

THE TRAGEDY OF THE MAN WHO "BOUGHT A GLASS"  
IN *KING RICHARD III*\*

—SHAKESPEARE'S REINTERPRETATION OF HOLINSHED—(II)\*\*

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## V

After Richard comments on his own shadow on the ground and exits in I.ii, the Queen, following Holinshed, shows her concern about her husband Edward's worsening illness when talking with Rivers, Grey, Buckingham and Derby in dialogues (26) to (32) and tells Grey and Rivers that it has been "determined" but not yet "concluded" that Richard shall be protector, but then goes on to criticize Richard in (27) as follows:

Q. Eliz.

Richard Gloucester.

A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

She knows that Richard hates her and her kinsmen, but Richard's personal hatred towards the Queen and her people is not to be found in Holinshed. In the latter, before King Edward's death, Richard wants to maintain their long-standing grudge and the hatred between the Queen and the king's kindred, and makes up his mind to use the disparagement going between the two parties to achieve his own ambition in the future. When the sick Edward calls some of the two antagonistic groups to his bedside just before his death and requests Dorset and Hastings to be reconciled with each other, Richard's name is not found in the scene where everyone shakes hands and makes up. It is only when Richard knows that the Queen has planned to surround and protect her son by appointing her younger brother Rivers as governor, together with some of her own kinsmen as attendants, to welcome Prince Edward from his residence in Ludlow to London after the King's death, that he begins to have a relationship to the two factions, that is, the Queen's people and Hastings. Only then does he move to destroy the Queen's party, by persuading those who regard the Queen and her people as enemies or who feel themselves indebted to Richard himself to come over to his side by addressing letters to them; in particular, Richard agrees with Buckingham and Hastings, as mentioned earlier, on removing the Queen's relatives from the Prince.

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\*\* Cf. Naomichi Yamada, 'The Tragedy of the Man Who "Bought a Glass" in *King Richard III*—Shakespeare's Reinterpretation of Holinshed—(I)', *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (December 1993), pp. 1-23.

Therefore, in Holinshed, Richard is described as standing aloof from both factions and wishing their bad relations to continue for the fulfilment of his ambition before King Edward dies; after the latter's death, when the Queen's kinsmen openly plan to approach the Prince, he is depicted as gathering together the anti-Queen group and taking a concrete and antagonistic action against the Queen's party. Thus, Shakespeare alters Holinshed's corresponding description and makes Richard out to be one of the party who oppose the Queen and her kindred before King Edward dies. Moreover, the dramatist creates dialogue (32) between the Queen and Buckingham, in which he makes Buckingham address her as follows:

Buck. Madam, we did: he desires to make atonement  
Betwixt the duke of Gloucester and your brother,  
And betwixt them and my lord Chamberlain;

The contents here, in which the King wishes to reconcile the Queen's party with Richard, are entirely of Shakespeare's invention. As mentioned earlier, it is clear that the King wishes to reconcile them with Hastings in Holinshed, which Shakespeare faithfully follows, but there is no description about his wish to reconcile them with his brother Richard. The reconciliation between them and Richard is thus created by Shakespeare, and what Buckingham says in dialogue (32) links up with the Queen's view of Richard in (27). This means that Shakespeare, unlike Holinshed, has created a Richard who, in both name and reality, has been confronting the Queen's people since King Edward was still alive and who therefore becomes one of the parties involved in the reconciliation in (109) to (115).

After thus creating dialogue (32) between the Queen and Buckingham, Shakespeare has Richard himself enter the scene. Defining himself as "a plain man" and getting angry that this "simple truth" has been twisted by the Queen's people, he holds a dialogue with her, (36), of the dramatist's own creation, in which he envies her advancement, attributes Clarence's imprisonment to her party's intrigue, and speaks ironically to the Queen who married Edward though he was younger than she. Hearing these words, she claims that "The king, . . . / Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred, / Which in your outward actions shows itself / Against my kindred, brothers, and myself, . . ." and shows that she is aware of Richard's inner hatred towards her and her kindred as in (27). Moreover, with reference to Richard's reprimand about Clarence's imprisonment, she claims that "I never did incense his majesty / Against the Duke of Clarence, but have been / An earnest advocate to plead for him," thus rejecting Richard's words clearly and opening the floodgates for her wrath in (38). In this way, Shakespeare deviates from Holinshed and creates dialogues (27), (32), (33), (36) and (38), evidently because he intends to depict Richard confronting the Queen and her kindred before the king dies, to have the imprisonment of Clarence as being caused by them (which is, of course, a false assertion), and to have the Queen as knowing of Richard's hatred and antagonistic attitude towards them and as becoming irate at the shower of ironies from Richard's mouth.

Just after their violent confrontation reaches a climax, Shakespeare has Queen Margaret<sup>15</sup> enter the scene. As indicated before, Queen Margaret in this situation is of Shakespeare's invention, so dialogues (61) and (64) between her and Queen Elizabeth have no foundation in Holinshed. In (61), Margaret heaps curses on Elizabeth, wishing her to be

<sup>15</sup> Nicholas Brooke thinks of Margaret's role in the play as "prophecy" and "cursing." Nicholas Brooke, *Shakespeare's Early Tragedies*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1968, p. 69.

like herself, bereft of both husband and son and replaced as queen by another, and after this, in (64), she warns Elizabeth of the danger to herself in siding with Richard and prophesies that "The time will come when thou shalt wish for me / To help thee curse" Richard. What, then, might Shakespeare's intention be in having Margaret appear in a court of the House of York and in creating her curses, warnings, and prophecies against Queen Elizabeth? After Margaret exits and Elizabeth and her kindred, trembling with fear, retire to visit the sick Edward, Richard, who pretended to feel sympathy for Margaret and is now left alone on the stage, soliloquizes in (84) as follows:

Glou. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.  
 The secret mischiefs that I set abroad  
 I lay unto the grievous charge of others.  
 Clarence, whom I, indeed, have laid in darkness,  
 I do beweepe to many simple gulls;  
 Namely, to Hastings, Derby, Buckingham;  
 And say it is the queen and her allies  
 That stir the king against the duke my brother.  
 Now, they believe it; and withal whet me  
 To be revenged on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey:

Here it becomes clear that the reason why Richard attacks Elizabeth and her relatives by bringing up Clarence's imprisonment, actually planned and ordered by Richard himself, and ascribes it to them in (36) is that he wishes to persuade Buckingham and the others that the Queen's faction is to blame and to move them to urge him to be revenged. This shows that Richard has the intention of punishing the Queen's faction in mind. Thus, in II.i, Richard, with this secret aim, attends the scene of reconciliation with the Queen's family, where Edward<sup>16</sup> supervises as a mediator. Richard says to the Queen, "First, madam, I entreat true peace of you, / Which I will purchase with my duteous service;" (111) and is reconciled with her. He then goes on to say to Rivers and Grey, "Of you, Lord Rivers, and, Lord Grey, of you; / That all without desert have frown'd on me" (113) and asks them for a friendly settlement. As we have already noted, Richard does not appear in Holinshed's descriptions corresponding to this scene and therefore dialogues (111) and (113) can be regarded as invented, and reveal Richard to be one of the parties concerned in their mutual reconciliation. But so far Shakespeare has been creating antagonistic relations between the protagonist and the Queen's family before King Edward dies, creating a Richard who, based on this relation and motivated by his own secret inner hope to exclude her and her kinsmen, incites Buckingham and consequently becomes one of the parties concerned in the reconciliation here. Therefore Shakespeare creates a false reconciliation and thereby a deceived Elizabeth who judges it to be true and delights, saying "A holy day shall this

<sup>16</sup> He appears only in II.i in this play and, as in Holinshed, takes the lead in bringing the Queen's party and Hastings into harmony. He also takes the initiative in the reconciliation among the Queen's family, Buckingham and the false Richard as I mentioned earlier, which is created by the dramatist. By this, Shakespeare intends that the results of his efforts will recoil upon the two major characters later. Moreover, he invents dialogue (122) between Edward and Richard, in which he creates an Edward who has withdrawn his order to execute Clarence. By this invention, Shakespeare aims that Richard should be entirely responsible for the death of Clarence.

be kept hereafter.” (116) What can Shakespeare’s intention be in creating dialogues (61) and (64), in which the dramatist, after presenting the interpersonal relations between the Queen and Richard, makes Margaret appear in the court, and curse, warn, and prophesy against her in regard to Richard? Shakespeare, who creates a Duchess of York and makes her hold dialogue (134) with Elizabeth in II.ii, gives us a Queen grieving over her husband’s death and makes Margaret’s created curse fulfilled on her. And after that, the playwright invents IV.i in which the Queen feels sad at the news from Brakenbury of Richard’s enthronement (304) and from Stanley of Anne’s becoming Queen (308), and is going to die “nor mother, wife, nor England’s counted queen” (311) as prophesied by Margaret in (61). He also creates a Queen who is grieved at the loss of her two sons in (348) and then creates a Margaret who enters again and holds the invented dialogues (358) and (360) with her, in which Shakespeare leads Elizabeth to the realization of what Margaret means by calling her “poor painted queen, vain flourish of my fortune!” (64), makes Margaret teach her how to curse Richard, and consequently creates the fulfilment on her of Margaret’s curse, warning and prophesy in (61) and (64). Therefore these two dialogues are directly connected with those of (358) and (360). What is Shakespeare’s underlying intention in creating as many as 18 dialogues? It can be said that he intends to depict Richard as the Queen’s enemy before Edward dies, makes Margaret enter when the confrontation between them reaches its height and lets her curse, warn and prophesy against the Queen who follows Richard’s line. And consequently the dramatist creates a Queen who cannot see what Margaret means, cannot be aware of Richard’s true self, and takes his false reconciliation as true and delights in it. After writing the gradual fulfilment of Margaret’s curse, warning and prophesy, Shakespeare intends to create an Elizabeth who understands clearly that the prophecy has come true on herself at last.

After creating a Queen who has been awakened, Shakespeare makes her meet and have a dialogue with King Richard who is on his way to battle in (372). Holinshed describes Richard as planning to marry princess Elizabeth to prevent Richmond from marrying her and sending a messenger to Queen Elizabeth who has taken shelter in the sanctuary in order to appease her and be reconciled with her. Thus, in Holinshed, Richard contacts Elizabeth in an indirect manner, and there is no description of the messenger making a marriage proposal, nor any reference to the problem from the Queen’s side. Whereas Holinshed depicts Richard sending a messenger to the Queen to be reconciled with her with the secret idea of marrying her daughter in his mind, Shakespeare omits the messenger and has Richard directly negotiate with her and request her to let him marry her daughter. In dialogue (372), Richard, who once called Princess Elizabeth a “bastard” in (270), calls her “Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious” this time and asks Elizabeth to “Be the attorney of my love to her” as he “mean[s] to make her queen of England.” Of course, the purpose is, as in Holinshed, to hinder Richmond and Princess Elizabeth from marrying, but the Queen does not know this and is on the verge of being mollified by Richard’s apparently sincere words, though she continues to resist. She, however, accepts in the end his logic of “Without her, follows . . . / Death, desolation, ruin and decay: / It cannot be avoided but by this;” and says to Richard, “Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?” and then exits. Looking after her, Richard soliloquizes, “Relenting fool, and shallow, changing woman!” (373)

In this way Shakespeare creates the dialogues between King Richard and Elizabeth, and his intention in doing so must be explored. Here, it is necessary to remember that the

Queen in this scene is not the Queen sheltering in the sanctuary, but the Queen who has just been taught how to curse Richard. And at first she denounces Richard's cruel, murderous acts committed in the past, but gradually comes to be persuaded to accept Richard's request and becomes an object of his contempt. Therefore, a Queen whose two sons and whose kinsmen, Rivers, Grey and Vaughan, were deceived and murdered by Richard and who has learned how to curse him from Margaret, a Queen who is not aware of Richard's real intention to woo Princess Elizabeth in order to prevent her from marrying Richmond, and who takes the false Richard as true, is created by the dramatist. By thus examining the relations between Richard and the Queen, it is clearly understood that the Queen, who once realized that Margaret's prophecy had hit the mark as a result of her own error in taking the false Richard as true, again makes another foolish mistake of the same kind and is deceived by the false Richard. But what does Shakespeare finally aim at by creating a Queen twice deceived by Richard's false image?

## VI

In I.iii, Margaret curses Rivers and Dorset as she cursed Hastings for standing by and looking on at her son Edward being killed and prophesies their untimely deaths (62), but naturally they do not believe that the prophecy will be fulfilled. After Margaret exits, Rivers judges a false Richard, who plans to imprison Clarence but makes other people responsible for it, and prays, "God pardon them that are the cause of it," to be "A virtuous and a Christian," and consequently he is not aware that he has made the mistake of taking the false Richard for the true one. But when Rivers, Grey and Vaughan in Shakespeare fall into such great straits as the confinement and execution in Pomfret (the course of events is as in Holinshed, except that in (168) Shakespeare adds Buckingham to Richard as an intriguer to put them in jail), Grey comes to know that "Now Margaret's curse is fall'n upon our heads, / For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son," and Rivers prays God to hear "her prayers for them, as now for us!" and wishes Margaret's curse to come true. So, Shakespeare's intention in creating the prophetess Margaret, and the three of the Queen's kinsfolk who realize the fulfillment of her prophecy, would be to punish them for their crime during the Wars of the Roses,<sup>17</sup> to represent those who are deceived to their deaths by Richard and to create their sinister prayers for him. But what is Shakespeare's final purpose in creating the last dialogues (415), (416) and (417) between Richard and the ghosts of the three?

## VII

In I.iii, Margaret curses the members of the House of York one after another and foretells the retribution of the crimes that they committed in the past, but excludes Buckingham

<sup>17</sup> See 9 in my previous paper titled 'The Tragedy of the Man Who "Bought a Glass" in *King Richard III*—Shakespeare's Reinterpretation of Holinshed—(I)', *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (December 1993), pp. 1–23.

from them for the reason that “Thy garments are not spotted with our blood, / Nor thou within the compass of my curse” (71) and warns him “not to do with” Richard. It is clear that Richard was not listening, because he immediately asks Buckingham “What doth she say, my lord of Buckingham?” (72) and Buckingham answers him, saying “Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord” and ignores her. At this, Margaret warns Buckingham as follows:

Q. Mar. What, dost thou scorn me for my gentle counsel?  
 And soothe the devil that I warn thee from?  
 O, but remember this another day,  
 And say poor Margaret was a prophetess!

Then, what is the dramatist’s intention in creating a Margaret who warns Buckingham to keep away from Richard and predicts that otherwise he will realize some day she was a prophetess in connection with the Richard and Buckingham relationship? Holinshed describes Richard as agreeing with Hastings and Buckingham on the point of removing the Queen’s folk from the prince and the name of Buckingham can not be found in this situation in Holinshed. Therefore Shakespeare deviates from Holinshed by creating dialogue (72) between Richard and Buckingham, and his intention in doing so must be examined.

As discussed above, the reason why Richard calls the Queen the instigator of Clarence’s imprisonment in front of Hastings, Stanley,<sup>18</sup> and Buckingham in a created dialogue, (84), is that he wants to make them believe it to be true and come to Richard himself and urge him to be revenged on the Queen’s faction. Moreover, Shakespeare, in the invented dialogue (126), creates a Richard who blames the Queen’s kinsfolk for Clarence’s misery, though he himself is totally responsible for it, and makes a deceitful explanation to Buckingham, saying, “Mark’d you not / How that the guilty kindred of the queen / Look’d pale when they did hear of Clarence’s death? / O, they did urge it still unto the king!” He also deceived Buckingham who takes the false explanation as true and becomes willing to go to destroy the Queen’s party. When the Queen laments her husband’s death in II.ii, Shakespeare creates dialogue (151) and makes Buckingham suggest that they welcome Prince Edward “with some little train” from Ludlow to London to crown him. On the other hand, Holinshed’s Richard secretly causes “the queen to be persuaded that it neither were need, and also should be ieopardous, the king to come vp strong.” Therefore, the dramatist changes Richard’s role in Holinshed to Buckingham’s and creates dialogue (155) between Buckingham and Richard as follows:

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<sup>18</sup> Hearing the news of Clarence’s death, King Edward IV laments that no one petitioned him to pardon Clarence, when Stanley appears to beg him to save the life of his servant. Shakespeare changes Holinshed’s “anie person” into a merciful Stanley. Richard in Holinshed trusts Stanley though his wife is antagonistic to him and Stanley himself is the stepfather to the Earl of Richmond. Shakespeare follows their relation in this play in (332), (334) and (379). But when he comes to fetch Anne for Richard’s coronation, Queen Elizabeth, sensing a danger, recommends her son Dorset to flee to Richmond, to which he agrees and is so kind as to say that he writes to Richmond to welcome Dorset in (313). And thus helping Dorset flee, he reports his flight to Richard as if he knows nothing about it in (327). By creating dialogues (313) and (327), Shakespeare invents a Stanley who secretly betrays his confidence. Therefore before Holinshed describes antagonistic Stanley, Shakespeare invents a Stanley who is secretly hostile to Richard. In this sense, Shakespeare’s Stanley assumes the character of Richard’s secret enemy more strongly.

- Buck. My lord, whoever journeys to the prince,  
 For god's sake, let not us be behind;  
 For by the way, I'll sort occasion,  
 As index to the story we late talk'd of,  
 To part the queen's proud kindred from the king.
- Glou. My other self, my counsel's consistory,  
 My oracle, my prophet! My dear cousin  
 I, like a child, will go by thy direction.  
 Towards Ludlow then, for we'll not stay behind.

Here Richard follows Buckingham's direction obediently because he is delighted to see the latter who, being incited by Richard himself, has positively made the proposal. That is to say, in the created dialogues (151) and (155), the playwright invents Buckingham's initiative to Richard in the matters of fetching the prince to London with a small company and alienating the Queen's kinsmen from the prince. This leads to the created dialogue (168) between the Duchess of York and the messenger, in which Shakespeare changes Holinshed's description of Richard sending Rivers, Grey and Vaughan as prisoners to Pomfret in such a way that "The mighty dukes / Gloucester and Buckingham" did it, and creates a Buckingham who takes the initiative continually in removing the Queen's kindred from the prince. His initiative is also seen when he overhears and gets angry at the news in (179) that the Queen has found shelter in the sanctuary with York. In (182), he disregards the privilege York claims to shelter because he is a child, and orders the Cardinal and Hastings to take him from the sanctuary in (180), (181) and (182). In Holinshed, Buckingham only makes a speech to the effect that "I have often heard of sanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuarie children," which Shakespeare's Buckingham literally follows, and Richard's initiative is seen in the process of removing the prince from the Queen. Therefore the playwright unites Holinshed's Richard and Buckingham into his Buckingham and gives him the initiative in this plan.

By tracing further the interpersonal relations between Richard and Buckingham, we come to the created dialogue (207) between Buckingham and Catesby. Here Buckingham wants to know what Catesby thinks of Hastings and asks him whether it is easy or not to make him join their party to crown Richard. In Holinshed, Richard moves Catesby as is described: "For which cause he [Richard] moued Catesbie to prooue . . . whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings vnto their part." Therefore, Shakespeare creates a Buckingham who asks Catesby for his opinion about sounding Hastings out and actually requests him to "sound . . . Lord Hastings, / How he doth stand affected to our purpose; / And summon him to-morrow to the Tower, / To sit about the coronation." Here Buckingham's initiative in sounding out Hastings is also created. And in (21), Shakespeare, like Holinshed, depicts Richard as making a promise to Buckingham that "when I am king, claim thou of me / The earldom of Hereford, and the moveables / Whereof the king my brother stood possess'd"<sup>19</sup> and depicts Buckingham, too, as expressing his own will to "claim that promise." The dramatist continues to invent a Buckingham who makes an effort to set Richard on the throne.

<sup>19</sup> See 5, *op. cit.*

In this way, Buckingham, having made Catesby sound out Hastings, holds dialogue (222) with Hastings and leads him on to the Tower where the council is held and he is to lose his life. Corresponding to this scene, Holinshed says "A knight [came] vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accompanie him to the counsell, but of truth sent by the protector to hast him thitherwards; . . . , " while Shakespeare puts the role of Holinshed's "knight" on Buckingham's back as it were, creates a Buckingham who requests Hastings indirectly through Catesby to attend the fatal council in the Tower in (207) and shows him to the place, by which it can be said that Shakespeare intends to create Buckingham's initiative in the proceedings of entrapping and dooming Hastings.

In the invented dialogues (234) and (235) in III.ii, there is a discussion about the schedule of Richard's coronation among Hastings, Buckingham, Derby and Ely while Richard is away, and Buckingham asks as follows:

- Buck. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein?  
 Who is most inward with the noble duke?  
 Ely. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his mind.  
 Buck. Who, I, my lord! we know each other's faces,  
 But for our hearts, he knows no more of mine,  
 Than I of yours;  
 Nor I no more of his, than you of mine.

Buckingham is likely to be disconcerted that his inner intimate relation with Richard might have been seen through by Ely, but manages to avoid the dangerous situation. Here is clearly shown a Buckingham who believes that he knows Richard's mind well, but his confidence is based on an illusion and he in reality knows Richard's face but not his mind as he confesses here, which Shakespeare has depicted in (84), (151), (155) and (168) and dramatizes in the coming process of putting Richard on the throne.

When Richard, who has "been long a sleeper," is late for the councils, and tells Buckingham about the results of Catesby's sounding out of Hastings, Buckingham asks Richard to withdraw and they exit together in (243) to consult about how to entrap Hastings behind his back. Just after Hastings criticizes Richard, saying, "I think there's never a man in Christendom / That can less hide his love or hate than he; / For by his face straight shall you know his heart" and claims the agreement of Richard's face and heart without being aware that Richard and Buckingham are deciding on his death (246), the two of them enter together again and pronounce the death sentence on Hastings for treachery as in Holinshed. However, in Holinshed, only Richard reappears and invents a pretext for fastening a quarrel on Hastings and arrests him as a traitor, while Buckingham does not appear. Therefore Shakespeare, by making Buckingham enter with Richard, indicates visually that they are united as one flesh in the decision on Hastings's execution. Thus, by creating dialogues (207), (222) and (243), and Richard and Buckingham's exit and reentry together, Shakespeare intends to depict a Buckingham who takes the leadership over Richard Gloucester in getting rid of Hastings.

Buckingham, having made arrangements that "some ten voices cried God save king Richard!," fails in winning the approval of the citizens to enthrone him as in Holinshed, returns to tell the results to him in III.vii and formulates a plan in (275) as follows:



Buck. The mayor is here at hand: intend some fear;  
 Be not you spoke with, but by mighty suit:  
 And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,  
 And stand betwixt two churchmen, good my lord;  
 For on that ground I'll build a holy descant:  
 And be not easily won to our request:  
 Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it.

Richard immediately agrees to this proposal, saying, "I go," and follows his already expressed idea in (155) that "I, like a child, will go by thy direction." There is no description in Holinshed about Buckingham returning and reporting to and directing Richard: Buckingham alone consults with the mayor's people and asks them to go together to request Richard to be king the next day. Therefore Shakespeare invents dialogue (275) between Richard and Buckingham and thereby invents Buckingham's direction to Richard. Holinshed says that "The maior with all the aldermen, . . . resorted vnto Bainards castell, where the protector laie. To which place repaired also, . . . the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse noble men with him, . . . And therevpon the duke sent word vnto the lord protector, . . . to mooue a great matter vnto his grace. Wherevpon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, . . . Then the duke, when he had shewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent vnto him by the messenger such louing message againe, . . . at the last he came foorth of his chamber, . . . but stood aboue in a gallerie ouer them . . . And therevpon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, . . . When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked verie strangelie thereat, . . . Notwithstanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praieng them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the prince." Shakespeare invents, first of all, Catesby<sup>20</sup> as a messenger in (277) and (279), who comes and goes between Richard and Buckingham before Richard appears before them and gives Catesby the role of Holinshed's messenger sent from the mayor to Richard, by which he eliminates the direct negotiations between the mayor's side and Richard, and makes Richard come out after being requested by Buckingham through Catesby. Of course, Catesby joins hands with Richard and Buckingham, with Shakespeare thus altering the mayor's messenger into Catesby with whom only Buckingham holds dialogues, so that the initiative on the mayor's side may be lost and the request for Richard to be crowned and his acceptance may be all planned and carried out by Richard's faction. Moreover, Shakespeare closely follows Holinshed's descriptions of the dialogues between Richard and Buckingham, but makes Buckingham claim that "this prince is not an Edward!" and Richard is "on his knees at meditation" (278), "with two deep diuines,"<sup>21</sup> "praying, to enrich his watchful soul." The dramatist also makes Buckingham emphasize Richard as being religious when

<sup>20</sup> Holinshed and Shakespeare agree on the definition of Catesby as Hastings's right-hand man, but as I mentioned, Shakespeare creates dialogues (214) and (215) in which he sounds out Hastings directly and also creates dialogues (277) and (279) in which he plays the role of a messenger in the total farce coming and going between Richard and Buckingham, who is acting on behalf of the mayor and citizens of London. By inventing these dialogues, Shakespeare creates a Catesby who plays an important part in Richard's intrigue and therefore more strongly puts on the character of a person taking sides with Richard.

<sup>21</sup> See 5, *op. cit.*

he does not appear at their request. But when at last he appears with a bishop on each side, Shakespeare makes Buckingham put emphasis on Richard's holy image in (282) in which Buckingham comments that "Two props of virtue for a Christian prince, / To stay him from the fall of vanity: / And, see, a book of prayer in his hand, / True ornaments to know a holy man," and Shakespeare creates a Richard who continues to reject, but in the end accepts, their request as directed by Buckingham in the invented dialogue (275). Therefore Shakespeare creates a holy and religious Richard who is totally different from the late King Edward, and this is exactly what Buckingham expresses as "a holy descant" in (275). By inventing dialogues (275), (277), (278), (279), and (282), the playwright intends to make the scene of the request by the citizens to Richard a total farce<sup>22</sup> played by Richard and Catesby as actors and Buckingham as both actor and director, creating a Richard who plays the false role of a holy man followed by two bishops and with a book of prayer in his hand according to Buckingham's direction, and creating Buckingham's initiative all through the performance.

Thus continuing to represent a Buckingham who has been taking the leadership in enthroning Richard, Shakespeare cracks the close relations between Richard and Buckingham in (322) in IV.ii:

- K. Rich. Stand all apart. Cousin of Buckingham!  
 Buck. My gracious sovereign?  
 K. Rich. Give me thy hand. [Here he ascendeth his throne.]  
 Thus high, by thy advice  
 And thy assistance, is King Richard seated:

In relation to the coronation scene in Shakespeare, there are descriptions in Holinshed that "Then went three together, . . . Then followed the duke of Norffolke, bearing the kings crowne betweene his hands. Then followed king Richard in his robes of purple veluet, . . . And on euerie side of the king there went one bishop, that is to saie, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of Durham. Then followed the duke of Buckingham bearing the kings traine, . . . Then there followed a great number of earles and barons before the queene. . . . And the earle of Wilshire bare the queenes crowne. Then followed queene Anne. . . . Then both the king and the queene changed them into cloth of gold, and ascended to their seats, where the cardinall of Canturburie, & other bishops them crowned according to the custome of the realme, . . . " but here is no description about Richard reaching for Buckingham's hand nor any denoting that Richard gives Buckingham special treatment. Therefore, dialogue (322) is of Shakespeare's invention. Richard, helped by Buckingham's hand, is seated on his throne as King Richard, but how does this action visually strike all the people attending the coronation? Unmistakably, this is a scene appealing to the eye, where, as Richard declares, is shown the fact that it is owing to Buckingham's "advice" and "assistance," namely his "hand" throughout, that Richard can ascend the throne. And Shakespeare has been making this well-founded on the created dialogues up to this point. But their close-knit relations break apart immediately. Richard tries Buckingham because he wants the two princes shut up in the Tower in order to have them killed and become king in both name and reality, but Buckingham asks Richard for "some little pause" to

<sup>22</sup> John Palmer points out that it is "a carefully rehearsed and grotesque parody of a popular election." John Palmer, *Political Characters of Shakespeare*, Macmillan, 1945, p. 65.

answer and exits, which offends Richard deeply (326), and when he enters again in (331) and urges Richard to fulfill the "promise for the earldom" in (212), he is rejected because Richard has already asked Tyrrel to murder the princes. Holinshed's Richard sends John Greene to Brakenberie to persuade him to put the two princes to death but Brakenberie rejects the request,<sup>23</sup> and then Richard asks James Tirrel to visit Brakenberie to lend him the key to enter the Tower, and Brakenberie consents at last. Moreover, Holinshed's Buckingham, not having agreed to the murder, becomes indignant on hearing the news and thinks that he cannot stay at Richard's court any longer. He is also rejected in his suit of "the earle of Herefords lands" and is given "unkind words" by Richard. Therefore, in Holinshed, there is no causal sequence between Buckingham's disagreement on killing the two princes and Richard's rejection of Buckingham's "due," the "earldom of Hereford and the moveables," while Shakespeare makes Richard get angry at Buckingham because even though he requests the latter to murder the princes Buckingham exits without giving him an immediate answer. Shakespeare also makes Richard keep Buckingham away from his counsels, withdraw his request and reject Buckingham's demands, saying, "I am not in the giving vein to-day" (341). Richard rejects Buckingham because Buckingham hesitates to murder the princes in spite of Richard's strong request. So, there is a strong causal connection between Buckingham's hesitation and Richard's rejection, which is Shakespeare's departure from Holinshed. Moreover, as discussed earlier, Buckingham in Holinshed cannot stay at Richard's court any longer because Richard carried out the murder of the princes in spite of his disapproval, while Shakespeare creates dialogue (342) as follows:

Buck. Is it even so? rewards he my true service  
 With such deep contempt? made I him king for this?  
 O, let me think on Hastings, and be gone  
 To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on!

Buckingham realizes that he is, like Hastings, deceived by Richard and makes up his mind to escape. Therefore, by departing from Holinshed, the dramatist creates a Buckingham who flies to avoid imminent danger because Richard breaks his promise to him. Therefore, Shakespeare links together Buckingham's hesitation, Richard's refusal of Buckingham's request, and Buckingham's decision to fly as cause and effect. Then how are Shakespeare's intentions in creating Buckingham's initiative in separating the princes from the Queen's faction, in executing Hastings, and in setting Richard on the throne connected with his intention in creating a Buckingham who is betrayed by Richard and determines to flee?

Buckingham, after his flight, is arrested and executed in Salisbury in (386), (387) and (388). This course of events is the same as in Holinshed, but the contents of the dialogues are of Shakespeare's invention. In the created dialogue (388), Buckingham, who was once deceitfully reconciled with the Queen's kinsmen in front of the king in (107) and prayed half jokingly that "Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate / On you or yours, but with all duteous love / Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me / With hate in those where I expect most love! / When I have most need to employ a friend, / And most assured that he is a friend, / Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile. / Be he unto me!", now laments,

<sup>23</sup> See 7, *op. cit.*

“This is the day wherein I wish’d to fall / By the false faith of him I trusted most” and realizes that “Now Margaret’s curse is fallen upon my head; / ‘When he,’ quoth she, ‘shall split thy heart with sorrow, / Remember Margaret was a prophetess’ ” and he receives the retribution of the past crimes he committed as he caused Hastings’, the two princes’, Rivers’, Grey’s and Vaughan’s deaths, saying, “Wrong hath but wrong and blame the due of blame,” and dies. Therefore, by creating dialogues (386), (387) and (388), Shakespeare intends to depict a Buckingham who is betrayed to destruction by the Richard he has most trusted, knows the fulfillment of Margaret’s prophecy on himself and receives the retributions of the murders brought about by his initiative. In spite of Margaret’s warning, Buckingham takes Richard’s false image as true and tries to take the lead in setting him on the throne, but is destroyed when he knows that he has been deceived by the false Richard. Therefore Shakespeare’s intention in creating such a Buckingham can be said to strengthen his tragic image as he is all the more deeply betrayed and deceived because he trusts Richard and takes the initiative in bringing him to the throne. But what is the ultimate intention of Shakespeare in creating the last dialogue (425) between Richard and the ghost of Buckingham?

## VIII

Holinshed and Shakespeare agree on the course of events concerning the murder of the two princes,<sup>24</sup> Prince Edward and Richard of York, executed in the Tower by Tyrrel, Dighton and Forrest sent by Richard, but Shakespeare, by creating dialogues (161), (163), (176), (185)~(192), and (195)~(205), invents “so wise so young” Edward and a “bold, quick, ingenuous, forward, capable” York, while creating a Richard who advises Prince Edward in (176) as follows:

Glou. Sweet prince, the untainted virtue of your years  
Hath not yet dived into the world’s deceit:  
Nor more can you distinguish of a man  
Than of his outward show; which, God he knows,  
Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart.

These words, however, suit Richard himself most, but he hides the fact and defines Rivers and others as dangerous because their appearance and reality do not agree at all. Therefore, it becomes clear that Richard converses with Prince Edward deceitfully as he is hiding his true self and showing his false one. Shakespeare invents the dialogue between the Duchess of York and York in (161) in which a York who believes Richard’s words of “Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace” is created, but the intention of the invention may be part of that of creating the Duchess of York’s words: “the saying did not hold / In him that did object the same to thee” to clarify and emphasize York who regards Richard as virtuous. Here, it becomes clear that York takes a false Richard for true. Then what

<sup>24</sup> Joan Rees says that “The murder of the little princes is a pivotal point in the play, an act by which Richard reveals the depth of his cold-blooded cruelty.” Joan Rees, *Shakespeare and the Story*, The Athlone Press, 1978, p. 136.

is Shakespeare's intention in creating dialogue (421) between Richard and the ghosts of the two princes in V.iii, after having created a Richard who sends them to the Tower by masking his true self?

## IX

In I.iii, Margaret holds a conversation with Richard and curses him in (63):

Q. Mar. If heaven have any grievous plague in store  
Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,  
O, let them keep it till thy sins be ripe,  
And then hurl down their indignation  
On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!  
The worm of conscience still begnaw thy soul!

.....

No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,  
Unless it be whilst some tormenting dream  
Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!

And toward York's party in front of her she prophesizes, saying, "Live each of you the subjects to his hate, / And he to yours, and all of you to God's!" and exits. Thus Shakespeare, who, by creating dialogues (63) and (74), invents a Margaret that curses Richard together with all the others there and prophesizes, creates dialogue (316) between the Queen and Anne, in which Anne tells about Richard suffering from "his timorous dreams."<sup>25</sup> Here, it is clear that Margaret's curse is partly fulfilled and Margaret, who has been witnessing the deaths of Clarence, the two princes, Hastings, Rivers, Grey and Vaughan and her own prophecy toward them being fulfilled, prophesizes about Richard in (357), saying, "Richard yet lives, . . . but at hand, at hand, / Ensues his petious and unpitied end: . . ."

Thus, Shakespeare invents a Margaret who curses Richard himself in (63), depicts the bad fortunes of the victims of Richard's hatred one after another as predicted by Margaret in (74), creates a Margaret who knows the true Richard and finally represents a Richard who dreams "timorous dreams." Then how does Shakespeare's intention in creating these dialogues connect with his intention in creating (409), (411), (413), (415), (417), (419), (421), (423) and (425) between Richard and the ghosts of the victims of Richard's cruelty?

## X

In II.ii, the Duchess of York, Richard's mother, enters. Like Queen Margaret, she does not appear in Holinshed, so all the dialogues with her become Shakespeare's inventions and the playwright's intentions must be scrutinized.

—The dialogue between the Duchess of York and Boy in (133).

<sup>25</sup> It may be too early to get self-knowledge just after he wakes up from a horrible dream.

Shakespeare, who creates a Richard exclusively responsible for Clarence's death, makes him tell Clarence's son that "the king, provoked by the queen, / Devised impeachments to imprison him" and ask him to rely on him as a father. Richard masks himself toward Clarence's son, but the Duchess has an insight into Richard's evil character, saying, "Oh, that deceit should steal such gentle shapes, / And with a virtuous vizard hide foul guile!," and Clarence's son still wonders if his "uncle did dissemble." The Duchess of York, who is ashamed of her son as she knows his true self, and Clarence's son, who takes Richard's false image as true without knowing the real Richard, are both invented.

—The dialogue between Queen Elizabeth and the Duchess of York in (134).

As in the previous dialogue (133), the Duchess of York, who has lost Edward and Clarence, grieves at Richard, saying, "And I for comfort have but one false glass, / Which grieves me when I see my shame in him." Shakespeare creates a Duchess of York who knows what her son truly is.

—The Duchess of York in chorus with Queen Elizabeth and her Children in (144).

The Queen's sorrow for King Edward and the children's sorrow for Clarence their father are both her own sorrow, too, and the Duchess of York says, "Alas, I am the mother of these moans! / Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general." She combines their respective sorrows into her own general sorrow.

—The dialogue between the Duchess of York and Richard in (149), and Richard's aside in (150).

The Duchess of York, being requested, gives her blessing to Richard, but cannot pray him to "die a good old man." Shakespeare creates a Duchess who cannot so pray because she knows the true Richard fully.

—The dialogue between the Duchess of York and York and between the Archbishop and the Duchess in (161) and (162).

As already discussed, York "would not grow so fast, / Because sweet flowers are slow and weeds make haste" because Richard told him that "Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace." But, hearing that, the Duchess points out that Richard's words "did not hold / in him . . . if this rule were true, he should be gracious." It becomes clear that the Duchess knows the real image of her son.

—The Duchess of York in front of Queen Elizabeth, York, and the Archbishop of York in (171).

Hearing the news that Rivers, Grey and Vaughan are sent to Pomfret, the Duchess laments, saying, "O, preposterous / And frantic outrage, end thy damned spleen; / Or let me die, to look on death no more!" She expresses her deep grief from the general viewpoint of the whole situation.

—The Duchess of York curses herself in (314).

When Stanley comes and tells Anne to go to Westminster "to be crowned Richard's royal queen," the Duchess, hearing this, exclaims, "O my accursed womb, the bed of death? / A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world, / Whose unavowed eye is murderous" and curses herself. She knows Richard's true image and this is linked with what dialogues (133) and (134) mean.

—The dialogues between the Duchess and Dorset, Anne, and Queen Elizabeth in (317), (318) and (319).

The Duchess wishes Dorset, Anne and Elizabeth "good fortune," "good angels," and

"good thoughts" to guide, guard and possess respectively, and says, "Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen," whose meaning is the same as that of dialogue (171).

—The dialogues between the Duchess of York and Queen Margaret, and Queen Elizabeth in (350) and (354).

The Duchess says, "So many miseries have crazed my voice, / That my woe-wearied tongue is mute and dumb." She declares herself to be an embodiment of sorrow, indeed.

—The dialogue between the Duchess and Queen Margaret in (357).

When Margaret attacks the Duchess, saying, "From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept / A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death," the Duchess stops her and says, "O Harry's wife, triumph not in my woes!" Already in (133), (134) and (314), the Duchess as a mother expresses her sorrow and shame toward her son. She is, as it were, finished by a stab in the back with Margaret's bitter words.

—The dialogue between the Duchess and Queen Elizabeth in (361) and between them and Richard in (363).

The Duchess invites Queen Elizabeth to curse her son Richard, saying "go with me, / And in the breath of bitter words let's smother / My damned son." When they meet Richard, the Duchess reveals herself as knowing Richard's true image, by saying, "she that might have intercepted thee, / By strangling thee in her accursed womb, / From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done!" She knows Richard's true image as a villain and this is of Shakespeare's invention.

—The dialogue between the Duchess and Richard in (365).

The Duchess asks Richard, "Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother Clarence?", by which Shakespeare creates a Duchess who is aware that Clarence was murdered by Richard and knows his real image.

—The dialogue between the Duchess and Richard in (369) and (371),

The Duchess, addressing Richard, begins with "Art thou my son?," traces his career from "infancy" to "prime of manhood" through "school-days," and now defines him as "Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, bloody, treacherous, / More mild, but yet more harmful, kind in hatred." She knows well that Richard covers up his real image of "harmful" villain with his virtual image of "mild" king. Just before parting with him for ever, she curses him and prophesizes that "Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end; / Shame serves thy life and doth thy death attend."

Looking through all the invented dialogues that the Duchess of York holds, there looms up a Duchess who knows fully the real image of Richard the villain, adds each sorrow of Richard's individual victims into the whole and general sorrow in her own, feels herself sorrowful, is ashamed as the mother who gave birth to him, curses him directly and prophesizes his miserable death at last. Therefore Shakespeare creates her as symbolizing the general sorrow and knowing her son's real image thoroughly like Margaret. In this interpersonal relation between Richard and the Duchess, his mother, the intention of the playwright who creates a Duchess well familiar with Richard's real substance must be investigated.

## XI

By thus showing his pretended appearance as a real image, Richard has deceived and murdered Clarence, Hastings, Anne, Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, the two princes and Buckingham one after another as far as V.iii, and in the dream he has the night before the battle with Richmond,<sup>26</sup> he is cursed by the ghosts<sup>27</sup> of these victims of his cruelty. Concerning this scene, Holinshed narrates as follows:

The fame went, that he [the king] had the same night a dreadful and terrible dreame: for it seemed to him being asleepe, that he did see diuerse images like terrible diuels, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take anie quiet or rest. The which strange vision not so suddenlie strake his heart with a sudden feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie busie and dreadfull imaginations.

So, it is clear that Shakespeare changes Holinshed's "diuerse images like terrible diuels" into the ghosts of the victims and creates the dialogues between Richard and the ghosts and, of course, their contents. The ghosts of Prince Edward in (409),<sup>28</sup> Henry VI in (411),<sup>29</sup> Clarence in (413), Rivers, Grey and Vaughan in (415), (416), (417), Hastings in (419), the two young princes in (421), Lady Anne in (423) and finally Buckingham in (425) visit Richard and Richmond one after another; they accuse Richard of the felonious homicides and exclaim, "Despair and die!," while encouraging Richmond, saying, "live and flourish!" What is Shakespeare's intention in creating these dialogues and their contents? Shakespeare then dramatizes Richard waking up from the terrible dream and saying in (427):

K. Rich.                                 —Soft! I did but dream.  
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!

He realizes that he was only dreaming, but at the same time he is inflicted with the pangs of conscience.<sup>30</sup> In relation to this scene, Holinshed narrates as follows:

. . . ; he recited and declared to his familiar freends in the morning his wonderfull vision and fearefull dreame.

But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and pricke of his sinfull conscience: for the conscience is so much more charged and agreeued, as the offense

<sup>26</sup> Richmond holds no dialogue with Richard throughout the play, and so there is no such multiplicate interpersonal relation between the two persons as to be able to give some meaning to the protagonist's tragedy. In other words, it is not that Richard receives some retribution for the past crimes he committed against Richmond. Only Richmond plays the part of bringing Richard to death as well as in Holinshed. It can be said that Shakespeare chooses Richmond as an appropriate person to limit the meaning of tragedy to nobody but Richard and complete the tragedy as his own because Richmond has nothing to do with Richard's cruelty.

<sup>27</sup> It is certain that "the revenge element is stressed" by Anne, the wailing Queens, and the ghosts. Cf. Antony Hammond, *King Richard III*, Introduction, The Arden Shakespeare, Methuen, 1981, p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> See 9, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> See 9, *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> About Richard's conscience, cf. John Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 65, and Willard Farnham, *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier*, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 114-5.



is greater & heinous<sup>1</sup> in degree. [So that king Richard, by this reckoning, must needs haue a woonderfull troubled mind, because the deeds that he had doone, as they were heinous and vnnaturall, so did they excite and stirre vp extraordinarie motions of trouble and vexations in his conscience.] Which sting of conscience, although it strike not alwaie; yet at the last daie of extreame life, it is woont to shew and represent to vs our faults and offenses, and the paines and punishments which hang ouer our heads for the committing of the same, to the intent that at that instant, we for our deserts being penitent and repentant, maie be compelled (lamenting and bewailing our sinnes like forsakers of this world) iocund to depart out of this mischeefe life.

Holinshed describes Richard's "terrible dreame," but expresses his own opinion that it was "a punction and pricke of his sinfull conscience." Shakespeare introduces the idea of conscience from Holinshed the chronicler into his play but analyzes it in great detail in the case of Richard according to his own method. Holinshed concentrates his arguments on the motivation of conscience but Shakespeare dramatizes how the protagonist actually feels the pricks of conscience, the process of his torment. Therefore this is the playwright's departure from Holinshed. How he gives conscience to Richard is clear as follows:

K. Rich.

.....  
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,  
And every tongue brings in a several tale,  
And every tale condemns me for a villain.  
.....

I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;  
And if I die, no soul shall pity me:  
Nay, wherefore should they, since that I myself  
Find in myself no pity to myself?

This is a kind of self-analysis by conscience and his conscience damns him as a villain and he comes to know that he does not pity himself. He realizes that he is "a murderer" and wants to fly from himself to avoid vengeance, but it is impossible because he cannot be revenged on himself. He also realizes at last that he cannot love himself, rather that he hates himself "for hateful deeds committed by" himself. This is Richard's self-discovery, and why is it that Shakespeare has been making Richard murder without giving him a conscience so far, but here in V.iii decides to provide him with a conscience that leads him to discover himself? Before investigating the reason, it seems necessary to recall here that Shakespeare twice created material in which conscience was alluded to. One is dialogue (89) between the two murderers hired by Richard to assassinate the sleeping Clarence in the Tower. They discuss what is supposed to be a problem of conscience while Clarence is sleeping before them. The second murderer first gives voice to his conscience and is afraid that he will "be damned for killing him, from / which no warrant can defend us." His argument on conscience almost dissuades his cruel fellow murderer from killing Clarence, but they at last make up their mind to do the job and begin talking to him who has just woken up in (91). When they are asked why they have come, they stammer and cannot declare their purpose. Both of the murderers are stricken with the pangs of conscience and their hesitating hearts are seen right through by Clarence. After the murder, the sec-

ond murderer confesses that he is assailed by a guilty conscience, saying, "I repent me that the duke is slain." Then what does the dramatist aim at by creating (89), (91), (95) and giving the murderers a conscience?

The second piece of material is Tyrrel's soliloquy (343) in which Shakespeare describes through Tyrrel's mouth that Dighton and Forrest, "Although they were flesh'd villain, bloody dogs, / Melting with tenderness and kind compassion / Wept like two children in their deaths' sad stories . . . / Thus both are gone with conscience and remorse; / They could not speak." Shakespeare follows Holinshed's description about the method of murder, but the "conscience and remorse" of Dighton and Forrest are of Shakespeare's invention. Then, what is Shakespeare's intention in creating a conscience in and repentance of the four murderers at the very moment of doing their task?

Moreover, not until the created dialogue (427) in V.iii, does Shakespeare, by using Holinshed's idea but in his own way, ascribe a conscience to Richard and thereby make him reach the self-knowledge that he is nothing but a slaughtering villain. So far he has been depicting a Richard who goes on murdering without showing a touch of conscience at all. Even though Richard is not a direct perpetrator, he plans and gives orders to murder as he declares in (1) that "I am determined to prove a villain," and he is surely one of their group. There Richard's lack of conscience is vividly sculpted in clear contrast to the pricks of conscience of the actual slayers. Therefore the reason why the dramatist endows the relentless murderers with conscience is that, by creating in parallel a Richard with no conscience, he wants to indicate how completely the protagonist lacks in conscience until V.iii. Shakespeare then gives him a conscience at last and creates a Richard who can feel his past crimes as real. In Holinshed, as cited earlier, there is a description how "he recited and declared to his familiar freends in the morning his wonderfull vision and feareful dreame." But Shakespeare specifies "his familiar freends" to be Ratcliff and to him Richard says in (428):

K. Rich. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night  
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard  
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers  
Armed in proof, and led by shallow Richmond.

These words are of Shakespeare's invention and Richard, who has kept committing crimes without being gnawed at by conscience and made the act of murdering and the victims "shadows" literally, now knows what the act means and is aware that the terrible "shadows" have become real or "substance" to him rather "than the substance of ten thousand soldiers . . . led by shallow Richmond" do. At this point, it is worth returning to the created soliloquy (25):

Glou. Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass,  
That I may see my shadow as I pass.

Shakespeare, by following up these delightful words of Richard's, makes him "pass" and "see" his "shadow" all the way from (25) in I.ii to (428) in V.iii. At the same time, he makes Clarence, Hastings, Lady Anne, the two princes, the Queen, Rivers, Grey, Vaughan and Buckingham accompany Richard and take his "shadow" as "substance." He also makes Queen Margaret and the Duchess of York attend on him and look at his "shadow" as

"shadow" as he makes them familiar with his real image, his "substance." Then the dramatist makes Richard "see my shadow as I pass," commit one murder after another without any actual, intimate feeling of committing them, and finally prepares "a glass" of conscience for him. Therefore, the reason why Shakespeare creates a Clarence, a Hastings, a Lady Anne, two princes, a Queen, a Rivers, a Grey, a Vaughan and a Buckingham who take Richard's false image ("shadow") as the true one ("substance") and deceive themselves is that he intends to make Richard tormented by the ghosts of those who were deceived and killed by him, to give him a chance to know his "substance" reflected by the mirror of conscience, though he has walked seeing his "shadow" and has not so far realized his "substance," and ultimately to make him look at himself in the glass and reach self-knowledge. On the other hand, Shakespeare creates a Margaret and a Duchess of York who understand Richard's true self and thereby the dramatist succeeds in bringing out in full relief a Richard who passes by looking at his "shadow" because their curses and prophecies on Richard are fulfilled in the end.

Thus, through these varieties of departures from Holinshed's *Chronicles*, the 1587 version of which the playwright used as the main source in dramatizing *King Richard III*, Shakespeare creates interpersonal relations between Richard, the hero of the play, and the other characters, fixes a mirror before him to reflect the image of him who passes by and looks at his own "shadow," and finally makes him see his true image, his "substance," reflected in the "glass" of "conscience." Shakespeare makes the protagonist discover himself just before the curtain falls and completes the tragedy<sup>32</sup> of the man who has "bought a glass." In this way, Shakespeare traces Richard's steps from "shadow" to "substance," for the transformation of which the dramatist is entirely responsible.

### APPENDIX

Shakespeare					Holinshed
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN <sup>31</sup>	Characters & Their Relation
I	i	1— 41	Glou.	1	Some wise men...thinke that [Richard]...
		42— 83	Glou.↔Clar.	2	forethought to be king; (men—Glou.)...
		84— 87	Brak.→Clou., Clar.	3	they deeme, that for this intent he was
		88—104	Glou.↔Brak.	4	glad of his brothers death the duke of
		105	Clar.→Brak.	5	Clarence,...(men—Glou.—Clar.) the
		106	Glou.→Brak.	6	king and queene...began to conceiue a
		107—116	Glou.↔Clar.	7	greeuous grudge against this duke,...
		117—121	Glou.	8	(K. Edw.↔Q. Eliz.) (K. Edw., Q. Eliz.—
		122—144	Glou.↔Hast.	9	Clar.)
		145—162	Glou.	10	

<sup>31</sup> DN: Dialogue Number.

<sup>32</sup> About *King Richard III* as a tragedy or a history play, cf. James Winny, *The Player King*, Chatto & Windus, 1968, p. 10, Willard Farnham, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–5, and Mark Rose, *Shakespearean Design*, Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 133.

Shakespeare					Holinshed
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
I	ii	1— 4	Anne.→Bearers.	11	
		5— 28	Anne.	12	
		29— 32	Anne.→Bearers.	13	
		33	Glou.→Bearers.	14	
		34— 35	Anne.→Glou.	15	
		36— 37	Glou.→Bearers.	16	
		38— 42	Gent.↔Glou.	17	
		43— 45	Anne.→Bearers.	18	
		46— 54	Anne.↔Glou.	19	
		55— 56	Anne.→Gent.	20	
		57—221	Anne.↔Glou.	21	
		222	Anne.→Tressel, Berkeley.	22	
		223—225	Glou.↔Anne.	23	
		226—227	Glou.↔Gent.	24	
		228—264	Glou.	25	
iii		1— 2	Riv.→Q. Eliz.	26	The duke of Glocester bare him...so reuerently to the prince,... (Glou.↔Pirnce)
		3— 13	Grey.↔Q. Eliz.	27	
		14— 16	Riv.↔Q. Eliz.	28	
		17	Grey.→Q. Eliz.	29	
		18	Buck.→Q. Eliz.	30	
		19— 33	Der.↔Q. Eliz.	31	
		34— 41	Buck.↔Q. Eliz.	32	
		42— 53	Glou.	33	
		54— 56	Riv.↔Glou.	34	
		57— 61	Glou.→(faction)	35	
		62— 91	Q. Eliz.↔Glou.	36	
		92—102	Riv.↔Glou.	37	
		103—110	Q. Eliz.→Glou.	38	
		111—112	Q. Mar.→(Q. Eliz.)	39	
		113—117	Glou.→Q. Eliz.	40	
		118—120	Q. Mar.→(Glou.)	41	
		121—125	Glou.→Q. Eliz.	42	
		126	Q. Mar.→(Glou.)	43	
		127—133	Glou.→Q. Eliz., Riv.	44	
		134	Q. Mar.→(Glou.)	45	
		135—136	Glou.	46	
		137	Q. Mar.→(Glou.)	47	
		138—142	Glou.	48	
		143—144	Q. Mar.→(Glou.)	49	
		145—150	Riv.↔Glou.	50	

Shakespeare					Holinshed
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
I	iii	151—154	Q. Eliz.→Glou.	51	
		155—157	Q. Mar.	52	
		158—162	Q. Mar.→all.	53	
		163—181	Q. Mar.↔Glou.	54	
		182	Q. Eliz.→Q. Mar.	55	
		183—184	Hast.→Q. Mar.	56	
		185	Riv.→Q. Mar.	57	
		186	Dor.→Q. Mar.	58	
		187	Buck.→Q. Mar.	59	
		188—196	Q. Mar.→all.	60	
		197—209	Q. Mar.→Q. Eliz.	61	
		210—214	Q. Mar.→Riv., Dor., Hast.	62	
		215—239	Q. Mar.↔Glou.	63	
		240—246	Q. Eliz.↔Q. Mar.	64	
		247—249	Hast.↔Q. Mar.	65	
		250—253	Riv.↔Q. Mar.	66	
		254	Dor.→Hast., Riv.	67	
		255—260	Q. Mar.→Dor.	68	
		261—265	Glou.↔Dor.	69	
		266—272	Q. Mar.→all.	70	
		273—294	Buck.↔Q. Mar.	71	
		295—296	Glou.↔Buck.	72	
		297—301	Q. Mar.→Buck.	73	
		302—303	Q. Mar.→all.	74	
		304	Hast.	75	
		305	Riv.	76	
		306—308	Glou.	77	
		309—315	Q. Eliz.↔Glou.	78	
		316—318	Riv.↔Glou.	79	
		318—319	Glou.	80	
		320—321	Cate.→Q. Eliz., all.	81	
		322	Q. Eliz.→Cate.	82	
		322—323	Q. Eliz. ↔ Riv.	83	
		324—339	Glou.	84	
		340—356	Glou.↔First Murd.	85	
iv		1— 75	Brak.↔Clar.	86	Finallie the duke [of Clarence] was cast into the Tower,... (K. Edw., Q. Eliz.—Clar.)
		76— 83	Brak.	87	
		84—100	First., Sec. Murd.↔Brak.	88	
		101—165	Sec. Murd.↔ First Murd.	89	
		166	Clar.→(Brak.)	90	

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I	iv	167—269	Sec., First Murd.↔Clar.	91	
		270—275	Clar.↔Sec. Murd.	92	
		276—277	First Murd.	93	
		278—280	Sec. Murd.	94	
		281—285	First Murd.↔Sec. Murd.	95	
		286—290	First Murd.	96	
II	i	1— 6	K. Edw.→peers.	97	
		7— 8	K. Edw. →Riv., Hast.	98	..., he called...the lord
		9— 11	Riv.↔Hast.	99	marquesse Dorset,...(K. Edw.↔Dor.)
		12— 17	K. Edw.↔Riv., Hast.	100	
		18— 20	K. Edw.→Q. Eliz., Dor., Buck.	101	
		21—22	K. Edw.→Q. Eliz.	102	
		23— 24	Q. Eliz.→Hast.	103	So did he also William the lord
		25	K. Edw.→Dor., Hast.	104	Hastings,...against whome the queene
		26— 28	Dor.↔Hast.	105	speciallie grudged,...
		29— 31	K. Edw.→Buck.	106	(K. Edw.↔Hast.)
		32— 40	Buck.→Q. Eliz., Riv., Dor., Grey.	107	(Q. Eliz.—Hast.)
		41— 45	K. Edw.↔Buck.	108	
		46— 47	Glou.→K. Edw., all.	109	Hir kinred also bare him sore,...
		48— 61	K. Edw.↔Glou.	110	(Riv.—Hast.)
		62— 63	Glou.→Q. Eliz.	111	
		64— 65	Glou.→Buck.	112	...the king...laid him downe
		66— 67	Glou.→Riv., Grey.	113	...his face towards them: and none was
		68	Glou.→Dukes, earls, lords.	114	there present that could refraine from
		69— 72	Glou.→all.	115	weeping.
		73— 74	Q. Eliz.→all.	116	(K. Edw.↔all)
		75— 76	Q. Eliz.→K. Edw.	117	...ech forgaue other, and ioined their
		77— 80	Glou.→Q. Eliz.	118	hands together;
		81	Riv.	119	(lords↔lords)
		82	Q. Eliz.	120	...anie person sued to him
		83— 85	Buck.↔Dor.	121	...he would...openlie speake...
		86— 94	K. Edw.↔Glou.	122	(any person—K. Edw.)
		95—101	Der.↔K. Edw.	123	
		102—132	K. Edw.→all	124	
		133	K. Edw.→Hast.	125	
		134—140	Glou.↔Buck., Der.	126	
	ii	1— 4	Boy↔Duch.	127	
		5— 7	Girl→Duch.	128	...the duke of Glocester soone set on
		8— 11	Duch.→Boy, Girl.	129	fire..., Henry duke of Buckingham, and

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II	ii	12— 15	Boy→Duch.	130	William lord Hastings,...
		16	Girl→Duch.	131	(Glou.→Buck., Hast.)
		17— 19	Duch.→Boy, Girl.	132	
		20— 33	Boy↔Duch.	133	
		34— 61	Q. Eliz.↔Duch.	134	These two...as hatred both vnto the
		62— 67	Boy, Girl↔Q. Eliz.	135	queenes part,...
		68— 71	Q. Eliz.	136	(Buck., Hast.→Q. Eliz.)
		72	Chil.	137	..., in this point accorded together with the
		73	Duch.	138	duke of Glocester;
		74	Q. Eliz.	139	(Buck., Hast.↔Glou.)
		75	Chil.	140	
		76	Duch.	141	...: he secretlie therfore by diuers means
		77	Q. Eliz.	142	caused the queene to be persuaded...
		78	Chil.	143	(Glou.→Q. Eliz.)
		79— 85	Duch.	144	
		86— 88	Duch.→Q. Eliz., Chil.	145	
		89— 95	Dor.→Q. Eliz.	146	The queene,..., such word sent vnto hir
		96—100	Riv.→Q. Eliz.	147	sonne, and vnto hir brother,...
		101—103	Glou.→Q. Eliz.	148	(Q. Eliz.→Prince, Riv.)
		104—108	Glou.↔Duch.	149	
		109—111	Glou.	150	...the duke of Glocester himselfe...wrote
		112—122	Buck.→princess, peers.	151	vnto the king...and to the queenes
		123—131	Riv.↔Buck.	152	freends...
		132—142	Glou.↔Riv., Hast.	153	(Glou.→Prince, Riv.)
		143—145	Glou.↔Q. Eliz., Duch.	154	
		146—154	Buck.↔Glou.	155	
iii		1— 5	First Cit.↔Second Cit.	156	Began...some maner of muttering
		6— 47	Third Cit.↔First, Second Cit.	157	among the people,...(people↔people)
iv		1— 3	Arch.→all.	158	
		4— 7	Duch.↔Q. Eliz.	159	Now was the king in his waie to London
		8	York→Q. Eliz.	160	gone from Northampton, when these
		9— 20	Duch.↔York	161	dukes of Glocester and Buckingham
		21— 22	Arch. ↔Duch.	162	came thither;
		23— 34	York↔Duch.	163	(Prince—Glou., Buck.)
		35	Q. Eliz.→York	164	...he conueied vpward towards the citie.
		36— 37	Arch.↔Q. Eliz.	165	(Glou.↔Prince)
		38— 39	Arch.↔Mess.	166	Now came there one..., to doctor
		40	Q. Eliz.↔Mess.	167	Rotheram the archbishop of Yorke,...
		41— 45	Duch.↔Mess.	168	(one—Arch.)
		45— 48	Q. Eliz.↔Mess.	169	Notwithstanding, sir" (quoth he)... "I

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II	iv	49— 54	Q. Eliz.	170	assure him" (quothe the archbishop).	
		55— 65	Duch.	171	(one↔Arch.) Richard sent the lord Riuers, and the lord Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan,...to prison; (Glou.—Riv., Grey, Vau.)	
		66	Q. Eliz.→York	172	The archbishop...came vnto the Queene...	
		67— 68	Q. Eliz.↔Duch.	173	...whome the archbishop comforted...	
		68— 73	Arch.→Q. Eliz.	174	(Arch.↔Q. Eliz.)	
III	i	1	Buck.→Prince.	175	When the king approched neere to the	
		2— 17	Glou.↔Prince.	176	citie, Edmund Shaw..., then maior,...	
		18— 23	May.↔Prince.	177	receiued him...	
		24	Buck.→Prince.	178	(May.↔Prince)	
		25— 30	Prince↔Hast.	179		
		31— 34	Buck.↔Card.	180		
		35— 36	Buck.→Hast.	181	...our reuerend father here present, my	
		37— 57	Card.↔Buck.	182	lord cardinall,...	
		58— 59	Card.↔Hast.	183	(Glou.→Card.)	
		60	Prince→Card., Hast.	184	God forbid that anie man should...	
		61— 68	Prince↔Glou.	185	enterprise to breake the immunitie &	
		69— 78	Prince↔Buck.	186	libertie of the sacred sanctuarie,...	
		79	Glou.	187	(Card.→Glou.)	
		80— 81	Prince↔Glou.	188		
		82— 83	Glou.	189		
		84— 88	Prince.	190	...the lord cardinall departed into the	
		89— 93	Prince↔Buck.	191	sanctuarie to the queene,...	
		94	Glou.	192	(Card.—Q. Eliz.)	
		95	Buck.→Prince.	193	...the lord cardinall,...had received	
		96—100	Prince↔York.	194	this young duke,...	
		101—111	Glou.↔York.	195	(Card.—York)	
		112—114	Prince↔York.	196	...the protector tooke him in his armes	
		115—125	Glou.↔York.	197	and kissed him with these words:	
		126—127	Prince→Glou.	198	(Glou.→York)	
		128	York→Prince.	199	...they brought him vnto the king his	
		129—131	York→Glou.	200	brother...(York—Prince)	
		132—135	Buck.	201	..., he opened himselfe more boldlie, both	
		136—139	Glou.→Prince.	202	to certeine other men, and also cheeflie	
		140—142	York↔Prince.	203	to the duke of Buckingham.	
		143—145	Glou.↔York.	204	(Glou.↔other men)	
					(Glou.↔Buck.)	
					...he mooved Catesbie...(Glou.↔Cate.)	



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III	i				It was agreed, that the protector should haue the dukes aid to make him king...
		146—150	Prince↔Glou.	205	(Glou.↔Buck.)
		151—156	Buck.↔Glou.	206	The protector and the duke of
		157—180	Buck.↔Cate.	207	Buckingham made verie good semblance
		181—185	Glou.→Cate.	208	vnto the lord Hastings.
		186	Buck.→Cate.	209	(Glou., Buck.→Hast.)
		187	Cate.→Glou., Buck.	210	...the protector loved him well,...
		188—190	Glou.↔Cate.	211	(Glou.—Hast.)
		191—200	Buck.↔Glou.	212	
	ii	1— 34	Mess.↔Hast.	213	The lord Stanleie...said vnto the lord
		35— 71	Cate.↔Hast.	214	Hastings,...(Stan.↔Hast.)
		72	Cate.	215	...whome he verie familiarlie vsed,...
		73	Hast.→Cate.	216	(Hast.—Cate.)
		74— 76	Hast.↔Stan.	217	...the lord Stanleie sent a trustie
		76	Stan.→Cate.	218	messenger vnto Hastings...
		77— 97	Stan.↔Hast.	219	(Mess.↔Hast.)
		98—109	Hart.↔Purs.	220	...there met he with...a purseuant...
		110—113	Priest↔Hast.	221	(Hast.↔Purs.)
		114—122	Buck.↔Hast.	222	A knight [came] vnto him, (a knight↔
		123	Buck.	223	Hast.) with a priest whom he met...
		124—125	Buck.↔Hast.	224	(Hast.↔Priest)
	iii	1— 8	Riv., Grey., Vau.↔Rat.	225	Which thing was doone in the presence,
		9— 14	Riv.	226	and by the order, of sir Richard Ratcliffe,
		15— 16	Grey.	227	...; whose seruice the protector...vsed in
		17— 22	Riv.	228	that counsell, and in the execution
		23	Rat.→Grey., Riv., Vau.	229	(Glou.↔Rat.)
		24— 25	Riv.→Grey, Vau.	230	This knight bringing them out of the
					prison... (Rat.↔Q.'s kindred)
	iv	1— 3	Hast.→lords.	231	
		4— 5	Buck.↔Der.	232	...the protector came..., saluting them
		6	Ely→Der.	233	courteouslie, (Glou.→lords)
		7— 8	Buck.	234	he said vnto bishop of Elie:
		9— 13	Ely↔Buck.	235	...“Gladlie, my lord” (quoth he)...
		14— 18	Buck.↔Hast.	236	(Glou.↔Ely)
		19— 21	Hast.→lords	237	...he sent his seruant for a messe of
		22	Ely	238	strawberies. (Ely↔servant)
		23— 26	Glou.→lords	239	All the lords were much dismaid,...
		27— 29	Buck.→Glou.	240	thus he began,...
		30— 32	Glou.↔Hast.	241	(Glou.→all)
		32— 36	Glou.↔Ely	242	Then the lord chamberlaine...answered

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III	iv	37— 43	Glou.↔Buck.	243	and said,...
		44— 47	Der.	244	(Hast.→Glou.)
		48— 49	Ely.	245	...the protector said to the lord Hastings:
		50— 60	Hast.↔Der.	246	"I arrest thee, traitor!"
		61— 64	Glou.→all.	247	"What me, my lord?" (quoth he.)...
		65— 81	Hast.↔Glou.	248	(Glou.↔Hast.)
		82— 95	Hast.	249	
		96— 97	Rat.→Hast.	250	
		98—103	Hast.	251	
		104	Lov.→Hast.	252	
		105—107	Hast.→(Glou.)	253	
		108—109	Hast.→Rat., Lov.	254	
v		1— 13	Glou.↔Buck.	255	...the protector,..., sent
		14	Buck.→May.	256	...for manie substantiall men...
		15	Glou.	257	(Glou.—men)
		16	Buck.	258	Now, at their coming, himselfe with the
		17	Glou.→Cate.	259	duke of Buckingham stood harnesssed in
		18	Buck.→May.	260	old ill faring briganders,...
		19	Glou.→May.	261	(Glou.—Buck.)
		20	Buck.	262	...then the protector shewed them,...
		21	Glou.	263	...Euerie man answered him faire,...
		22— 32	Lov.↔Glou.	264	(Glou.↔men)
		33— 40	Buck.↔May.	265	
		41— 47	Glou.→May.	266	...was the prince and his brother both
		48— 51	May.→Glou., Buck.	267	shut vp,...onellie one (called Blacke Will,
		52— 63	Glou.↔May.	268	...) excepted, set to serue them...
		64— 71	May.↔Glou., Buck.	269	(Prince, York—Black Will.)
		72—102	Glou.↔Buck.	270	
		103	Glou.→Lov.	271	
		104—105	Glou.→Cate.	272	
		106—109	Glou.	273	
vi	1— 14	Scriv.		274	...schoolemaister...said...And a merchant answered him, ...(schoolmaster↔merchant)
vii		1— 55	Glou.↔Buck.	275	When the duke had said, and looked that
		56— 57	Buck.→May.	276	the people..., all was husht and mute...
		58— 70	Buck.↔Cate.	277	(Buck.→people)
		71— 82	Buck.↔May.	278	
		83— 91	Buck.↔Cate.	279	When the maior saw this he...said that...
		92— 94	Buck.	280	(May. Buck.)

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III	vii	95	May.	281	...the recorder...commanded by the
		96— 99	Buck.	282	maior,...
		100—200	Buck.↔Glou.	283	(recorder↔May.)
		201	May.→Glou.	284	The people began to whisper among
		202	Buck.→Glou.	285	themselves...(people↔people) an ambush-
		203	Cate.→Glou.	286	ment of the dukes seruants,...(Buck.↔
		204—207	Glou.→May., Buck., Cate.	287	servants) the duke and the maior saw this
		208—218	Buck.→Glou.	288	manner,...(Buck., May.—people) friends
		219	Buck.→Citizens.	289	(quoth the duke)...(Buck.→people)
		220	Glou.→Buck.	290	
		221	Cate.→Glou.	291	
		222	Another→Glou.	292	...the duke sent word vnto the lord
		223—226	Glou.→Cate., Another.	293	protector,... (Buck.—Glou.)
		227—236	Glou.→Buck., men.	294	he had shewed this to the maior...
		237—238	May.↔Glou.	295	(Buck.→May.)
		239—240	Buck.→Glou.	296	...they sent vnto him by the messenger...
		241	May., Cit.→Glou.	297	(May., men→Messenger→Glou.)
		242—245	Buck.↔Glou.	298	...the duke of Buckingham first made
		246	Glou.→Bishops.	299	humble petition vnto him...
		247	Glou.→Buck., friends.	300	Then the lord protector...gaue him leaue
					to propose what him liked; ... (Buck.↔
					Glou.) he...thanked them... (Glou.→all)
IV	i	1— 4	Duch.→Anne.	301	
		4— 5	Anne→Duch., Q. Eliz.	302	
		6— 11	Q. Eliz.↔Anne.	303	
		12— 22	Q. Eliz.↔Brak.	304	
		23	Duch.→Brak.	305	
		24— 28	Anne↔Brak.	306	
		29— 31	Stan.→ladies.	307	
		32— 33	Stan.→Anne.	308	
		34— 36	Q. Eliz.	309	
		37	Anne.	310	
		38— 47	Dor.↔Q. Eliz.	311	
		48	Stan.→Q. Eliz.	312	
		49— 52	Stan.→Dor.	313	
		53— 56	Duch.	314	
		57— 63	Stan.→Anne.	315	
		64— 91	Q. Eliz.↔Anne.	316	
		92	Duch.→Dor.	317	
		93	Duch.→Anne.	318	
		94— 98	Duch.↔Q. Eliz.	319	

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IV	i	99—104	Q. Eliz.	320	
	ii	1	K. Rich.→all.	321	Whervponhe sent one
		1— 26	K. Rich.↔Buck.	322	Iohn Greene...vnto sir
		27	Cate.→a stander by.	323	Robert Brakenberie, ...
		28— 31	K. Rich.	324	(K. Rich.→I. Greene→Brak.)
		32— 41	K. Rich.→Page.	325	Iohn Greene did his errand vnto
		42— 45	K. Rich.	326	Brakenberie,...who plainelie answered,...
		45— 48	K. Rich.↔Stan.	327	(I. Greene↔Brak.)
		49— 60	K. Rich.↔Cate.	328	Iohn Greene...recounted the same to king Richard...(I. Greene↔K. Rich.)
		61— 66	K. Rich.	329	...he said vnto a secret page of his..."Sir"
		67— 85	K. Rich.↔Tyr.	330	(quoth his page)
		86— 89	Buck.↔K. Rich.	331	(K. Rich.↔page)
		90	K. Rich.→Stan.	332	Then said the king merilie to them
		91— 94	Buck.→K. Rich.	333	...And calling vp sir Iames, brake
		95— 96	K. Rich.→Stan.	334	to him secretlie his mind...
		97	Buck.→K. Rich.	335	...he sent him to Brakenberie...
		98—101	K. Rich.	336	(K. Rich.→Tyr.→Brak.)
		102	Buck.→K. Rich.	337	...he rejected the dukes request...
		103—104	K. Rich.	338	(K. Rich.↔Buck.)
		105	Buck.→K. Rich.	339	Where the cardinall of Canturburie, &
		106—110	K. Rich.	340	other bishops them crowned according to
		111—122	Buck.↔K. Rich.	341	the custome of the realme...
		123—126	Buck.	342	(cardinall—Rich., Anne)
	iii	1— 23	Tyr.	343	...he appointed Miles Forrest,...
		23— 35	Tyr.↔K. Rich.	344	he ioined one Iohn Dighton....
		36— 43	K. Rich.	345	(Tyr.↔Forrest, Dighton)
		44— 57	Cate.↔K. Rich.	346	Miles Forrest, and Iohn Dighton... lapping them vp...(Forrest, Digton— Prince, York) Then rode sir Iames...to king Richard, and shewed him..., who gaue him great thanks,...(Tyr.↔K. Rich.) ...a priest...tooke vp the bodies againe,... (pirest—Prince, York)
	iv	1— 8	Q. Mar.	347	
		9— 14	Q. Eliz.	348	
		15— 16	Q. Mar.→Q. Eliz.	349	
		17— 19	Duch.	350	
		20— 21	Q. Mar.→Duch.	351	
		22— 24	Q. Eliz.	352	

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IV	iv	25	Q. Mar.→Q. Eliz.	353	
		26—30	Duch.	354	
		31—34	Q. Eliz.	355	...he sent to the queene...diuesre and
		35—43	Q. Mar.→Q. Eliz.	356	often messengers...(K. Rich.→Mess.)
		44—78	Duch.↔Q. Mar.	357	
		79—113	Q. Eliz.↔Q. Mar.	358	The messengers,..., so persuaded the
		114—115	Q. Marg.→Duch., Q. Eliz.	359	queene...she began...to relent, and to
		116—125	Q. Eliz.↔Q. Mar.	360	give to them no deafe eare...
		126—135	Duch.↔Q. Eliz.	361	(Mess.↔Q. Eliz.)
		136	K. Rich.	362	
		137—139	Duch.↔K. Rich.	363	[He] sent to Iohn duke of Norffolke,
		140—144	Q. Eliz.→K. Rich.	364	Henrie earle of Northumberland,
		145—146	Duch.→K. Rich.	365	Thomas earle of Surrey,...
		147	Q. Eliz.→K. Rich.	366	(K. Rich.—Nor., North., Sur.)
		149—150	K. Rich.→Trumpets, drums.	367	
		151—153	K. Rich.→Duch., Q. Eliz.	368	[The king] most mistrusted
		154—178	Duch.→K. Rich.	369	Thomas lord Stanleie...,
		179	K. Rich.↔drum.	370	(K. Rich.—Stan.)
		179—195	Duch.↔K. Rich.	371	...he had left as an hostage
		196—430	Q. Eliz.→K. Rich.	372	...George Stanleie...
		431	K. Rich.	373	(Stan.—George Stan.)
		432—441	K. Rich.↔Rat.	374	[The duke] persuaded all his complices
		442—443	Cate.↔K. Rich.	375	and partakers,...
		443—444	K. Rich.→Rat.	376	(Buck.→men)
		444—451	K. Rich.↔Cate.	377	
		452—456	Rat.↔K. Rich.	378	
		457—499	K. Rich.↔Stan.	379	
		500—504	Mess.→K. Rich.	380	
		505—507	Sec. Mess.→K. Rich.	381	
		508—519	Third Mess.→K. Rich.	382	
		520—532	Fourth Mess.→K. Rich.	383	
		533—540	Cate.↔K. Rich.	384	
v	1—20	Der.↔Chris.		385	...he sent of his...seruants...to the ladie
					Margaret..., to the lord Stanleie...to sir
					Gilbert Talbot,...(Richm.—messengers—
					Mar., Stan., Talbot) (Richm.—Talbot)
					(Richm.—Rice ap Thomas) (Richm.—sir
					William Stan.)
					...she vttered to him...(Count. Richm.→
					Chris.)

Shakespeare					Holinshed
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
V	i	1— 2	Buck.↔Sher.	386	[The duke] was...
		3— 9	Buck.	387	...beheaded... (K. Rich.—Buck.)
		10— 29	Buck.↔Sher.	388	
	ii	1— 24	Richm.↔Oxf., Blunt, Herb.	389	(Richm. noble—personages)
	iii	1	K. Rich.→all.	390	King Richard...refreshed
		2— 3	K. Rich.↔Sur.	391	his souldiers,...
		4— 6	K. Rich.↔Nor.	392	(K. Rich.→lords)
		7— 9	K. Rich.→all.	393	...the erle came first to his father in law,
		10— 13	Nor.↔K. Rich.	394	...where he saluted him, and sir William
		14— 18	K. Rich.→lords.	395	his brother,...
		19— 21	Richm.	396	(Richm.↔Stan., W. Stan.)
		22— 26	Richm.→Brand.	397	
		27— 28	Richm.→Oxf., Brand., Herb.	398	...he did see diuesre images like terrible
		29— 44	Richm.↔Blunt.	399	diuels, which pulled and haled him,...
		44— 46	Richm.→gentlemen.	400	(diuels→K. Rich.)
		47— 52	K. Rich.↔Cate.	401	
		53— 57	K. Rich.↔Nor.	402	
		58— 62	K. Rich.↔Cate.	403	...he recited and declared to his familiar
		63— 65	K. Rich.→(others)	404	freends...his wonderfull vision and fear-
		66— 78	K. Rich.↔Rat.	405	full dreame. (K. Rich.→friends)
		79—102	Der.↔Richm.	406	...he caused his men to put on their
		103—107	Richm.→lords	407	armour,... (K. Rich.→men)
		108—117	Richm.	408	Richmond's Oration to his Army
		118—120	Gh. of Prince Edw.→K. Rich.	409	(Richm.→soldiers)
		121—123	Gh. of Prince Edw.→Richm.	410	King Richard,...bringing all his men out
		124—127	Gh. of Henry VI→K. Rich.	411	of their campe into the plaine,...
		128—130	Gh. of Henry VI→Richm.	412	(K. Rich.—men)
		131—135	Gh. of Clar.→K. Rich.	413	
		136—138	Gh. of Clar.→Richm.	414	
		139—140	Gh. of Riv.→K. Rich.	415	Richard's Oration
		141	Gh. of Grey→K. Rich.	416	(K. Rich.→soldiers)
		142—143	Gh. of Vau.→K. Rich.	417	...he sent a purseuant to the lord
		144—145	All→Richm.	418	Stanleie,...
		146—148	Gh. of Hast.→K. Rich.	419	(K. Rich.→pur.→Stan.)
		149—150	Gh. of Hast.→Richm.	420	The lord Stanleie answered the
		151—154	Ghs. of 2 Princes→K. Rich.	421	purseuant...(Stan.↔Pur.)
		155—158	Ghs. of 2 Princes→Richm.	422	
		159—163	Gh. of Anne→K. Rich.	423	...the councellosr of king Richard...
		164—166	Gh. of Anne→Richm.	424	persuaded the king...
		167—172	Gh. of Buck.→K. Rich.	425	(Councillors↔K. Rich.)

Shakespeare					Holinshed
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
V	iii	173—176	Gh. of Buck.→Richm.	426	
		177—206	K. Rich.	427	
		207—222	Rat.→K. Rich.	428	
		223—236	Lords↔Richm.	429	
		237—270	Richm.→soldiers.	430	
		271—287	K. Rich.↔Rat.	431	
		288—306	Nor.↔K. Rich.	432	
		307—313	K. Rich.→Gentlemen.	433	
		314—341	K. Rich.→army.	434	
		342—344	K. Rich.↔Mess.	435	
		345—346	Nor.→K. Rich.	436	
		347—351	K. Rich.	437	
iv		1— 6	Cate.→Nor.	438	...they brought to [Richard] a...horse...
		7— 13	K. Rich.↔Cate.	439	He answered...(lords↔K. Rich.)
v		1— 19	Richm.↔Stan.	440	King Richard...slue sir
		20— 41	Richm.	441	William Brandon... (K. Rich.—W. Brandon) ...the said John was by him manfullie ouer-thrown. (John Cheinie—K. Rich.) ...he himselfe, manfullie fighting in the middle of his enimies, was slaine; (K. Rich.—enemies) ...he tooke the crowne of king Richard, ...and set it on the earles head;... (Stan.↔Richm.) ...they submitted themselues as prisoners to the lord Strange, and he gentle receiued them,... (prisoners↔lord Strange) ...he not onelie praised and lauded his valiant souldiers, but also gaue vnto them his hartie thanks... (Richm.→soldiers) ...euerie man,...meekelie submitted themselues to the obeisance and rule of the earle of Richmond,... (prisoners→Richm.)