actors and actresses (including La Thorillière, who replaced Molière in the role of Argan after Molière'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 Molière, the reorganized company opened its season on 9 July 1673 with Molière'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 In

62 "Permission accordée au dit sieur 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. 6.
63 "Ceux des acteurs et actrices qui Restoient se trouverent non seulement sans troupe, mais sans Théâtre, le Roy ayant trouvé apropo de donner la Jouissance de la salle du palais Royal à M de Lully, sur Intendant de la musique de sa Majé, Ce qui les obligea de chercher un autre Etablissement et de prendre des Mesures pour faire une nouvelle troupe" (Le Registre de La Grange, I, 147).
64 "Le 7me Janvier 1674, la troupe obtint une lettre de Cachet portant defences à tous autres Comediens qui a ceux de la troupe du Roy de jouer le malade Imaginaire jusques a ce que lad. piece fuss 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, I, 157.
August the Troupe de Guénégaud 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 Iphigénie. But Lully dominated the entertainment with Cadmus et Hermione (1673), the earlier pastorale La Grotte de Versailles (1668), and his new opera, Aïkèste. 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

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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 pour Mlle de Molière”
Sunday, 6 May 1674, 490# (70#)
Tuesday, 8 May 1674, 520# (70#)
Friday, 11 May 1674, 442# (84# 166)
Tuesday, 15 May 1674, 591# (84# 48)
Friday, 18 May 1674, 261# (84# 95)
Sunday, 20 May 1674, 207# (84# 166)
Tuesday, 22 May 1674, 520# 10# (90# 166)
Friday, 25 May 1674, 510# (90# 166)
Sunday, 27 May 1674, 550# (90# 166)
Tuesday, 29 May 1674, 464# (90# 166)
Friday, 1 June 1674, 432# 105 (90# 166)
Sunday, 3 June 1674, 447# (90# 166)
Tuesday, 5 June 1674, 416# 105 (90# 166)
Friday, 8 June 1674, 366# (90# 166)
Sunday, 10 June 1674, 552# 75 (90#)
Tuesday, 13 June 1674, 413# (90# 166)
Friday, 15 June 1674, 516# 105 (90# 166)
Sunday, 17 June 1674, 661# (91# 166)
Tuesday, 19 June 1674, 570# 105 (91# 166)
Friday, 22 June 1674, 413# 55 (91# 65)
Sunday, 24 June 1674, 446# 105 (91# 65)
Tuesday, 26 June 1674, 452# 105 (91# 65)
### 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#108</td>
<td>2 laquais et decorateurs 3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistants 25#</td>
<td>surcroët de chandel 4#116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souteurs 11#</td>
<td>(Total) 14#115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuisiers 6#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Total] 70#108</td>
<td></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>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madeleine Babet [soprano]</td>
<td>5# 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Bourdelou [basse-contre]</td>
<td>5# 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Carles [theorbo]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Delaporte [harpsichord]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duviller [violin]</td>
<td>2#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marchand [violin]</td>
<td>2# 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converse [violin]</td>
<td>2# 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du frene [violin]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courselles [violin]</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Mont [violin]</td>
<td>1# 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Montagne</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nivelon</td>
<td>2# 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du forre</td>
<td>3#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Fibre</td>
<td>2# 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fronton [fountain?]</td>
<td>1# 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monnier [Montmore?]</td>
<td>1# 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coupet</td>
<td>1# 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaumont</td>
<td>1# 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Fibre [Fibure?] Italien</td>
<td>1# 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buton</td>
<td>1# 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renetteau</td>
<td>1# 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coutois</td>
<td>1# 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lionz</td>
<td>1#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François le porteur des violons</td>
<td>1# 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sauters</td>
<td>4#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 menuisiers</td>
<td>6#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 man[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.\(^84\) 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
> Believe you know the healing properties,
> Are ineffective in curing my ills;
> And all of your jargon will be taken in only by an IMAGINARY
> INVALID.\(^85\)

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.\(^70\) Several faunes and gypsies, gathered together for festivities and games befriending them, encounter the shepherdess. They listen to her complaints and provide a very entertaining spectacle.\(^71\)

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\(^84\) 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. 41).

\(^85\) Ces remèdes peu sûrs, dont le simple vulgaire
   Croit que vous connaissez l’admirable vertu,
   Pour les maux que je sens n’ont rien de salutaire,
   Et tout votre caquet ne peut être reçu
   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 de 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 Égyptiens, 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" and in "Théâtre françois, Tom II." 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 françois, 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);

overture à 4

[Prologue: Large intercalation Clineine]

Ritournelle à 4

"Votre plus haut savoir" (sop., b.c.)

[réritournelle 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]

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:

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73 Pages 132–136.

74 "Grande intercalate Clineine" 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 françois, Tom II." p. 134. In his edition, Prologues et intermèdes du Malade imaginaire, p. xxx, Hitchcock points out that the stock pastoral name Clineine does not appear in the livret of 1674 but may be Charpentier's personalization of the unnamed "bergère."

75 *Le Malade imaginaire* ("avec les défences" added); ouverture à 4

[Prologue: grande intercalate Clineine]

Ritournelle à 4

Votre plus haut savoir (sop., b.c.)

[réritournelle immédiatement après]

Hélas! Hélas! je n'ose découvrir (sop., b.c.)

[réritournelle cy-dessus immédiatement après]

Ces remèdes peu sûrs (sop., b.c.)

[après quoi les violons recommencent l'ouverture]

76 Vol. XVI, fols. 53v–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 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.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’.”

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.80 No reference is made to Polichinelle’s run-in with the Night Watch; instead, a new cast of secondary

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

78 Premier (“Second” crossed out) intermède.

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

Polichinelle entre et lors qu’il est prêt de chanter devant les fenêtres de toynette les violons conduits par Spacamond recommencent la fantaisie avec ses interruptions. Spacamond donne des bastonnades à Polichinelle et le chasse, après quoi les violons jouent l’air des archers, en suite de quoi l’on chante l’air Italien qui suit (“‘Notte e di’”).

Les violons recommencent aussi tout l’air des archers.

79 “Un Seignor Pantalon accompagné 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 fenêtre, 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, fol. 53r–54r; “‘Notte e di’” only); and in Ais de la comedie de Ciret, pp. 35–41. “‘Notte e di’” and “‘Zerbinetti’” only.

80 The two Italian airs appear in Hitchcock’s edition, pp. 91–97 and 98–101; his transcription is based on the combined readings of the latter two sources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction of the Musical Contents of an Alternate Version of the Premier Intermède in <em>Le Malade imaginaire</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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" (b.c., b.c.)
- Air des Archers (as above)

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* 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 bars included in “Théâtre français, 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. 81 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. 82 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; "Profitz du printemps"; small ritornello; "Les plaisirs"; "Profitz"; small ritornello; "Ne perdez pas"; "Profitz"; large ritornello in 4 parts; after the ritornello, "Quand d'aimer on nous presse . . . toutes les douCEURS" (on this last syllable, all of the violins enter on the ritornello).83

This is followed by the duet arrangement for Mlle Babet and M. Poussin:84

M. Poussin ["Il est doux à notre âge"]; the above ritornello.
Mlle Babet ["L'amant qui se desgage"]; 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"].85

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.86

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.

83 "Second intermède. Ouverture en de la ré sol. Apres l'ouverture, première ritornelle à toutes les parties; profitz du printemps; petite ritorn.; les plaisirs; profitz; petite ritorn.; ne perdez pas; profitz; grande ritornelle à 4 parties; après la ritorn. quand d'aimer on nous presse: . . . toutes les douCEURS (sur cette dernier syllable entrent tous les violons pour la ritornelle)" (Vol. XVI, fol. 53).
85 Mr Poussin ["Il est doux à notre âge"]; ritornelle cy dessus.
Mlle Babet ["L'amant qui se desgage"]; 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 morness. Apres 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 "placæ honorabilæs," the second ritornello.
After "vostræ capacitatis," 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.87

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 réverences. 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 comédienxs themselves participated as singers in this chorus, as they did in the premiere of Thomas Corneille's machine play Cîrè a year later.88

The reading of the Cérémonie des Médecins preserved in "Théâtre français, Tom II,"89 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 Tapisseries, and La Marche is identical to the 1673 version preserved in Charpentier's autographs. Of these three ritornelli, only the first and third appear,90 and they are followed by the petite reprise and the full chorus of "Bene, bene respondere."91 The music ends with the final entrée de ballet, Les


88 The names of the following comedians appear notated in Charpentier's autograph score of Cîrè (F.Po, Ms Rés Vm1 259, Vol. XVII, fols. 1-17) next to choral parts: Bast (sop.), Pous[en] (b.c.); M' Guérrin (h.c.); Des Trich[es] (h.c.); La Grange[el] (ten.); M' de Verneuil (bass); Hub[ert] (bass); De Gaye (bass).

89 Pages (58-82).

90 The first ritornello bears the inscription "la ritournelle se joue 3 fois," and the second, "ritournelle 2 fois."

91 In "Théâtre français, Tom II," the inscription "Choeur 4 fois" after the petite reprise suggests that it is the choral response to the first four correct answers by the Bacheliers, with the full chorus following the fifth answer (see n. 60). In this score the clefs are, from top to bottom: treble, alto, tenor, bass, instrumental part in treble clef, and bass-continue in bass clef. These parts correspond to first soprano, bassoon (extensively rewritten), second soprano (sung an octave lower), bass, first violin, and bass-continue in the autograph manuscripts.
révérances, and the chorus "Vivat, vivat, cent fois vivat"; 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 Ciret, a pièce de machines by Thomas Corneille with intermediés 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, Ciret would tower above all operas played until now."  

This production of Ciret 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.  

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 clés 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 Srqs. delagrange et Dauvilliers a Compienge 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>February 10, 12, 14, 17*&lt;br&gt;March 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21*&lt;br&gt;May 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29**&lt;br&gt;June 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29**&lt;br&gt;July 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31**&lt;br&gt;October 19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 30&lt;br&gt;November 2, 3, 4&lt;br&gt;December 7, 9</td>
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<td>1677</td>
<td>October 26, 29, 31&lt;br&gt;November 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16</td>
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<td>1678</td>
<td>March 15, 18, 20&lt;br&gt;October 15, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27</td>
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<td>1679</td>
<td>January 10, 13, 15&lt;br&gt;February 24, 26&lt;br&gt;August 25, 27, 29&lt;br&gt;October 6, 8</td>
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<td>1680</td>
<td>March 11, 13&lt;br&gt;July 2, 5&lt;br&gt;September 6, 15</td>
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<td>1681</td>
<td>January 5&lt;br&gt;March 14, 16&lt;br&gt;May 27&lt;br&gt;August 3&lt;br&gt;October 9&lt;br&gt;December 18, 26</td>
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<td>1682</td>
<td>April 17, 19&lt;br&gt;October 30&lt;br&gt;November 3</td>
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<td>1683</td>
<td>March 1&lt;br&gt;August 27, 29&lt;br&gt;December 14</td>
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<td>February 14&lt;br&gt;June 29&lt;br&gt;July 12&lt;br&gt;November 10, 12&lt;br&gt;December 11</td>
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<td>1685</td>
<td>March 29&lt;br&gt;June 29&lt;br&gt;September 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21***&lt;br&gt;October 6, 7, 22***</td>
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<td>1686</td>
<td>February 11 at Versailles***&lt;br&gt;February 20&lt;br&gt;June 4, 6&lt;br&gt;August 3&lt;br&gt;October 9, 11, 30</td>
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* Premiere run.<br>** First revival, with revised music.<br>*** Third revision of the music.
the Troupe de Guénégaud. 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 Polchinelle’s serenade “Notte e di,” while the sticks and bladders were no doubt used to administer his bastonnade.97 In the second act, the paper was probably a prop used during the performance of Cléante’s and Angélus’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.

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. 123–24. This document, begun by Laurent Mablot in 1653 and continued by Michel Laurent, describes the stage design and costumes for 162 plays and includes drawings of sets for 47 plays produced during the period 1653–81.


“Il faut changer le théâtre au premier intermède et représenter une ville ou des rues, et la chambre paroist comme l’on a commencé. Il faut 3 pièce de tapisserie de haute lisse 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 Polchinelle’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 5th of July, this present month. Refer to the preceding ordinances of 30 April 1673 and 21 March 1675. 101

100 Andromède: Tragédie (1682), music found in F: Pn Ms Rés Vm‘ 259, Vol. XXVIII, fols. 52–68.
101 “Le 27me de ce mois Le Sr de Lully a obtenu une nouvelle ordonnance du Roy portant défense aux Comédiens de mettre des voix dans les Comédies excepté deux acteurs ou actrices de la Compagnie qui pourront chanter. Signifiée le 5me Juiilet présent mois. Vids les ordonnances précédentes des 30 Avril 1673 et 21 Mars 1675” (fol. 197). The same ordinance is noted in Le Registre de La Grange, 1. 267: “Ce même jour [9 July 1682] le Sr Lully fit signifier une Nouvelle ordonnance portant défense aux Comédiens d’avoir de la musique. lade ord“ du 27 du prit mois. Vids 30 Avril 1673 et 21 Mars 1675.” (“This same day Sir Lully signed a new ordinance restricting the comedians 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 under the Lenten break of 1673, after the first run of Le Malade imaginaire: “Ordonnance du Roy du 30 Avril 1673 portant défense et réglement pour les voix et danseurs que le Roy permet d’avoir aux Comédiens.” Confimé 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 comedians to have, since confirmed in favor of Sir 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 gâgiste:

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 avez esté agiés cy devant touchant la damle Fréville Musicienne. Savoir Que la troupe luy donnera huit cent livres de gages ou pension par Année à la Charge qu’elle chanteras dans les pièces et Jouera tres roles que la Compagnie trouvera à propos, Et de plus Lad. Compagnie luy accorde deux cent livres pour l’Entretien proprement au Théatre Lesquelles dites deux sommes se monteront à mille Livres. Laquelle somme luy sera payé par quartier à commencer du 1er octobre de la présente année 1684." According to Le Registre de La Grange (L. 340), Mlle Fréville was auditioned in a performance of Molière’s Dom Juan; ou, Le Feuillet 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 Fréville, gâgiste 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 1683, begins on the verso of Vol. VII, fol. 52. In the Preface to his edition of Le Malade imaginaire (p. xiii), 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 civiée 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.