

THE TRAGEDY OF THE MAN WHO "BOUGHT A GLASS"  
IN *KING RICHARD III*\*  
—SHAKESPEARE'S REINTERPRETATION  
OF HOLINSHED—(I)

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I

- (1)<sup>1</sup> Glou. Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,  
Have no delight to pass away the time,  
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun  
And descant on mine own deformity. (I.i.24-7)

These lines are spoken by Richard Gloucester, the protagonist who cannot enjoy life in a peaceful time on account of his ugly outward appearance, betrayed by nature.

- (25) Glou. Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass,  
That I may see my shadow as I pass. (I.ii.263-4)

These also are from him to the sun, when he has just succeeded in wooing Lady Anne; he expresses a hope that he will be able to look with pleasure at his own shadow on the ground, a shadow which he has been seeing with sadness so far because he has had no other way of spending his time than to look at it and complain about it. These words end the scene where, although an enemy of Anne in a double sense because he killed Henry the Sixth, her father-in-law, in the Tower<sup>2</sup> and also killed Prince Edward, her husband, in Tewkesbury,<sup>3</sup> he is himself surprised and becomes cheerful at having successfully wooed her in front

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<sup>1</sup> Dialogue number in the table at the end of this article. For the technique of drawing up this table, see Naomichi Yamada, "Two Tragedies in Harmony in *Julius Caesar*—Shakespeare's Reinterpretation of Plutarch—," Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences Vol. 27, No. 1, December 1986, pp. 6-7. The table is based on the text of *King Richard III* in the Kenkyusha Shakespeare edition edited by Sanki Ichikawa and Takuji Mine with an Introduction by Jiro Ozu, Kenkyusha, Tokyo 1966, and all quotations from the play are from the Kenkyusha edition. The Arden edition of this play edited by Antony Hammond, Methuen, London & New York, 1981 was also consulted.

<sup>2</sup> *3HenryVI* V.vi.57-60 (*Henry VI Part Three*, ed. by Norman Sanders, The New Penguin Shakespeare 1981).

<sup>3</sup> *3HenryVI* V.v.39 (op. cit.).

of Henry's corpse, the evidence of his cruelty. But these lines seem to have a specific meaning in relation to this scene as well as to the special intention of the dramatist in depicting Richard the villain-hero's tragedy as a whole. Namely, within these particular words, there appears to be included Shakespeare's total dramatic design to let him "see my shadow as I pass" till, having bought the glass for him, Shakespeare makes Richard face his image reflected in it. Here, I would like to follow his process of dramatizing *King Richard III* by a method of my own devising.<sup>4</sup>

## II

The curtain rises on the scene of Richard's soliloquy (1), consisting of 41 lines in which he says that, being "cheated of feature by dissembling nature," he explicitly determines to dispose of his life by becoming a villain, and as the first step has already put the G prophecy into the King's ears to bring about a confrontation between King Edward, the eldest brother, and Clarence, his elder brother. Corresponding to this scene, Holinshed narrates in *The Chronicles*, the main source of the play,<sup>5</sup> that "Some wise men . . . thinke that [Richard] long time in king Edwards life forethought to be king; . . . for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, . . . the king and queene were sore troubled [with "a foolish prophesie"], and began to conceiue a greuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end." Thus, Shakespeare converts people's doubts about Richard into Richard's own words by creating this soliloquy with its declaration of villainy and Richard's plot concerning the prophecy; in doing so, Shakespeare shows his design of writing this drama from Richard's point of view and of making Richard himself responsible for Clarence's imprisonment.

Immediately after this invented soliloquy Clarence himself appears, on his way to the Tower under escort; he converses with Richard in dialogues (2) and (7). As there is no description in Holinshed suggesting the meeting recorded in this scene, this dialogue is clearly of Shakespeare's own invention. In (2), Clarence tells Richard that he is being sent to the Tower on account of the G prophecy, but he does not know that Richard himself is the author of the prophecy and told it to the King, having heard only that "a wizard told him." On the other hand, in (7), Richard pretends to feel sympathy for Clarence,

<sup>4</sup> For details, see my paper op. cit., pp. 1-6.

<sup>5</sup> Raphael Holinshed: *The Chronicle of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. 3 vols., 1587. References and quotations from Holinshed in this paper are all from *Holinshed's Chronicle as Used in Shakespeare's Plays*, ed. by Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll, Everyman's Library No. 800, 1927; *Holinshed's Chronicle of England, Scotland and Ireland*, (Ellis) 6 Vols. AMS Press 1976 and *Hall's Chronicle*, (Ellis) AMS Press 1965 were also consulted, as was *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, ed. W. G. Boswell-Stone, Benjamin Blom 1966. The proofs that Shakespeare used the 1587 version of Holinshed's *Chronicles* as his main source are: (1) Shakespeare put the 1587 version misprint of "Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost" (V.iii.324) into his play and did not adopt the correct "brothers" of Edward Hall and Holinshed's 1578 version; (2) in I.ii Shakespeare describes the dead body of Henry VI as bleeding, a description not found in Hall; (3) Richard's promise to Buckingham to give him the earldom of Hereford and Edward's moveables, which is not found in Hall; (4) Shakespeare uses the name "Friar Penker" as in Holinshed instead of "Pynkie" as in Hall; (5) the sinister foreboding of Rougemont-Richmond at Exeter in IV.ii.106-110, which is not found in Hall (what is in Hall and not in Holinshed is the description of Richard accompanied by two bishops in front of the Mayor and Citizens in III.vii.96, and it is not clear whether Shakespeare read Hall directly or indirectly). The 1587 version of Holinshed's *Chronicles* can thus be regarded with certainty as the main source of the play.

insisting that Queen Elizabeth incited Edward to send him to the Tower, and asks him to be patient for a time while he goes to the king and tries to deliver him. But, watching him depart, Richard reveals his intention of murdering him in the invented soliloquy (8), saying, "Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne'er return, / Simple, plain Clarence!"

By inventing Richard's soliloquies (1) and (8), and the dialogues (2) and (7) between Richard and Clarence, Shakespeare tries to depict Richard as a villain and as a false brother apparently sympathizing with, but in reality deceiving, Clarence. He thus invents Richard's real image as presented to the audience and the false one as presented to Clarence, and also invents his own Clarence, who mistakes his brother's image as real.

How is Richard's plot to murder Clarence to be carried out? In the last soliloquy (10) in I.i, Richard talks about his plan to increase the King's hatred of Clarence by telling lies and to murder him that day. In this invented soliloquy, as in (1), Shakespeare again depicts Richard as planning to kill Clarence on his own responsibility. Moreover, in the invented dialogue (36) between Richard and the Queen in I.iii, Richard charges Clarence's imprisonment to her account, while she rebuts him by saying, "I never did incense his majesty / Against the Duke of Clarence, but have been / An earnest advocate to plead for him," and asks her husband to pardon Clarence, saying, "My sovereign liege, I do beseech your majesty / To take our brother Clarence to your grace;" these words deviate from the only descriptions in Holinshed about Clarence's death, and the Queen herself is represented as earnestly desirous of Clarence's release from prison. And when Richard, standing beside her and hearing her request, informs them of Clarence's death, everyone is surprised, and the King discloses the fact that "the order was reversed" in (122). In Holinshed, though the King consents to Clarence's death, he regrets his sudden execution and laments that no one would make suit for his life, but the description about the reversal of the order is not to be found. It is thus clear that Shakespeare invented the reversal in order to depict Edward as not responsible for Clarence's death, while the King and Queen, who imprisoned Clarence and caused his death in Holinshed, are changed respectively by the dramatist into a King who is responsible for the imprisonment as a result of the G prophecy and of being deceived by Richard's lies, but is not responsible for his death, and a Queen who is not responsible either for Clarence's imprisonment or for his death. Thus, when we consider these dialogues together with Richard's invented soliloquies (1), (8), and (10), it seems clear that Shakespeare, through these alterations and inventions, intends to depict Richard as solely responsible for Clarence's confinement and death.

How, then, will the dramatist continue to depict the death of Clarence as originating in Richard? Creating a Richard who gives the warrant to the two murderers and orders them to kill him in the Tower, while warning them not to "hear him plead; / For Clarence is well-spoken,"<sup>6</sup> and thereby making Richard all the more responsible for the death of Clarence, Shakespeare dramatizes I.iv by writing (86) to (96), based on this description by Holinshed of Clarence's death: "Finallie the duke [of Clarence] was cast into the Tower, and therewith adjudged for a traitor, and priuillie drowned in a butt of malmesie; the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the seuententh yeare of the kings reigne." In the

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<sup>6</sup> It can be said that Shakespeare creates the second Murderer who is dissuaded by Clarence's logic from murdering him.

invented dialogue (86), Clarence holds a conversation with Brakenbury<sup>7</sup> and tells him about a horrible dream he had the previous night. He escaped from the Tower and was on board ship to cross to Burgundy with Gloucester, who tempted him to walk on the deck, and then “Gloucester stumbled; and, in falling, / Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard, / Into the tumbling billows of the main.” In creating this dialogue and the details of the nightmare, Shakespeare seems to intend to impress upon us a clear image of a Clarence who utters Richard’s secret intention of taking his life without knowing it, and who implicitly mentions Richard as the true source of his present imprisonment and consequently is deceived by him. Moreover, Clarence talks about a dream after death, tells, how he woke up terrified and cursed for perjury and murder by his father-in-law Warwick and his brother-in-law Edward, and laments his misfortune at being in prison as a reward for enthroning his eldest brother Edward by committing such vile crimes as betraying Warwick and killing Edward. These details are connected with those of the invented dialogue (91)<sup>8</sup> between the two murderers and Clarence. That is, in (91), to Clarence who attacks an “indirect or lawless course” and insists that “God will be avenged for the deed,” the murderers assert that “the same vengeance doth he [God] hurl on thee / For false forswearing and for murder too.” As Holinshed charges Clarence with being a traitor, Shakespeare, departing from Holinshed, creates the accusations of perjury and murder in the dream in (86) and makes the murderers who have nothing to do with his deeds actually accuse him of the same, thus seeming to suggest that Clarence must suffer terrible retribution for his past crimes.

He still argues that the King cannot have sent the murderers because he must feel himself indebted to him, and says that Richard “shall reward you better for my life.” Though the second murderer tells him the truth, that “You are deceived, your brother Gloucester hates you,” he never doubts Richard’s love towards him, and when the first murderer again tells him truly that “Thou deceivest thyself. ’Tis he that sent us hither now to slaughter thee,” he contradicts him and puts absolute trust in Richard, saying that “It cannot be;

<sup>7</sup> Creating the dialogues (3), (4), (5), (6), (86), (87), (88), (304), (305), and (306), Shakespeare presents Brakenbury as loyal to King Edward when he prevents Richard from talking to Clarence as ordered and also loyal to King Richard when he refuses to let the Duchess of York, Anne, Queen Elizabeth and others see the two young princes as ordered. Here the image of a loyal subject, a lieutenant of the Tower, becomes clear whether the king is Edward or Richard. Finally, Shakespeare tries to make the image consistent (440) with the following description of Brakenbury in Holinshed: “There were slaine beside him,...and Robert Brakenberie, lieutenant of the Tower,...” He dies on Richard’s side and is loyal to the King of England to the last; this is Shakespeare’s own portrayal of Brakenbury.

<sup>8</sup> But like a wulfe the tirant Richard came,  
Unto the tower, when all men wer away,  
Save such as wer provided for the feate:

Howbeit they bound me whether I would or no,  
And in a butte of Malmesey standing by,  
Newe Christned me,...

(From *A Myrroure For Magistrates* 1599, George, Duke of Clarence by William Baldwin, 11.360–371, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* ed. by Geoffrey Bullough Vol. 3, p. 305).

This is the description from *A Mirror for Magistrates*, which is said to have influenced Shakespeare, in which some of the dialogues between Richard, his followers and Clarence are suggested. The word “invented” is used here in so far as the dramatist deviates from Holinshed and uses the “Mirror” as a result of dissatisfaction with his main source; the departure from the main source came from his own creative impulse, and he then found another, secondary source that satisfied his artistic intention. The word “invented” can be used every time Shakespeare deviates from Holinshed.

for he bewept my fortune, / And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore with sobs / That he would labour my delivery." He takes Richard's false words and gestures for the truth and so fatally mistakes Richard's true nature.

Thus in (86) and (91), Shakespeare intends to attach a triple significance to Clarence's death: firstly, Clarence should be punished for his perjury towards Warwick and his killing of Edward at Tewkesbury;<sup>9</sup> secondly, he should be seen to be a man who seriously misunderstood Richard; thirdly, he is to be entirely a victim of Richard's villainy. Therefore, in inventing the series of soliloquies and dialogues in (1), (2), (7), (8), (10), (36), (85), (86), (91), (117) and (122), Shakespeare's purpose is to present the story from Richard the villain-hero's side, to create a Clarence who misunderstands Richard and consequently must die, to depict a punished Clarence, and to show that it is Richard himself who is wholly responsible for Clarence's death. What, however, is the ultimate intention of Shakespeare in inventing the last dialogue between Richard and the ghost of Clarence in (413) of V.iii?

### III

After sending Clarence to the Tower in I.i, Richard has a dialogue (9) with Hastings who has just been released from it. It is true that in Holinshed, Hastings "had beene accused vnto king Edward by the lord Riuers, the queenes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while . . . farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great feare of himselfe" and might have been in prison, but there is no description about Hastings meeting Richard and conversing with him just after he is released, though he talks with "a purseuant of his own name" then and there. This dialogue is thus of Shakespeare's invention.

In (9), Hastings reveals his true self to Richard. Released from prison, he declares that he will take revenge on the Queen and her relatives, saying, "But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks / That were the cause of my imprisonment." Holinshed describes the Queen as hating Hastings because he is a mediator between her husband and Mistress Shore his love, and "Hir kinred" who "also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis . . . as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for." Hastings's own hatred towards the Queen and her kinsmen is also found in Holinshed, but it is rather insubstantial in comparison with the hatred conceived by them, and the Hastings who plans to be revenged on the ringleader behind his imprisonment is clearly Shakespeare's own invention. Here, Shakespeare changes Hastings's animosity from hatred pure and simple, into very particular and very strong feelings of hatred towards the intriguers.

Thus being fiercely hostile to the Queen and her kinsfolk, Hastings, asked by Richard about the "news abroad," tells him:

Hast. No news so bad abroad as this at home:  
The King is sickly, weak, and melancholy,  
And his physicians fear him mightily.

<sup>9</sup> Retribution for crimes committed before the play begins. Afterwards, Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, Hastings and Richard are all punished for past crimes committed before the curtain of this play rises. It is clear that Shakespeare, in dramatizing the play, was conscious of the historical sequence of events in his previous *King Henry VI* dramas.

To Hastings, who takes “abroad” as meaning “foreign,” the worst news “at home” is King Edward’s sickness, and here is revealed another side of Hastings, that he is a loyal subject of the King. Differing from Holinshed, who uses more energy to describe Edward favouring the Lord Chamberlain, the dramatist intends to have the image of a loyal Hastings emerge more clearly. On the other hand, hearing the news, Richard appears to feel sad and to side with Hastings, saying, “Now, by Saint Paul, this news is bad indeed. / O, he hath kept an evil diet long, / And overmuch consumed his loyal person: / ’Tis very grievous to be thought upon” and tells him that he will “follow him.” But as soon as he exits, Richard says in the invented soliloquy (10), “He cannot live, I hope,” in which he shows his true mind, making it clear that he was only pretending to Hastings and was thus deceiving him. In this way, Shakespeare’s invented dialogue between Hastings and Richard can be said to establish Hastings as a friend of Edward and an enemy of the Queen and her kinsmen, in clear contrast to Richard who secretly hopes for Edward’s death.

Next, in I.iii, Hastings has the dialogues in (56), (62), (65), (74) and (75) with Queen Margaret,<sup>10</sup> King Henry VI’s widow. In writing this drama Shakespeare allows some characters to enter the stage though they do not appear in Holinshed; among them is Queen Margaret, who actually existed but who makes no appearance in Holinshed’s description corresponding to this situation. All of the dialogues with her are thus of Shakespeare’s own invention.

Hastings attacks Margaret for murdering Rutland, saying, “O, ’twas the foulest deed to slay that babe, / And the most merciless that e’er was heard of!” (56), whereas she prays for God’s retribution upon Hastings: “you were standers by, / And so wast thou, Lord Hastings, when my son / Was stabb’d with bloody daggers: God, I pray him, / That none of you may live your natural age, / But by some unlook’d accident cut off!” (62). Hastings calls her “False-boding woman” and tries to stop her, saying, “end thy frantic curse, / Lest to thy harm thou move our patience,” but she continues her curse: “Live each of you the subjects to his [Richard’s] hate, / And he to yours, and all of you to God’s!” (74), separating all there from Richard. She declares herself a prophetess here and Hastings is seized with horror, saying “My hair doth stand an end to hear her curses.” (75)

If we consider these invented dialogues between Margaret and Hastings, we shall notice, firstly, that she can be seen to act as a prophetess praying for God’s retribution upon Hastings for his actions during the Civil War; secondly, that Hastings himself does not take her seriously; and lastly, that Margaret prophesies antagonistic relations between Richard and all of the others.

In II.i, Shakespeare makes the King reconcile the Queen and her kinsfolk to Richard through (98) to (105), as in Holinshed, but after that, by creating the dialogue (125) between King Edward and Hastings, he stresses Hastings’ loyalty visually when the latter accepts the King’s request to “Come, Hastings, help me to my closet,” and supports him into his chamber. Moreover, in III.i, Hastings is ordered by Buckingham to go with the cardinal to the sanctuary where York is taking refuge with his mother and take him to his elder brother Edward, whereas in Holinshed it is the “cardinall” and “diuers other lords” who

<sup>10</sup> She was confined in the Tower after their defeat at Tewkesbury in 1471, was ransomed, crossed over to her mother country in 1475, and died there in 1482. This scene in which she appears in a court where the House of York reigns is thus unhistorical.

persuade the Queen and bring York out of the sanctuary, while Hastings does not go along with them. Therefore Shakespeare's intention in changing the "cardinal" and the "diuers other lords" into Hastings must be explored.

Hastings, who says that York wanted to come with him to meet the prince his brother but was held back by his mother (179), and makes it clear thereby that York sides with him but the Queen is against him, is ordered by Buckingham (181) to visit the sanctuary and succeeds in taking York away from it. That is, Hastings, who, according to Catesby, "for his father's sake so loves the prince, / That he will not be won to aught against him" (107), brings York from his enemy mother to the prince whose side he takes. This action is quite in character for Hastings, who is an enemy of the Queen and a friend of the King and therefore of the prince. Thus, Shakespeare continues to create and develop Hastings's loyalty.

In III.ii, Catesby, directed by Buckingham, sounds out Hastings rather indirectly as to whether he intends to take part in their plot to enthrone Richard. Holinshed tells us only that Catesby informed Richard of Hastings's firm loyalty towards the King, and there is no description of his examining Hastings and finding him opposed to the intrigue. Therefore the dialogues (214), (215) and (216) between Hastings and Catesby are Shakespeare's inventions. Before conversing with Catesby, Hastings is visited by a messenger from Stanley and warned not to stay because of the bad dreams that Stanley had. He asserts that Catesby, his "good friend," is at the other council and therefore he is safe (213). As in Holinshed, Hastings here thoroughly trusts Catesby, but his confidence in Holinshed is shown in the conversations between him and Stanley before Stanley's bad dreams. So the dramatist creates Hastings's trust in Catesby in his answer to the messenger who advises him to escape "toward the north." Shakespeare's purpose in creating these dialogues between Hastings and Catesby just after showing Hastings to trust Catesby credulously is to convey more strongly an image of Hastings deceived by Catesby. In these invented dialogues, (214), (215) and (216), Hastings, learning of Richard's request that he take part in the plot to make himself king, rejects it flatly, unaware that his own destiny will be to lose his head, and says, "But that I'll give my voice on Richard's side, / To bar my master's heirs in true descent, / God knows I will not do it, to the death" (214). Here he declares himself to be friend to Edward the prince, but at the same time, receiving Richard's message (208) that the Queen's kinsmen are to be executed at Pomfret that day, he is overjoyed (214) and says, "Indeed, I am no mourner for that news, / Because they have been still mine enemies," which intensifies the picture of him as the enemy of the Queen and her relatives. He agrees with Catesby when the latter says that an accidental death is a vile thing and that "The princes both make high account of you; / [Aside] For they account his head upon the bridge" (214), (215), and asserts "I know they do; and I have well deserved it" (216). In these lines, Hastings implies that he knows that Richard and Buckingham intend to kill him, and that he has deserved "it" with reference to what Catesby says aside (215). Therefore, Hastings's replies (216) to Catesby's words (214) and the aside (215) show respectively, as they stand, a Hastings who thoroughly trusts Richard and Buckingham, and a foolish Hastings who admits, without knowing it, that he will be deceived by the two of them in a way that will lead to his death. Shakespeare thus continues his description of these two aspects of Hastings' character, which started in (9), by creating the dialogues (214), (215), and (216), in order to depict Hastings as coming to destroy himself through being an ally of the prince and as foolish on account of being an enemy of the Queen and her kinsmen.

Hastings, who has trusted Catesby and allowed him the fatal sounding, gives his purse generously to a servant he talks with (220); this invented scene shows that he is foolish enough to be overjoyed at the news of the execution of the Queen's kinsmen without being aware of the fatal destiny ahead of him. The dramatist also creates a scene in which Hastings meets a priest and says to him, "Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you" (221), never dreaming that he is about to lose his life. Further, by inventing the dialogue (236) between Buckingham and Hastings, Shakespeare depicts Hastings as boastful of his "near in love" relationship to Richard and as confident enough to say "in the duke's behalf, I'll give my voice." And while Richard, who has been informed of the result of Catesby's interview with Hastings, is invited by Buckingham (243) to retire to decide on Hastings's execution, Shakespeare has Hastings tell Derby with great confidence, "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," (246); after this, Shakespeare, like Holinshed, depicts Hastings sentenced to death by Richard because of treason towards him.

Continuing to dramatize Hastings's foolishness after Catesby's probing, Shakespeare invents Hastings's regret and lamentation from (249) to (252). Making him regret that he disdained Stanley's dream and believed himself safe, and showing him at last aware that he has been foolish, Shakespeare has Hastings cry, "O Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse / Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head!," realizing that Margaret's curse (62) is fulfilled and that he should not have trusted Richard's "dissembling looks," and has him curse Richard and prophesy that "They smile at me that shortly shall be dead."

What is Shakespeare's basic purpose in making Hastings, who believes blindly in Richard's trust and love towards himself, meet with an "unlook'd accident" (62) as Queen Margaret prophesied? It is, firstly, to have Hastings accept retribution for what he did during the Wars of the Roses,<sup>11</sup> secondly, to make him detest the Queen's kinsmen and at the same time serve King Edward and his sons heartily as a loyal subject so that he commits a folly for the former reason and must die for the latter reason, and finally to have him realize his folly in believing Richard's pretences. Later we shall have to consider Shakespeare's ultimate intention in inventing the last dialogue (419) between Richard and the ghost of Hastings.

#### IV

In I.i, after Hastings exits, Richard reveals in an invented soliloquy (10) his plan to woo Lady Anne,<sup>12</sup> whose father-in-law and husband he murdered, saying "not all so much for love / As for another secret close intent," and immediately puts it into action in the next scene. This is what is called the "wooing scene" and is not found in Holinshed, so Shakespeare's intention in creating interpersonal relations in this scene must be examined. Anne is on her way with Tressel, Berkeley and others carrying the coffin of her father-in-law Henry VI from St Paul's to Chertsey. Holinshed says that Henry's corpse was taken from

<sup>11</sup> See 9.

<sup>12</sup> It is only mentioned by Holinshed that "[Richard] procured a common rumor...to be published and spread abroad among the common people, that the queen was dead..."



the Tower where he was murdered to St Paul's, where it streamed blood,<sup>13</sup> and that a day later it was taken away to Blackfriars, only to bleed again, and was then sent to Chertsey monastery by boat to be buried there the next day. Shakespeare omits Blackfriars from the details. In (13), Anne urges the servants to carry it, saying, "now towards Chertsey with your holy load, / Taken from Paul's to be interred there;" the servants are invented here merely to make known her plan to take the coffin to Chertsey.

In (12) Anne addresses the corpse of King Henry VI as "Poor key-cold Figure of a holy king! / Pale ashes of the House of Lancaster!"; when she sees the body let blood she curses Richard the murderer as follows:

Anne. Cursed be the hand that made these fatal holes!  
 Cursed be the heart that had the heart to do it!  
 Cursed the blood that let this blood from hence!

and moreover curses Richard's future wife from her unhappy position caused by the deaths of Henry and Edward. Here she is clearly shown to regard Richard as a mortal enemy, and when Richard enters she prays that God will take revenge on him for "this pattern of thy butcheries." On the other hand, Richard, while calling Anne "devine perfection of woman" and "Fairer than tongue can name thee," begins to attack her, saying "Say that I slew them not," as much as asserting that he did not kill her husband, though Anne, of course, does not trust his words. Then Richard, frankly admitting that he killed Henry, makes the suggestion "To leave this keen encounter of our wits" and to start to talk seriously, asking:

Glou. Is not the causer of the timeless deaths  
 Of these Plantagenets, Henry and Edward,  
 As blameful as the executioner?

It must be noticed that Richard here refers to Henry and Edward, whom he killed, not as Lancastrians but as Plantagenets, for, asserting that "your beauty was the cause of that effect," he continues to insist that there is one who loves her more than Edward, and, being asked by her to name him, he answers that it is a Plantagenet, but one of "better nature." In other words, he ceases to regard Edward's death, caused by the fierce conflicts between Lancaster and York, as a political issue of the two Houses confronting each other, and erases the political meaning of his murdering Edward by defining both their pedigrees as Plantagenet. As mentioned earlier, Anne's curse on Richard is on Richard of the House of York, and issues from her as a widow whose father-in-law and husband were killed by Richard of York during the war between the two Houses. However, when Richard suggests that they stop their duel of wits, begins to define Henry and Edward as Plantagenets, and then goes so far as to say that Anne's beauty is the cause of the tragedy, and that he too is Plantagenet but loves her more than Edward, Edward's death changes from a political affair in the antagonistic relations between Lancaster and York into a non-political and personal matter caused by Richard's having thrust himself into their husband-and-wife relationship. He thus makes an effort to keep Anne from being conscious of the confronta-

<sup>13</sup> See 5.

tion between the two Houses and develops his logic that he wanted to rob Edward of his wife because he was infatuated by Anne's beauty, which is consequently the cause of Edward's death. In this way, asserting Edward's death not as a political but as a personal matter, Richard continues to woo her and reaches the following conclusion:

Glou. Nay, do not pause; for I did kill king Henry,  
 But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.  
 Nay, now dispatch; 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward,  
 But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

Anne, who is poised to thrust at Richard with a sword offered by Richard himself, drops it on hearing these words. It is clear that Richard woos her "not all so much for love / As for another secret close intent," and therefore it is a false Richard who is wooing her because of love (21). Anne, however, though doubting his words, sees him repent when he says "after I have solemnly interr'd / At Chertsey monastery this noble king / And wet his grave with my repentant tears," and at this she is appeased, saying "and much it joys me too, / To see you are become so penitent," and exits after leaving Henry's coffin to Richard. She and Henry's corpse, the evidence of Richard's cruelty, are together at the very beginning of the scene, but now she parts with it and leaves it at Richard's disposal, indicating that she separates herself from the symbol of Richard's brutality and, being wooed and persuaded, finally comes over to Richard's side. Of course, Richard's words prove to be false when, immediately after her exit, he orders the servants, who know that the corpse is to be carried to Chertsey (13) and ask him "Toward Chertsey, noble lord?" (24), to bear it to "White-Friars" and contradicts his promise to Anne (21). After seeing all the others exit, Richard remains on the stage alone and wonders that he has succeeded in winning her love in spite of being ugly and having no means to obtain her but "the plain devil and dissembling looks;" he makes up his mind anyway to adorn himself in fine clothes and, finally overjoyed at his success, says to the sun, "Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass, / That I may see my shadow as I pass" (25).

When we consider the invented soliloquy (10) and the dialogues from (11) to (25) in the invented scene I.i as a whole, we see that Shakespeare, by first depicting Richard's "plain devil" who tries to win Anne "not all so much for love / As for another secret close intent" in (10), then dramatizing a false Richard with "dissembling looks" who woos her "for love" in (21), and finally depicting Anne as accepting his "love" as true by taking the false Richard at his word, aims to create an Anne who makes the great mistake of regarding Richard's "my shadow" as the true Richard.

In IV.i Shakespeare creates the dialogue (316) between Anne and the Queen, in which Anne, who cursed Richard harshly as we have seen, finally realizes that:

Anne. Even in so short a space, my woman's heart  
 Grossly grew captive to his honey words  
 And proved the subject of my own soul's curse.

Thus, depicting Anne as knowing that she was foolish enough to curse Richard's future wife (13) when, quite unexpectedly, the curse proved to fall upon herself, Shakespeare makes Richard soliloquize: "I'll have her; but I will not keep her long" in the invented soliloquy (25), then has King Richard spread abroad the news of Anne's serious illness through Catesby

in order to marry Princess Elizabeth (328), and finally makes him acknowledge (345) that he put her to death secretly as she herself had predicted (316). Shakespeare's intention in inventing Richard and Anne's soliloquies and the dialogues (10) and (11) to (23) and (316) is to show Anne committing the error of taking Richard's false self as true, then coming to realize keenly her own foolishness, and finally being killed secretly.

However, Shakespeare's ultimate purpose in inventing the last dialogue (423) between Richard and the ghost of Anne has still to be explored.

### APPENDIX

Shakespeare					Holinshed
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN <sup>14</sup>	Characters & Their Relation
I	i	1— 41	Glou.	1	Some wise men...thinke that [Richard]... forethought to be king; (men—Glou.)... they deeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, ...(men—Glou.—Clar.) the king and queene...began to conceiue a greeuous grudge against this duke,... (K. Edw.↔Q. Eliz.) (K. Edw., Q. Eliz.— Clar.)
		42— 83	Glou.↔Clar.	2	
		84— 87	Brak.→Glou., Clar.	3	
		88—104	Glou.↔Brak.	4	
		105	Clar.→Brak.	5	
		106	Glou.→Brak.	6	
		107—116	Glou.↔Clar.	7	
		117—121	Glou.	8	
		122—144	Glou.↔Hast.	9	
		145—162	Glou.	10	
	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	

<sup>14</sup> DN: Dialogue Number.

Shakespeare				Holinshead	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
	iii	1— 2	Riv.→Q. Eliz.	26	
		3— 13	Grey,↔Q. Eliz.	27	The duke of Glocester bare him...so
		14— 16	Riv.↔Q. Eliz.	28	reuerently to the prince,...
		17	Grey.→Q. Eliz.	29	(Glou.↔Prince)
		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	
		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.	75	
		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	

Shakespeare				Holinshead	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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	
		76— 83	Brak.	87	Finallie the duke [of Clarence] was cast
		84—100	First., Sec. Murd.↔Brak.	88	into the Tower,...
		101—165	Sec. Murd.↔First Murd.	89	(K. Edw., Q. Eliz.—Clar.)
		166	Clar.→(Brak.)	90	
		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

Shakespeare				Holinshed	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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 weeping.
		69— 72	Glou.→all	115	(K. Edw.↔all)
		73— 74	Q. Eliz.→all	116	
		75— 76	Q. Eliz.→K. Edw.	117	...ech forgauē 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
		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 persueded...
		78	Chil.	143	(Glou.—Q. Eliz.)

Shakespeare				Holinshed	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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 vward 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
		49— 54	Q. Eliz.	170	assure him" (quoth the archbishop).
		55— 65	Duch.	171	(one↔Arch.) Richard sent the lord
					Riuers, and the lord Richard, with sir
					Rhomas 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	

Shakespeare				Holinshed	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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 and
		115—125	Glou.↔York	197	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 mooued Catesbie... (Glou.↔Cate.)
		146—150	Prince↔Glou.	205	It was agreed, that the protector should
		151—156	Buck.↔Glou.	206	haue the dukes aid to make him king...
		157—180	Buck.↔Cate.	207	(Glou.↔Buck.)
		181—185	Glou.→Cate.	208	The protector and the duke of
		186	Buck.→Cate.	209	Buckingham made verie good semblance
		187	Cate.→Glou., Buck.	210	vnto the lord Hastings.
		188—190	Glou.↔Cate.	211	(Glou., Buck.→Hast.)
		191—200	Buck.↔Glou.	212	the protector loved him well,
					(Glou.—Hast.)
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.)	



Shakespeare				Holinshed	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		74— 76	Hast.↔Stan.	217	the lord Stanleie sent a trustie messenger
		76	Stan.→Cate.	218	vnto Hastings...
		77— 97	Stan.↔Hast.	219	(Mess.↔Hast.)
		98—109	Hast.↔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...used in
		17— 22	Riv.	228	that councill, 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 the 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 straw-
		22	Ely	238	beries. (Ely↔servant)
		23— 26	Glou.→lords	239	All the lords were much dismayd,...
		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
		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	

Shakespeare				Holinshed	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
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,...oneli 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.)
		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		

Shakespeare				Holinshed	
Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Chatacrers & Their Relation
		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	
		99—104	Q.Eliz.	320	
	ii	1	K. Rich.→all	321	Whervpon he sent one
		1— 26	K. Rich.↔Buck.	322	John 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	John 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	John 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"

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Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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, Dighton— Prince, York) Then rode sir Iames...to king Richard. and shewed him..., who gawe him great thanks, ... (Tyr.↔K. Rich.) ...a priest...tooke vp the bodies againe, ... (priest—Prince, York)
iv		1— 8	Q. Marg.	347	
		9— 14	Q. Eliz.	348	
		15— 16	Q. Marg.→Q. Eliz.	349	
		17— 19	Duch.	350	
		20— 21	Q. Marg.→Duch.	351	
		22— 24	Q. Eliz.	352	
		25	Q. Marg.→Q. Eliz.	353	
		26— 30	Duch.	354	
		31— 34	Q. Eliz.	355	...he sent to the queene... diuerse and
		35— 43	Q. Marg.→Q. Eliz.	356	often messengers...(K. Rich.→Mess.)
		44— 78	Duch.↔Q. Marg.	357	
		79—113	Q. Eliz.↔Q. Marg.	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. Marg.	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,

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Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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] presuaded 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—Marg., Stan., Talbot) (Richm.—Talbot) (Richm.—Rice ap Thomas) (Richm.—sir William Stan.) ...she vttered to him... (Count. Richm.—Chris.)
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

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Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		14— 18	K. Rich.→lords	395	his borther:...
		19— 21	Richm.	396	(Richm.↔Stan., W. Stan.)
		22— 26	Richm.→Brand.	397	
		27— 28	Richm.→Oxf., Brand., Herb.	398	...he did see diuerse 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	
		124—127	Gh. of Henry VI→K. Rich.	411	King Richard,...bringing all his men out
		128—130	Gh. of Henry VI→Richm.	412	of their campe into the plaine,...
		131—135	Gh. of Clar.→K. Rich.	413	(K. Rich.—men)
		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 counsellors of king Richard...
		164—166	Gh. of Anne→Richm.	424	persuaded the king...
		167—172	Gh. of Buck.→K. Rich.	425	(Counsellors↔K. Rich.)
		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	

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Act	Scene	Line	Dialogue	DN	Characters & Their Relation
		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 Iohn was by him manfullie ouer-thrown. (Iohn 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 gentlie 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.)

(To be continued)