heard yesterday: I was told that you were about to give 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 though this man, who without a doubt is an oddball, might not be so odd that one could not find some replica at the [Hospital of the] Incurables.

This testimony by the poet-musician Charles Coyepeau (dit Dassoucy) is the earliest-known reference to Molière’s final comédie-ballet, Le Malade imaginaire. During the early 1650s Dassoucy had befriended Molière and the Illustre Théâtre during their provincial tours, and may have assisted with some musical productions given for the Estates of Languedoc. With the breakup of ‘les deux grands Baptistes’ in the spring of 1672, the septuagenarian approached Molière and once again offered his services. However, when Molière instead opted to collaborate with Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Dassoucy took the news as a personal affront and addressed this deliciously acerbic open letter to the playwright.

One could hardly fault Molière for having selected Charpentier as his new musical associate, despite Dassoucy’s claim that he did so in order to pacify some ‘irritated virgins’ (including Mlle de Guise, Charpentier’s esteemed patroness). By the 1670s Dassoucy’s music, like his burlesque poetry, had fallen out of fashion. Charpentier, on the other hand, was fresh from Rome and his studies with Carissimi, and displayed a youthful flair for composing dramatic music. After trying out Charpentier in a number of summer revivals (including La Comtesse d’Escarbiognes and Le Mariage forcé), Molière began working with him on a new comédie-ballet for the forthcoming Carnival season. Plans were finalized by August 1672, when the Mercure galant announced that.

At the beginning of winter we will see the grand spectacle of Psyché triumph once again on the stage of the Palais-Royal, and during Carnival a new spectacular play, entirely comic, will be performed—and as this play will be by the famous Molière, and the ballets will be created by M. de Beauchamps, we should expect from them only the finest.

The names of Molière and Beauchamps were of course familiar to all, while Charpentier was at this time virtually unknown, and so he received no mention. There is no clear evidence that Molière expected to receive a royal invitation for a court première, as has often been maintained. After all, as the King’s surintendant de la musique, Lully was officially in charge of music for court presentations, and after their breakup Lully actively opposed Molière’s ventures in musical theatre. More likely, the playwright hoped to entice the King to come and see his latest comédie-ballet at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal.

Charpentier’s first major work for the Parisian stage, Le Malade imaginaire was a complex and expensive production, due to ‘the prologue and intermèdes filled with dances, vocal music, and stage properties.’ A collection of bills and receipts discovered and published by Edouard Thierry provides the means to reconstruct the production schedule from 22 November 1672, when general preparations began, until the première on 10 February 1673. On 5 December 1672 carpenters started constructing the sets and machines. Thereafter, Jean Crosnier, the company’s décorateur and general factotum, recorded the days (beginning 19 December) on which the Palais-Royal received firewood to heat the hall for dance rehearsals, which lasted nearly every day of the week from 8 a.m. until 2 p.m. Three days later musical rehearsals began for the young ladies who were to sing in the prologue and the Moorish intermède, and who were provided with candles and provisions. Furthermore, the company paid for a private tutor for one of the singers, Mlle Marion, who learned her music by rote. From the bill submitted by the candlemaker Jeanne Magouillet, we can deduce the rehearsal schedule: beginning 16 January, on afternoons when there were no performances, 2 lb. of candles were furnished for the dramatic rehearsals—which were evidently held in dim light; only after Psyché closed on 22 January did full rehearsals (the grandes répétitions) commence with the musicians and dancers.

Mme Magouillet provided 32 lb. of candles for the dress rehearsal on 7 February, and on opening night the audience watched the production from the brilliant

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1 Dassoucy, Rêves maléables (Paris: Claude Neige, s.d.), 31–35. Dassoucy’s reference to the recent breakup of Molière and Lully (‘aujourd’hui que perdent M. de Lulli, vous ne susitez tomber que de bien haut, pis que vos ne tomberiez pas au moins du ciel en terre’) implies that he wrote this letter in the spring of 1672. See Mongrelié, Recueil relatif à Molière, i, 399–401.
2 P. Rasmus, ‘A Sweet Servitude: A Musician’s Life at the Court of Mlle de Guise’, Early Music, 15/3 (Aug. 1987), 347–60 (at n. 23). points out that Mlle de Guise was in a position to ask a favour of Molière, and therefore she may have brought him and Charpentier together.
3 Mercure galant (5 Aug. 1672), iii. 369.
light of 53 lb. of candles. In all, the company had scheduled no fewer than fifty-three rehearsals for the ballet, of which eighteen included the play.

This exceptional amount of rehearsal-time devoted to the *ornements* proves that Molière and his company regarded the music and dance as an essential and indispensable concomitant to the spoken comedy. While this intensive preparation may testify to the elaborateness and complexity of Beauchamps’s choreography, it might also point to the inexperience of the dancers with whom Beauchamps had to work, since Lully had appropriated the best dancers for his Académie Royale de Musique. Consequently, even after *Le Malade imaginaire* opened on 10 February 1673, dance rehearsals continued under Beauchamps’s direction. These two months of rehearsal and instruction had served to train a new generation of singers and dancers who were prepared to meet the demands of Molière’s musical theatre. Thierry advanced the hypothesis that Molière and his associates had effectively established a school of performing arts (in violation of Lully’s opera privilège) to pave the way for future semi-operatic productions at the Palais-Royal.12

The revisions that Charpentier made to his score for *Le Malade imaginaire* have created no end of confusion for modern scholars. The livrets printed for the 1673 première,13 the 1674 revival,14 and the first authorized edition of the play15 provide lyrics for music hitherto thought lost: that is, music missing from Charpentier’s *Mélanges autographes* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where the existing music is found scattered about in two different volumes.16 Moreover, there is evidence that Charpentier had begun to revise his score almost immediately, perhaps even before Molière’s death after the fourth performance. Due mainly to Lully’s restrictions, the 1674 revival at the Hôtel de Guénégaud brought on still more changes, for which Charpentier reused some of his original music and put it together with newly composed music. A third set of revisions, probably carried out for the 1685–6 revival at the Comédie-Française, refers to music of both earlier versions and adds some more new music.

Two other sources shed some light on this confusion by furnishing music for many of the numbers missing from Charpentier’s autographs. The *Airs de la comédie de Ciret avec la basse-continu* (Paris: Christie Charlebois, 1676) includes several vocal numbers from the first and second *intermèdes* of *Le Malade imaginaire*. However, an even more significant source is the recently discovered *Théâtre François, Tome II*, which (except for the original prologue) contains most of the music for the *comédie-ballet*.17 Table 17.1 summarizes the contents of these manuscript and printed collections, which will finally make possible the following reconstruction of the different versions of Charpentier’s score for *Le Malade imaginaire*.18

**THE ORIGINAL VERSION (1673)**

One of the first problems encountered in Charpentier’s *Mélanges autographes* is the presence of two prologues. The original *Églogue en musique et en danse* is a pastoral compliment paid to Louis XIV in celebration of his return from the Dutch War; its lyrics appear in the livret printed by Christophe Ballard for the 1673 première, as well as in two pirate editions published in Amsterdam the following year.19 The names of six professional singers engaged by the Troupe du Roy are found in the margins of Charpentier’s autograph score: Mlles Mouvant, Hardy, and Marion (sopranos), M. Poussin (*haute-contre*), M. Forestier (tenor), and M. Frison (bass).

However, the existence of another, shorter prologue has caused scholars to question whether the *Églogue en musique et en danse* was in fact ever performed during the first performance-run. Their reasoning is as follows: because its lyrics are addressed to the King, the *Églogue* must have been intended for court presentation; Molière, however, did not receive the anticipated royal invitation to present the première of *Le Malade imaginaire* at court; this royal snub showed that the playright was no longer in the King’s favour; therefore, since the adulatory *Églogue* would have become a public embarrassment, Molière must have substituted the shorter prologue, which omitted references to the King and his recent military victories.

However, an overlooked document found in Thierry’s *Documents sur le Malade imaginaire* proves that Molière’s company did in fact perform the *Églogue en musique et en danse* during the first performance-run. A bill for the

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15 *Ms. Rés. Vm*: 259. For source citations, see Table 17.1. See also Hitchcock, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Comédie-Française*, 258 for an explanation of how Charpentier’s music came to be in such disorder.

16 Leboeuf, first mentioned the existence of this anthology, but did not emphasize its importance. Moreover, he informs us that ‘in 1680, M. Emondard Thierry had *Le Malade imaginaire* performed with the intermèdes and Charpentier’s music’; see *Musique à la Comédie Française*, 14.


### Table 17.1 Sources for *Le Malade imaginaire*

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<td>'Ah traistre, ah frison'</td>
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<td>'Ah! ah! vous en voulez passer'</td>
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<td>VII, fos. 51*–52*</td>
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Dramatic division and musical numbers

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<td>XVI, fos. 80–8</td>
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Third Intermède: 'Cérémonie des Médecins' (1685)

| Second Air for les Tapisiers          | XXII, fos. 31*                       |                                        |                                         |

Stage properties, submitted by the supplier Angélique Bourdon during the third week of performances, lists many items specifically required by the 'Éloge': 6 parasols and 8 shepherds' crooks furnished for the rehearsals; 12 batons painted silver with silver fringes and bells; 6 shepherds' crooks and 6 javelins varnished the colour of fire and silver and garnished with ribbons; a tin flute for Pan (Pan appears only in the 'Éloge', not in the shorter prologue); 6 parasols decorated with painted linen and gauze borders; 2 floral crowns (given to Tircis and Dorilas by Clémène and Daphné after the singing contest in scene 4 of the 'Éloge'); a coiffure and a floral bouquet for 'Mlle Mouyam' (Mlle Mouvant, the soprano who sang the role of Flore in the 'Éloge'); a bouquet for 'Mlle Durecuyz' (probably Marie-Angélique Gasot, known as Mlle Du Croisy, who evidently played a member of Flore's retinue); 1½ gross of flowers; 6 ropes garnished with flowers; 6 garlands with 9 pendants; 3 pieces of ribbon 'to attach flowers to the doors'; and 2 gross of leaves.20 As Molière's troupe had already printed its lyrics in the 1673 livret, not to mention having devoted two months to rehearsing its choruses and dances, there must remain little doubt that the 'Éloge en musique et en danse' was indeed performed at the time of the première.

Because most of its music is missing from Charpentier's 'Mélanges autographes', the first intermède has caused the most problems for potential editors of *Le Malade imaginaire*. Julien Tieriot discovered the two Italian songs published in *Airs de la comédie de Cercé*, and published his reconstruction of the first intermède in 1925, for which he borrowed from other Charpentier works and added his own music composed 'dans le style de Charpentier'.21 At any rate, the two Italian

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20 ‘Mémoire des entenailles que l’on fournir pour le palais royal’, cited hereafter as ‘Mémoire d’Angélique Bourdon’ and reprinted in Thierry, *Documents sur le Malade imaginaire*, 241–3. Curiously, Thierry neglected to take the ‘Mémoire d’Angélique Bourdon’ into account when he concluded that ‘l’élogue, evidentement composé pour la court, might not have been performed in Paris’ (‘l’Élogue, composée évidemment pour la cour, pouvait ne pas être représenté à Paris’ (at 270)).

21 Polichinelle, Premier Intermède du ‘Malade imaginaire’ de Molière, musique de Marc-Antoine Charpentier, reconstructie et complète par Julien Tieriot (Paris, 1925). Yet another reconstruction is found in Hitchcock, *Prologues et intermèdes du Malade imaginaire de Molière*, in which the ed. borrows music from Cercé to substitute for the missing numbers.
songs ("Notte e di' and 'Zerbinetti") appear to have been later additions to the production, for their lyrics do not appear in the 1673 livret.22 Instead, there is a short comic opera in seven scenes, as summarized in the livret: 'Polichinelle comes in the night to give a serenade to his mistress. He is interrupted at first by some fiddlers, with whom he falls into a rage, and then by the night patrol, composed of singers and dancers.' This is a typical sérenade interrompue, in which Polichinelle (the commedia dell'arte clown Pulcinello) comes to serenade his mistress (presumably the play's servant Toinette). He is first interrupted by a band of fiddlers (rival serenaders?) with whom he has an argument, and then by the singing night patrol, which comes to arrest him for disturbing the peace. Taking advantage of the darkness, Polichinelle pretends to summon his lackeys and frightens the watchmen away. However, the watchmen return with lanterns, arrest Polichinelle, and deliver his corporal punishment to musical accompaniment, whereupon Polichinelle bribes them, and they bid him goodnight and 'dance for joy at the money they have received'. The only source to preserve Charpentier's music for the original first intermède is Théâtre Français, Tome II.

Act 2, scene 5 features a musical performance-within-the-play, wherein the young lover Cléante arrives at Argan's home disguised as a substitute music teacher for his daughter Angélique. Monsieur Diaofoir and his son Thomas (the husband Argan has chosen for Angélique) arrive, and Argan bids the 'music teacher' to have his daughter sing for their guests. Cléante proposes that together they sing 'un petit opéra impromptu', the plot of which is remarkably similar to that of Angélique and Cléante in pastoral guise ('Belle Philis, c'est trop soufrir'). Believing the music to have been lost, Camille Saint-Saëns composed his own setting of the petit opéra impromptu for a series of performances of Le Malade imaginaire given at the Opéra in 1892. Fortunately, Charpentier's original setting of the 'petit opéra impromptu' has also come to light in Théâtre Français, Tome II, and is now available in modern edition.23

As a musical palliative for Argan's ill humour (brought on by his discovery of Cléante's music-teacher ruse), his brother Béralde presents an exotic Moorish divertissement. The 1673 livret provides the following description: 'The brother of the imaginary invalid brings before him for his entertainment several male and female gypsies dressed as Moors, who perform dances intermingled with songs. The music is found in Charpentier's Mélanges autographes, with performers'

22 For an exhaustive discussion of this matter, see my article 'La métamorphose d'un intermède du Malade imaginaire', Rime d'histoire du théâtre (1994 (2nd issue)), 125-72.
23 This scene is described in some detail in Ch. 7, pp. 117-20 and Ch. 11, p. 222.
24 Saint-Saëns later published his setting of the 'petit opéra impromptu' in his edn. Le Malade imaginaire, Comédie-Ballet en 3 Actes de Molière, Music de M.-A. Charpentier (Paris, 1864); the foreword states: 'Lors de la représentation du Malade Imaginaire au Croisé-Théâtre (Direction Perret, Paris 1832), M. C. Saint-Saëns a accepté de renoncer et de restaurer la partition que Charpentier avait écrite pour la comédie de Molière, de quoi il ne restait que des fragments.' Evidently, Thibert's 1869 reconstruction of Charpentier's music for Le Malade imaginaire had been forgotten (see above, n. 17).

names notated alongside their respective parts: Mmes Mouvant, Hardy, and Marion (sopranos); M Poussin (haute-contre).

Le Malade imaginaire concludes with the 'Cérémonie des Médecins', a burial initiation ritual arranged by Béralde for Argan, and performed by some carnival entertainers along with members of his household.26 Since Argan is adamant about having a doctor in the family, Béralde suggests that Argan himself become a doctor, and he claims to have friends in the Faculty of Medicine who would perform the rites. This farcical ceremony represents a parody of actual examinations that a medical candidate during Molière's time would take: the examen particulier for the licence to practise medicine, and the examen pratique for the doctorate.27 The final intermède begins with a transformation of Argan's chamber. 'Several upholsterers come in to prepare the hall, and place the benches to music; after which the whole assembly (composed of 8 syringe-bearers, 6 apothecaries, 22 doctors, the one who is to be initiated as a doctor, 8 dancing surgeons and 2 singing surgeons) enter and take their places according to their rank'. The president of the Faculty delivers a lengthy address in macaronic Latin, with each pause articulated by an instrumental ritournelle. Then Argan is examined by four of the doctors on various diseases and their treatments, and for each correct answer the assembly applauds him in chorus ('Bene, bene respondere'). Having passed his exams, Argan is awarded 'le bonnet' and 'all the surgeons and apothecaries come to do him reverence to music'. In pidgin Latin, Argan addresses the assembly, which responds with choral song and dance ('Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat'). 'All the surgeons and apothecaries dance to the sound of instruments and voices, and clapping of hands, and apothecaries' mortars.' After more kudos by two surgeons and the chorus, the entire assembly performs a final ballet entrel and departs.28

Molière's death on Sunday, 17 February 1673 brought a temporary halt to performances of Le Malade imaginaire, while La Thollière prepared to take over the leading role of Argan. News of the catastrophe seems to have stimulated a temporary increase in ticket-sales when performances resumed on 3 March. While the King did not see the production, he no doubt heard about it from Monsieur and his wife, who attended a performance on 3 March (according to Le registre d'Hubert). However, by the end of the season receipts had fallen off, and
the company still owed more than 1,000 livres of production expenses. After Easter Lully acquired new restrictions limiting the musical resources of public theatres, and on 28 April the King granted Lully the use of the Palais-Royal for his Académie-Royale de Musique, thereby forcing the Troupe du Roy to seek a new playhouse.

THE SECOND VERSION (1674)

By the summer of 1673 the Troupe du Roy had joined with the Marais company and relocated to the Hôtel de Guénégaud. In January 1674 they secured a lettre de cachet from the King prohibiting any other companies from performing Le Malade imaginaire until the play had been published. Expenses from the troubled first run had finally been paid off, and the company scheduled a revival of Le Malade imaginaire to begin their 1674–5 season. Lully’s restrictions of April 1673, however, forced Charpentier to rearrange some of his earlier music, and to compose new music for the ‘two singers and six violins or instrumentalists’ that were allowed. This revival opened on 4 May 1674 and played thirty-eight times until July of that year, with ten more performances in October, November, and December. Le Registre de La Grange (i. 158) listed the following items among the production expenses: musique (singers and continuo instruments), violons (violins, violas, and cello), assistants (perhaps dancers), sauteurs (acrobats), menuisiers (carpenters), ouvriers et assistants (workers who operated the machinery and setchanges), 2 laquais et décorateur (2 lackeys and the set-designer), and surcroit de chandelier (candle supplement). The daily register for the 1674–5 season (II. Registre de la Troupe du Roy, entry of 4 May 1674) lists the names of the singers, dancers, instrumentalists, designers, and stage-hands who participated in the 1674 revival—including Mlle Babet (soprano), M Bourdelou (haute-contre), M Carles ( theorbo), M Delaporte (harpsichord), Dudivier (violon), Marchand (violon), Converset (violon), Dufresne (violon), Courselles (violon), and Dumont (violon).

The livret printed for this 1674 revival describes a different and less elaborate pastoral prologue:

The theatre represents a forest. The stage is revealed to an agreeable sound of instruments. Then a shepherdess appears to complain tenderly that she finds no remedy for the heartache that she suffers. Several fauns and gypsies assembled for their own festivities and games meet the shepherdess. They listen to her complaint, and provide a very entertaining spectacle.

Instead of praising the King, this ‘Autre prologue’ addresses lovesickness, a common illness which the ‘grandes mots latins’ of the quack doctors prove unable to cure. ‘These uncertain remedies, of which simple people think that you know the admirable virtue, have little healing power for the ills that I feel; and all your gibeberish can be received only by an Imaginary Invalid.’ Then the fauns and gypsies presumably attempt a cure with the music, dance, and comedy of the entertainment that follows. Music for the ‘Autre prologue’ is found in Charpentier’s Mélanges autographes, and consists of an overture, a vocal solo, and ritournelles; Théâtre François, Tome II contains the same solo preceding by a different orchestral overture (see Table 17.1).

Judging by Charpentier’s verbal instruction and the 1674 livret, the first interlude underwent numerous changes and revision. Discrepancies between the composer’s manuscript notes and the livret’s summary of the action suggest that two distinct versions emerged during the 1674 revival: an ‘Intermediate Version’ and a ‘Second Version’. Charpentier’s notes read as follows:

First ['Second' crossed out] intermède.
The Fantasy is played from behind the stage without interruption.
Polichinelle enters, and when he is ready to sing before Toinette’s window, the fiddlers, conducted by Spacamond, recommence the Fantasy, with interruptions.
Spacamond gives Polichinelle a beating and drives him away, and then the fiddlers play the ‘Air des Archers’, after which the Italian air that follows is sung [the music for ‘Notte e di’ follows].
The fiddlers immediately recommence the ‘Air des Archers’.

This ‘Intermediate Version’ extends the action of the first part of the 1673 intermède. After an instrumental fantaisie performed from behind the stage ‘sans interruption’, Polichinelle arrives to serenade his mistress (perhaps delivering his speech ‘O amour, amour, amour! Pauvre Polichinelle!’), but he is prevented from doing so by the music, with which he has an argument (i.e. the fantaisie ‘avec ses interruptions’). Then Spacamond arrives (probably with the same intent as Polichinelle), and an altercation ensues between the rival serenaders. Spacamond succeeds in driving off Polichinelle, then he probably summons the night patrol to stand guard (‘Air des Archers’), and has his own serenade performed (‘Notte e di’). Table 17.2 is a reconstruction of this ‘Intermediate Version’, based on the verbal notes reproduced above, the printed text of the play, and the music preserved in Théâtre François, Tome II; it is hypothetical, for it remains uncertain whether the speeches or the dance airs listed here were the ones actually performed (nor is it clear who sang the serenade ‘Notte e di’).

For further discussion on the 17th-cent. belief in the therapeutic power of the arts, see Ch. 7, pp. 142–7.

M. R. Vm’ 159, XVI, 53–57; and VII, 511”. ‘The vocal solo carries the heading ‘grande intermède Cléline’ (Cléline is a standard French name for a shepherdess).

See above, n. 14.

Spacamond is a character based on the capitanolo di commedia dell’arte (‘Spaccamonto’, or ‘cutter of mountains’).
to Seignor Pantalon ("Zerbinetti"). These two Italian songs form the basis of the "Second Version", in which the zénénade interrompre of the two earlier versions now becomes a farce of mistaken identity. Polichinelle, Spacchond, the backstage band of fiddlers, and the dancing night patrol of the 'Intermediate Version' have now been replaced by a new cast of characters. The one dance number ('Air des Archers') may have been cut to comply with Lully's restrictions, for this 'Second Version' followed the letter of the law: two singers and no dancers.

Charpentier also rearranged the vocal quartet of the second intermède as a duet for Mlle Babet and M. Poussin. The composer's verbal notes realign the various solos as follows:37

Second intermède.
Overture in D la-re-sol.
After the overture, the first ritornello in all parts:
‘Profitiez du printemps’
small ritornello
‘Les plaisirs’, Profitez’
small ritornello
‘Ne perdez pas’, ‘Profitez’
grand ritornello in 4 parts.
After the ritornello:
‘quand d’aimer on nous presse . . . toutes les douceurs’
(on this last syllable enter all the fiddlers with the ritornello)
M. Poussin—‘Il est doux a notre âge’; the above ritornello.
Mlle Babet—‘Tamant qui se desgaze’; the above ritornello.
M. Poussin—‘quel party’; Mlle Babet—‘faut il nous en defendre’;
Mlle Babet—‘devons-nous’

* [the music for the duet ‘oyu suivons . . . ses ardeus’ follows]*
Ritornello as above, to bring in the Moorish women.
After the ritornello, the ‘Air des Mores’ or ‘Canaries’ is played to make the monkeys leap.

The two acrobats (saulleurs) listed in Le Registre de La Grange probably played the leaping monkeys. This musical episode must have been particularly successful, for Alard, the celebrated acrobat and later star of the Théâtre de la Foire, also joined the cast in December.38

Charpentier's revisions to the Cérémonie des Médecins consisted entirely of verbal instructions.39

Ceremony of the Doctors.
Overture in F ut-fa.
After the overture:

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37 Ms. Rés. Vm1 259, XVI, fo. 55–6.
39 Ms. Rés. Vm1 259, XVI, fo. 56.
the air of the upholsterers to decorate the hall,
the air of the march.
After 'atque bonum appetitum', first ritornello;
after 'tant de gens omni genere', the same;
after 'placas honorables', the second ritornello;
after 'vosstris capacitibus', the grand ritornello in 4 parts;
after 'ensuita purgare', 'bene, bene respondere' etc.;
after he has received the bonnet, the 'Air des Rêverences' is played.

While the company did not employ any professional dancers or use more than two solo singers, they seem to have retained the choral numbers ('Bene, bene respondere') and the dances (the 'Air des Tapissiers' and the 'Air des Rêverences').
As no mention is made of the 'Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat' chorus or of the concluding songs and dances, it would appear that the 1674 version ended with the 'Air des Rêverences'.

THE 1685–1686 VERSION

Charpentier once again revised his score for a production of _Le Malade imaginaire_ given by the Comédie-Française in 1685–6. The date of this third version can be deduced circumstantially, for one of the singers listed in Charpentier's score, Mlle Fréville, joined the company in the autumn of 1684. Her name and that of M. de Villiers (an haute-contre, who is also listed in Charpentier's score) appear in the _V. Registre pour les seuls comédiens du Roy_ (fo. 244v) among the cast of sixteen actors and actresses, eleven dancers, seven string players, and a harpsichordist who gave a command performance of _Le Malade imaginaire_ at Versailles on 11 January 1686. Charpentier's revisions for the most part consist of verbal notes, with references made to music contained in other cahiers of the 'Mélanges autographes'. Here the composer transposed some of his old music to suit the vocal ranges of Fréville and de Villiers, and added some new instrumental numbers.
The 1685 prologue remained essentially the same as the 'Autre Prologue' of 1674, but with the addition of an 'Air des Satyres'. Charpentier's verbal notes read as follows:41

_Le Malade imaginaire_ readjusted in another manner for the 3rd time.
Overture in C sol-ut-fa, cahier XVII.

Prologue:
'Votre plus haut savoir' in C sol-ut-fa for Mlle Fréville—in cahier XVII [in margin: 'with its ritornellos in the music']
Satires following 'Votre plus haut savoir'—cahier 45

40 According to _Registre de La Grange_, l. 340, she was auditioned in a performance of Molière's _Don Juan_, ou _Le Festin de Pierre_ on 28 Sept. 1684, and was hired on 1 Oct. as a permanent _gâgère_.
41 Ms. Rés. Ves' 299, XVI, fo. 34v.

At the end of the music to the 'Air des Satyres' (fol. 51r–s), Charpentier appends the following note:
After this entrée of the satyrs, the overture is played until the first act; and if it is too long, one will continue to play the same 'Air des Satyres'.

Presumably, whether the orchestra repeats the overture or the 'Air des Satyres' depended upon the time required to change the set for the comedy.

Charpentier's 1685 revisions of the first _intermède_ consist of (1) verbal notes pertaining to the staging and the order of the music (to which he again refers to other cahiers of the 'Mélanges autographes'), (2) a transposed version of the prelude for 'Notté e di', and (3) a new 'Air des Archers'. The composer transposed his vocal numbers to accommodate the voices of Fréville and de Villiers, while he left other music to be improvised by the string players. The verbal notes read as follows:42

First interlude.
Entrée of the Polichinelle chased by the Harlequins as before to the chacconne.
After the entrée: Prelude for 'Notté e di' ['the music of the prelude follows']
'Notté e di' transposed to B mi-la with its ritornellos afterwards for Mlle Fréville: the transposed chanson is in cahier XVII.
After this chanson, the fiddlers improvise a prelude in G re-sol major to set the key for M. de Villiers, who will sing 'Zerbinetti'; after which the fiddlers will play until the second act the following air.
'Zerbinetti' is in book A, page 216 ['the music for the 'Air des Archers' follows']

These notes describe yet another transformation of the first _intermède_. Table 17.3 is a reconstruction of the probable order of numbers, beginning with a group of Harlequins chasing away a group of Polichinelle to a chacconne—probably the one preserved in Théâtre Français, Tome II on pp. 154–5. Then the two Italian airs are performed as a transvestite farce—in which Mlle Fréville sang the transposed serenade ('Notté e di'), while M. de Villiers sang the old woman's response

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<td>pp. 139–41</td>
<td>VII, 35°35°</td>
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42 Ibid. fo. 34°35°.
(‘Zerbinetti’) in his haute-courte range. The altercation between Polichinelle and the night patrol is summed up in a new ‘Air des Archers’, thematically based on the second half of ‘Zerbinetti’ (at the words ‘Quei sguardi languardi’). The 1685–6 version of the first intermède clearly evolved from the earlier versions. The beginning chase of the Harlequins and Polichinelles continues the action of the ‘Intermediate Version’ (wherein Spacamond beats Polichinelle and chases him off-stage), while the ‘Air des Archers’ is a legacy of the original altercation between Polichinelle and the night patrol.

The 1685–6 revisions of the second intermède featured a new overture, and another two-voice arrangement of the Moorish entertainment—as described in Charpentier's manuscripts.\(^43\)

Second Intermède 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 to music, and then ‘Profitez du printemps’ is sung with its ritornellos; after the fiddlers play a prelude in A mi-la-re, M. de Villiers will sing ‘Quand d’aimer on nous presse’ in A mi-la-re;
and then the fiddlers play the ritornello in D la-re-sol, during which the Moors perform figured dance.
The rest of the scene is in D la-re-sol, with little else changed.

Except for key adjustments, the ensemble ‘Profitez du printemps’ remained basically the same as in the 1674 revision; the dancing monkeys have been replaced by Moors, who dance to the music of the ritornellos.

Although somewhat shortened, the ‘Cérémonie des Médecins’ appears also to have remained essentially unchanged in the 1685–6 revisions. Charpentier’s verbal notes are brief:

Third Intermède: Ceremony of the Doctors.
As usual, except there is a second air supplied for the upholsterers, cahier XLVI.

This added dance number includes the following inscription:\(^44\)

Second air for ‘Les Tapisseries’ of Le Malade imaginaire, revised for the third time, immediately after their first air [the music of the air follows].

With Le Malade imaginaire, Lully took his first decisive steps to protect his opera monopoly. The ease and frequency with which he obtained further injunctions on music and dance shows that Lully had the full support of Colbert and the King—who viewed the ambitious Florentine as an essential tool in their centralization of the arts. The measure of Lully’s success in effecting a division between dramatic and lyric theatre rests in the creation of three long-standing

\(^{43}\) Ms. Rés. Vm2 259, XVI, fo. 35v. \(^{44}\) Ibid. fo. 31v.