Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*

Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*: The Premier *Opéra Romantique*

By

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CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS

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Fig. 1 Giacomo Meyerbeer. Lithograph by Delpech after a drawing by Maurin (c. 1836)

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Critical Reaction

The Influence of the Opera (Arrangements)

The Performance History

Modern Revivals

Iconography (Costumes)

The Ballet of the Nuns

Contemporaneous Art

The Scene at the Cross

Jenny Lind and the Scene at the Cross

Jenny Lind as Alice at the Cross (Staffordshire figurines)

Scenic Kaleidoscopes

The Liebig Cards

ABBREVIATIONS

BT: Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*
DGM: *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer*

ROBERT LE DIABLE

Opéra en Cinq Actes

Paroles de
Eugène Scribe et Germain Delavigne

Musique de Giacomo Meyerbeer

WORLD PREMIÈRE

21 November 1831
Paris, Académie Royale de Musique [L'Opéra]

Robert ..... Adolphe Nourrit
Bertram ..... Nicolas-Prosper Levasseur
Alice ..... Julie Dorus-Gras
Isabelle ..... Laure Cinti-Damoreau
Raimbaut ..... Marcelin Lafont
Héléna *(danseuse)* ..... Marie Taglioni
Alberti ..... Heurtaux
Un prêtre ..... Ferdinand Prévôt
Un héraut d'armes ..... Jean-Etienne Massol

François-Antoine Habeneck (conductor)

INTRODUCTION

Robert le Diable (Robert the Devil) is an opera by Giacomo Meyerbeer, often regarded (with Auber's *La Muette de Portici* and Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*) as the definitive statement in the 19th-century development of French *grand opéra* from the *tragédie lyrique* of Lully, Rameau, Gluck and Spontini. The libretto was written by Eugène Scribe and Germain Delavigne, derived from the medieval legend of "Robert the Devil". The opera premiered on 21 November 1831 at the Paris Opéra, and was the work that brought Meyerbeer international fame.

Originally planned as a three-act *opéra comique*, Meyerbeer persuaded Scribe to change the work to a five-act grand opera. The resulting opera libretto shared only the character of the hero and the detail of the epoch with the medieval sources. The dramatic music, harmony and orchestration of *Robert*, its melodramatic plot, and its overwhelming stage effects (especially the famous act 3 Ballet of the Nuns) made it an overnight sensation and instantly confirmed Meyerbeer as the leading opera composer of his age. Frédéric Chopin, who was in the audience, was led to observe: "If ever magnificence was seen in the theatre, I doubt that it reached the level of splendour shown in *Robert*.....It is a masterpiece... Meyerbeer has made himself immortal". It became one of the most popular and ubiquitous operas of the century. Although the opera has particularly reflected the varying fortunes of its composer, and his rejection through much of the 20th century, it remains a legend in the annals of the history of opera, and its career is far from over. The fascinating story, with a surprisingly complex imagery and symbolism touching on the deepest intuitions of human experience and development (much akin to the nature and effect of fairy tales), exercises an archetypal unconscious appeal. The musical language, richly melodic and theatrically powerful, looks back to Rossini and the traditions of the bel canto heritage, and yet forges a new formal pliancy and dramatic urgency. Its effect on the history of opera was very substantial, and still needs to be fully gauged.

The opera was the first work to be premiered by the new manager of the Opéra, Louis-Désiré Véron, and its success underwrote his policy of commissioning similar works, which were to include Auber's *Gustave III* (1832), Halévy's *La Juive* (1835), and Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836). The success owed much to the opera's star singers: Nicolas-Prosper

Levasseur as Bertram, Adolphe Nourrit as Robert—and to the provocative "ballet of the nuns" in the third act, featuring the great ballerina, Marie Taglioni.

The fame of the opera in its day made it a social phenomenon. Indeed, attendance at performances was a measure of one's social and artistic standing, as reflected in the career of the novelist George Sand. After the publication of her novel *Indiana* in 1832, Sand's new fame was reflected in her attendance at *Robert le Diable*:

> "Now, whether she liked it or not, she was a recognized celebrity. One week later, when the Opéra's 1750 seats were sold out for the resumption of Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, she found herself included among the most famous names in the world of the arts—next to actresses like Mademoiselle Mars, Madame Dorval, Mademoiselle George, singers like Maria Malibran, composers like Hector Berlioz, writers and poets like Sainte-Beuve, Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, and Alfred de Musset." [1]

Notes

[1] Curtis Cate, *George Sand, A Biography* (New York: Avon Printing, 1976): 204.

1. THE ORIGINS

The success of *Margherita d'Anjou* (Milan, 1820) and *Il Crociato in Egitto* (Venice, 1824) had made Meyerbeer internationally known, but for years he wrote nothing new for the theatre. His famous letter to Levasseur written on 5 July 1822 had already indicated the limitations of his Italian experience, and revealed the direction of his artistic thinking.

> ...I can assure you that it would be even more glorious to have the honour of writing for the French Opéra than for all the Italian stages. (I have indeed, given my works in all the major Italian houses.) Where else, therefore, but in Paris can the vast resources be found which the French offer to an artist who wants to write truly dramatic music? Here, there is a lack of good libretti, and I know your unbiased public welcomes all types of music, if allied to genius.[1]

Soon after the Paris premiere of *Il Crociato* in 1824, Count Brühl, the Royal intendant, requested the work for Berlin. Meyerbeer's frank answer, written in the Prussian capital on 11 December 1825, further indicated how his dramaturgical thinking was changing:

> The answer to your question about whether there is a German translation of the opera *Il Crociato in Egitto* is quite simply 'no'. Several poets have already asked me for the score with this aim in mind, but I have consistently refused since it is my firm conviction that the *Crociato* in a German arrangement on the German stage would have a completely unsuccessful reception; consequently, I have not brought the score here with me. My reasons for this, for example, rest with the libretto itself which, because of the endless complications of the drama, is so monotonous and tiring, so unmotivated and fragmentary, that one could expect only disappointment in this respect. This is particularly the case with the interpolated role of Felicia, a situation that today's dramatically sophisticated public simply will no longer tolerate. However, from a musical point of view (particularly in the ensembles) this role has become so important that in spite of its dramatic nullity, it cannot be omitted, and, especially because of the trio, it cannot be reshaped. — Even in the music some of the details of the vocal parts (determined by the individuality of the Italian singers and the taste of the Italian public) would not appeal to the German public, especially as the product of a German composer. And yet these vocal parts, however incidental or inessential they may seem, are

> so intimately woven into the nature of the whole, that even the smallest change to them would result in the destruction of the total effect. — Finally the casting of the *Crociato* (this vital factor for the success of any opera, especially an Italian one) presents endless difficulties. — However unpleasant it would therefore be for me to have *Crociato* in German translation in Berlin, it would, conversely, be a joy to write an original work for the Royal stage of my native city, especially tailored to the individuality of the present excellent singers and the taste of the public."[2]

It is as though Meyerbeer was acknowledging the end of an era in his creative life. His trip to Paris for the production of *Il Crociato* was undoubtedly the most significant move of his artistic career. The composer was now preparing to meet the challenges of the French stage. He was aware that he was not yet ready to create something new in the highly wrought French manner, and buried himself in the study of French civilization, its history, literature, graphic arts and theatre. On 11 March 1826 *Marguerite d'Anjou* was produced at the Théâtre de l'Odéon in a three-act adaptation by Thomas Sauvage.

Meyerbeer's exhaustive exploration of the *théâtre lyrique* made him an authority on the repertoire of the Opéra, while his researches into the spoken theatre were to bring him into contact with the principal collaborator of his life, the dramatist Eugène-Augustin Scribe (1791-1861). Using French bourgeois life for his principal theme, and with a staff of co-workers, Scribe produced a long series of plays, vibrant with actuality. His work as a librettist also showed him instinctively understanding of the needs of the stage, and the psychology of his composers and audiences, as he distilled the very aspirations of the age.

This different dramaturgical approach entailed certain changes in the creation of operas. The choice and setting of a libretto, which in the age of Rossini could take just a few weeks, now became a collaboration between librettist and composer that might go on for years, or even decades (as would be the case with *L'Africaine*). The process of composition was now open to new ideas and technical methods appropriate to the dramatic concept at work in the new text. This was particularly true of a search for new sounds and a heightened sensitivity to new instrumentation and orchestral timbres. Meyerbeer, with innate and astute perception of the times, responded to the political, religious, social and aesthetic issues of the day. All the themes he would explore, with the help of Scribe, were topical at the time of his arrival in Paris in 1826 and through the 1830s, when the scenarios of all his major works were written or conceived. Many of these ideas would be explored cyclically in his French works, which in fact can be seen as progressive stages in an unfolding operatic

discourse of ideas about mankind and society, caught up in the processes of history.

Thus it was in the heady context of Meyerbeer's new life in Paris, his careful study and assimilation of French operatic culture, that the plan took shape to make his debut there in the genre of *grand opéra*. This type of opera, after a long period of stagnation, had once again rung a chord in contemporary aesthetical thinking with the stirring premières of Auber's *La Muette de Portici* (Scribe, 1828) and Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (Jouy and Bis, 1829)—the former for its dramaturgical, and the latter for its musical innovations. Meyerbeer was already acquainted with the Neoclassical conception of *grand opéra* elaborated by Spontini during the Empire, and with the first gusts of nationalistic ferment and demands for freedom expressed in *La Muette* and *Guillaume Tell.* It would be his role to transform the genre into a sumptuous choreographic popular form. The theatre he constructed with his principal librettist participates in the historical fiction of stirring times and intrigue, as exemplified by the works of Sir Walter Scott[3], Ponson du Terrail[4] and Alexandre Dumas (*père*)[5]; it also transposes into music the great historical frescoes of Robert Fleury[6] and Paul Delaroche[7].

For a while Meyerbeer appears to have hesitated whether to choose a new subject, or to elaborate an older idea. He began work in 1826 on a new operatic scenario *La Nymphe du Danube* to a text by Thomas Sauvage: but this was to be a *pasticcio*, using music from the Italian operas. At this time the composer met Eugène Scribe, with whom he established an immediate artistic affinity. They decided to work together on a three-act *opéra comique*. Scribe proposed an old French subject, based on the medieval French legends of Robert le Diable, or Robert the Magnificent, father of William the Conqueror, an idea that enthused the composer. The librettist was to be Germain Delavigne, who delivered a preliminary draft. At the beginning of 1827, however, Scribe was drawn further into the process, and soon after took over the principal authorship. The *Journal des Débats* of May 1827 records the first mention of Meyerbeer and Scribe's collaboration: "The directors of the Théâtre Feydeau have accepted the libretto *Robert le Diable* by Scribe and Germain Delavigne and have assigned the music to M. Meyerbeer, in whom all place high hopes."[8]

The basis of the drama was a French thirteenth-century romance about a childless woman who obtains a son by praying to the devil; the son is strong and wicked, and lives a lawless life, but finally repents of his misdeeds and is reconciled to the Church. The tale was attached to Robert, sixth duke of Normandy, father of the Conqueror, about whom many

legends gathered on account of his violence and cruelty. It was the subject of a French romance, and also appeared in various English versions.

Meyerbeer stopped work on the *opéra comique* in 1827 when the Feydeau began experiencing financial difficulties. The success of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1829 spurred Meyerbeer on to consider transforming his project into a *grand opéra*. In August 1829 the composer and librettists agreed to refashion the work in a five-act form to meet the requirements of the Paris Opéra, with provision for strong choruses and a ballet sequence.[9] This entailed some rewriting of the storyline, reducing the essentially comic role of Raimbaut (who vanishes after Act 3 in the final version, but whose antics—including the spending of Bertram's money given to him in the *duo bouffe* that opens act 3—continued throughout in the earlier libretto). It also meant that the traditional pairing of lovers so common in *opéra comique* (Robert and Isabelle paralleled throughout by the lower-class or servant types Raimbaut and Alice) was diminished to concentrate on the more sensational story-line of Robert's diabolic ancestry.[10]

A long entry in his pocket calendar for the second half of 1829, in the nature of series of dramaturgical notes (*BT*, 2:593)[11], indicates just how the composer was rethinking the whole project, as the new concept challenged the original contours of the envisaged *opéra comique*. These *Taschenkalender* observations are starting points for discussions with the librettists, a fascinating glimpse into the composer's deep involvement in the genesis of his works, his preoccupation with every detail and with *couleur locale*:

> Viganò's *Bianca di Messina* as [model for] a dance piece. Likewise a dance piece for Taglioni and Montessu as they struggle against the magic sleep in the act 2 finale and make powerful leaps in an attempt to revive themselves, and are the last to fall asleep. - In act 3 a big recitative for Bertram in which he recounts the story of his fall from Heaven etc: it should contain only a small arioso which recurs from time to time. Lots of rhythmical changes. Since it captures the whole of Robert's history, all the main themes of the opera must recur in the orchestra. - I must have Hartmann bring *La pachianella* (Sicilian dance) and other Sicilian melodies from my trunk; Michael must likewise write to Cattereau in Naples. - Fata Morgana - Wilhelm must take down all the data from Mödler. - *Bianca di Messina*, ballet by Ayblinger.- *Terzetto buffo* or quartet for Bertram, Alberti and Raimbaut instead of the quartet in Act 2, in which the two curiously question Bertram who mocks them. - Bertram has too little to sing. - Aria for Alberti. - The action happens in Sicily, and yet apart from the Princess there is not a single other Sicilian, not even a chorus to bring out the Sicilian *couleur*. The conspiracy must be different.

> There are no comic pieces, not even a comic chorus. - 4 acts - The opera is a little bare and people will say it has the *baguette en main* and does not know how to eat it. Perhaps Fata Morgana is therefore the solution. In act 1 after the quartet, a journey through the air. At the end of act 2 Bertram takes Robert through the air. - Alberti's role. - Perhaps one could see the procession to the tournament on horseback on the heights in the background, perhaps even a little of the tournament itself. - Perhaps in the conspiracy scene there could be a *conseil des diables* as in *Manfred*. - *Pèlerinage de Sainte Rosalie*. Alice could be called Rosalie, or perhaps Robert's mother, and she must have been a Sicilian princess. Perhaps Alice is making the pilgrimage *en son honneur*. Where could the Devil hold his sabbath in a place where it could be seen? Only by an independent coincidence (like Fata Morgana) could Alice interrupt the conspiracy without some *niaiserie* by the Devil, but the crucifix would not be allowed. Already in Act 1 and also in the new introduction, the *Maître des Ceremonies* should have something to sing. The action should be shifted to Palermo. There should be demonic laughter at the words "hell is as bad as they say". - Flares in the *tableau des vices*. - One must speak earlier about the *Procession de St Rosalie*. The whole of the Hell scene must be without singing until he picks the branch which is attached to a solitary tree. Then the chorus comes in with *il est à nous*. The tree goes up in green fire.

By the time Meyerbeer had revised it, it had been withdrawn from the Théâtre Feydeau, and recast as an intensely Romantic five-act drama for production at the Opéra.[12] The contract Meyerbeer signed with the Opéra on 1 December 1829 mentions no title. Inspired by the quality of the material in its reorganized form, Meyerbeer immediately began composing, and made rapid progress. The July Revolution of 1830 upset all the plans, but already in the following year, the new director, Louis-Désiré Véron (1798-1867), an astute businessman and an inspirational organiser, determined that *Robert* would be the first big opera première of his tenure. For this production Véron contracted the élite of the French theatre to his house. For the *chef du service de la scène* there was Edmond Duponchel (1795-1868), who shared the stage management with Scribe the librettist and Adolphe Nourrit (1802-39), the tenor who would create the title role. The scene designer was to be Pierre-Luc-Charles Cicéri (1782-1868), the choreographer Filippo Taglioni (1777-1871), the conductor François-Antoine Habeneck (1781-1849). Added to this was a first-class ensemble of singers and dancers, and what was at the time the best opera orchestra in the world.

Fig. 2 Eugène Scribe. Lithograph by H. Sillard

ACADEMIE ROYALE DE MUSIQUE.

Les Portes seront ouvertes à 6 heures. ON COMMENCERA A 7 HEURES PRECISES.

Aujourd'hui Lundi 21 Novembre 1831,

LA PREMIÈRE REPRÉSENTATION DE

ROBERT LE DIABLE,

Opéra en 5 actes.

Chant : Messieurs Ad.-Nourrit, Levasseur, Prévost, Alexis, Ferdinand-Prévôt, Massol, Lafont, Pouilley, Trevaux, Vartel, Hurteaux ; Mmes Cinti-Damoreau, Dorus, Lavry.

Danse : Mlle Perrot, Simon ; Mmes Noblet, Legallois, Montessu, Julia, Taglioni, Alexis, Leroux, Perceval, Louisa, Roland.

Les Loges et Billets ayant été loués et pris à l'avance le Public est prévenu que les Bureaux ne seront point ouverts.

LES ENTRÉES DE FAVEUR SONT SUSPENDUES.

En vertu de l'Ordonnance de police, en date du 30 août 1831 *le Public est prévenu que tout Billet acheté sur la voie publique sera refusé au Contrôle.*

S'adresser pour la location des loges, au bureau de la location de l'Académie Royale de Musique, rue Grange-Batelière, Hôtel-Choiseul.

LE BUREAU DE LOCATION RESTE OUVERT JUSQU'A CINQ HEURES.

Fig. 3 Playbill of the première (21 Nov 1831)

Fig. 4 Louis Véron. Contemporary caricature

Fig. 5 Edmond Duponchel. Anonymous portrait in oils

Notes

[1] See Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*. 7 vols: vols. 1-4 ed. Heinz and Gudrun Becker, vols. 5-8 ed. Sabine Henze-Döhring (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960, 1970, 1975, 1985, 1998, 2002, 2006): 1:509. In 1823 Levassuer, who had created the role of Carlo in *Margherita d'Anjou* (1820), approached Meyerbeer at the behest of François-Antoine Habeneck, conductor at the Opéra, to enquire whether the composer was interested in writing for Paris.

[2] *BT*, 2:24-25.

[3] Sir Walter Scott (1771 – 1832), Scottish historical novelist, playwright, and poet, was popular throughout much of the world during his time and until the First World War. Indeed, he was the first English-language author to have a truly international career in his lifetime, with many contemporary readers in Europe, Australia, and North America, and in manifold translation, across all Europe. His work displayed a passion for history, especially that of Scotland, and he refined the historical novel into an art form. His influence was enormous in all Romantic art of the early 19th century. He distilled the poetry of the past, with its roots in balladry and folklore. After falling out of critical regard for many decades, a small revival of interest in Scott's work began in the 1970s and 1980s. Postmodern tastes favoured discontinuous narratives and the introduction of the 'first person', yet they were more favourable to Scott's work than Modernist tastes. F. R. Leavis had

disparaged Scott, seeing him as a thoroughly bad novelist and a thoroughly bad influence (*The Great Tradition,*1948); Marilyn Butler, however, offered a political reading of the fiction of the period that found a great deal of genuine interest in his work (*Romantics, Revolutionaries, and Reactionaries*, 1981). Scott is now seen as an important innovator and a key figure in the development of Scottish and world literature. His novels and poetry are increasingly being read again, and many of his works remain classics of English literature. Famous titles include *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), *Waverley* (1814), *Rob Roy* (1817), *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) and *Ivanhoe* (1820).

[4] Pierre Alexis, Viscount of Ponson du Terrail (1829 -1871), French writer, a prolific novelist, producing in the space of twenty years some seventy-three volumes. He is best remembered for his creation of the fictional character of Rocambole. Rocambole's importance to mystery fiction and adventure novels cannot be underestimated, as it represents the transition from the old-fashioned Gothic novel to modern heroic fiction. The word *rocambolesque* has become common in French for any kind of fantastic adventures, especially those with multiple new turns in the story. Rocambole became a huge success, providing a constant and considerable source of revenue to Ponson du Terrail, who continued pouring out his adventures, producing nine Rocambole novels. His other notable novels include *Les Coulisses du monde* (1853) and *Le Forgeron de la Cour-Dieu* (1869).

[5] Alexandre Dumas [Dumas Davy de la Pailleterie] (1802–1870), French writer, was born in poverty, the grandson of a French nobleman and a Haitian slave. He is best known for his historical novels of high adventure which have made him one of the most widely read French authors in the world. Many of his novels, including *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1845), *The Three Musketeers* (1844), *Twenty Years After* (1845), and *The Vicomte de Bragelonne* (1847-50) were originally serialized. He also wrote plays and magazine articles and was a prolific correspondent. Dumas made extensive use of the aid of numerous assistants and collaborators, of whom Auguste Maquet was the best known. It was Maquet who outlined the plot of *The Count of Monte Cristo*, and made substantial contributions to *The Three Musketeers* and its sequels, as well as to several of Dumas' other novels. When they were working together, Maquet proposed plots and wrote drafts, while Dumas added the details, dialogues, and the final chapters. See Andrew Lang, 'Alexandre Dumas' in his *Essays In Little* (1891)—for an accurate description of these collaborations. Dumas' writing earned him a great deal of money, but he was frequently insolvent as a result of spending lavishly on women and sumptuous living. The large Château de Monte-Cristo that he built was often filled with strangers and acquaintances taking advantage of his generosity.

[6] Joseph Nicolas Robert-Fleury (1797-1890), French painter, was born in Cologne. He was sent by his family to Paris, and after travelling in Italy returned to France and made his first appearance at the Salon in 1824; his reputation, however, was not established until three years later, when he exhibited *Tasso* at the Convent of Saint Onophrius. Endowed with a vigorous original talent, and with a vivid imagination, especially for the tragic incidents of history, he soon rose to fame, and in 1850 succeeded François Granet as a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts.

In 1855, he was appointed professor and in 1863 director of the École des Beaux-Arts, and in the following year he went to Rome as director of the French Academy in that city. Some of his great historical paintings include: *A Reading at Mme. de Sévigné's*, *Scene of St Bartholomew*, *Henry IV taken to the Louvre after his Assassination* (1836), *Triumphal Entry of Clovis at Tours* (1838) (at the Versailles Museum), *Le Colloque de Poissy* (1840) (at the Luxembourg Museum in Paris), *The Children of Louis XVI in the Temple* (1840), *The reception of Christopher Columbus by King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella of Spain in Barcelona* (1846)*, Marino Faliero*, *An Auto-da-fé, Galileo before the Holy Office*, *Christopher Columbus received by the Spanish Court* (1847) (Musée du Luxembourg), *The Last Moments of Montaigne* (1853) and *Charles V in the Monastery of Yuste* (1857).

[7] Hippolyte Delaroche (1797–1856), commonly known as Paul Delaroche, a French painter, was born in Paris of a wealthy family and was trained by Antoine-Jean, Baron Gros. He then painted life-size histories and had many students. The first Delaroche picture exhibited was the large *Josabeth saving Joas* (1822). This exhibition led to his acquaintance with Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix, with whom he became friends. The three of them formed the core of a large group of Parisian historical painters. He visited Italy in 1838 and 1843, when his father-in-law, Horace Vernet, was director of the French Academy in Rome. Delaroche's studio in Paris was in the Rue Mazarine. His subjects were painted with a firm, solid, smooth surface, which gave an appearance of the highest finish. This texture was the manner of the day and was also found in the works of Vernet, Ary Scheffer, Louis-Léopold Robert and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. His dramatic paintings include *Strafford Led to Execution*, depicting the English Archbishop Laud stretching his arms out of the small high window of his cell to bless Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, as Strafford passes along the corridor to be executed, and the *Assassination of the duc de Guise at Blois*. Another famous work shows Cardinal Richelieu in a gorgeous barge, preceding the boat carrying Cinq-Mars and De Thou to their execution. Other important Delaroche works include *The Princes in the Tower* and the *La Jeune Martyre* (showing a young female martyr floating dead on the Tiber). Delaroche's work was sometimes ahistorical. *Cromwell lifting the Coffin-lid and looking at th*e *Body of Charles* is based on an urban legend, and *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* is represented as taking place in a dungeon, which is badly inaccurate. He tended to care more about dramatic effect than historical truth: see also *The King in the Guardroom*, where villainous Puritan soldiers blow tobacco smoke in the face of King Charles, and *Queen Elizabeth Dying on the Ground*. Among his students were British landscape artist Henry Mark Anthony (1817–1886), British history painter Edward Armitage R.A. (1817–1896) and American painter/photographer Alfred L. Boisseau (1823–1901).

[8] Mark Everist, "The Name of the Rose: Meyerbeer's *opéra comique*, *Robert le Diable*". *Revue de Musicologie* 80:2 (1994): 211-50

[9] Matthias Brzoska, 'Meyerbeer: *Robert le Diable* and *Les Huguenots*' in Charlton, David, editor (2003), *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 2003): 189–207 (esp. p. 190).