

entertainments. As Schroder points out, although the inventories are rich starting points, they tell us more about the plate and jewels that Henry VIII did not particularly like than about the objects constantly in use at Whitehall or his other palaces.

For the objects Henry did like, Schroder turns to inventories from the end of his life, and it is here we find some of the book's most exciting propositions. Did the most prized objects, kept in "the secret jewelhouse" and other private rooms, constitute a proto-*Kunstammer*, a princely cabinet like those popular on the Continent from later in the sixteenth century? The inventories reveal quantities of both *naturalia* (nautilus shells, unicorn horns, rock crystal, and coral, often mounted in precious metal) and *artificialia* (man-made wonders such as clocks, scientific instruments, glass, and porcelain). As Schroder acknowledges, it is unclear whether the collection's arrangement highlighted these categories, and it may be that the recorded objects instead correspond to a more general sense of splendor pursued by monarchs throughout the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the possibility of excavating a prehistory of the *Wunderkammer* from among Henry VIII's collections is a tantalizing one.

Schroder's book also engages with gold's theoretical underpinnings, in particular its relationship to the Aristotelian concept of magnificence. In our own time, extreme displays of wealth tend to be associated with a particular concentration of power and greed. At a time when the king was the absolute ruler, however, Schroder argues that it was both appropriate and expected that he would appear wealthy and generous, his splendid surroundings contributing to a kind of Tudor soft power. As the reign wears on, however, Henry's acquisitiveness, in particular his punitive confiscation of gold from banished courtiers, suggests that the aging king's interests lay more in magnificence than generosity.

Of course, there were also dissenting voices. For the poet Thomas Wyatt, son of a master of the king's jewel house, gold had negative associations, connected in his writings with greed and despair. For Wyatt, it embodied everything he hated about the court, whose participants found "In prison joyes fettred with cheines of gold" (sonnet 259 ["In court to serue decked with freshe aray"], in *Collected Poems Of Sir Thomas Wyatt* [1969], 253). Whether positive or negative, gold could stand for the entire Tudor court, as "*A Marvel to Behold*" makes urgently and delightfully clear.

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doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.60

Royal Voices: Language and Power in Tudor England. Mel Evans.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. xii + 270 pp. \$110.

How did the abstract concept of power become infused into written and spoken communication, so that audiences in the Tudor period would bow to the royal message

without the questioning and parrying that accompanies ordinary communication? *Royal Voices* answers that question with impressive thoroughness, identifying the moving parts of a linguistic machine attuned to command and control. Tudor England, emerging from competing fiefdoms into a cohesive modern nation ruled by a single monarch, needed all the majesty it could pack into its communiqués. Consent, not debate, is the rhetorical goal of royal communication. Throughout this book, the author inventories techniques of embodying power in overlooked linguistic structures—syntax, diction, salutation—to argue that royal vocalizing saturated its linguistic field with its intention, elevating royal voice decisively above ordinary or normative speech patterns. The author makes a compelling case.

Regal linguistic features in question include the eerie warmth of a greeting used by the coldly calculating Henry VIII: “Trusty and well-beloved, I greet you well.” The nearly sacramental tones of “well-beloved” (a precursor to the ministerial “dearly beloved” used at weddings?) became a signature greeting, imitated by courtiers wishing to speak in the idiom of a deity addressing mere mortals. The author refers to this widely imitated greeting among the Tudor elites as “high-frequency interpersonal bundles” (77), suggesting that royal power could manifest across the vast geographic spaces of early modern England. If one king, sitting in a palace uses the royal *we*, that is simply a grammatical indicator of a larger body. The inner council of royal advisers are the collective entity inscribed within the king’s pluralized pronoun. A more startling show of royal power is to have the king’s written persona made manifest in virtually identical language across different regions of the country. Thus writers from high-ranking nobility or gentry could use the same greeting to evince royal power far from the king’s actual location. Consequently, the king’s identity is reproduced here, there, and everywhere, a communicational duplication that approximates royal omnipresence. If the king is omnipresent, ordinary people, hearing his linguistic identity reproduced in their locality, may be moved to wonder if the king is also omniscient. Although Evans does not connect his linguistic analysis of power to Michael Foucault’s formulation of the panopticon, this reviewer was reminded of an all-seeing surveillance state while reading *Royal Voices*.

I offer one reservation about this finely researched book. I was left to ponder the author’s assumption that royal “enregisterment” crossed the linguistic border into audience effectiveness. Would people who heard or read a royal communication heed its directives and dictates? A literary embodiment of royal voices—the notorious royal *we* used by fratricidal Claudius in *Hamlet*—suggests that the linguistic conveyance of royal power could fall flat. For young Hamlet, the “bloat” king’s royal-sounding rhetoric is cause for further disgust. The same dynamic of ethos weakening logos, of moral character compromising linguistic performance, happened in Tudor history. When commoners protested the infamous stripping of the altars, Henry VIII wrote a proclamation calling for them to disband. The threat of English infantry deployed against them, not Henry’s proclamation, compelled commoners to retreat. So, too,

with Edward VI, a teenage king advised by an inner council that was widely regarded as a band of rapacious adventurers. When the largest rebellion in the Tudor period arose in the summer of 1549, Edward penned a command to disperse, using the full arsenal of royal phraseology: “But as a prince reigning by almighty god’s providence, most mighty, and in justice terrible, by the advice of his said dear uncle the lord Protector and the rest of his majesty’s privy council” (138). The many thousands of rebels encamped outside Norfolk were contemptuous. Fearing that their eloquently penned petition to stop illegal land enclosures would be ignored if they dispersed, the poor commons dug in deeper, raiding military installations to prepare for combat against the royal army. For all of its careful stylization of regal potency, royal language could be dissolved by the frustration, anger, and moral alienation of ordinary English women and men.

Royal Voices does a great job of investigating, researching, and explaining its chosen subject. It makes an impressive contribution to linguistic history. It does not, alas, make a hoped-for analytic leap from linguistics to social history, where ordinary people, subject to laws and regulations they had no hand in making, resisted an elite class whose high self-regard bordered on king-size narcissism.

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doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.61

Inca Apocalypse: The Spanish Conquest and the Transformation of the Andean World. R. Alan Covey.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. xx + 572 pp. \$34.95.

Inca Apocalypse is an expansive, gracefully written narrative history of the Spanish invasion of Peru—a conquest that combined brutal violence with negotiation, grafting Indigenous Andean institutions onto a Mediterranean, Catholic monarchy. Beginning with parallel histories of Castile and the Inca kingdom (called Tawantinsuyu) in the century before 1530, it follows the Spanish incursion into the Andes, the Incas’ rapid and catastrophic collapse, and the slow, tortuous process of constructing a colonial state. There has been no rigorous, scholarly synthesis of this history since John Hemming’s classic *Conquest of the Incas*, published fifty years ago. In the intervening decades, the idea of the Spanish conquest as an organizing framework went out of fashion, then returned in the form of the New Conquest History. This body of work, mainly focused on Mesoamerica, has debunked old myths and revealed the great diversity of Indigenous as well as European perspectives on the conquest. One of its insights is that Indigenous people did not always see the Spanish invasion, and the replacement of Aztec, Maya, or Inca rulers with Spanish ones, as a hinge moment of history.

Covey takes a different tack. He shows that many people, both Spanish and Andean, did in fact perceive the Spanish conquest as a world-historical hinge, if not immediately,