"THE SCENE MOSCO": CREATING EASTERN EUROPE FOR EARLY MODERN ENGLISH AUDIENCES IN JOHN FLETCHER'S *THE LOYAL SUBJECT (1618)*

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The Citadel

In 1562, English merchant and explorer Anthony Jenkinson produced a map of Russia, Muscovy, and Tartary, covering a large area of Eastern Europe. The work, in particular the colored versions, is visually striking, featuring not just cities and rivers but also people, animals, and small scenes throughout. Jenkinson's creation found an even wider audience when it was published in Abraham Ortelius' 1570 Latin atlas, the first of its kind. The map also appeared in the multiple later editions of the atlas, including the English one published in 1606 (see figure 1). Viewers then and now can see warriors with bows and arrows on horseback, men gathered outside of peaked tents, a few bears, a perhaps unexpected number of camels, and religious supplicants gathered around figures. Like many maps during the early modern period, Jenkinson's work is not meant to be used for directions; rather, geographic products like this map function as a repository of knowledge about various parts of the world. That knowledge, however, would often be as fanciful as the camels lurking near Moscow. Cartographers and other travel-oriented writers of the time employed geography in the literal sense; working in the discourse of "world-writing," they often produced a world and its people as they thought it should be, not necessarily as it was. Nevertheless, in the early modern period, the increasing accuracy of both the maps themselves and the sense of mapping as a science meant that these texts were imbued with an authority that became imprinted on the creators and their version of the regions of the world, making their reports "true" ones for readers and spectators.

This geographic discourse affected other creative endeavors, most notably drama. As John Gillies states, "atlases were generically 'theaters' before they were 'atlases,'" and many

playwrights drew from the language of geography in plays set abroad, creating new lands and new ideas for their audiences.[1] In the context of these geographic and theatrical developments, John Fletcher created a version of Russia, or Muscovy, for his 1618 play *The Loyal Subject*. Fletcher would have been especially influenced by geographic works, since his uncle Giles

Figure 1: Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio. Shelfmark: Bodleian Library BOD: Douce O subt. 15. From a manuscript by Anthony Jenkinson, 1562. In Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. English edition as *The Theatre of the Whole World*, London 1606. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0. digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

Fletcher, under whose care the younger Fletcher was placed from 1596 to about 1601, traveled to Moscow in 1588, eventually producing a work called *Of the Rus Commonwealth* in 1591.[2] Works like Giles Fletcher's Russia treatise, Jenkinson's map, and others contributed to an English audience's perception of Eastern Europe, providing creative writers like John Fletcher both the ideas and the language to formulate their own authoritative versions of these faraway lands that could have an impact on how English men and women viewed themselves and their

[1] John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 35.

[2] Monica Matei-Chesnoiu notes this probable influence as well. *Early Modern Drama and the Eastern European Elsewhere: Representations of Liminal Locality in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Madison and Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson Press, 2009), 156. For biographical details on Giles Fletcher, see Lucy Munro, "Giles Fletcher the elder" (bap. 1546, d. 1611) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (03 January 2008), accessed 27 July 2020.

own country. In *The Loyal Subject* in particular, Fletcher depicts a place whose inhabitants use geographic discourse to create spaces and identities with thrillingly porous and blurred borders between inhabitant and foreigner, masculine and feminine, and even subject and object. Ultimately, this ability to move across literal and figurative borders allows women in Fletcher's Muscovy to inhabit and control bodies that act and move freely within the space and action of the play. While these women are portrayed as living in remote Muscovy, they present to Fletcher's English audience a model for how English women and men could view and interact with their world.

To create such female characters, writers like Fletcher the playwright drew on widely understood discourses of geography that connected the female body to land, such as the common reference to "virgin territory." The very first atlas—the 1570 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius—features on its frontispiece women who represent the known continents. The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* became well known for these figures as its editions and translations were published throughout Europe.[3] And the Jenkinson map of Muscovy featured in all of these editions of Ortelius; so, Fletcher and his audience would very likely have been familiar with the atlas, its vivid map of "Russiae," and the ideologies of gender and geography within, especially after the publication of the 1606 English edition, which again featured the same cover image of women representing each of the continents (see figure 2). The depictions of these continents embody the qualities their lands are supposed to possess: the enthroned and fully clothed Europe placed above the others, framed by and holding markers of agriculture and justice, contrasts with a nearly nude and reclining America, whose barbarity is reflected in a spear and severed head.

[3] Frans Koks specifies, "The *Theatrum* atlas first appeared in 1570 and continued to be published until 1612. During this period, over seventy-three hundred copies were printed in thirty-one editions and seven different languages-a remarkable figure for the time." Frans Koks, "Ortelius Atlas," The Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/collections/general-maps/articles-and-essays/general-atlases/ortelius-atlas/, accessed 23 January 2020.

These allegorical figures appeared in art and geography throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, along with the nearly fully clothed (and thus more "civilized") Asia on the left, who nonethless holds an incense-burner which, according to frontispiece's accompanying poem by Adolf van Meetkerke of Bruges, makes Asia smell of "Arabic spices." As Paul Binding notes, this poem and Asia's figure recall the early modern spice trade, a connection to commodities that further underscores the potential objectification of these female figures.[4] The partially naked Africa, whose fewer clothes, darker skin, and sun-crown mark that continent's difference, also has her body open to the maze.[5] But while these images and the larger connection of women to land can lead to their objectification, the added element of the map or atlas as an object can open up interesting complexities for subjects like mapmaker, viewer, or female character. Veronica della Dora details how, "from mere documents, maps have been revisited as dynamic non-human actors that take life from their interactions with their users."[6] And with increasing availability of products like maps, atlases, and globes, more people could interact with geography. Viewers and readers actively encounter maps and similar products; they read, turn sheets, point, mark, and add or remove pages. In this way, the reader also becomes a geographer who can write the world. Women are doubly encoded in this relationship: their bodies could be marked as territories, and land could be delineated as a female body. But since representations of that land—maps—are, as della Dora asserts, "dynamic actors" that authoritatively present a vision of the world and are also open to change by a reader, then women as both chartable land and map-reader are

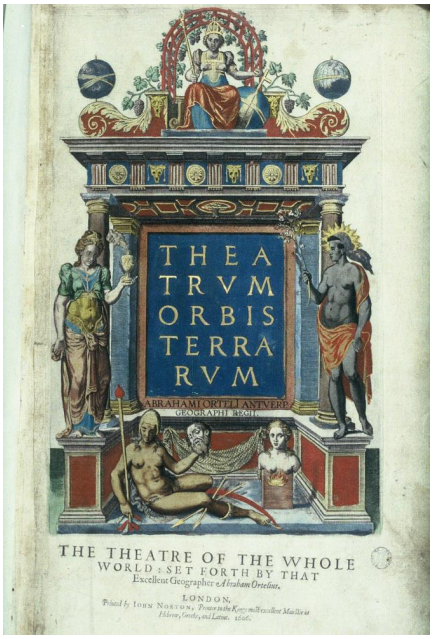
[4] Paul Binding, *Imagined Corners: Exploring the World's First Atlas* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2003), 213.

[5] The bust next to America denotes the theorized southern continent "Magellanica," unknown and thus an incomplete depiction. Some of the meanings behind these figures are explained in Rodney Shirley, *Courtiers and Cannibals, Angels and Amazons: The Art of the Decorative Cartographic Titlepage* (The Netherlands: HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV, 2009), 46.

[6] Veronica della Dora, "Performative Atlases: Memory, Materiality, and (Co-)Authorship," *Cartographica* Vol. 44, No. 4 (2009): 241.

inextricably intertwined in a system of meaning-making that, with the addition of the map, can also afford a woman the double subject-position of both geographer and geographic product. In such a way can women, in this case Fletcher's Russian women, map their own bodies, the space around them, and their roles within that space by occupying and manipulating their positions as geographer, territory, and map. Women are often figured as land to explore (and territory becomes a female body to claim), but these new and evolving relationships with geographic products and the authority those products can confer upon an owner who manipulates the map means that women as map-readers could make charting their bodies and thus identities their own prerogative.

Figure 2: [Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. Title-page with four figures which embody the four known continents]. Shelfmark: Bodleian Library BOD: Douce O subt. 15. Ortelius title-page for Antwerp Latin edition of 1570, adapted for London 1606 English edition. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0. digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.



Of course, early modern women's relationship with space in general is a fraught one, with corollary ideas about the female body occupying public space and the importance of policing that body and its boundaries to maintain chastity. In fact, Fletcher the elder in his *Of the Rus Commonwealth* provides an example of this surveillance and control of women, in particular

in public, when he describes what he believes are Russian wedding practices, though the modern editor, Albert J. Schmidt, notes that, throughout the treatise, Fletcher mixes "personal observation, strong bias, gossip, and moralizing with data casually lifted from varied written sources."[7] But as a geographer, Fletcher can write a world where these strictures around women's bodies, space, and therefore sexuality are confirmed by virtue of their presence in a work of the geographic (and thus scientific and true) genre. Memorably, Fletcher recounts how, before and during a wedding ceremony, the bride wears a hood that covers her upper body. She has never seen her groom, nor he her. Once the priest has solemnized the joining, the bride stands in front of her new husband and "falleth down at his feet, knocking her head upon his shoe in token of her subjection and obedience. And the bridegroom again casteth the lap of his gown or upper garment over the bride in token of his duty to protect and cherish her."[8] After further rituals, during which the bride still retains the veil over her face, the couple each goes to separate dinners. The bride then lodges with her husband, still veiled, and must not speak for three days after the wedding. Fletcher's description illustrates a conception of extreme, supposedly Eastern European, ideas of male control over women's movement, appearance in public, and even voice that an English reader would believe.

An even more striking example of purported Eastern European attempts to police women's movements can be found in the 1606 English translation of Ortelius' atlas, in the section devoted to describing Russia. The text records, "The state of women in this country is most miserable: for they thinke, except shee like a snaile do carry her house over her head, and be continually mewed up in her closet, or so watched, that by no means she may start out of

[7] Giles Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, ed. Albert J. Schmidt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), xliii.

[8] Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 137.

doores, nore posibly be honest."[9] Despite being focused on Russian practices, the description neatly encapsulates widespread ideas about women's "honesty" or chastity and its relationship to a woman remaining enclosed and out of public spaces. The Russian view on women's honesty here seems especially restrictive: unless the woman can carry her house over her like a snail, she cannot honestly venture out of doors. The snail image is meant to suggest the impossibility of women's honest travel outside the home, but what if there were something women could carry with them in order to be active participants in the wider world without being seen as "dishonest"? Maps and atlases, specifically their geographic discourse, afford that power. Fletcher the playwright would have seen how a geographer like Ortelius could order and shape the world, compiling a flexible group of documents for consumers to purchase and modify. And he would have also seen how geographic products could have powerful impacts on world affairs: his uncle's treatise *Of the Rus Common Wealth* was eventually suppressed on the orders of royal advisor Lord Burghley, in response to an outcry from the merchants of the Russia Company who feared that the less flattering descriptions within would affect their trading relationship with the Russian government.[10] These are only two examples of how geography and its creators and owners could continually and reciprocally impact each other and the world by shaping and disseminating ideas about its land and people. So, Fletcher the playwright had clear examples of how geographic texts could be used to write and re-write the world, and women in particular, due to their bodies' figurative ties to territory and thus geography, could have unique access to the discourse within maps and other geographic products. With those tools, women could thus create

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[9] Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum Abrahami Orteli Antverp : The theatre of the whole world* (London: John Norton, 1606), 104 (seq. 230). Full text online at Harvard Library: http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990088585650203941/catalog.

[10] Lucy Munro, "Giles Fletcher the elder," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (03 January 2008), accessed 27 July 2020. See also Albert J. Schmidt, Introduction to *Of the Rus Commonwealth,* ed. Albert J. Schmidt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966)*,* xxiv–xxv.

a powerful and even chaste form of agency. After all, the women carry not a snail’s house but their own bodies and their associated values; they thus have the ability and opportunity, as both geographer and map, to redraw meanings about both. And women in remote and supposedly strange Eastern Europe could have more opportunity for geographic and identity experimentation, as they were theoretically far-removed from their English counterparts, and yet still appeared to them through geographically inflected art and products.

In Fletcher’s play, the most striking instance of a woman writing the world to her benefit can be found in Honora, a daughter of Archas, the loyal subject of the play and a decorated general. Honora and her sister Viola are to be unwillingly sent to the Duke’s court, a place of not only military danger but moral hazards as well. The sisters’ trials at court, in particular Honora’s, demonstrate Fletcher’s conception of a Muscovy that holds peril but also opportunity for its women, if they can but take up the double subject-position of both territory and geographer. Fortunately, the political and social concerns of the court are also spoken of in geographical terms, establishing the language for Honora’s later challenges as also delineated through mapping. The loyal general’s son Theodore conflates both military and moral dangers when he reminds the Duke’s advisor that he and the Duke should be grateful for what his father the general has done for the dukedom. Theodore describes what would have happened to its space and people if Archas had not taken up arms against “the Tartar.” The Duke’s

> enemie
> That would have burnt his City here, and your house too,
> Your brave gilt house, my Lord, [...]
> That would not only have abus’d your buildings,
> Your goodly buildings sir, and have drunke dry your butteries,
> [but they also would have], trim’d your Virgins,

Trim'd 'em of a new cut, and't like your Lordship,

'Tis ten to one, your wife too…. (2.1.84-94)[11]

Theodore's description concerns invading and penetrating not just national borders but domestic and bodily ones as well. Not only the city, but the buildings themselves will be entered, plundered, and destroyed. And Theodore saves the most alarming invasion for last: the bodies of the dukedom's women will be violated as the invaders move through the city, sparing not even wives of high-ranking officials. But these Tartars are not the only threat to women's bodily borders; the Muscovy court is considered a space of licentiousness by Theodore and his sisters. Viola expresses her unhappiness to her father, saying, "Now you have moulded us, and wrought our tempers / To easie and obedient waies, uncrooked, / Where the faire minde can never lose, nor loiter." Going to court, she claims, will "divert our Natures" (3.2.15-18). Interestingly, Viola speaks of this moral upbringing and its encounter with the court as one of space and travel beyond the literal journey from country to court. Their behavior has been wrought (or drawn or created) as lines or pathways that have been straight. Now they fear these paths will be diverted in the dangerous space of the Duke's court.

Theodore also expresses his frustration with the change in his sisters' placement and corresponding moral dangers through geographic language. After bringing Honora and Viola to court, he snarls to some passing courtiers regarding his sisters, "[W]hat would ye give now / To turne the globe up, and find the rich Moluccas? / To passe the straights?" (3.4.13-15) Although vehemently opposed to such outcomes posed by his rhetorical questions, he shows his understanding of the connection between women and territory when he sexualizes his sisters as spaces to be explored. Their sexual availability is figured as a precious resource to be gained

[11] All quotations from play are cited in-text and are from John Fletcher, *The Loyal Subject*, ed. Fredson Bowers, in *Beaumont and Fletcher: Dramatic Works, Vol. 5*, general editor Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 153–269.

through travel, as the Moluccas were popularly known as islands of rich spices. Further compounding this geographic perception, he bids his sisters good-bye with, "Farewel wenches, keep close your ports, y'are washt else" (3.4.53). Though the latter half of the sentence indicates he speaks of them as ships, the previous lines about the Moluccas islands and their straits indicate ports as a place too, furthering the women's connection to territory. But the ship metaphor is also a geographic one in the sense of travel and exploration, and the comparison affords more agency to Honora and Viola. Instead of simply passive territory or a drawing of such, the women can and do take up the role of active mapmaker or owner embarking on a journey. Their own father reassures them of their safety and power using similar images. Archas says they will be supported by

> my prayers,
> The card of goodnes in your minds, that shows ye
> When ye saile false; the needle touch'd with honour,
> That through the blackest stormes, still points at happines;
> Your bodies the tall barks, rib'd round with goodnes;
> Your heavenly soules the Pilots, thus I send you;
> Thus I prepare your voyage, sound before ye,
> And ever as you saile through this worlds vanitie,
> Discover sholes, rocks, quicksands, cry out to ye
> Like a good Master, tack about for honour" (3.2.45-53).

There are multiple geographic images here, beginning with the "card" of goodness that will guide the sisters through dangerous voyages. Card here refers to a chart or map, a sense of the word still in use at the time.[12] Coupled with mention of the compass needle in the next line, the

[12] II. Senses relating to maps or charts. 3 a. A map or plan; = chart *n.1 Obsolete*. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

term can also refer to a mariner's card, the stiff piece of paper marked with the 32 points of the compass.[13] In either case, the women are actively using these instruments and the qualities of honor and goodness they represent to guide them through storms and narrow straits. Indeed, they not only use these geographic products, they *are* those items, as Archas states the cards are "in your minds." Their father's description of the women's persona firmly links them with geography even as he blurs the distinction between the women and these objects. Moreover, the women are also figured as steering pilots, an authoritative role that has them actively using geography to chart and travel their destinies at court. The scene introduces Honora and Viola as well as the fundamental ways that they (and potentially all women) are uniquely tied to this discourse and can thus wield it for their own ends.

This imparting of geographic agency on the women has an especially galvanizing effect on Honora, who responds to her father in similar geographically coded language. After the above speech, she declares to her father, "[Y]ou have made me halfe a souldier, / I will to court most willingly, most fondly. / And if there be such stirring things amongst 'em, / Such travellers into Virginia, / As fame reports, if they can win me, take me: / I think I have a close ward, and a sure one…."(3.2.66-71). In her speech, Honora now calls herself a soldier travelling to court, but she also figures herself as territory to be won, daring brave explorers to venture to "take" Virginia, as she jokingly refers to her virgin status. But she does not resign herself to passive territory; she first calls herself a soldier, and she dares any potential suitors try her skill at fighting, as she has a "close ward, and a sure one." Ostensibly referring to sword-fighting, the words 'close,' 'ward,' and 'sure' can also, coupled with the geographic language above, refer to the space about Honora

[13] II. 4 a. The circular piece of stiff paper on which the 32 points are marked in the mariner's compass. *Oxford English Dictionary Online.*

that she will protect and perhaps choose to cede to a worthy opponent. The geographic pep talk serves especially Honora well in her later encounters with the overly amorous Duke. Proving that she is more than the half a soldier she claimed earlier, Honora lectures the lascivious Duke, "[W]e are poore triumphs; / Nor can our losse of honour adde to you sir: / Great men, and great thoughts, seek things great and worthy, / Subjects to make 'em live, and not lose 'em; / Conquests so nobly won, can never perish" (4.3.42-46). While speaking of conquest, a topic covered in many atlases, Honora moves fluidly between placing herself and by extension all women in both subject and object positions. She figures herself and her sister as passive conquests, but she then lectures the Duke to seek out worthy subjects that give life to the leader. Subjects here can be taken both as those people subject to the monarch but also as individuals, like Honora, in the subject position, an active role confirmed by her assertion that such subjects actively "make" a ruler live. While giving life to the ruler, these subject-conquests also benefit, as, according to Honora, they achieve a kind of eternal life when nobly won. The martial imagery connects with Honora's earlier speech when she herself was a soldier fighting for her honor. Victor/conquest, subject/object become further ellided, continuing the pattern established earlier with Honora and Archas' initial geographic dialogue during the sisters' very first scene that presented the women as both pilots and ships, territory and soldier.

Archas' and particularly Honora's use of the language of navigation and travel, which David Woodward points out were very much a part of geographic discourse. He writes that there is "[a] striking continuity between the medieval and Renaissance periods [which] involves the persistence of textual descriptions of the world."[14] Despite the proliferation of eye-catching illustrated maps in the Renaissance, Woodward relates that established geographic products like

[14] David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3 (Part 1): Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 7.

portolan charts, route maps, and itineraries continued to be used: "It is not that the huge increase in graphics usurped the functions of the written word, but rather that a new idiom was added to the old."[15] Fletcher's characters here draw on both traditional textual descriptions like itineraries and visual ones like portolan charts that contribute to the play's overall geographic motifs. The continued use of this language dissolves distances between spectators and foreign territories, also blurs boundaries between active mapmaker, geographic product, and the supposedly passive viewer. Honora has laid the foundation, based on a dynamic understanding of geography that sees both person and product as active, which provides her the agency to stand up to the Duke or anyone else and chart her own life. Near the conclusion of their encounters, the Duke expresses frustration at Honora's intransigence and protection of her sister, exclaiming, "Why do I stand entreating, where my power—." Honora immediately cuts him off to say, "You have no power, at least you ought to have none / In bad and beastly things: arm'd thus, Ile dye here, / Before she suffer wrong (4.3.89-92). Her power here culminates in her ability to silence the Duke and again assert a sense of martial agency; Honora also confirms her role as a subject by further fighting for herself, her sister, and reforming the Duke. Furthermore, she dismisses the Duke's desire to make her a mistress, instead claiming, "And were I fit to be your wife (so much I honour yee) / Trust me I would scratch for ye but I would have yee. / I would wooe you then" (4.3.68-70). Here she first raises the possibility that she would be not only be his wife, but actively fight for him in her courting. Her "wooing" or "scratching" for him place her again in the position of a fighter, upending her earlier assertion that she is a conquest, and connecting to her earlier assertion that she is a soldier, which itself stemmed from the geographic discourse in which both she and her father engaged. Her continued expositions to the Duke on the meaning of honor and the practice of good rule do have a material effect, as the Duke does change and proves himself

[15] Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," 12.

so through a test derived by Honora.[16] Having, in a sense, drawn a Duke to her liking, she chooses to marry him by the play's end, but only after establishing herself as an active shaper of him and her world.[17]

To return to the world-writing done in maps, I would like to revisit the Jenkinson map and briefly explore a more specific potential inspiration for Fletcher's foray into writing an Eastern Europe where a woman could be granted powerful agency. At the very top of the map, near the middle, is a drawing of figures gathered around a pedestal upon which a woman stands, her arms around a smaller figure, possibly a child. Inside a nearby cartouche, a description in Latin reads:

> Zlata Baba (Golden Woman), [sic] is seated and holds a boy-known [sic] as the ancestor at her knees. Obdorians and Iogorians worship the statue of Golden Woman and offer her their most valuable animal skins. They sacrifice deer to her, smearing the mouth, eyes, and other parts of the goddess with the animals' blood. They eat the entrails raw. During the sacrificial ceremony, their priest asks the goddess for advice, and strange to believe—receives credible answers, and certain incidents follow.[18]

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[16] Daryl W. Palmer argues that the Duke's seemingly sudden conversion can be explained by a familiarity with Russian literature, drawing on a "convention of the ruler's epiphanic reformation." *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 226. Fletcher appears to draw ideas for both his female and male characters from his uncle's and perhaps other descriptions of Russia.

[17] For a different view on Fletcher and female agency in this play, mainly in comparison to many works in the Fletcher and Beaumont canon, see Peter Berek, "Cross-Dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 2004): 359–377; see esp. 366–368.

[18] Translation found in Krystyna Szykuła, "Unexpected 16th Century Finding to Have Disappeared Just After Its Printing – Anthony Jenkinson's Map of Russia, 1562," *Cartography: A Tool for Spatial Analysis,* ed. Carlos Bateira (Rijeka, Croatia: Intech, 2012), 139. Available online at https://www.intechopen.com/books/cartography-a-tool-for-spatial-analysis/unexpected-16th-century-finding-to-have-disappeared-just-after-its-printing-anthony-jenkinson-s-map-.

This scene of goddess worship reflects Fletcher's depictions of powerful women who use geography to occupy multiple spaces and meanings at once. While again raising the specter of women's objectification with the unmoving statue upon a pedestal, this seemingly passive object of devotion is quite different—Zlata Baba has a voice that imparts knowledge to her worshippers and appears to have effects on the real world, since after her answers "certain incidents follow." This statue, on a geographic product, occupies multiple subject and object positions at once: passive statue, active speaker; receiver of worship, consumer of blood; artistic object, powerful deity. Zlata Baba thus also encapsulates and perhaps inspires the play's depiction of Honora (and potentially other women in Muscovy) as a woman who can also be both subject and object, but more specifically, given the play's and early modern women's connection to geography, a woman as both map and map-maker. Ultimately, Honora, at least in the remote and strange territory of Muscovy, can negate any potential objectification by wielding the very souce of it: she can be the active geographer and navigator of where she, through her body, moves in the space of the court and her life. But perhaps Moscow and its dukedom are not so remote after all: Jenkinson's image of Zlata Baba blends for the early modern English spectator the familiar and the strange and seemingly disparate elements: similar to Honora's multiple positions, they see a woman deity, animal sacrifice, divination, and talking statues, but they also see a divine mother and child pair like Mary and Jesus, prayer rituals, and sincere devotion. In this figure, the map depicts distance but also connects lines between England and Muscovy. The scene is different enough to motivate Fletcher to stretch his imagination in creating his women characters, but sufficiently familiar to seem possible. More simply, this bit of geography may have shown Fletcher a Muscovy that could be both an exotic and familiar space of inspiration where he could write a world filled with women as memorable as Honora and Zlata Baba.

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