

***Charles V and the Fury at the Prado Museum:
The Power of the King's Body as Image
Carlos V y la Furia en el Museo del Prado:
El poder del cuerpo del rey como imagen***

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Abstract: This is the text of the presentation “Charles V and the Fury at the Prado Museum: The Power of the King’s Body as Image” at the International Conference “El poder de la imagen en el Museo del Prado” (Madrid, December 12th-13th, 2017). By analysing the bronze sculpture *Charles V and the Fury* (Leone and Pompeo Leoni, 1549-1564. Prado Museum, Madrid), this paper aims to underline the necessity to study royal images in their context (with particular attention to their visibility) to understand better their social use and function. This type of methodological approach can be without any doubt very useful for the historiography in the overall analysis of the leader’s portrait and can stimulate new researches for the future and reformulate some of the traditional conceptions on this topic.

Key words: Representation of power, Royal portrait, Royal body, Charles V of Habsburg, Leone Leoni, Pompeo Leoni.

Resumen: Este es el texto de la ponencia " Charles V and the Fury at the Prado Museum: The Power of the King's Body as Image ", presentada en el Congreso Internacional "El poder de la imagen en el Museo del Prado" (Madrid, 12 al 13 de diciembre de 2017). Al analizar la escultura de bronce *Carlos V y la Furia* (Leone y Pompeo Leoni, 1549-1564, Museo del Prado, Madrid), este trabajo pretende subrayar la necesidad de estudiar las imágenes reales en su contexto (con especial atención a su visibilidad) para comprender mejor su uso y función social. Este tipo de enfoque metodológico puede ser sin lugar a dudas muy útil para la historiografía en el análisis general del retrato del líder y puede estimular nuevas investigaciones para el futuro y reformular algunas de las concepciones tradicionales sobre este tema.

Palabras Clave: Representación del poder, retrato real, cuerpo del rey, Carlos V de Habsburgo, Leone Leoni, Pompeo Leoni.

Sumario: 1. The leader’s power. 2. The leader’s body and its representation. 3. The sculpture *Charles V and the Fury*: iconographic analysis. 4. The new approaches in the exegesis of royal portraits. 5. The sculpture *Charles V and the Fury*: contextual analysis. 6. Conclusions. Bibliography.

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1. The leader’s power

In an article from 1990, Enrico Pozzi saw the leadership of the American religious prophet Jim Jones, responsible for a mass suicide in Jonestown (Guyana) in 1978, as following the model of leader drawn up by Wilfred Bion¹. In a text that appeared for the first time in 1952, Bion overturned the traditional Weberian and Freudian

¹ POZZI 1990.

conception according to which the leader has a strong and authoritative will and was somehow akin to a crowd hypnotizer², by claiming that he was simply the embodiment of the leader requested by the group³. In other words, while Freud's holder of power constituted and made the group possible, Bion's leader was constituted by the group and his charisma was simply a reflection of it. In this way, we went from a functionalist and structuralist conception of power, which saw it as a property and prerogative of the dominating subject (whether it be a person or a group) originating outside society and exercised with the use of force over society in a relationship of command/obedience, to a pluralist conception of the same: power immanent to society; communitarian power reinterpreted as an acting-in-common and social being-together responding to society's goals and exercised through a reticular organization which individuals move in while being subject to and at the same time exercising power (it is never the property of an individual but of a group and the leader is given power by that group).

Therefore, it is described as open, that is, open to the play between social actors (it is a relationship and not an attribute of the actors and it appears and becomes binding within a social relationship). Above all, it cannot be exclusively enclosed in the state sphere and is stripped of coercion. In other words, power is something that can be negotiated; it is collective action implicating bargaining; it is the formation of a common will through linguistic communication aimed at achieving an agreement and not the instrumentalization of other people's will; it is a relationship of mutual, obviously not balanced, exchange, in which some obtain more than others, but in which no one is completely defenceless⁴. In short, the sociological model of the leader-group relationship was coming to be defined in the way that Norbert Elias, in 1969, outlined the social relations within the court of Louis XIV of France: namely, as a network of interdependence in which everyone was bound to each other, so much so that, as Elias remarked, even the Sun King himself was a prisoner of his mechanism in which he did not just dominate, but was also dominated⁵.

2. The leader's body and its representation

By crossing the historiographical research by Ernst Kantorowicz⁶ with Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical hypotheses⁷, relatively recently sociology interpreted the sovereign or ruling body as a social construct⁸. According to the definition given by Enrico Pozzi, the leader's body constitutes a single, active sum of the representation of the political bond and the consent to this bond within the previously cited relationship between leader and group which establishes society, and, somehow, it comes to firmly reduce the social complexity of that relationship⁹. In other words, the

² WEBER 1961. FREUD 2013.

³ BION 1971.

⁴ BENIGNO 2013: 141-162. NYE 2010: 3-31 and 63-72. HASLAM, REICHER & PLATOW 2013: 37-96.

⁵ ELIAS 1980.

⁶ KANTOROWICZ 2012.

⁷ FREUD 2013.

⁸ POZZI 1994.

⁹ POZZI 1991. But in this connection see also POZZI 2012.

leader's body embodies and, at the same time, symbolizes all those aspects, functions and dynamics – which may totally conflict with each other – characterizing the power relations (and the leadership itself) of a particular society. By so doing, it comes to play a fundamental stabilizing role within the complex political and social balance characteristic of the relationship between the group and its leader. Insofar as it is a genuine symbol of the social bond that somehow makes the formation of a group possible and real, it is easy to understand how for every holder of power it is an element of absolute importance to manage the visibility of his body in society, namely its public manifestation¹⁰. While sometimes this can be expressed in direct form (through the prince's actual participation in public ceremonies and rituals), at others, to protect the *majestas*, it can also be displayed in an indirect manner: that is, through a whole series of symbolic, allegorical and fictitious representations of the ruler which, by acting as his alias, making him visible even though his presence is in actual fact denied, paradoxically make him visible in his in-visibility¹¹. The royal portrait¹² fully fits into these representations since, from the historical, historical-artistic, anthropological and semiotic viewpoint, it is a presentation device in the stead and place of the monarch (a substitute) able to mark out the space, legitimize the power and mediate between sovereign and subjects in order to consolidate the union of the crown¹³. In this connection, it is noted that, following the lesson of semiotics by Charles Sanders Peirce, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak placed thought and reality in a relationship of dialogic exchange by claiming that it is possible to represent mental realities. This is why the understanding and communicative impact of the image of a seal, for example, is seen by the recipient as the real presence of the person portrayed, an animated image of him¹⁴. In the wake of the fundamental research by Louis Marin, it can even be said that the king is only fully king in his portraits; they are power itself¹⁵.

3. The sculpture *Charles V and the Fury*: iconographic analysis

In the wake of the considerations of Walter Benjamin¹⁶, Paolo Cammarosano has noted that in an era when artworks could not be reproduced, the images could have had more importance owing to their very existence rather than their visibility. Namely, they had an ontological importance and a high symbolic value which prevailed over the vastness of the exhibition place hosting them¹⁷. Therefore, not just monumental images located in places with a great visual impact can be found to possess a public

¹⁰ From a historiographical point of view, see BERTELLI 1990. BERTELLI & GROTTANELLI 1990. CANTARELLA 1997. VISCEGLIA 2009: 103-157. BOUSMAR, COOLS, DUMONT & MARCHANDISSE 2014.

¹¹ BERTOLINI, CALZONA, CANTARELLA & CAROTI 2015. Instead, for a recent example of research specifically on this subject, see BARRETO 2013.

¹² On portrait during the Middle Ages see CLAUSSEN 1999. PERKINSON 2009. OLARIU 2013. TRAVAINI 2013.

¹³ PINELLI, SABATIER, STOLLBERG-RILINGER, TAUBER & BODART 2012.

¹⁴ BEDOS-REZAK 2011.

¹⁵ MARIN 1981; 1993; 2005; and, on these aspects, see CARERI 2008.

¹⁶ BENJAMIN 1966.

¹⁷ CAMMAROSANO 1991.

nature in the broad sense of the term¹⁸. On the contrary, a public function can also be present in small portraits or portraits destined for limited viewing or even no visibility at all (they may be not aimed at a large audience, but have a place in the liturgy, or be addressed to God¹⁹). In practice, these images can also somehow assume a value of official representation (something that makes them primary sources for the analysis of medieval imagery and their political ideologies²⁰). A classic example of this is seals, whose value, following the work of Michel Pastoureau, is thought not just to be legal but also highly symbolic²¹, and coins too. But such a function can even be attributed to illuminations too (whether in the secular or religious sphere) and to those images, found in solely ecclesiastic places, aimed at a celestial audience (such as burial portraits, votive or devotional effigies, depictions of the benefactor or founder) where the desire to save a soul could often co-exist with the portrayed person's will to celebrate his social role²².



Fig. 1. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and the Fury*, 1549-1564, bronze. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <http://es.feelmadrid.com/foto059.html>).

¹⁸ On the importance of location see, for example, BACCI 2002. And, on the uses of a medieval church and its decoration, see for example BACCI 2005. Furthermore, note that illuminated codices could accompany the king in his journeys and could also be shown to guests and members of the court: BARBERO 1994. SERRA DESFILIS 2002-2003.

¹⁹ KELLER 1985.

²⁰ VAGNONI 2012.

²¹ PASTOUREAU 1985; 1986.

²² CLAUSSEN, 1999. BACCI 2002.

In this sense, it could be evident the political and propagandistic function of a monumental artwork as the bronze sculpture *Charles V and the Fury* displayed at the Prado Museum in Madrid (fig. 1). Indeed, it has very wide dimension: 251cm in height; 143 cm in width; and 130 cm in depth. This work was commissioned at Leone Leoni by Charles V himself in March 1549 together with other sculptures in bronze and marble. The bronze figural group depict the idealised figure of the Emperor on a raised plinth, towering triumphantly over the defeated and chained Fury at his feet. The scene is identified by the inscription at the base of the work: CAESARIS VIRTUTE DOMITVS FVROR.



Fig. 2. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and the Fury*, detail of the nude figure of the defeated Fury, Prado Museum, Madrid.

Photo: <https://pbs.twimg.com/media/Bg7iCmnCMAALYJ6.jpg>

Fig. 3. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni., *Charles V and the Fury*, detail of the nude figure of the defeated Fury. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <http://domuspucelae.blogspot.ch/2012/06/visita-virtual-carlos-v-y-el-furor-una.html>

From an iconographical point of view, the emperor holds a spear in his right hand and a type of short antique sword in his left. He dresses a contemporary Renaissance armor that is decorated *all'antica* with lion-headed pauldrons, and boots like those worn by ancient Roman emperors. Moreover, other ancient iconographic elements are present in the artwork. For example, one of the Emperor's foot is on a lion-headed helmet; his right shoulder plate bears a relief of Mars, below which is a small figure of a triton in high relief. The Golden Fleece hanging at the center of his chest, instead, symbolizes the contemporary order of Christian knights of which Charles was the hereditary sovereign master. The nude figure of the defeated Fury (fig. 2 and fig. 3) is chained below the victor. He is crying out in anguish. Both figures surmount a pile of military accessories (fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and the Fury*, detail of the pile of military accessories. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <http://es.feelmadrid.com/foto059.html>

Textually, the figure of Fury was inspired by Virgil's *Aeneid* in which Jupiter describes the end of war, marked by the closing of the gate of the Temple of War, with unholy Furor enchained inside. In this sense, in Leoni's image, Charles become a new Augustus, heralding the Emperor for bringing peace to Christendom. However, letters from Leoni to Charles's advisor, the bishop of Arras Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, reveal that the work was originally intended to be a sole nude portrait of the Emperor (fig. 5 and fig. 6), and that Leoni independently came up with the idea to add both the figure of Fury (in December 1550) and the removable armor (in June 1551). Indeed, the armor can be removed by leaving nude the Emperor (fig. 7). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that this sculpture could refer to a real and specific Charles's triumph on the battlefield: that of Mühlberg on April 24th, 1547, a victory that represented for Charles the defeat of the Protestant faith by Catholicism.

About the meaning of the sculpture, we can say that the work combined the power, prestige and legitimacy of mythography of ancient Roman and Greek with Christian religious and contemporary Renaissance symbolism in order to create a celebration of imperial power in the early modern world. In particular, it has been underlined the Leoni's intention to celebrate and idealize, through stylistic and iconographic details, Charles V as an ancient Roman emperor and an embodied of the abstract concept of *virtus* and military prowess. However, it is important to note that the sculpture does not celebrate a dominator or war victor but a stoic emperor, self-contained, virtuous and winner of himself. Moreover, at the same time, the sculpture also exalts Charles as *defensor ecclesiae* and *miles christianus* who is guided by Christian virtue and morality²³.

²³ On the sculpture *Charles V and the Fury* and its commission, authors, iconography and ideological meaning see (with previous bibliography) URREA FERNÁNDEZ 1994: 102-109 (information sheet n. 1: LEONE Y POMPEO LEONI, *Carlos V y el Furor*). COPPEL ARZÉIZAGA 1998: 66-72 (information sheet n. 10: *Carlos V y El Furor*). CHECA CREMADES 1999: 281-291. COPPEL ARZÉIZAGA 2006a; 2006b; 2006c. FALOMIR FAUS 2008: 384-387 (information sheet on *Carlos V y El Furor*). BODART 2011: 408-420. DI DIO 2011: 15-19 and 73-79. CUPPERI, 2012. DI DIO 2012. LISTON 2012. ARCINIEGA GARCÍA 2013.



Fig. 5. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and the Fury*, detail of the nude portrait of the Emperor, bronze sculpture, 1549-1564. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/76509819@N04/28956412941/>

Fig. 6. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and the Fury*, detail of the nude portrait of the Emperor. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <https://www.pinterest.ch/pin/5559199512037285/>

4. The new approaches in the exegesis of royal portraits

Over the past decades, the exegesis of iconographic sources has become very much refined. In particular, historiography has stressed, for example, the benefits of analysing medieval images and their figurative contents within their context, while taking specific account of commissioners, addressees, collocation (and therefore visibility) and above all social function²⁴. The study of the function of royal portraits within medieval society has been very much fostered within this historiographic context and in some cases perspectives have also been overturned. For example, early medieval royal portraits are now considered to possess much less propagandistic capacity²⁵ and it has been noted that, since they were not commissioned directly by the king and in some cases not even by members of his court, a large part of them cannot naively be considered royal self-representation as Percy Ernst Schramm did²⁶

²⁴ BASCHET 1996. BASCHET – SCHMITT 1996. SCHMITT 2002. CASTELNUOVO – SERGI 2004. MELIS 2007.

²⁵ BULLOUGH 1991.

²⁶ SCHRAMM 1928; 1983; 1966. On Percy Ernst Schramm's researches see BAK 1973. THIMME 2006.

(if anything, in a given cultural environment, they can present the visual dialogue on royal authority among different authors, and their messages thus represented the different opinions on this issue²⁷).



Fig. 7. Leone Leoni & Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and the Fury*, detail of the portrait of the Emperor without armor. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: <https://paginaswebesenmadrid.es/estatuas-de-reyes-en-madrid-carlos-v-y-el-furor>

In the specific case of the Ottonian and Franconian illuminations, owing to their place in religious texts written by clerics and monks in non-royal spheres, it has been proposed that their function was not political, or to legitimize power (*Herrscherbilder*), but liturgical and religious (*Memorialbilder*), leading to a complete rethink of the meaning of some of their iconographic themes too (e.g. the divine coronation of the king would not symbolically allude to his earthly power but to the wholly devotional hope of receiving the crown of eternal life in the afterlife)²⁸.

For this reason, it is suspected that the importance that historiography has attributed to the iconographic portrayal of medieval monarchs for political and propagandistic ends perhaps needs to be reassessed to some extent. If, as we have already pointed out, historians (art historians less so) have moved in this direction in recent years, creating an animated debate above all in Germany, more generally we have to consider that Julius von Schlosser had already noted that the medieval mentality saw something

²⁷ GARIPZANOV 2004.

²⁸ WOLLASCH 1984. KÖRNTGEN 2001; 2005. And along this line of interpretation see also WAGNER 2010. GÖRICH 2014. FIGURSKI 2016.

idolatrous in public portraits, preferring to limit their use²⁹. In this connection, one can remember the accusation of idolatry against Boniface VIII for having placed silver statues in his image inside churches and outside them, and particularly above the city gates, where formerly it had been the custom to place ancient idols, marble simulacra of himself. In other words, the accusations explained, he had used his portrait for magical, rather than religious, purposes of self-celebration³⁰. Again, note how in 1999 Peter Cornelius Claussen acknowledged that even though it might be thought official medieval portraits were widely diffused, in reality they simply accounted for some particular cases, as the contemporary authors themselves had already noted³¹.



Fig. 8. Current facade. Church of St. Mary of the Admiral, Palermo.
Photo: BURGARELLA - CILENTO 2005: 203

Recent researches on Medieval kingdom of Sicily during the 12th and 13th centuries have pointed out that, for example, the mosaic representing Roger II crowned by Christ inside the Church of St. Mary of the Admiral in Palermo (fig. 8 and fig. 9) is an image commissioned not by the king but by his prime minister George of Antioch and, moreover, it is collocated inside the latter's family church (so in private context).

²⁹ VON SCHLOSSER 1989: 56.

³⁰ CASTELNUOVO 1973: 1033. On the phenomenon of idolatry associated with the image of secular power see CAMILLE 1989: 291-292.

³¹ CLAUSSEN 1999: 41.



Fig. 9 *Christ crowning Roger II*, mosaic, around 1143-1149. Church of St. Mary of the Admiral, Palermo. Photo: CANTARELLA - CILENTO - VANOLI 2008: 254

Fig. 10 Facade. Cathedral of St. Mary the New. Monreale.

Photo: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duomo_di_Monreale

While on one hand commissioned directly by the king, on the other hand the two mosaic panels depicting William II in the cathedral of Monreale (fig. 10, fig. 11 and fig. 12) are placed in such a manner as only to be visible to the clerics alone (fig. 13) as they administer the religious functions (clerics who, in Monreale, were perfectly aligned with the political choices of the Norman court)³².

While with Frederick II of Swabia some interesting innovations can be seen in this sense, it must be underlined how, in reality, there are few official images of this sovereign and that the most famous example (the sculpture on the Capua Gate, fig. 14 and fig. 15) is an exception for the time, and was worthy of particular attention by his contemporaries³³. Moreover, note that often these images (even though they had a strong visual impact) came about in contexts of alliances and political pacification, which means it is not very plausible that they were used with propagandistic (and, perhaps, political) intents.

Therefore, the impression is that the official royal images were not made for widespread visibility. In most cases, they are small, not very visible and placed in not very accessible places (on seals, coins, manuscripts, in churches). The sensation is that a large part of them were aimed more towards a celestial rather than earthly beholder and nevertheless were not made to be seen by all subjects indiscriminately. In other words, by following these new researches, medieval royal image seems to possess

³² VAGNONI 2017.

³³ VAGNONI 2015.

much less political and propagandistic capacity and that its main function was not political-propagandistic or as a governance tools. In effect, the lack of visibility and type of collocation make one think that they served more devotional/religious ends, or as mementoes/memories, or as simple personal celebrations of the sovereign.

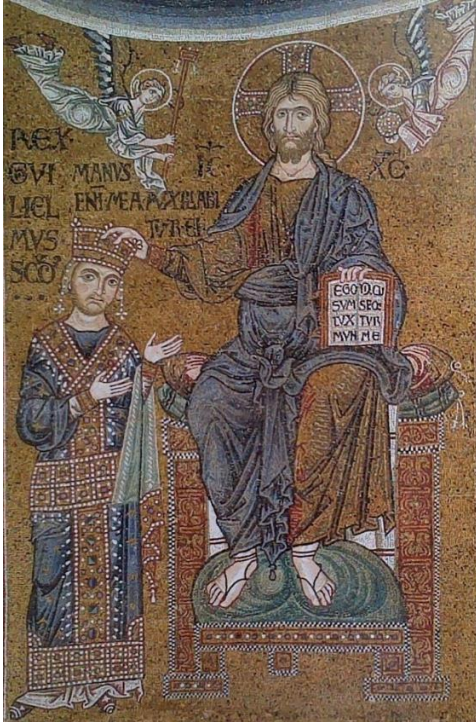


Fig. 11. *Christ crowning William II*, mosaic, around 1177-1183. Presbytery, Cathedral of St. Mary the New, Monreale. Photo: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guglielmo_II_di_Sicilia

Fig. 12. *William II offering the Church to the Virgin*, mosaic, around 1177-1183. Presbytery, Cathedral of St. Mary the New, Monreale. Photo: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duomo_di_Monreale

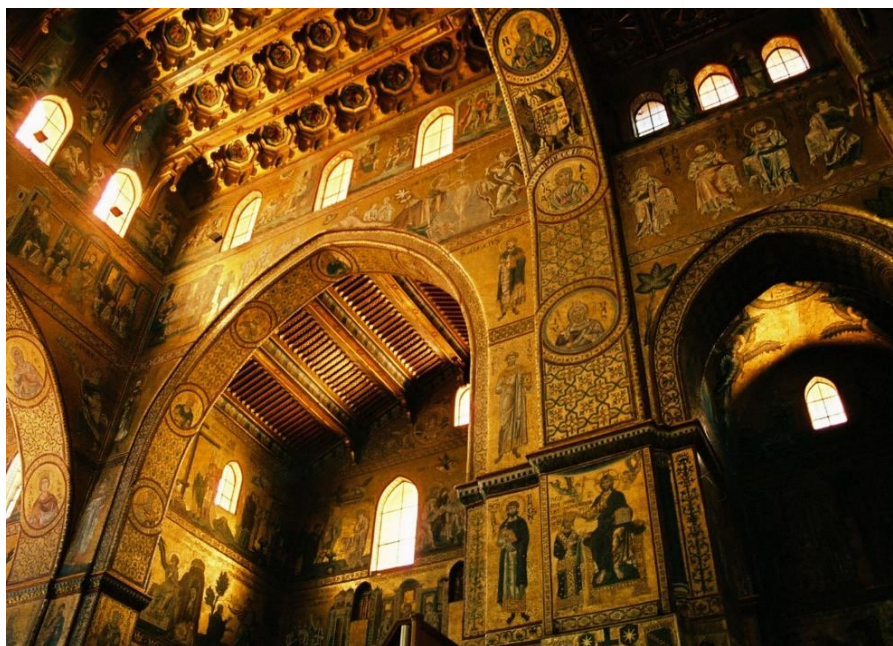


Fig. 13. *View of the eastern arch of the presbytery*. Presbytery, Cathedral of St. Mary the New, Monreale. Photo: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duomo_di_Monreale



Fig. 14. Andrea Mariano, *Graphic reconstruction of the Capua Gate*, drawing, 1928. Provincial Museum of Campania, Capua. Photo: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1473719>

Fig. 15. *Frederick II of Swabia*, sculpture, around 1234-1247, from Capua Gate (now destroyed). Provincial Museum of Campania, Capua. Photo: <http://www.portacapua.altervista.org/links.html>

5. The sculpture *Charles V and the Fury*: contextual analysis

By following the previously explained approaches, in order to ascertain the function of *Charles V and the Fury*, it will be necessary to verify where it was generally collocated, who it was aimed at, and the reasons for which it was made. In other words, it is a matter of analysing who could really have come into contact with it (widespread use by the people, or cultured and elitist use or, perhaps, by no one). In this context, it is also very useful to rebuild the historical/political (and ideological) context in which the image was produced while trying to understand what relations existed between the sovereign and specific beholders. In this connection, it is also interesting to check if this sculpture was present in those points and places where the king's authority was not recognized or even opposed (and where, therefore, propagandistic and legitimizing action became more necessary) or, vice versa, in those contexts where he had greater power (in which propagandistic action would prove to be superfluous)³⁴.

In this regard, it is shockingly that, while a dramatic visual construction of the imperial identity and multiple viewpoints can clearly demonstrate a broad exposure,

³⁴ On the following information on the use and visibility of the sculpture *Charles V and the Fury* see again URREA FERNÁNDEZ 1994: 102-109 (information sheet n. 1: LEONE Y POMPEO LEONI, *Carlos V y el Furor*). COPPEL ARZÉIZAGA 1998: 66-72 (information sheet n. 10: *Carlos V y El Furor*). CHECA CREMADES 1999: 281-291. COPPEL ARZÉIZAGA 2006a; 2006b; 2006c. FALOMIR FAUS 2008: 384-387 (information sheet on *Carlos V y El Furor*). BODART 2011: 408-420. DI DIO 2011: 15-19 and 73-79. CUPPERI, 2012. DI DIO 2012. LISTON 2012. ARCINIEGA GARCÍA 2013.

Charles V and the Fury was not seen by the public for centuries. Indeed, the statue, not yet finished, was sent from Leoni's studio in Milan to the royal court in Flanders in 1556, when, actually, the royal family moved to Spain. Thus, Pompeo Leoni (Leone Leoni's son) had to accompany the sculpture and settle down in Madrid. Here, the sculptor completed his work only in 1564 (as an inscription on the base of the statue indicate): namely, it was finished only six years after the death of the Emperor. After this, it remained in Pompeo's studio until after his death in 1608. At which time, the statue was moved into the basement of the royal palace, where it remained in storage until it was placed in the garden of San Pablo at the palace of the Buen Retiro, sometime before 1633.

Nonetheless, even before the sculpture was put on display in the royal collections, it had a sort of visibility. For example, it is documented an exhibition of this statue in Milan in 1554 to celebrate the wedding between prince Philip (Charles V's son) and Mary I Tudor (queen of England) in Winchester. Moreover, the statue had an immediate and long-lasting influence on monuments in and outside of Spain made to honor the men who held important roles in the Habsburg regime: it means that in some way it was possible for someone to see it. However, note that this visibility was temporary and limited in time and, certainly, it was not the main purpose for its commissioning by Charles V.

Recently, Gérard Sabatier has reconsidered the propagandistic function of royal images. He has asserted that even if they have a broad visibility, they are not medias but seals. In other words, they have a propagandistic purpose only when they try to convince a reluctant opinion³⁵. From this point of view, *Charles V and the Fury* would have been functional to the contemporary historical situation. Indeed, it has been proposed to relate this sculpture (together with the others committed by Charles V and regarding himself, his wife and his son Philip) to the political negotiations between the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand on Philip's succession on the imperial throne in 1549. In this way, it is possible that these statues, connected with the iconography of the ancient Rome emperors, were commissioned to celebrate the successful accomplishment of the imperial succession. The failure of this political agreement (Philip did not become emperor) would have caused the no-use of these artworks in the immediate and the subsequent lack of interest on it. However, even if this interpretation would be correct, there are not enough information to attribute to this sculpture a clear and specific political and propagandistic function.

Moreover, Diane Bodart has underlined that Charles V and his heirs were reticent to the public use of monumental sculptures by leaving these out of the public spaces. If sculptures in the typology of *Charles V and the Fury* were used in Italy during the Habsburg period to celebrate holders of power in city squares or public palaces, their use in Spain was completely different. Here, these artworks were turned in ornaments for royal residences for very privileged and limited viewers: courtiers and aristocracies. For this reason, it is probable that this statue had been designed to remain relegated to a palace, where the guests would have been invited by the emperor himself. In this way, it should have had a private, rather than public, visibility

³⁵ PINELLI – SABATIER – STOLLBERG-RILINGER – TAUBER – BODART 2012: 23.

(for the emperor's personal audience of invited guests, diplomats, family members and courtiers) and maybe a more decorative than political function.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, the analysis of the power of the king's body as image in the sculpture *Charles V and the Fury* at the Prado Museum demonstrates the necessity to study royal representations in their context to understand better their social use and function. Indeed, in spite of the monumental dimensions and the idealised iconography of this statue, the preliminary and rapid analysis of its collocation and visibility raises some questions on the propagandistic and political function of this artwork: is it possible to speak of the sculpture *Charles V and the Fury* as a surrogate of the king's body able to mediate his presence in society? Can it be considered a royal political tool within a more general communicative strategy of the *mise-en-scène* of the king's body? Can it be more appropriate to talk about a just affective, memorial or decorative function for this image? It is crucial to investigate with even more attention the whole context where this statue was made in order to answer these questions and better understand function and meaning of *Charles V and the Fury*. Besides, more in general, this type of methodological approach can be without any doubt very useful for the historiography also in the overall analysis of the leader's portrait and can stimulate new researches for the future and reformulate some of the traditional conceptions on this topic³⁶.

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³⁶ In this regard, it is not worthless to note that at the University of Fribourg it has been activated a new research project about this specific topic: 'Royal Epiphanies. The King's Body as Image and Its *Mise-en-scène* in the Medieval Mediterranean (12th-14th centuries)'. It is possible to find more information about this Project at the official web-page of the Department of Art History and Archaeology of the University of Fribourg (<https://lettres.unifr.ch/fr/hist/histoire-de-lart-et-archeologie/recherche.html>) and at the Facebook-Page of the Project (<https://www.facebook.com/RoyalEpiphaniesProject/>). Hopefully, in the near future, it will provide stimulating outcomes in the analysis of royal image and its social function and it will open new perspectives and possibilities of reflection on it.

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