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FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

The Tragedy of

Julius Caesar

By

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

EDITED BY BARBARA A. MOWAT
AND PAUL WERSTINE

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From the Director of the Library

Shakespeare has never been more alive as author and playwright than he is today, with productions being staged all over the world, new film versions appearing on screen every year, and millions of students in classrooms at all levels absorbed in the human drama and verbal richness of his works.

The New Folger Library Shakespeare editions welcome the interested reader with newly edited texts, commentary in a friendly facing-page format, and illustrations, drawn from the Folger archives, that wonderfully illuminate references and images in the plays. A synopsis of every scene makes the action clear.

In these editions, students, teachers, actors, and thousands of other readers will find the best of modern textual scholarship, along with up-to-date critical essays, written especially for these volumes, that offer original and often surprising interpretations of Shakespeare's characters, action, and language.

I thank editors Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine for undertaking this ambitious project, which is nothing less than an entirely new look at the texts from the earliest printed versions. Lovers of Shakespeare everywhere must be grateful for the breadth of their learning, the liveliness of their imaginations, and the scholarly rigor that they bring to the challenge of re-editing the plays.

Gail Kern Paster, Director
The Folger Shakespeare Library

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Editors' Preface

In recent years, ways of dealing with Shakespeare's texts and with the interpretation of his plays have been undergoing significant change. This edition, while retaining many of the features that have always made the Folger Shakespeare so attractive to the general reader, at the same time reflects these current ways of thinking about Shakespeare. For example, modern readers, actors, and teachers have become interested in the differences between, on the one hand, the early forms in which Shakespeare's plays were first published and, on the other hand, the forms in which editors through the centuries have presented them. In response to this interest, we have based our edition on what we consider the best early printed version of a particular play (explaining our rationale in a section called "An Introduction to This Text") and have marked our changes in the text—unobtrusively, we hope, but in such a way that the curious reader can be aware that a change has been made and can consult the "Textual Notes" to discover what appeared in the early printed version.

Current ways of looking at the plays are reflected in our brief introductions, in many of the commentary notes, in the annotated lists of "Further Reading," and especially in each play's "Modern Perspective," an essay written by an outstanding scholar who brings to the reader his or her fresh assessment of the play in the light of today's interests and concerns.

As in the Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare, which this edition replaces, we include explanatory notes designed to help make Shakespeare's language clearer to a modern reader, and we place

the notes on the page facing the text that they explain. We also follow the earlier edition in including illustrations—of objects, of clothing, of mythological figures—from books and manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library collection. We provide fresh accounts of the life of Shakespeare, of the publishing of his plays, and of the theaters in which his plays were performed, as well as an introduction to the text itself. We also include a section called "Reading Shakespeare's Language," in which we try to help readers learn to "break the code" of Elizabethan poetic language.

For each section of each volume, we are indebted to a host of generous experts and fellow scholars. The "Reading Shakespeare's Language" sections, for example, could not have been written had not Arthur King, of Brigham Young University, and Randal Robinson, author of *Unlocking Shakespeare's Language*, led the way in untangling Shakespearean language puzzles and shared their insights and methodologies generously with us. "Shakespeare's Life" profited by the careful reading given it by S. Schoenbaum; "Shakespeare's Theater" was read and strengthened by Andrew Gurr, John Astington, and William Ingram; and "The Publication of Shakespeare's Plays" is indebted to the comments of Peter W. M. Blayney. We, as editors, take sole responsibility for any errors in our editions.

We are grateful to the authors of the "Modern Perspectives"; to Leeds Barroll and David Bevington for their generous encouragement; to the Huntington and Newberry Libraries for fellowship support; to King's University College for the grants it has provided to Paul Werstine; to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which has provided him with Research Time Stipends; to R. J. Shroyer of the University of Western Ontario for essential computer support; and to the Folger Institute's Center for

Shakespeare Studies for its sponsorship of a workshop on "Shakespeare's Texts for Students and Teachers" (funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and led by Richard Knowles of the University of Wisconsin), a workshop from which we learned an enormous amount about what is wanted by college and high-school teachers of Shakespeare today.

In preparing this preface for the publication of *Julius Caesar* in 1992, we wrote: "Our biggest debt is to the Folger Shakespeare Library: to Werner Gundersheimer, Director of the Library, who has made possible our edition; to Jean Miller, the Library's Art Curator, who combed the Library holdings for illustrations, and to Julie Ainsworth, Head of the Photography Department, who carefully photographed them; to Peggy O'Brien, Director of Education, who gave us expert advice about the needs being expressed by Shakespeare teachers and students (and to Martha Christian and other 'master teachers' who used our texts in manuscript in their classrooms); to the staff of the Academic Programs Division, especially Paul Menzer (who drafted 'Further Reading' material), Mary Tonkinson, Lena Cowen Orlin, Molly Haws, and Jessica Hymowitz; and, finally, to the staff of the Library Reading Room, whose patience and support have been invaluable."

As we revise the play for publication in 2011, we add to the above our gratitude to Gail Kern Paster, Director of the Library since 2002, whose interest and support are unfailing (and whose scholarly expertise is an invaluable resource); to Stephen Llano, our production editor at Simon & Schuster, whose expertise, attention to detail, and wisdom are essential to this project; to Deborah Curren-Aquino, who provides extensive editorial and production support; to Alice Falk for her expert copyediting; to Mary Bloodworth and Michael

Poston for their unfailing computer support; and to the staff of the Library's Research Division, especially Christina Certo (whose help is crucial), David Schalkwyk (Director of Research), Mimi Godfrey, Jennifer Rahm, Kathleen Lynch, Carol Brobeck, Owen Williams, Sarah Werner, and Adrienne Schevchuk. Finally, we once again express our thanks to Jean Miller, who continues to unearth wonderful images, and to the ever-supportive staff of the Library Reading Room.

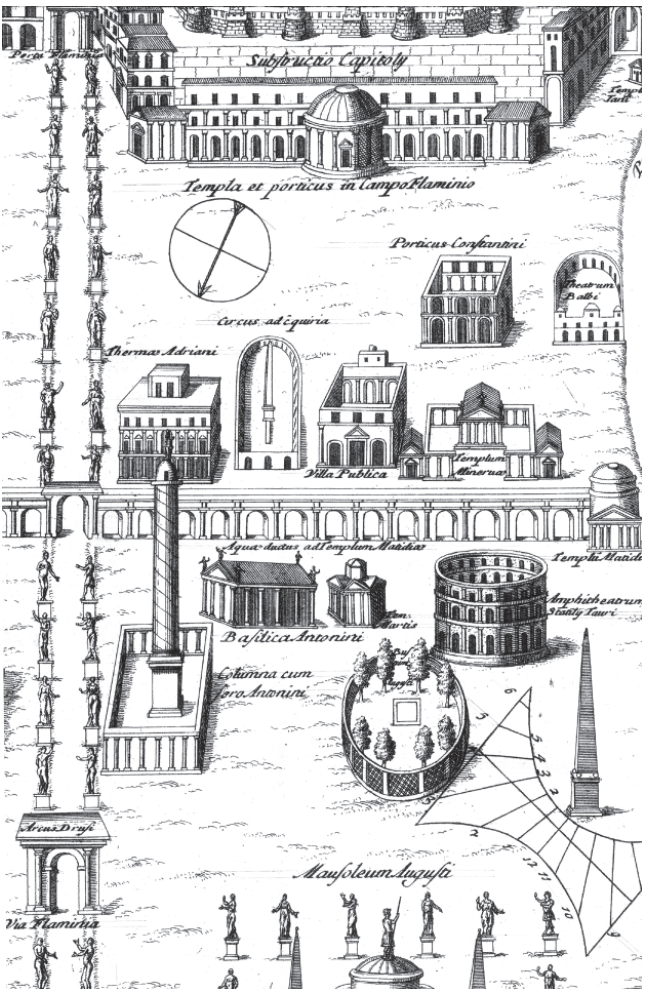
Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine
2011

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*

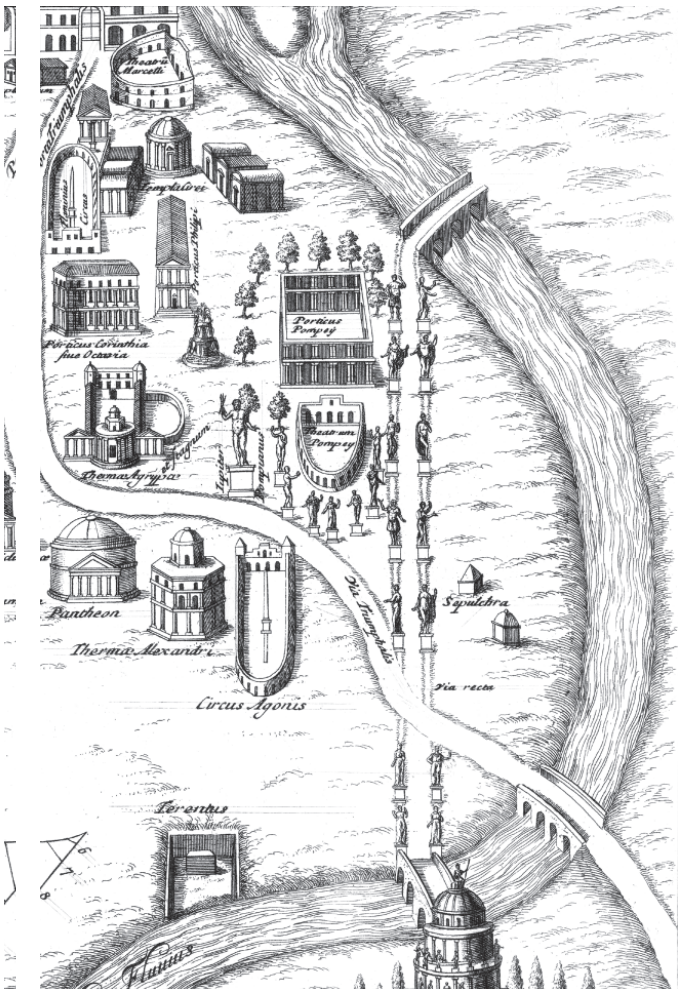
Shakespeare may have written *Julius Caesar* to be the first of his plays to take the stage at his acting company's new Globe theater in 1599. At this important point in his career as a playwright, Shakespeare turned to a key event in Roman history. Many people in the Renaissance were passionately interested in the story of Caesar's death at the hands of his friends and fellow politicians. There was much debate about who were the villains and who were the heroes. According to the fourteenth-century Italian poet Dante, Brutus and Cassius, the foremost of the conspirators who killed Caesar, were traitors who deserved an eternity in hell. But in the view of Shakespeare's contemporary Sir Philip Sidney, Caesar was a rebel threatening Rome, and Brutus was the wisest of senators.

Shakespeare's dramatization of Caesar's assassination and its aftermath has kept this debate alive among generations of readers and playgoers. Is Brutus the true hero of this tragedy in his principled opposition to Caesar's ambition to become king of Rome? Or is Caesar the tragic hero, the greatest military and civic leader of his era, struck down by lesser men misled by jealousy and false idealism? By continuing to address these questions, our civilization engages not only in the enjoyment of a great play but also in an examination of the ways it chooses to govern itself, whether through the rule of the one (Caesarism, monarchy) or the rule of the many (republicanism).

After you have read the play, we invite you to read "A Modern Perspective" on *Julius Caesar* by Professor Coppélia Kahn of Brown University printed at the back of this book.



The Field of Mars, containing the public buildings of Rome and bounded by the Tiber River on the right. (This picture



ıe shows the Field at a time later than the time of Julius
re Caesar.) From Alessandro Donati, . . . *Roma* . . . (1694).

Reading Shakespeare's Language: *Julius Caesar*

For many people today, reading Shakespeare's language can be a problem—but it is a problem that can be solved. Those who have studied Latin (or even French or German or Spanish) and those who are used to reading poetry will have little difficulty understanding the language of poetic drama. Others, though, need to develop the skills of untangling unusual sentence structures and of recognizing and understanding poetic compressions, omissions, and wordplay. And even those skilled in reading unusual sentence structures may have occasional trouble with Shakespeare's words. Four hundred years of "static" intervene between his speaking and our hearing. Most of his vocabulary is still in use, but a few of his words are no longer used, and many of his words now have meanings quite different from those they had in the sixteenth century. In the theater, most of these difficulties are solved for us by actors who study the language and articulate it for us so that the essential meaning is heard—or, when combined with stage action, is at least *felt*. When we are reading on our own, we must do what each actor does: go over the lines (often with a dictionary close at hand) until the puzzles are solved and the lines yield up their poetry and the characters speak in words and phrases that are, suddenly, rewarding and wonderfully memorable.

Shakespeare's Words

As you begin to read the opening scenes of a Shakespeare play, you may notice occasional unfamiliar words. Some are unfamiliar simply because we no longer use them. In the opening scenes of *Julius Caesar*, for example, the words *fain* (i.e., gladly), *marry* (an old oath "by the Virgin Mary," which by Shakespeare's time had become a mere interjection, like "indeed"), and *doublet* (a close-fitting jacket worn by Elizabethan men) all appear in Casca's speeches beginning in Act 1, scene 2, line 231 (1.2.231). Words of this kind are explained in notes to the text and will become familiar the more of Shakespeare's plays you read.

In *Julius Caesar*, as in all of Shakespeare's writing, more problematic are the words that are still in use but now have different meanings. In the third line of *Julius Caesar*, for example, the workingmen are called "mechanical"; what is meant is that they are "working men." At 1.2.328, Cassius says that he will throw writings "in several hands" in Brutus's window; we would say "in different handwritings." At 1.2.171, Brutus says "I am nothing jealous" where we might say "I have no doubt." Again, such words are explained in the notes to the text, but they, too, will become familiar as you continue to read Shakespeare's language.

Some words are strange not because of the "static" introduced by changes in language over the past centuries but because they are used by Shakespeare to build a dramatic world that has its own geography and history and story. *Julius Caesar*, for example, builds, in its opening scenes, a location and a past history by frequent references to the Tiber River, to Pompey and to "Pompey's blood" (i.e., Pompey's sons), to the feast of Lupercal, to the Capitol, to "trophies" on the "images,"

to "soothsayers," to "the ides of March," to Brutus's ancestor (Brutus the Liberator), to the Colossus at Rhodes, and to Aeneas and Anchises. These "local" references (each of which is explained in notes to the text) build the Rome that Brutus, Cassius, and Caesar inhabit and that will become increasingly familiar to you as you get further into the play.

Shakespeare's Sentences

In an English sentence, meaning is quite dependent on the place given each word. "The dog bit the boy" and "The boy bit the dog" mean very different things, even though the individual words are the same. Because English places such importance on the positions of words in sentences, on the way words are arranged, unusual arrangements can puzzle a reader. Shakespeare frequently shifts his sentences away from "normal" English arrangements—often to create the rhythm he seeks, sometimes to use a line's poetic rhythm to emphasize a particular word, sometimes to give a character his or her own speech patterns or to allow the character to speak in a special way. When we attend a good performance of the play, the actors will have worked out the sentence structures and will articulate the sentences so that the meaning is clear. When reading the play, we need to do as the actor does: that is, when puzzled by a character's speech, we check to see if the words are being presented in an unusual sequence.

Look first for the placement of subject and verb. Shakespeare often places the verb before the subject (e.g., instead of "He goes," we find "Goes he"). In the opening scenes of *Julius Caesar*, when Flavius says (1.1.68–69), "Go you down" and "This way will I," he

is using such a construction. Caesar does so as well when, at 1.2.220, he says, "therefore are they very dangerous." Shakespeare also frequently places the object before the subject and verb (e.g., instead of "I hit him" we might find "Him I hit"). Brutus's statement to Cassius at 1.2.173–74, "How I have thought of this, and of these times, / I shall recount hereafter," is an example of such an inversion. (The normal order would be "I shall recount . . . how I have thought.") Such constructions are most difficult for us in sentences like that of Cassius at 1.3.95 ("Therein, you gods, you tyrants do defeat"), where "you tyrants" might first be read as the subject of "do defeat"; instead, "you" is the subject and "tyrants" the object. In other words, the normal order here is "you do defeat tyrants."

Inversions are not the only unusual sentence structures in Shakespeare's language. Often his sentences separate words that would normally appear together. (This is usually done to create a particular rhythm or to stress a particular word.) Caesar's "leave no ceremony out" (1.2.14) interrupts the normal phrase "leave out"; Cassius's "as Aeneas, our great ancestor, / Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder / The old Anchises bear" (1.2.119–21) separates the two parts of the verb "did bear" with three phrases ("from the flames," "of Troy," "upon his shoulder") and with the verb's object, "The old Anchises." Brutus's "I would not (so with love I might entreat you) / Be any further moved" (1.2.175–76) interrupts the construction "I would not be" by a parenthetical statement that is itself an interrupted construction. To create for yourself sentences that seem more like the English of everyday speech, you may wish to rearrange the words, putting together the word clusters ("*leave out* no ceremony," "*did bear* the old Anchises," "*I would not be* any further moved") and placing the remaining words in their familiar

order. The result will usually be an increase in clarity but a loss of rhythm or a shift in emphasis.

Locating and rearranging words that grammatically belong together is especially necessary in passages that separate subjects from verbs and verbs from objects by long delaying or expanding interruptions. When Cassius, at 1.2.327–31, reveals his plan to trick Brutus into thinking the populace is urging Brutus to rise against Caesar, he uses such an interrupted construction, as if to disguise from himself or from us the simple sense of what he is saying. To understand him, one needs to figure out that the basic elements of the sentence are "I will throw writings in at his windows." Cassius's version reads, "*I will* this night / In several hands [i.e., handwritings] in at his windows *throw*, / As if they came from several citizens, / *Writings*, all tending to the great opinion / That Rome holds of his name. . . ." A less complicated example of this same interrupted construction is used by Cassius again at 1.3.126–29: "Now know you, Casca, I have moved already / Some certain of the noblest-minded Romans / To undergo with me an enterprise / Of honorable-dangerous consequence," where the basic sentence-elements are simply "I have moved certain Romans to undergo an enterprise."

Shakespeare's sentences are sometimes complicated not because of unusual structures or interruptions but because he omits words and parts of words that English sentences normally require. (In conversation, we, too, often omit words. We say, "Heard from him yet?" and our hearer supplies the missing "Have you.") In plays written ten years or so after *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare uses omissions both of verbs and of nouns to great dramatic effect. In *Julius Caesar* omissions are few and seem to be the effect of compressed expression. At 1.1.30, for instance, Flavius asks, "But

wherefore [i.e., why] art not in thy shop today?" omitting the subject, "thou," and creating a rhythmically regular line. At 1.1.74, he omits the verb "go" and says simply, "I'll about." At 1.2.82, Cassius drops the second syllable of "afterward" in saying, "And after scandal [i.e., slander] them." At 1.2.117, he omits the preposition "at" in saying "But ere we could arrive [at] the point proposed," and at 1.2.191 he omits the preposition "of" in the phrase "worthy [of] note." At 1.2.324 he asks "who so firm" rather than "who is so firm," and at 1.3.130 he omits a noun in the line "I do know, by this [time? hour?] they stay for me."

Finally, one finds in all of Shakespeare's plays constructions that do not fit any particular category, each of which must be untangled on its own. In *Julius Caesar* Flavius says, at 1.1.66, "See whe'er [whether] their basest mettle be not moved," where the context makes clear that he means "Look, the lowest one of them is emotionally touched." (This construction—"whether" followed by a negative verb—occurs also in *Hamlet*, where again it yields a positive statement.) At 1.2.11, the phrase "sterile curse" means "curse of sterility." (In *The Merchant of Venice* [1.1.85], one finds a comparable construction in "old wrinkles," meaning "the wrinkles of old age.") Such constructions are explained in the notes to the text and must simply be handled as individual puzzles to be solved.

Shakespearean Wordplay

Shakespeare plays with language so often and so variously that entire books are written on the topic. Here we will mention only two kinds of wordplay, puns and metaphors. A pun is a play on words that sound the same but have different meanings (or on a single word

that has more than one meaning). When, in the opening scene of *Julius Caesar*, one of the "mechanicals" answers Marullus's question about his trade by saying that he is "a cobbler," he leads Marullus and Flavius to think that he is using the word to mean "a bungler." Only several lines of dialogue later do they realize that he is, in fact, a shoemaker (the other meaning of that word). Within that dialogue, the cobbler also puns on "withal" (which means "nevertheless," but which sounds also like "with awl"). If one is not aware that a character is punning, the dialogue can seem simply silly or unintelligible. One must stay alert, then, to the sounds of words and to the possibility of double meanings.

A metaphor is a play on words in which one object or idea is expressed as if it were something else, something with which the metaphor suggests it shares common features. For instance, when Brutus says, at 4.3.249, "There is a tide in the affairs of men," and goes on to talk about the voyage of a man's life, he is using metaphoric language. As a good sailor embarks when the tide is high, so a clever man senses when his prospects are favorable and takes advantage of the "full sea." When Cassius, at 1.2.40–41, says to Brutus, "You bear too stubborn and too strange a hand / Over your friend that loves you," Cassius is using metaphoric language, likening Brutus to a horseback rider who handles the reins of the horse harshly. And at 2.1.69–72, when Brutus wants to describe the turmoil within himself as he contemplates the possibility of killing Caesar, he uses metaphoric language in which his being is likened to a state suffering an insurrection. Metaphors are often used when the idea being conveyed is hard to express, and the speaker is thus given language that helps to carry the idea or the feeling to his or her listener—and to the audience.

Implied Stage Action

Finally, in reading Shakespeare's plays we should always remember that what we are reading is a performance script. The dialogue is written to be spoken by actors who, at the same time, are moving, gesturing, picking up objects, weeping, shaking their fists. Some stage action is described in what are called "stage directions"; some is signaled within the dialogue itself. We must learn to be alert to such signals as we stage the play in our imaginations. When, at 1.2.24 in *Julius Caesar*, Caesar says, "Set him before me. Let me see his face," and Cassius says, "Fellow, come from the throng. Look upon Caesar" (1.2.25–26), it can be assumed that the Soothsayer moves through the crowd of actors to stand before Caesar, so that Caesar can then say, "What sayst thou to me now?" (When stage actions are so clearly demanded by the dialogue, this edition will normally add a stage direction.) Again, at 1.2.225, when Casca says, "You pulled me by the cloak," it is clear what has happened—though the director (and we, in our imaginations) can choose whether Brutus or Cassius performed the action. Learning to read the language of stage action repays one many times over when one reaches a crucial scene like that of the assassination (3.1), where the carefully choreographed kneelings and stabbings are indicated almost completely in the dialogue (though this edition adds some stage directions), and where one must simultaneously understand metaphoric language and the gesture it implies (so that one understands that the line "Metellus Cimber throws before thy seat / An humble heart" [3.1.37–38] indicates that the actor here kneels at Caesar's feet, and that Casca's "Speak, hands, for me!" [3.1.84] indicates that Casca here stabs Caesar).

It is immensely rewarding to work carefully with Shakespeare's language—the words, the sentences, the wordplay, and the implied stage actions—as readers for the past four centuries have discovered. It may be more pleasurable to attend a good performance of a play—though not everyone has thought so. But the joy of being able to stage a Shakespeare play in our imaginations, to return to passages that continue to yield further meanings (or further questions) the more one reads them—these are pleasures that, for many, rival (or at least augment) those of the performed text, and certainly make it worth considerable effort to "break the code" of Elizabethan poetic drama and let free the remarkable language that makes up a Shakespeare text.

Shakespeare's Life

Surviving documents that give us glimpses into the life of William Shakespeare show us a playwright, poet, and actor who grew up in the market town of Stratford-upon-Avon, spent his professional life in London, and returned to Stratford a wealthy landowner. He was born in April 1564, died in April 1616, and is buried inside the chancel of Holy Trinity Church in Stratford.

We wish we could know more about the life of the world's greatest dramatist. His plays and poems are testaments to his wide reading—especially to his knowledge of Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch, Holinshed's *Chronicles,* and the Bible—and to his mastery of the English language, but we can only speculate about his education. We know that the King's New School in Stratford-upon-Avon was considered excellent. The school was one of the English "grammar schools" established to educate young men, primarily in Latin grammar and literature. As in other schools of the time, students began their studies at the age of four or five in the attached "petty school," and there learned to read and write in English, studying primarily the catechism from the Book of Common Prayer. After two years in the petty school, students entered the lower form (grade) of the grammar school, where they began the serious study of Latin grammar and Latin texts that would occupy most of the remainder of their school days. (Several Latin texts that Shakespeare used repeatedly in writing his plays and poems were texts that schoolboys memorized and recited.) Latin comedies were introduced early in the lower form; in the upper form, which the boys entered at age ten or eleven, students wrote their own Latin orations and declamations, studied Latin

Title page of a 1573 Latin and Greek catechism for children.
From Alexander Nowell, *Catechismus paruus pueris primum Latine . . .* (1573).

historians and rhetoricians, and began the study of Greek using the Greek New Testament.

Since the records of the Stratford "grammar school" do not survive, we cannot prove that William Shakespeare attended the school; however, every indication (his father's position as an alderman and bailiff of Stratford, the playwright's own knowledge of the Latin classics, scenes in the plays that recall grammar-school experiences—for example, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 4.1) suggests that he did. We also lack generally accepted documentation about Shakespeare's life after his schooling ended and his professional life in London began. His marriage in 1582 (at age eighteen) to Anne Hathaway and the subsequent births of his daughter Susanna (1583) and the twins Judith and Hamnet (1585) are recorded, but how he supported himself and where he lived are not known. Nor do we know when and why he left Stratford for the London theatrical world, nor how he rose to be the important figure in that world that he had become by the early 1590s.

We do know that by 1592 he had achieved some prominence in London as both an actor and a playwright. In that year was published a book by the playwright Robert Greene attacking an actor who had the audacity to write blank-verse drama and who was "in his own conceit [i.e., opinion] the only Shake-scene in a country." Since Greene's attack includes a parody of a line from one of Shakespeare's early plays, there is little doubt that it is Shakespeare to whom he refers, a "Shake-scene" who had aroused Greene's fury by successfully competing with university-educated dramatists like Greene himself. It was in 1593 that Shakespeare became a published poet. In that year he published his long narrative poem *Venus and Adonis*; in 1594, he followed it with *The Rape of Lucrece*. Both poems were dedicated to the young earl of South-

ampton (Henry Wriothesley), who may have become Shakespeare's patron.

It seems no coincidence that Shakespeare wrote these narrative poems at a time when the theaters were closed because of the plague, a contagious epidemic disease that devastated the population of London. When the theaters reopened in 1594, Shakespeare apparently resumed his double career of actor and playwright and began his long (and seemingly profitable) service as an acting-company shareholder. Records for December of 1594 show him to be a leading member of the Lord Chamberlain's Men. It was this company of actors, later named the King's Men, for whom he would be a principal actor, dramatist, and shareholder for the rest of his career.

So far as we can tell, that career spanned about twenty years. In the 1590s, he wrote his plays on English history as well as several comedies and at least two tragedies (*Titus Andronicus* and *Romeo and Juliet*). These histories, comedies, and tragedies are the plays credited to him in 1598 in a work, *Palladis Tamia*, that in one chapter compares English writers with "Greek, Latin, and Italian Poets." There the author, Francis Meres, claims that Shakespeare is comparable to the Latin dramatists Seneca for tragedy and Plautus for comedy, and calls him "the most excellent in both kinds for the stage." He also names him "Mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare": "I say," writes Meres, "that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine filed phrase, if they would speak English." Since Meres also mentions Shakespeare's "sugared sonnets among his private friends," it is assumed that many of Shakespeare's sonnets (not published until 1609) were also written in the 1590s.

In 1599, Shakespeare's company built a theater for themselves across the river from London, naming it

the Globe. The plays that are considered by many to be Shakespeare's major tragedies (*Hamlet, Othello, King Lear*, and *Macbeth*) were written while the company was resident in this theater, as were such comedies as *Twelfth Night* and *Measure for Measure*. Many of Shakespeare's plays were performed at court (both for Queen Elizabeth I and, after her death in 1603, for King James I), some were presented at the Inns of Court (the residences of London's legal societies), and some were doubtless performed in other towns, at the universities, and at great houses when the King's Men went on tour; otherwise, his plays from 1599 to 1608 were, so far as we know, performed only at the Globe. Between 1608 and 1612, Shakespeare wrote several plays—among them *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*—presumably for the company's new indoor Blackfriars theater, though the plays seem to have been performed also at the Globe and at court. Surviving documents describe a performance of *The Winter's Tale* in 1611 at the Globe, for example, and performances of *The Tempest* in 1611 and 1613 at the royal palace of Whitehall.

Shakespeare wrote very little after 1612, the year in which he probably wrote *King Henry VIII*. (It was at a performance of *Henry VIII* in 1613 that the Globe caught fire and burned to the ground.) Sometime between 1610 and 1613 he seems to have returned to live in Stratford-upon-Avon, where he owned a large house and considerable property, and where his wife and his two daughters and their husbands lived. (His son Hamnet had died in 1596.) During his professional years in London, Shakespeare had presumably derived income from the acting company's profits as well as from his own career as an actor, from the sale of his play manuscripts to the acting company, and, after 1599, from his shares as an owner of the Globe. It was presumably that income, carefully invested in land

Ptolemaic universe.
From Marcus Manilius, *The sphere of* . . . (1675).