

# RICHARD III

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



EDITED BY THOMAS CARTELLI

A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

---

William Shakespeare  
RICHARD III



---

AUTHORITATIVE TEXT  
CONTEXTS  
CRITICISM

*Edited by*

THOMAS CARTELLI  
MUHLENBERG COLLEGE



---

W • W • NORTON & COMPANY • *New York • London*

---

W. W. Norton & Company has been independent since its founding in 1923, when William Warder Norton and Mary D. Herter Norton first published lectures delivered at the People's Institute, the adult education division of New York City's Cooper Union. The firm soon expanded its program beyond the Institute, publishing books by celebrated academics from America and abroad. By mid-century, the two major pillars of Norton's publishing program—trade books and college texts—were firmly established. In the 1950s, the Norton family transferred control of the company to its employees, and today—with a staff of four hundred and a comparable number of trade, college, and professional titles published each year—W. W. Norton & Company stands as the largest and oldest publishing house owned wholly by its employees.

---

This title is printed on permanent paper containing 30 percent post-consumer waste recycled fiber.

Copyright © 2009 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All rights reserved  
Printed in the United States of America  
First Edition

Composition by Binghamton Valley Composition.  
Manufacturing by the Courier Companies—Westford division.  
Book design by Antonina Krass  
Production manager: Eric Pier-Hocking

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616.

Richard III: authoritative text, contexts, criticism/edited by Thomas Cartelli.  
p. cm. — (A Norton critical edition)

Includes bibliographical references.

**ISBN 978-0-393-92959-1 (pbk.)**

1. Richard III, King of England, 1452–1485—Drama. 2. Great Britain—History—Richard III, 1483–1485—Drama. 3. Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616. King Richard III—Criticism, Textual. 4. Kings and rulers in literature. I. Cartelli, Thomas. II. Title. III. Series.

PR2821.A2C36 2008

822.3'3—dc22

2008042459

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110  
wwnorton.com

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 75/76 Wells Street, London  
W1T 3QT

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

*The Editor*

THOMAS CARTELLI is professor of English and Film Studies at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania. He is the author of *Repositioning Shakespeare: National Formations, Postcolonial Appropriations; Marlowe, Shakespeare, and the Economy of Theatrical Experience*, and coauthor of *New Wave Shakespeare on Screen*. His essays appear in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe; Shakespeare the Movie II*; and *A Blackwell Companion to Shakespeare*, among others.

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, INC.  
*Also Publishes*

ENGLISH RENAISSANCE DRAMA

*edited by David Bevington et al.*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERATURE

*edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Nellie Y. McKay et al.*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

*edited by Nina Baym et al.*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

*edited by Jack Zipes et al.*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

*edited by M. H. Abrams and Stephen Greenblatt et al.*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF LITERATURE BY WOMEN

*edited by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY POETRY

*edited by Jahan Ramazani, Richard Ellmann, and Robert O'Clair*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF POETRY

*edited by Margaret Ferguson, Mary Jo Salter, and Jon Stallworthy*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF SHORT FICTION

*edited by R. V. Cassill and Richard Bausch*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF THEORY AND CRITICISM

*edited by Vincent B. Leitch et al.*

THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF WORLD LITERATURE

*edited by Sarah Lawall et al.*

THE NORTON FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE

*prepared by Charlton Hinman*

THE NORTON INTRODUCTION TO LITERATURE

*edited by Alison Booth, Jr., Paul Hunter, and Kelly J. Mays*

THE NORTON INTRODUCTION TO THE SHORT NOVEL

*edited by Jerome Beaty*

THE NORTON READER

*edited by Linda H. Peterson and John C. Brereton*

THE NORTON SAMPLER

*edited by Thomas Cooley*

THE NORTON SHAKESPEARE, BASED ON THE OXFORD EDITION

*edited by Stephen Greenblatt et al.*

For a complete list of Norton Critical Editions, visit  
[www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nce\\_home.htm](http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nce_home.htm)

---

## Preface

---

Of the plays of Shakespeare commonly classified tragedies, *The Tragedy of King Richard III* has the disadvantage of having initially served as the last and final installment of a four-play sequence that tells the long, complicated story of the so-called Wars of the Roses: an epochal conflict of the fifteenth century that witnessed the fall of the house of Lancaster (whose emblem was the red rose), the brief rise and fall of the house of York (whose emblem was the white rose), and the resolution of that conflict in the ascent to the throne of Henry VII (in 1485) and the start of the Tudor dynasty. In Shakespeare's retelling, this story effectively begins with the funeral march lamenting the death, in 1422, of Henry V in *The First Part of Henry VI*: a play that spends much of its time dramatizing the efforts of the French, under the leadership of Joan La Pucelle (Joan of Arc), to drive the English from their land and concludes with the betrothal by proxy of the English child king, Henry VI (1421–71), to his future queen, Margaret of Anjou (1430–82). In *The Second Part of Henry VI* (first published in a quarto edition as *The First Part of the Contention Betwixt the Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*), Shakespeare dramatically explores the often savage political infighting occasioned by the collision of a weak, overawed king; his aggressively self-aggrandizing queen; her equally ambitious aristocrat lover; comparably opportunistic clerics and fellow aristocrats; a well-meaning but overmatched Lord Protector; and their often shifting alliances. We see here the first strivings of the House of York, under the leadership of Richard Plantagenet Duke of York (1411–60), father of the future Edward IV and Richard III, to lay claim to the throne, which eventuates in the all-out civil wars that Shakespeare dramatized in *The Third Part of Henry VI* (initially published in a 1595 quarto edition under the title *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*).

By the time the last play in the tetralogy, *The Tragedy of King Richard III*, begins, the Yorkists have emerged triumphant but at great cost to the kingdom and themselves. Richard Duke of York and Rutland (1443–60), the youngest of his four sons, have been murdered at the behest of the notorious Queen Margaret. Margaret, in turn, has witnessed the brutal killing of her husband's delegated successor, Edward Prince of Wales (1453–71), at the hands of York's triumphant elder

sons, Edward (1442–1483), George Duke of Clarence (1449–78), and Richard Duke of Gloucester (1452–85), the latter of whom murders the imprisoned King Henry in the last scene of 3 *Henry VI* in order to secure his brother Edward's claim to the throne. In Shakespeare's radically compressed reconstruction of historical chronology, the reign of Edward IV (1461–83) effectively begins in the first scene of *Richard III* and concludes in 2.2 in the wake of the execution of his brother George Duke of Clarence in 1.4, at least five years of history having been elided in the space of the intervening scene (2.1). The blood of King Henry VI (murdered by Richard in 1471) is still warm as late as the second scene of Shakespeare's tragedy, while Shakespeare brings Henry's widow, Queen Margaret, out of the shadows soon after (1.3) to berate the assembled Yorkists, delaying her exit to exile in France to 4.4.119, roughly a year or two after her actual death. In the end, Shakespeare reduces the scant two years allotted King Richard to enjoy his nefarious reign to the compass of less than two acts, affording Richard little to do in that time but defend himself against the inevitable triumph of Henry Earl of Richmond.

In the 1590s, playgoers otherwise ignorant of English history would have had the opportunity to watch the different episodes of this reconstructed story unwind on the public stage, if not successively, at least in separate bits and pieces. Audiences in Great Britain and North America have periodically, and especially in the last fifty years, had the chance to see the three *Henry VI* plays presented in repertory in a single theatrical season or artfully designed compressions performed in marathon sessions that last between eight and ten hours over the course of a day or two. However, since its emergence in the 1590s as one of Shakespeare's most popular plays, *Richard III* has most often been performed independently of the other three plays of the tetralogy, and it is as an independent production that most modern readers and audiences continue to experience it.

As the second longest playtext (after *Hamlet*) in the Shakespeare repertory, *Richard III* is differently cut virtually every time it is prepared for stage performance, and hence is a different play generating different effects each time it leaves the gate. Indeed, the play known throughout most of the twentieth century as Shakespeare's *Richard III* is not the same play most audiences and many readers knew over the preceding two centuries, beginning in 1700 when Colley Cibber synthesized material from the other *Henry VI* plays with additional matter of his own in *The Tragical History of King Richard III*. Cibber's version was not only designed to make the play more comprehensible to audiences unacquainted with other parts of the tetralogy, which were seldom (if ever) performed, but also to exploit the notoriety and performance appeal of the title character who now dominated the stage (and stage-time) to a considerably greater extent than

he did in performances based on the competing quarto and First Folio versions of Shakespeare's play. Efforts to "revive" Shakespeare's *Richard III* and to reduce the now long-established reliance on Cibber's text were undertaken in the 1820s by the English actor William Macready. But it would not be until 1877–78 that Shakespeare's play would reemerge in recognizable forms under the independent sponsorship of Henry Irving and Edwin Booth as the preferred basis for most performances. Cibber's *Tragical History* nonetheless continued to serve as the text of first resort for many twentieth-century productions, including Frederick Warde's silent film version of the play in 1912. Indeed, it remained sufficiently influential to be generously deployed by Laurence Olivier as late into the century as his 1955 film version, which was initially presented on television in the United States.

Modern editions of Shakespeare's *Tragedy of King Richard III* are many and varied, but all are based on either the 1597 quarto edition of the play (hereafter Q1) or on the longer 1623 First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays (hereafter F). Seven additional quarto editions appeared in 1598, 1602, 1605, 1612, 1622, 1629, and 1634 (Q2–Q8), further complicating the decisions editors have to make, whichever of the two main tributary branches (Q1 or F) they follow. Given the considerable overlap between Q1 and F, few editors choose to exclude on principle borrowings from one or the other text, or, for that matter, from the additional quarto editions. Consequently, almost all versions of *Richard III* the modern reader might encounter are composite texts. The situation is much the same for the modern critic who may choose among any one of a growing number of editions—each at least slightly different from the other—on which to ground his or her analysis of the play. This edition of *Richard III*, for example, is based largely on Q1, but often draws on F when a word, phrase, or passage appears to have been mistaken, misprinted, or accidentally omitted by the compositors of Q1, making it as unique in its way as any other. An incidental consequence of this text's singularity is that only the quotations from *Richard III* in Harry Berger's essay—which was expressly commissioned for this volume—exactly correspond to the wording, punctuation, and line numbering of this new Norton Critical Edition.

This need to determine what to select and how to refine what one draws from composite texts informs Shakespeare's own process of composition. In designing and writing *Richard III*, Shakespeare largely relied on the accounts of the period recorded in Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* (1548), and on their redaction in the second edition of Raphael Holinshed's *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1587). Hall and Holinshed relied, in turn, on Thomas More's *The History of*



*King Richard the Third*, the full text of which is embedded with only light attribution in their compilations. Left unfinished between 1513 and 1515, More's *History* first appeared in 1543 in Richard Grafton's *Continuation of Harding's Chronicle* before being published in English in More's *Works* of 1557 and in a Latin version in 1565.

More began his *History* under the intellectual sponsorship of the same John Morton (1420–1500) who, as the Bishop of Ely, emerges toward the end of Shakespeare's play as one of Richard's more active opponents, possibly one of the reasons Richard is depicted with such venom in More's account. Indeed, it is to More that we primarily owe the portrayal of Richard as the deformed and deforming villain that Shakespeare elaborates on in his play. More also supplied Shakespeare with such shapely dramatic scenes and vividly theatrical dialogue that one is at times tempted to credit him with co-authorship of the play. Critics have often discerned a slackening in the play's power and intensity in its long closing movement, which begins with Richard's ascension to the throne, noting how closely it coincides with the premature breaking off of More's unfinished history and Shakespeare's growing dependence on the comparatively less inspired, and overtly moralized, accounts of Hall and Holinshed. To allow readers to savor as directly as possible the pleasures of More's writing, I have supplied a generous sampling of his independently scripted *History* in these pages, leavened only by occasional translations from the Latin of what More left unremarked in his English version.

More himself likely drew on the work of the Italian scholar, Polydore Vergil, who was in the process of writing his *Anglica Historia* (left unpublished until 1534, though subsequently reprinted in 1546 and several times thereafter) at roughly the same time More was composing his *History of King Richard the Third*. Shakespeare probably only had access to those parts of Vergil's *Historia* that found their way into Hall and Holinshed, and also seems not to have drawn directly on Robert Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England and of France* (orig., 1516), which also served as a source for the later compilations (excerpts from which are nonetheless reproduced here to give readers a taste of one of the earliest accounts of Richard's reign). It is, however, certain that the playwright was directly influenced by several sections of *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559, second printing with additions in 1563), a collaboratively-produced series of mainly verse portrayals of the lives and falls from grace of famous men and women drawn from the annals of recent English history, initially edited by William Baldwin and George Ferrers. Shakespeare surely drew on one of the *Mirror's* later editions, which included the eight additional portraits, most of them drawn from the reign of Richard III, first published in the volume's second printing in 1563. Holding pride of place among these is Thomas Sackville's celebrated "Induction"

and "Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham," from which I have chosen to reproduce longer samples.

Readers will also find included in "Sources and Analogues" excerpts from *The True Tragedie of Richard III* (1594), a play that was likely composed and performed early enough to exert some small influence on Shakespeare but published without authorial attribution after Shakespeare's *Richard III*'s first stage production. I have modernized and standardized the spelling and punctuation of each of the entries in this section, and have silently replaced a word or two with its latter-day equivalent in instances that seemed to require it. But I've also tried, whenever possible, to leave well enough alone when sense seems to require both sight and sound to make its meaning felt.

Deciding which essays to include in the sections of this volume devoted to modern criticism might have posed a more daunting challenge had not the uniform excellence of the pieces I was able to secure made it even more of a pleasure. I count myself particularly fortunate to have been able to include a new essay by Harry Berger, Jr., that most brilliant and productive of Renaissance scholars, who, at four score and counting, can still write the rest of us under the table. I am also especially happy that I was able to afford a sustained hearing to critical writing on the rich twentieth-century afterlife *Richard III* has enjoyed on film. Lapses of continuity that occur in the many instances when I have found it necessary to abbreviate an argument, omit an example or quotation, or stitch together widely separated passages are entirely attributable to me. I have made my decisions—which include the frequent abbreviation or deletion of longer footnotes—by pitting the size and ambition of the essays in their original printings against the spatial constraints of this volume, and reluctantly scaling back, assuming that ambitious readers will find their way back to them.

I have benefited immensely from the yeoman's work performed over the space of twelve months by my research assistant, Amy Holmgren. Ms. Holmgren not only tracked down most of the secondary sources from which I culled the selection of critical essays and reviews reprinted here but also reproduced, formatted, and assembled first drafts of most of the sources and analogues of *Richard III*, standardized (when necessary) their language and spelling, and supplied preliminary glosses of their more obscure words and phrases. Her work was underwritten by an exemplary program at Muhlenberg College that encourages student collaboration in faculty research projects.

At a late stage in completing this project, I traveled to the Folger Library in Washington, D.C., where I was given virtually unlimited access to an abundant stockpile of images associated with stage productions and print versions of *Richard III*. I would especially like to acknowledge the patient efforts made on my (and this book's) behalf

during my visit to the Folger by Betsy Walsh, Bettina Smith, and Erin Blake. The images harvested there are reprinted here thanks to my being awarded a Wilson Grant for the Completion of Scholarly Projects by the office of the Provost of Muhlenberg College.

I would also like to offer special thanks to Linda Charnes for her graciousness in allowing me to domesticate portions of her *Notorious Identity*; to Katherine Maus for help in securing permission to reproduce a section of *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance*; and to James Siemon and Robert Miola, whose suggestions on the establishing of texts and the obtaining of permissions have proven invaluable.

---

# Contents

---

List of Illustrations	vii
Preface	ix
<b>The Text of <i>The Tragedy of King Richard III</i></b>	<b>3</b>
A NOTE ON THE TEXT	107
TEXTUAL VARIANTS	109
<b>Contexts</b>	<b>111</b>
SOURCES AND ANALOGUES	113
Robert Fabyan • <i>From</i> The New Chronicles of England and France (1516)	113
Thomas More • <i>From</i> The History of King Richard the Third (1543, 1557, 1565)	117
Edward Hall • <i>From</i> The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York (1548)	149
<i>From</i> The Mirror for Magistrates (1559, 1563)	167
<i>From</i> The True Tragedie of Richard III (1594)	186
ADAPTATION	197
Colley Cibber • <i>From</i> The Tragical History of King Richard III (1700, 1721)	197
RICHARD III ON STAGE AND SCREEN	207
William Hazlitt • Mr. Kean's Richard [Edmund Kean as Richard III at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London]	207
George Bernard Shaw • [Henry Irving's <i>Richard III</i> ]	210
Scott Colley • Performing as Gloucester	213
Saskia Kossak • <i>From</i> <i>Richard III</i> in the Cinema	230
Barbara Hodgdon • Replicating Richard: Body Doubles, Body Politics	256
Peter S. Donaldson • <i>From</i> Cinema and the Kingdom of Death: Loncraine's <i>Richard III</i>	278
<b>Criticism</b>	<b>301</b>
William Richardson • <i>From</i> Essay I: On the Dramatic Character of King Richard the Third	301

Edward Dowden • <i>From The English Historical Plays: King Richard III</i>	304
Wilbur Sanders • <i>From Providence and Policy in Richard III</i>	306
E. Pearlman • <i>From The Invention of Richard of Gloucester</i>	325
Linda Charnes • <i>From Belaboring the Obvious: Reading the Monstrous Body in King Richard III</i>	345
Katherine Maus • <i>Myself Alone: Richard III as Stage Machiavel</i>	365
Ian Moulton • <i>From 'A Monster Great Deformed': The Unruly Masculinity of Richard III</i>	383
Harry Berger Jr. • <i>Conscience and Complicity in Richard III</i>	400
Selected Bibliography	419

---

# Illustrations


---

Frontispiece, <i>The Tragedy of King Richard III</i> (1597)	2
Portrait of Richard III, from <i>A Book Containing the True Portraiture of the Countenances and Attire of the Kings of England</i> (1597)	112
Richard the Third, 4.3. Tower of London. Painted by James Northcote, engraved by William Skelton (1795)	147
“The Ghosts vanish. King Richard starts out of his Dream,” 5.3. Engraving after a design by Henry Fuseli (1805)	156
Edmund Kean as King Richard III	209
Mr. Garrick in the Character of Richard III, 5.7. Painted by William Hogarth, engraved by William Hogarth and C. Grignion (1746)	214
Junius Brutus Booth as Richard III. From an original drawing by Rouse in the possession of Edwin Booth	223
King Richard between two bishops. Frederick Warde in <i>The Life and Death of King Richard III</i> (1912)	236
Richard III with ghosts. Frederick Warde in <i>The Life and Death of King Richard III</i> (1912)	240
Laurence Olivier as Richard III (1955)	244
Laurence Olivier as Richard III and Ralph Richardson as Buckingham (1955)	254
Al Pacino as Richard III (1996)	263
Ian McKellen as Richard III (1996)	270
Dominic West as Earl of Richmond (1996)	274
Ian McKellen as Richard III (1996)	275
McKellen’s teeth (closeup)	285
Kristin Scott Thomas as Lady Anne (1996)	288

The Text of  
RICHARD III



*Spa. collectio. Richardus*  
1597



THE TRAGEDY OF  
King Richard the third.

Containing,  
His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence:  
the pittiefull murder of his iunocent nephewes:  
his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course  
of his decessed life, and most deserued death.

As it hath bene lately Acted by the  
Right honourable the Lord Chamber-  
laine his seruants.



AT LONDON

Printed by Valentine Sims, for Andrew Wise,  
dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the  
Signe of the Angell.

1597.

Frontispiece, *The Tragedy of King Richard III* (London, 1597).  
Reproduced by permission of the Folger Library.



---

# The Tragedy of King Richard III

---

## *The Persons of the Play*

Richard, Duke of GLOUCESTER, later KING RICHARD III  
George, Duke of CLARENCE, his brother  
KING Edward IV, their brother  
The DUCHESS OF YORK, their mother  
QUEEN ELIZABETH, King Edward's wife  
Anthony Woodville, Lord RIVERS, her brother  
Lord GREY and Marquis DORSET, the Queen's sons by first marriage  
EDWARD, young PRINCE of Wales  
Richard, young Duke of YORK  
BOY and GIRL, children of CLARENCE  
LADY ANNE, later Duchess of Gloucester  
QUEEN MARGARET, widow of King Henry VI  
William Lord HASTINGS, the Lord Chamberlain  
The Duke of BUCKINGHAM  
LORD STANLEY, Earl of Derby  
Henry, the Earl of RICHMOND, his stepson  
Sir William CATESBY  
Sir Richard RATCLIFFE  
Sir Robert BRAKENBURY  
TRESSEL and BERKELEY, two gentlemen attending corpse of Henry VI  
SERVANTS bearing the corpse  
TWO MURDERERS  
Three CITIZENS  
The CARDINAL  
The LORD MAYOR of London  
Two BISHOPS, attendant on Richard  
PURSUIVANT and PRIEST, attendant on Lord Hastings  
SCRIVENER  
Sir Thomas VAUGHAN  
BISHOP OF ELY  
BOY, a page of King Richard's  
James TYRREL  
Sir CHRISTOPHER  
THREE LORDS, supporters of Richmond