

DIETRICH BOSCHUNG

**KAIROS AS A  
FIGURATION OF TIME**

*A Case Study*

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LECTURES COLOGNE**



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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GÜNTER BLAMBERGER  
UND DIETRICH BOSCHUNG





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**KAIROS**  
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**A CASE STUDY**

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WILHELM FINK

GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium  
für Bildung  
und Forschung

unter dem Förderkennzeichen 01UK0905. Die Verantwortung für den Inhalt der Veröffentlichung liegt bei den Autoren.

Bibliografische Informationen der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte Daten sind im Internet über [www.dnb.d-nb.de](http://www.dnb.d-nb.de) abrufbar.

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© 2013 Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München  
Wilhelm Fink GmbH & Co. Verlags-KG, Jühenplatz 1, D-33098 Paderborn  
Internet: [www.fink.de](http://www.fink.de)

Übersetzung: Janine Fries-Knoblach  
Umschlaggestaltung und Entwurf Innenseiten: Kathrin Roussel  
Satz: Boris A. N. Burandt  
Printed in Germany  
Herstellung: Ferdinand Schöningh GmbH & Co. KG, Paderborn

ISBN 978-3-7705-5614-4

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This contribution owes its present form to intensive discussions with the fellows and staff members of Internationales Kolleg Morphomata, particularly with Günter Blamberger, Jan Bremmer, Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Ludwig Jäger, Andreas Kablitz, Maria Moog-Grünewald, Ryōsuke Ōhashi, Alan Shapiro, Thierry Greub, Tanja Klemm, and Jörn Lang. For additional hints I am grateful to Winfried Geominy, Henner von Hesberg, and Christiane Vorster.- The article Mattiacci 2011 mainly dealing with the literary sources and, in doing so, touching upon many aspects of my own contribution, only became accessible to me after the completion of this manuscript.





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“Δεινὸς δὲ ἦν ἄρα οὐ χεῖρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὁ  
Λύσιππος. ...ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Καιρόν, καὶ μορφώσας  
ἀγάλματι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς εἰκόνας ἐξηγήσατο.”

Himerius, Oratio 13,1



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PRELIMINARY REMARK

“Lysippos, you know, was clever of mind as well as of hand... He enrolled Opportunity (τὸν Καῖρόν) among the gods, then made a statue of him and explained his nature by how he represented him.”<sup>1</sup> It was with these words, followed by a description of the statue, that the Greek rhetor Himerius of the late 4th century A. D. characterised the accomplishments of the sculptor Lysippos of Sicyon, who had lived some 700 years earlier. In doing so, Lysippos created a prominent example of the ability of the artist to endow abstract concepts (knowledge, ideas) with a concrete form that can be apprehended by the senses and thus assure them a permanent presence. It is from such observations that the research focus of the Center for Advanced Studies Morphomata is derived. We are interested in how forms of knowledge – in this case, a concept of time – can be embodied in a concrete form that one can perceive with the senses, in a variety of media in different time periods and in different cultures. In addition, Morphomata investigates what happens after such concrete forms have been created: what powers accrue to them and how they in turn impact the ideas that they represent. What is being investigated here is therefore the changes imposed on ideas and concepts by the process of embodying them in a specific form, that is, how the representation in a particular medium or material can result in a variety of transformations under different circumstances. Of equal importance is the impact of the form once it can be perceived by the senses and can thus permanently fix the knowledge or concept. In some cases, significant forms are subject to reinterpretation or entirely new interpretation. They can be interpreted,

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1 Himerius, Oratio 13,1. Translation: Penella 2007, 76.

for example, in literary appropriations, in a way that, though not intended at the time of their creation, nevertheless becomes particularly influential. Sometimes artifacts outlast the period that produced them and get inserted into later contexts within a different cultural framework.

The approach I have just sketched out may be clarified by the newly coined term “morphome”. The underlying Greek word *μόρφωμα* (plural *μορφώματα*), also alluded to by Himerius, means a recurrent and potent form created by the process of taking and giving shape. As is the case with any neologism, the question arises, what benefit does it provide as a heuristic tool and how can its use be justified? A decisive advantage is that “morphome”, unlike the related term “figuration”, has not been used before in cultural studies and thus has not already been defined in various fields or contexts. This provides an opportunity to start with specific texts and objects, to sharpen the meaning of this designation through the analysis of exemplary phenomena, and thus to give it a greater theoretical precision. Another advantage lies in the fact that the term morphome is open and adaptable to all fields of the humanities. Therefore, it will allow for the discovery of a shared level of understanding by starting from closely focused case studies of individual subjects.

At the same time, it is obvious that the concept of a morphome does indeed share similarities with existing theories of cultural studies, for example, with Ernst Cassirer’s concept of “symbolic forms” or with “material culture studies” as developed mainly in anthropology. In such cases, our aim is neither to replace these existing terms nor to demarcate the term morphome sharply from them. The differences are expressed in the very nature of the questions we ask of the concept morphome.

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 ON THE PREHISTORY AND GENESIS OF THE MORPHOME

In the following, the Kairos of Lysippos will be analysed as a morphome of an antique concept of time. The different meanings of the Greek word *καιρός* have been investigated in detail by Monique Trédé<sup>2</sup>, who discovered an increasing restriction to the determination of the opportune moment in the late 4th century B. C. The following remarks concentrate on some aspects of importance for the overall context.

The idea of the moment which man can exploit to his advantage and which otherwise will be lost forever, is first found in the Doloneia of the Iliad, where the wise Nestor speaks to Diomedes:

“But in good sooth great need hath overmastered the  
Achaean, for now to all it standeth on a razor’s edge,  
either woeful ruin for the Achaeans, or to live.”<sup>3</sup>

By the phrase *ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆ*, a precarious situation is described that remains undecidedly balanced for a short instant, but may become irreversibly decided the next moment by – to maintain the metaphor – falling off the knife’s edge to one side or the other. It is questionable, how the verse came into being. It forms part of the Story of Dolon which is hardly younger than the Iliad, but is likely to have been inserted into the epic belatedly.<sup>4</sup> The writer of the Story of Dolon might have encountered it as a pre-existing proverbial phrase, but since this linguistic image does not appear elsewhere in the Homeric epics, it might also have been newly created for this context. In any case, later

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2 Trédé 1992.- On etymology p. 16.

3 Homer, Iliad X 172-174; translation by A. T. Murray.

4 On this see Danek 1988, particularly 230-237.- Hainsworth 1993, particularly 151-155.

authors adopted and modified the metaphor<sup>5</sup>, today it can also be found in modern national languages – imparted by antique, Byzantine, and Early Modern compendia of proverbs. Homer knew no special term for such a culmination, and the word *καιρός* is not used in the *Iliad*. What exists, however, are the terms *καίριος* and *το καιρίον* referring to the position of a lethal injury, i. e. a particularly well hit – in the sense of the attacker – point of the body of an opponent.<sup>6</sup> It is in this sense that the expression is used later, too, e. g. in medical literature.<sup>7</sup> The word *καιρός* is first attested in the early 7th century B. C. in Hesiod’s “Works and days”<sup>8</sup>, where it does not refer to time, but where warning is given against overcharging ships and carts: “μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι καιρός δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος”; “be moderate; Kairos is best in everything”. Here, Kairos means the appropriate, the convenient. To Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages of Antiquity, the following apophthegm is ascribed: “καιρὸν γνῶθι”, “know the appropriate measure” (if used with the same meaning as by Hesiod) or “know the opportune moment”. Because of its Latin translation into the proverbial “tempus nosce”, which takes up the aspect of time, the motto remained influential until Early Modern Times.<sup>9</sup>

As a designation for the moment, in which a situation irreversibly turns to the better or worse, the word has regularly been used since the 5th century B. C. Thereby, “Kairos” can mean the danger, but most notably the opportunity of the moment.<sup>10</sup> In

5 Some examples in the context of Kairos have been assembled by Bendorff 1863, 85; Simonides (ascribed; Page 1981, 204-206 no. XII), where the image refers to the Battle of Salamis; Herodotus VI 11 (before the Battle of Lade); Theognis 557; Sophocles, *Antigone* 996; Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 630; Theocritus 22,6. The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* contains some 125 additional evidences.

6 Trédé 1992, 25-26 on *Iliad* IV 185; VIII 84 and 326; XI 439.

7 Trédé 1992, 31-40.

8 Hesiod, *Erga* 694.

9 Apophthegm of Pittacus: Diogenes Laertius I 79.- On the genre Althoff – Zeller 2006; cf. Hammerstaedt 2011 including notes 105-109.- The Latin version e. g. in Erasmus of Rotterdam’s *Adagia*: Rüdiger 1966, 131.

10 Trédé 1992, 47.

the aphorisms of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*<sup>11</sup> the term is found in a famous phrase: “ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρῆ, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς”: “Life is short, science is great, but Kairos is ὀξύς” (which can signify sharp, cutting, pointed, acid or painful). The adjective is reminiscent of the linguistic image in Homer (“ξυροῦ ἀκμῆ”), and it is found several times in connection to Kairos: “ὀξύτερα ... τοῦ καιροῦ”. “What is sharper, quicker, and tougher than Kairos, we call presumptuous and insane”, Plato said.<sup>12</sup> Pindar repeatedly used the term “καιρός” in his victory odes; he wrote: “Kairos has a short measure for man”: “καιρὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει”;<sup>13</sup> or: “In everything Kairos will bear the palm.”: “ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν”.<sup>14</sup> In Thucydides mention is made of Kairos, the opportune moment, coming and being made use of, or Kairos passing unused: “καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε”,<sup>15</sup> “when the right moment had come”; “μηδὲ διαμέλλειν καιρὸν παριέντας”,<sup>16</sup> “he exhorted them not to hesitate and thus to miss Kairos”. Similar ideas are articulated by Lysias when talking of the preparation of a conspiracy: “νομίζοντες κάλλιστον καιρὸν εἰληφέναι”,<sup>17</sup> “they believed to have seized the best opportunity”. In a text fragment of the sculptor Polykleitos, quoted by Plutarch, the role of Kairos for the success of an art work is described: “In every work of art, the beautiful is accomplished by many measurements coming into Kairos (“εἰς ἕνα καιρὸν”) by a certain symmetry and harmony; the ugly emerges, however, when a single accidental element is lacking or added”.<sup>18</sup> According to Plato, God governs the human affairs together with Tyche and Kairos (in which also the human τέχνη plays a role).<sup>19</sup>

11 Hippocrates, *Aphorismoi* I 1.

12 Plato, *Statesman* 307b.- Trédé 1992, 49-52.

13 Pindar, *Pythian* IV 286.

14 Pindar, *Pythian* IX 78.

15 Thucydides 2,34.- Cf. Trédé 1992, 47-48. 205-230.

16 Thucydides 4,27.

17 Lysias 13,6.

18 Plutarch, *Moralia* 45 C (*De audiendo*).- On the correlation between “Kairos” and “Symmetria”, Trédé 1992, 67-69.

19 Plato, *Laws* IV 709 b7.

All these texts do not refer to a person, but to the right measure (as already in Hesiod) or the right moment. Thereby “καιρός” always signifies a “place in space (at first) and time (later) distinguished by a favour of nature (or a deity), the perception and use of which will promise success to human action”.<sup>20</sup> The mentioned texts, though very short, reveal quite some ideas connected to Kairos: It is short (Pindar: “βραχὺ μέτρον”); sharp (Hippocrates: “ὀξύς”); beautiful (Lysias: “κάλλιστος”); it is important to perceive (Pittacus); Kairos comes and can be lost, unless it is used (Thucydides); one can grasp it (Lysias). A person using Kairos can be successful in many fields: He will bear the palm in contest (Pindar); he will properly treat a disease (Hippocrates); he will create a perfect statue (Polykleitos); or he will be successful with a speech.<sup>21</sup> Impressive testimony to the prevalence and the lasting effect of this idea is the Greek version of the Book of Ecclesiastes in the Old Testament which originated in Hellenistic times and vividly stresses the significance of Kairos for all fields of human life.<sup>22</sup>

Kairos as a mythological person is first found in a hymn by Ion of Chios (5th century B. C.), in which he is called the very youngest of all children of Zeus; by this genealogy, Kairos becomes the younger brother of Apollo, Dionysos, and Hermes. The hymn is lost; Pausanias mentions it in the context of an altar of Kairos at Olympia, the age and appearance of which remain unknown to us unfortunately.<sup>23</sup> It stood at the entrance of the stadium as a counterpart of an altar of Eros Enagonios. Like in Pindar, Kairos was relating to contests in Olympia, too.

20 Kerkhoff 1976, 667 s. v. Kairos.

21 Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 1096a, 31-34 describes the significance of Kairos for strategy, medicine, and gymnastics.- On the role of Kairos in Greek rhetoric: Trédé 1992, 247-294.- Kinneary – Eskin 1998, 835-844.

22 Ecclesiastes 3,1-8.

23 Pausanias 5,14,9: “γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑμνῳ νεώτατον παίδων Διὸς Καιρὸν εἶναι”.- Page 1962, 384 no. 742.- On this: Trédé 1992, 76-77.- Occasionally it was postulated that the Kairos statue of Lysippos stood near the altar in Olympia; however cf. already Johnson 1927, 165 in contrast.- According to Moreno 1995, 190-192 and Andreae 2001, 52 note 1, Lysippos would have produced several statues of Kairos.



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MEDIALITY: CONCRETISATIONS OF IDEAS OF KAIROS IN THE  
STATUE OF LYSIPPOS

The earliest figural representation of Kairos was, as far as we know, a statue by the Greek sculptor Lysippos. It does not survive, but it has repeatedly been described in ancient literature.<sup>24</sup> As early as 1747, these texts made it possible to connect a relief in Turin (fig. 1) to Lysippos' statue,<sup>25</sup> but this identification immediately fell back into oblivion.<sup>26</sup> J. J. Winckelmann in his mention of the Lysippian Kairos did not list the Turin relief.<sup>27</sup> It was only Heinrich Brunn and Alexander Conze who revived this interpretation of the relief after the mid 19th century<sup>28</sup> and it was confirmed shortly after, when two more relief fragments and several intaglios with the same figure (or at least very similar figures) became known.<sup>29</sup>

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24 The texts have already been arranged, translated, and commented on in the 16th century, e. g. by Erasmus of Rotterdam, Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, and Sir Thomas More (Wittkower 1984, 92-93 note 18); later by Iunius 1694, 114-115.- Rivautella – Ricolvi 1747, XXII 4-8.- Overbeck 1868, 276-278 no. 1463-1467.- Johnson 1927, 280-287 no. 33-39.- Moreno 1974, 151. no. 12. 49. 92-95. 127. 129. 131. 133. 135. 137-139. 145. 153.- Muller-Dufeu 2002, 600-604 no. 1784-1790 (with French translations).- Most recently by Kansteiner 2007, 101-111 with a German translation and commentary.

25 Rivautella – Ricolvi 1747, XXII 4-8.- Turin, Museo di Antichità Inv. 317; H. 61,5 cm; good illustration after cleaning in Andreae 2001, 12 fig. 1. The function of the relief is uncertain; the frequent interpretation as a subordinate flank of a sarcophagus is refuted by the projecting bottom ledge.

26 The reason for the lack of acceptance might have been the fact that the authors presented their designation in the unusual Latinised Form of "Caerus".

27 Winckelmann 1764, 429.

28 Brunn 1857, 35\*.- Conze 1867, 73\*.

29 Curtius 1875, 1-8 pl. 1. 2,1-4 (publication of the fragment from the Acropolis in Athens).- Abramić 1930, 1-8 pl. 1 (original publication of the Trogir relief).



1 Turin, Museo di Antichità: Roman Relief of Kairos

Today, the identification is generally accepted, although many problems remain unsolved in detail.<sup>30</sup>

The three reliefs in Trogir<sup>31</sup> (fig. 2), Athens<sup>32</sup> (fig. 3) and Turin can readily be connected to each other; they are so closely related

30 Selection of literature: Cook 1925, 859-866.- Schwarz 1975, 243-266.- Stewart 1978, 163-171.- Altekamp 1988, 138-148.- Moser von Filseck 1988, 151-168.- Moser von Filseck 1990, 1-8.- Moreno 1990, 922 s. v. Kairos no. 1-6 pl. 597.- Todisco 1993, 121-122 fig. 267-268.- Moreno 1995, 190-195. 395-397.- Andrae 2001, 13. 52 fig. 1.- Borg 2002, 85-88 fig. 9-11.- Schädler 2003, 171-182.- Maderna 2004, 346-348 fig. 320.- Borg 2004, 39-42.- Bäbler - Nesselrath 2006, 67-78.- Kansteiner 2007, 101-111 (Lehmann/Kansteiner).

31 Trogir, Museum in the former convent of the female Benedictines. H. 45 cm. Good illustration and further literature in Moreno 1995, 192-193. no. 4.28.1.

32 Athens, Acropolis Museum Inv. 2799. Preserved height: 29 cm. Good illustration and further literature in Moreno 1995, 193 no. 4.28.2.- The relief is always considered a fragment of an image of Kairos, but it might also belong to a variant representing Tempus (cf. below) as in the reliefs from the Medici Collection and in St. Petersburg.

that they must go back to a single model. The fragments from Athens and Trogir confirm major traits of the more complete relief in Turin, which will be my basis for the following remarks. Thus, the Trogir fragment repeats the posture of the figure in Turin, although the head seems slightly more raised in the Trogir specimen. The upper part of the body is bent forward so that, in both reliefs, two upset wrinkles form on the level of the navel and the underbelly slightly bulges out. Due to the left arm stretched forward, the back muscles form a slanting line towards the axle. Despite the damages, it can also be observed that the main features of the hairstyle coincide. A tuft of hair above the forehead falls forward and, in doing so, dissolves into several cusps in the Trogir relief. Two long strands of hair hang down onto the left shoulder where they diverge. Equally, the postures of the hands are identical. The extended left hand balances a razor with its index finger and thumb, while the remaining fingers are folded in. Of the right hand, the index finger and little finger are extended, the other fingers are retracted.

With regard to wings, only the rudiments of the spinal wings and of the wing on the left foot, which is bent backwards, can be compared, because of the fragmentary state of the relief in Trogir. From this it becomes clear that the spinal wings are moved in the same way, but are structured differently: It is only in the Turin figure that feathers are inserted. The fragment from the Acropolis in Athens confirms the posture of the right thigh, which was stretched forward, the flexed position of the left leg, and the rolling line and tapered ending of the foot wings which, however, are shorter here than in the Turin relief. In both reliefs, we find short irregularly arranged cover feathers on the rudiments of the wing and long parallel spinal wings.

What is more difficult to clarify is the potential relation between the shared model that can be inferred from the reliefs, and the statue of Lysippos attested in literature. The antique and Byzantine descriptions refer to different attributes: They always mention a conspicuous hairstyle in which the hair is long at the front and missing at the back, also almost consistently foot



2 Trogir, Museum in the former convent of the female Benedictines:  
Fragment of a Roman relief of Kairos

wings. Four times a knife, respectively a razor is listed and three times Kairos is described tiptoed. In contrast, striking elements such as the pair of scales (Himerius), the spinal wings (Callistratus) or a spherical base (Callistratus, Tzetzes) are named only exceptionally.



3 Athens, Museum of the Acropolis: Fragment of a Roman relief of Kairos

Does this mean that these attributes are later additions of the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman Imperial periods?<sup>33</sup> Most archaeologists accept the idea that the pair of scales, too, belonged to Lysippos' concept, because otherwise the extended razor and thus also the posture of the arms could hardly be explained.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, the spinal wings have often been perceived as a supplement added during an alteration, because of their supposedly archaic shape.<sup>35</sup> The sphere, on which the figure stood according to Callistratus and Tzetzes, has been declared an addition of the Late Antique set-up in Constantinople by St.

33 Benndorf 1863, 7 already remarked that each literary description of the statue mentions different attributes.- Curtius 1875, 7 presumed that all attributes were later additions.- Cook 1925, 859-866 recognised a Pergamenian influence in the reliefs and thus supposed a Hellenistic alteration, while Altekamp 1988, 140 assumed the Trogir relief to be very close to the archetype.

34 So e. g. Abramić 1930, 7.- Schwarz 1971, 93 note 243.

35 Altekamp 1988, 140. On this cf. below.

Altekamp.<sup>36</sup> What is striking is the different position ascribed to the knife by antique sources. According to Posidippus and Himerius, it is held in the right hand, while the Turin and Trogir reliefs show the razor in the left hand of Kairos. This implies that the reliefs represent the statue in a mirror-inverted way, as can be demonstrated in other cases, too.<sup>37</sup> A stronger discrepancy exists with regard to Tzetzes' information according to which the blade was held at the back. Different again is the position of the knife in a Latin poem by Phaedrus: It describes the figure as "pendens in novacula", i. e. "pending on a razor". This unusual description, different from all others, may be explained as a free translation of the Homeric ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς into the Latin language. It is the opportune moment itself that stands on a knife's edge.

author	dating	tiptoes	foot wings	spinal wings	blade	hair-style	other attributes	name
Posidippus (note 71)	3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. B. C.	yes	yes	-	razor	yes	-	Kairos
Phaedrus (note 74)	1 <sup>st</sup> cent. A. D.	-	-	-	razor	yes	-	Tempus
Callistratus (note 80)	4 <sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.	yes	yes	yes	-	yes	sphere	Kairos
Himerius (note 81)	4 <sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.	yes	yes	-	knife	yes	pair of scales	Kairos
Ausonius (note 75)	late 4 <sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.	-	yes	-	-	yes	wheel	Occasio
Kedrenos (note 82)	11 <sup>th</sup> /12 <sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.	-	-	-	-	yes	-	Chronos
Tzetzes (note 103)	12 <sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.	-	yes	-	knife	yes	sphere	Chronos

Table: Mention of attributes in antique and Byzantine descriptions

36 Altekamp 1988, 141, 13,6

37 On this cf. below the relief of Myron's Marsyas.

What causes irritation is the relief-like expansiveness of the figure that is hardly imaginable in a three-dimensional statue; it is all the more conspicuous since no three-dimensional replicas are attested to date. This even raised the question whether Lysippos' figure might have been a relief.<sup>38</sup> It can be objected that Callistratus describes the figure as a statue made of bronze (ἄγαλμα ... ἐκ χαλκοῦ) and Himerius, too, speaks of an ἄγαλμα. S. Kansteiner and L. Lehmann suspected that the figure could only be executed in bronze, because of its instable standing, and no three-dimensional marble copies were made therefore.<sup>39</sup>

The representation of statues in antique relief art can be studied in some examples, of which both three-dimensional replicas and replications as reliefs survive. This is true, e. g. for the tyrant slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes<sup>40</sup> (fig. 4). For our purposes the comparison of the statues with a Hellenistic relief in Malibu (on the so-called "Elgin Throne") will suffice (fig. 5)<sup>41</sup>.

Movements and postures of the relief figures nicely correspond to the three-dimensional replicas; the Hellenistic relief sculptor did not only take over the right leg of Aristogeiton, which is set backward and turned outward, but e. g. also the exactly defined musculature of shoulder, breast, and waist zone. The most significant discrepancy is Harmodius' sword arm held in a more retral position and thus allowing a view of the youth's face and, at the same time, making visible the sword blade.<sup>42</sup>

This alteration is best explained by an effort to combine several, slightly different views and thus to improve the legibility of the representation. Additionally, there are considerable simplifications, e. g. in the reproduction of dress pleats. On the other

38 Thus e. g. Curtius 1875, 7 who considers that Lysippos' Kairos might have been a relief of the altar in Olympia.

39 Kansteiner 2007, 109 (Lehmann/Kansteiner).

40 Brunnsäker 1971; Fehr 1984.- Schuchhardt - Landwehr 1986, 85.- Taylor 1991.- Krumeich 2002, 221-222.- 237-240. Catalogue 132-133.- Bumke 2004, 131.

41 Seltman 1947, 22-30 pl. 7.- On the dating: Richter 1966, 30.

42 Aristogeiton's right arm with the sword does not conform to the reconstruction of the Naples copy, but to the statue from the Capitol Hill in which the upper arm is held in a similar retral position.



4 Tyrant slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes; plaster casts

hand, the relief also spreads the bodies over the surface and largely annihilates their three-dimensional effect; the complicated spatial relations of the two figures are united into a single uniform direction of movement.

A three-dimensional reconstruction of the original statues would be impossible without the three-dimensional replicas, despite the exact repetition of details in the relief.

If the Malibu relief demonstrates that relief sculptors were able to represent anatomical details exactly, then the juxtaposition of reproductions of Myron's statue of Marsyas in the different genres of antique sculpture is informative in a different regard.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> On replicas in the shape of statues: Vorster 1993, 21-25 no. 3-4.- Daltrop – Bol 1983, 29-43.- On the relief of the Late Hellenistic Finlay Krater:





5 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Inv.-Nr. 74.AA.12: Hellenistic so-called Elgin Throne with relief of the tyrant slayers

The relief sculptor of the Late Hellenistic Finlay Krater of the 1st century B. C. shows the figure in a mirror-inverted way as probably is the case with the Kairos reliefs.<sup>44</sup> The decorative scene of the crater spreads the complicated and space consuming movements of the satyr over the surface and slightly enhances the turn of his head while, at the same time, it takes over the athletically accentuated musculature and the labile standing motif, and also the strong bent of the head and the fierce movement of the arms. From these examples it can easily be read off that relief sculptors were also able to implement three-dimensional models rather

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Grassinger 1991, 156-157 no. 2 fig. 30.- Daltrop – Bol 1983, 15 fig. 3-4.

44 On this, see above.

exactly according to the requirements of their medium but, at the same time, neglected complicated three-dimensional relations in favour of a uniform direction of movement.

In the following we will therefore deal not with the reconstruction of Lysippos' statue, but with the question of how the statue picks up and concretises ideas of Kairos as a moment of time, but, in doing so, also changes them and, at the same time, stabilises them, too. Despite – or rather because of – the numerous antique text sources scholars have always found it difficult to interpret the figure; the different suggestions have recently been collected by B. Borg<sup>45</sup> and B. Bäbler<sup>46</sup>. To A. B. Cook the figure surviving on the reliefs appeared “a curious piece of allegory”, which he could only imagine as the result of continuous embellishment in Hellenistic and Roman times. Thus, he only accepted the foot wings and the razor as genuine attributes of the Late Classical statue and considered Lysippos' original work a visualisation of puberty (“age of puberty”) in the shape of a “youthful runner”; the razor seemed a hint at ritual shaving to him. He also believed that it was only from Posidippus' poem that the symbolic supercharge arose, which was gradually expanded by additional attributes (hairstyle, spinal wings, pair of scales, globe) and repeated in the monuments of the Roman Imperial period.<sup>47</sup> Of course, this is refuted by the fact that Kairos' complicated striding motif with flexed legs is incompatible with the image of a runner. A. F. Stewart, too, perceived the statue as a highly intellectual work which Lysippos had probably placed in front of his house in Sicyon as a manifest of his art principles.<sup>48</sup> This suggestion was taken up by K. Moser von Filseck; she sees Kairos as a “program figure” expressing Lysippos' comprehension

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45 Borg 2002, 86.

46 Bäbler – Nesselrath 2006, 72-76.

47 Cook 1925, 859-868.- Curtius 1875, 1-8 already suspected that Lysippos might have created the statue of a runner without attributes.- Similar to Cook, Lawrence 1929 supposed the Kairos to have been an “allegorical statue”; Johnson 1927 does not find it surprising that it was “more esteemed among rhetoricians than among artists”.

48 Stewart 1978, 166: “a highly intellectual work”.

of time and personifying his art concept.<sup>49</sup> In this case it would be difficult to understand, however, why Posidippus was able to give a completely different interpretation only shortly afterwards (see below).

The texts mentioned at the beginning and containing the term “καῖρός” are older than Lysippos’ statue which – as far as we know – was the earliest visualisation of Kairos. But how does Lysippos treat the older concepts of Kairos, which elements does he pick up and how does he substantiate them in his statue?

If the Trogir and Turin reliefs are considered reflexes of Lysippos’ figure, many of their aspects are iconographically conventional, e. g. the youthful muscular build. That an athletic youth at the transgression from childhood to adulthood is meant clearly arises from the absence of beard and pubic hair on the one hand, and the lack of decidedly infantile features on the other hand. In Ion of Chios’ hymn, Kairos is called the youngest son of Zeus; therefore he had to be younger than the likewise youthful gods Apollo and Dionysus. The statue conforms to this expectation by approximating the god to Eros’ stage of life. At the same time, this is also a clarification of Kairos’ beauty bespoken by Lysias. The foot wings are conventional, too. From the 7th century B. C. onwards, winged shoes signified persons moving at a great speed such as the divine messengers Iris and Hermes. But they mainly occurred in Archaic times; in the 4th century the wings sometimes emerged directly from the feet – as in the Kairos reliefs.<sup>50</sup>

Other elements are unusual, e. g. the shape of the spinal wings with their strong rolling in. They are reminiscent of representations of the Archaic period and therefore are considered archaistic elements and later additions of Hellenistic or Roman Imperial times in the archaeological literature.<sup>51</sup> It can be objected that the remaining features of the wings do not conform to

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49 Moser von Filseck 1988, 167-168.

50 Siebert 1990, 384.

51 E. g. Altekamp 1988, 140.



- 6 Rome, Musei Vaticani: So-called Prima Porta statue of Augustus (detail): sphinx with rolled-up wing
- 7 Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum: Apulian Alabastron, mid 4th century B. C.: Eros on a chariot

Archaic images, so that it seems unlikely that conscious reference was made to the art of the 7th and 6th centuries. Similar scrolls can be found on sitting or lying sphinxes from the 4th century B. C. onwards, in which the wings are not used for flying and thus are not unfurled<sup>52</sup> (fig. 6). Therefore, this detail deserves interpretation in Kairos, as regards content. It turns out that the god with his forceful wings can rise into the air (and thus withdraw) any moment, but that he does not use these wings in this particular instance. This is matched by their asymmetric spread: the wing in the foreground is sprawled horizontally, the rear one leads downwards along the spinal contour. A similar arrangement can be found in the wings of charioteering Erotes of the 4th century B. C.<sup>53</sup> (fig. 7). Thus, their position also clarifies that they are no longer and not yet used for flying in this moment.

52 Cf. e. g. Woysch-Méautis 1982, 134-135 pl. 61-63 no. 362. 363. 367. 368. 372. 373. 379.

53 Hermary 1986, no. 203. 556a.

U. Schädler perceived a similarity of the large spinal wings with representations of Boreas.<sup>54</sup> Admittedly, the wind god is usually shown bearded, with unfurled wings, and often on the fly.

When Lysippos used for Kairos a shape of wings otherwise assigned to sphinxes, he differentiated the adolescent god from the also winged Eros and, at the same time, characterised him as a demonic being. Unusual, at least for a statue, is also the movement with the right foot extended and hovering above the ground and the left leg elastically flexed and tiptoed. This striking feature is confirmed by a lost relief in the Medici Collection (fig. 13),<sup>55</sup> that will be discussed later. Consequently, the weight of Kairos rests on the left foot which, however, touches the ground only with the ball. The flexion of the left leg prevents the figure from coming to a rest in this position; it rather seems to tilt slightly backwards, which is corrected by a forward bend of the upper part of the body and an outstretched right leg. Due to this, but also due to the position of the wings it becomes clear that Kairos has just descended from the sky and is about to find a halt with his foot on the earth in this very moment.<sup>56</sup> Thus, it is shown an extremely short moment of transition from flying in unattainable heights to fast running on the earth, the speed of which will make the god unapproachable once more. It is only in this single unexpected instance, when the flight has ended and the race has not begun yet, that Kairos is within the reach of man. The peculiar motif of motion is reminiscent of Thucydides' idea of Kairos approaching and passing by. The impression of a labile and transitory state is even strengthened by the curled-up and bent-over position of the upper part of the body, the flexed forearms and the countermovement of the scales. The transitory motif of motion is matched by the scene: The youth is balancing a pair of scales with two pans, in an artistic way, on a rounded razor which, in turn, is balanced on the extended fingers

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54 Schädler 2003, 173.

55 On this cf. note 88.

56 Similar to this is the figure of a landing Eros on an Apulian patera of the mid 4th century B. C.: Hermary 1986, 899 no. 568 pl. 641.



8 London, British Museum: Campanian red-figure hydria, around 340 B. C.: Aphrodite weighing two Erotes.

of his right hand; the razor handle rests on the wrist behind the ball of the thumb, as can be seen in the Trogir relief. Thereby, the entire picture seems extremely precarious; it is only Kairos' virtuosity that keeps the razor and scales in balance. At the same time, the shape of the used instruments is taken from the everyday life of the observer.

The semi-circular razor with its attached handle can still be found in the Roman Imperial period<sup>57</sup> and the type of the pair of

57 Garbsch 1975, 69-86, particularly fig. 3,3-4; 4,6 and 8; 5,3; 6,11.

scales corresponds to the antique implement, used at least from Archaic times onwards, with two beams of identical length to which the pans were attached by means of four cords each.<sup>58</sup> It is unclear what is actually weighed here, because the pans are empty. The *Iliad* knows of the weighing of lots in which Zeus ponders the fate of two opponents, if the fight cannot be determined otherwise: The heavier lot (κῆρ) pulling down the pan means death in battle.<sup>59</sup> The visual arts have sometimes picked up this motif, in which Hermes can also use the scales apart from Zeus,<sup>60</sup> and in the genre of painting there is also the image of Aphrodite weighing two small Erotes against each other<sup>61</sup> (fig. 8).

On the throne in Boston, it is Eros who compares the weight of two figures on the pans of a scale.<sup>62</sup> In contrast, it remains open what Kairos is measuring. We remember that, according to the texts of the 5th and 4th centuries B. C., it is Kairos who ultimately decides about everything: success of an artwork, medical healing, victory in contest or war, actually all human affairs. Therefore it is understandable that the image does not make a commitment to a single field. What is clear, however, is that Kairos haphazardly influences the decision-making process: While Zeus, the father of the gods, brings about the result of the psychostasia scenes of the *Iliad* by weighing the lots of fate and remaining neutral himself, Kairos puts his index finger onto one of the pans and presses it down, thus arbitrarily fixing the outcome. At the same time, he controls the movement of the scale pan with the little finger extended underneath it, which prevents an undesirably strong sinking.<sup>63</sup> The vehemence of his intervention emerges from the fact that the manipulated pan becomes unbalanced and swings forward, while the other one hangs

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58 Michon 1875, 1222-1226.

59 Homer, *Iliad* VIII 69; XVI 658; XIX 223; XXII 208.

60 Siebert 1990, 338 no. 622-629 pl. 250.- Vollkommer 1992, 19-21 no. 57-68.

61 Delivorrias 1984, 1246-1249. no. 156.

62 Comstock – Vermeule 1976, 20-25 no. 30.

63 Moser von Filseck 1988, 161 interprets the posture of the fingers as an apotropaic gesture, but in this case it would remain unclear, against whom it should be directed.

down vertically. But the pair of scales also reminds us that Kairos does not only signifies the right moment, but also the appropriate measure as was demonstrated by the aforementioned examples in the writings of Hesiod and Polykleitos.<sup>64</sup>

What is striking is the use of the razor. Indeed, Hippocrates calls Kairos “ὀξύς”, which can also mean “sharp-edged”, but this does not correspond to the shown activity, since the knife is not used for cutting. Additionally, the scale beam runs exactly parallel to the background and thus is placed lengthwise on the blade. The representation rather refers to the Homeric linguistic image, because the scales rest on the “sharp edge of the knife” indeed. But, as was said before, the *Iliad* does not connect the precarious situation described with the term Kairos and even less with the mythological person named thus. The association of the linguistic image and Kairos only took place in Lysippos’ figure.

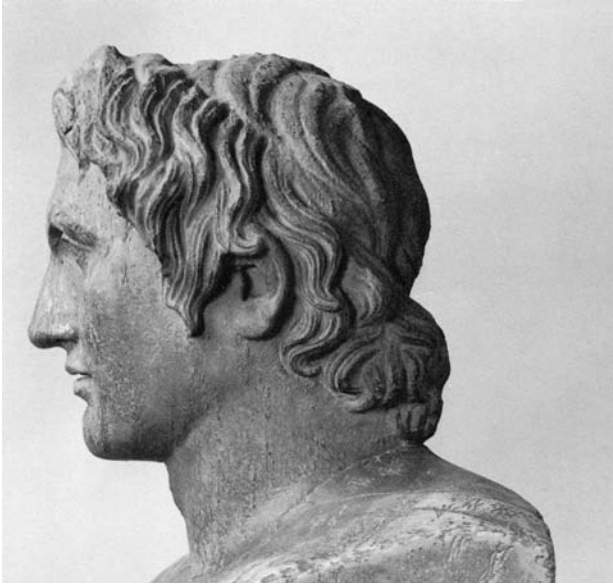
Finally, the hairstyle is unusual, too: The hair is dissolved into long strands and falls in tufts to the forehead and the sides, while the strands of the occiput are planished. This neither corresponds to the hairstyles of Greek children and ephebes nor to Eros’ hairstyle. The closest parallels are found in portraits of Alexander the Great, particularly the Azara Herm which has also been brought in connection to Lysippos<sup>65</sup> (fig. 9). Particularly similar are the long and irregularly swaying strands drooping from behind the ears and over the temples, but sparing the ear itself. While the hair is lifted from the skull at the front and sides, it is tightly clinging to the back of the head. Therewith, similarities end. In the figure of Kairos, a long scraggy tuft of hair falls forward onto the forehead; the neck hair is long and spreads over the attachment of the wing in the foreground.

Indeed, it must be noted that Lysippos created the figure of Kairos in the late 4th century on the basis of older and contemporaneous ideas of the opportune moment and, in doing so, picked up and visualised these concepts. But the concretion in a statue inevitably

64 On this cf. Trédé 1992, 57–67.

65 On this cf. e. g. Himmelmann 1989, 89 fig. 31 a. b; 94.- Stewart 1993, 165–171. 423 fig. 45. 46.





9 Paris, Musée du Louvre: Image of Alexander the Great (Azara Herm)

brought about the necessity of having to design aspects neglected before. This happened in manifold ways. At first, the figure itself embodies Kairos. Its body shape signifies an age bracket between childhood and the age of an ephebe, and thus the biographic moment marking the prime of youth, which cannot persist, but quickly passes by.<sup>66</sup> This biographic Kairos is largely predictable: The adolescence of the boy can equally be foreseen as can the reaching of adulthood. Secondly, it is the motif of motion that takes up ideas of the Kairos and converts them into a concrete vivid form. No text describes how Kairos moves, only that he comes and passes, and that he is short and quick. The sculptor had to commit himself to a definite motif of movement: The juvenile god has just descended from the heights, is present in this very moment, and can immediately withdraw again by using once more his large spinal wings or by running away, sped up by his foot wings. So, it is exactly the unpredictability of Kairos that is described.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Trédé 1992, 49–52 on the connection between Acme and Kairos.

It cannot be anticipated when he will fly in, where he will alight, when, and whither he will disappear again. Thirdly, Kairos is characterised by his action: He weighs things against each other, he virtuously maintains decisions pending, but then unexpectedly and arbitrarily brings about the solution. And fourthly, the attributes display Kairos' character: The hairstyle reminiscent of the juvenile ruler of the worlds and thus implying the far-reaching power of Kairos, the fast wings, the decisive pair of scales, and the sharp razor.

The described elements are heterogeneous and partly contradictory with regard to their information; it is exactly by this, that the statue reflects the different shades of meaning of the word "καιρός": the affinity to Acme by the choice of age; the interpretation as the right measure by the use of the pair of scales; the notion that a single moment can be irrevocably decisive for future destiny by the evocation of the Homeric linguistic image. On the one hand, Lysippos took up older and previously isolated concepts and combined them. On the other hand, the figure rendered more precisely and altered these earlier ideas. None of the antecedent texts mentions Kairos having wings and even less a certain hairstyle. Nowhere is reported, before Lysippos, that Kairos takes decisions by means of a pair of scales and influences them by manipulating the pans.

Thus, Lysippos' statue imparts differentiated ideas about a certain aspect of time. The idea suggests itself, to compare them with contemporaneous philosophical writings on time, particularly with the relevant passages from Aristotle's *Physics*.<sup>67</sup> He describes the connection of time with motion and change; he deals with "τὸ νῦν", the moment separating the past, that no longer exists, from the future, which does not exist yet. U. Schädler recognised an analogy between the combination of razor with scales and Aristotle's remarks: The razor would correspond to the "νῦν", the two beams of the scales to the "before" and "after" strictly separated by the "νῦν". This is contradicted, however, by

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67 Aristotle, *Physics* IV 217b-223b.- Schädler 2003, 171-182.- On this cf. G. W. Most and H. Kuhlmann in: Rudolph 1988, 11-25. 63-96.

the image showing the scales lengthwise on the blade and thus representing the precarious balance, but not the procedure of cutting.

But analogies arise from two other points. Aristotle stresses the connection of time with motion and change; time is not identical to them, but inseparable from them. Time is continuous and changes like a point moving on a line.<sup>68</sup> The statue meets these statements by demonstratively emphasising Kairos' motif of movement. The posture in which Kairos appears can only be transitional as can Aristotle's "νῦν". Additionally, the philosopher correlates the temporal terms "before" and "after" with the spatial ones "in front of" and "behind".<sup>69</sup> Here also, a striking analogy to Lysippos' statue of Kairos emerges, with the singular hairstyle picking up the parallel "before/in front of" and "after/behind". Lysippos' statue and Aristotle's treatise on time are both sources for the time concept of the late 4th century B. C.; but they correspond to each other only marginally and focus on different aspects. About the same time the image of Eniautos was created, to whom the idea of a cyclic return of the seasons was connected.<sup>70</sup>

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#### DYNAMICS: TRANSCRIPTION AND RE-CONTEXTUALISATION

The decisive role of the Late Classical sculptor Lysippos for the concretisation of the idea of Kairos is briefly and accurately described in Himerius' text quoted at the beginning. Some decades (perhaps two generations) after Lysippos, the poet Posidippus of Pella wrote an epigram interpreting the details of the statue (around 270 B. C.). It possesses its own transmission history in turn since it came, already in Antiquity, into the Greek anthologies and hence into the *Anthologia Planudea* completed

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68 Aristotle, *Physics* IV 218b-220b.

69 Aristotle, *Physics* IV 219a.

70 Shapiro 2011.

in Constantinople around A. D. 1300 and first printed in A. D. 1494.<sup>71</sup>

- “Who and from where is the sculptor?” - “From Sicyon.”
- “And his name?” - “Lysippos.”
- “And who are you?” - “Kairos, the all-subduer (ὁ πανδαμάτωρ).”
- “Why do you stand on tip-toe?” - “I am always running.”
- “Why do you have a pair of wings on your feet?” - “I fly with the wind.”
- “Why do you hold a razor in your right hand?” - “As a sign to men that I am sharper than any sharp edge.”
- “And why is your hair over your face?” - “For the one who meets me to grasp at, by Zeus.”
- “And why is the back of your head bald?” - “Because none whom I have once raced by on my winged feet will now, though he wishes it, take hold of me from behind.”
- “Why did the artist fashion you?” - “For your sake stranger, and he set me up in the portico as a lesson.”

Posidippus’ preoccupation with the statue can be explained by the poet’s esteem for Lysippos’ art which, meanwhile, has become manifest through newly discovered poems.<sup>72</sup> On the one hand, the epigram is a description of the statue, but on the other hand, it equally provides a consequential interpretation and a determination as regards the content of the statue. Here, a transcription has occurred, a transfer from one medium (sculpture) into another (epigram), and the process is particularly suitable for clarifying the peculiarities of both media.<sup>73</sup> While the statue possesses a greater vividness, a striking spatial presence, and a holistic

71 On the transmission history cf. Beckby 1958, 68.- On Posidippus’ epigram: *Anthologia Graeca* XVI 275.- Translation by Austin – Bastianini 2002, 180-181. no. 142.- On Posidippus’ descriptions of statues: Gutzwiller 2002, 41-60.- Stewart 2005, 183-205.- Strocka 2007, 332-345. Cf. Austin – Bastianini 2002, 84-85. no. 62; 88-89. no. 65.

72 Strocka 2007, 332-345.

73 On the term of transcription cf. Jäger 2011.

appearance, its statements are often ambivalent. Some assertions may be evident such as the specification of sex or age. Other elements – e. g. the foot wings – follow a binding iconographic sign system and thus are also unambiguously legible. Yet others, such as the hairstyle, are rather vaguely reminiscent of a known iconography, and can be interpreted in an associative and therefore only non-binding way. Attributes such as razor and scales were positively determinable as items of everyday life, at least for contemporaneous observers, but still unusual and in need of explanation in their specific context. Although the statue was clearly configured in every detail as a three-dimensional form by the sculptor, it opened up a wide field of different interpretations determined by the context of reception and the expectations and previous knowledge of the observer.

The epigram, in contrast, concentrates on individual aspects, but can unmistakably define their significance. The chosen genre of a dialogue endows the interpretation with special authority, because it is the figure itself that gives its name, explains the strange traits of its appearance and behavior, and accounts for its own genesis. By this method, the major part of the statue remains untouched upon, but it is exactly by focusing on few aspects that the effect of the interpretation is enhanced; the omissions in the description will prove particularly productive later. Many an aspect of the epigram is reminiscent of earlier ideas of the 5th century B. C.: When Posidippus has Kairos say that he cuts sharper than any blade (ἀκμῆς πάσης ὀξύτερος), this is a hint at Hippocrates' phrase, but also at the Homeric linguistic image. What is new and consequential, is the interpretation of the hairstyle. No earlier text mentions that one has to grab Kairos by a tuft of hair; we only read of "perceiving" and "seizing" and that it should not be missed. One may also ask whether Lysippos intended such an interpretation at all, and whether his Kairos really had a bald occiput; the Turin and Trogir reliefs, in any case, display planished strands of hair and at his back long strands droop over the base of the wings. This implies that it was only Posidippus, who thus interpreted a hairstyle with flat hair at the back of the head. Actually, Lysippos himself seems to have conveyed a rather

ambivalent image of Kairos by taking up the Homeric linguistic image: What is “balanced on a knife’s edge” can turn out well or bad. Posidippus, however, unilaterally interprets the figure as an opportune moment to be seized. In any case, his interpretation was highly influential: To this day, it is a current German saying that an opportunity must be seized by a tuft of hair. As regards his interpretation of the foot posture as “incessant running”, the poet also seems to misjudge the sculptor’s intention: The Turin relief, at least, shows no running figure, but the moment, when Kairos descends from the height and touches the ground.

Although the description – systematically proceeding upwards from the tiptoes – is focused on some parts, it is so detailed that Posidippus must have known the statue from personal inspection. It is beyond recovery to what degree the poet picked up earlier interpretations possibly circulating at the location of the statue. At any rate, the literary adaptation of the statue determined its interpretation once and for all. Should different – older or competing – interpretations have existed, they have been eliminated by the epigram forever.

Later, Lysippos’ statue experienced a varied reception, because both the figure itself and Posidippus’ poem have been developed further. To begin with, I will briefly touch upon the literary reception beginning with Posidippus’ poem that already became influential in Antiquity, because of its inclusion into the anthologies. Its earliest reflex is its aforementioned adaptation by Phaedrus<sup>74</sup> in the Latin language in the 1st century A. D.: He described – certainly without personal inspection – a naked figure rapidly running and balancing on a razor (“pendens in novacula”), bald but with curls on the forehead, which should be seized, because – once escaped – it will be beyond recovery, even for Jove. Phaedrus adds that this signifies the brief opportunity for action (“occasionem rerum significat brevem”), lest lethargic indecision prevents success (“effectus impediret ne segnīs mora”). The description and the moral message of the figure are reminiscent of Posidippus’ poem and it is obvious that the Lysippian Kairos

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74 Phaedrus, *Fabulae* V 8.- Moreno 1974, 174 no. 48.- Kansteiner 2007, 107.

is meant. But Phaedrus omits the name and rather circumscribes the figure as “effigies Temporis”, which signifies “Occasio” again. The reason for this is that the Latin language has no equivalent to Greek “καιρός”, so that the word translates either generally as “tempus–time” or as the vague term “occasio–occasion”. Phaedrus tries to avoid this dilemma by quoting both expressions likewise.

In the 4th century A. D. a figure possessing winged shoes, a bald occiput, and hair drooping onto the face at the front, was called “Occasio” by Ausonius<sup>75</sup>. So far, the description agrees with Posidippus’ epigram of Kairos, but the remaining information is different: Occasio stands on a wheel, she is a work of Phidias, next to her stands (as a second figure) Metanoia, signifying repentance. The dependence on Posidippus is clear both by the dialogue form of the poem and by its moral message: “Occasio” is fugacious; once she has passed, she cannot be seized any more. The “Disticha Catonis”, likewise written in the 4th century A. D., also report that “Occasio” can be grabbed at the front, but is bald at the back of her head.<sup>76</sup> Ausonius enhances some aspects of Posidippus’ epigram: the artistic value of the statue by ascribing it to Phidias, the fugacity of the moment by evoking Occasio on a wheel, the demand for resolute action by an emphasis on repentance, which will arise otherwise. What is remarkable is the sex reversal caused by the translation of Kairos with “Occasio”<sup>77</sup>: The appropriate moment no longer is a male adolescent but a “dea rara et paucis nota”. The potency of Ausonius’ poem for the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times is illustrated e. g. by its

75 Ausonius, Epigrams 12.- Rüdiger 1966, 128-129.- Kansteiner 2007, 108.

76 Disticha Catonis II 26: “Rem tibi quam nosces aptam dimittere noli: / Fronte capillata, post est occasio calva.”- Rüdiger 1966, 130.- Moreno 1974, 226 no. 93.

77 However, Ausonius in his “Ludus septem sapientum” 203-204 circumscribes Pittacus’ aphorism (cf. above note 9), the Greek version of which he quotes as “γίγνωσκε καιρόν”, with “tempus ut noris”, probably since the version “tempus nosce” had already become proverbial on its part.



10 London, British Museum: Roman Intaglio with representation of Tempus. On the right: Drawing of the same Intaglio

being mentioned in the *Carmina Burana*<sup>78</sup> and its adaptation by Niccolò Macchiavelli.<sup>79</sup>

In contrast, the Greek texts of the 4th century A. D. by Callistratus<sup>80</sup> and Himerius<sup>81</sup> continue to call the figure “Καιρός” and to ascribe it to Lysippos. In the Greek literature of the Byzantine Middle Ages, however, it is termed “Χρόνος” in the 11th and 12th centuries, but it is described as a work of Lysippos, having curls at the front and being bald at the back.<sup>82</sup> Here, too, it is clear that the Lysippian Kairos is referred to. Tzetzes calls the statue “Χρόνος” in several of his writings, but mentions in one passage that the occasion for its creation was Alexander the Great’s omission of an opportune moment and thus evokes the original significance of the statue.<sup>83</sup>

78 *Carmina Burana* LXXVII 1,5-8; Moreno 1974, 255-256. no. 127.

79 Rüdiger 1966, 132-133.- Moreno 1974, 277-278. no. 153.

80 Callistratus, *Statuarum descriptiones* VI 1-4.- Altekamp 1988, 138-148.- Bäbler – Nesselrath 2006, 67-78.- Kansteiner 2007, 103-105.

81 Himerius, *Oratio* XIII 1.- Moreno 1974, 229-230. no. 95.- Kansteiner 2007, 105-106.

82 Moreno 1974, 256. no. 129 (Kedrenos); no. 133. 135. 137-139 (Tzetzes); no. 145 (Nikephoros Blemmydes).

83 Tzetzes, *Letters* 70.- Moreno 1974, 259 no. 133.



In another passage he objects to the description as “Βίος” that can be found in Theodore Prodromos at about the same time.<sup>84</sup> The term “Χρόνος” is all the more striking since the Greek writings of the 4th century A. D. still use the word “Καιρός”. “Χρόνος” corresponds to the interpretation as “effigies Temporis” in Phaedrus, so that the Byzantine term is likely to represent a retranslation from Latin, because in older texts “καιρός” is definitely distinguished from “χρόνος”.<sup>85</sup>

Similar transformations can be found in the visual transmission of Kairos. An intaglio in London (fig. 10)<sup>86</sup> shows the same figure as do the reliefs in Turin and Trogir. It coincides with them with regard to the posture of the statue and its balancing a pair of scales on an object in the extended left hand and pressing down one of the scale pans with the index finger of the right hand. In all three, the hair is long at the forehead, while the occiput is bald. Despite all similarities, the differences are striking, however: The intaglio figure is bearded and thus represents no boy, but an adult man. His spinal wings are rolled in, too, but smaller. The right foot strides out and hovers in the air, while the left one rests on a sphere. Two of these discrepancies are important as regards content. Firstly, the change of age bracket: it no longer refers to the “youngest son of Zeus”, but to an elderly man; thereby, a central iconographic element of the Late Classical statue has been given up. The reason for this is that the figure is not perceived as Kairos, but as Tempus like in Phaedrus. An extension of content is the globe representing the universe: with it, time is depicted as the ruler of the worlds; “πανδαμάτωρ”, all-dominant is what Kairos is already called by Posidippus. Other intaglios represent the bearded figure with a butterfly instead of a razor in his hand (fig. 11).<sup>87</sup> The butterfly signifies Psyche, the human soul, and is found in intaglio pictures in Eros’ hand as a reference to

84 Moreno 1974, 257. no. 131. 139.

85 Trédé 1992, 48-49.

86 Moreno 1995, 195 fig. 4.28.4 with further literature.

87 Stewart 1978, 165 fig. 1.- Ensoli 1995, 397 fig. 6.16.1.



11 London, British Museum: Roman Intaglio with representation of Tempus

the myth of Eros and Psyche.<sup>88</sup> In the last-mentioned intaglios, the figure type created for Kairos has obviously been used for images of Eros – due to its juvenile age and spinal wings.

Two reliefs once in the Medici Collection (now lost; fig. 13)<sup>89</sup> and in St. Petersburg (fig. 12; from Southern Italy)<sup>90</sup> display a similar change in comparison to Lysippos' Kairos as does the intaglio in London: Here, too, the figure, which is largely identical to the Turin and Trogir reliefs in other aspects, is bearded and thus represents an elderly male. In the St. Petersburg relief the scales do not rest on a razor, but on a sphere or disc superimposed by a crescent; this probably means a celestial globe held by Tempus in its hand.

88 Icard-Gianolio 1994, particularly 583.

89 Ensoli 1995, 396 fig. 1.- Paolozzi Strozzi – Schwarzenberg 1991, 307-317; with (probably modern) signature of Agorakritos.

90 Moreno 1990, 922 no. 5.- Greifenhagen 1935, 67-84 pl. 4. H. 60 cm; W. 40 cm. Lupulus 1793, frontispiece and 49-51 indicates the princely gardens of Tripalda in Apulia as the find site and place of keeping.



12 St. Petersburg, Ermitage: Roman relief of Tempus

Both reliefs have been suspected of modern origin, but this is contradicted by their analogy among each other and particularly with the reliefs in Turin and Trogir that had become known only later; nevertheless both pieces may have been partially reworked in Modern Times. They distinguish themselves from the Turin relief in a similar way: In both, the occiput is really bald; the hair above the forehead is agitated in a comparable way, but not horizontally drawn forward. In both, the beard reaches down to the left upper arm; in both, the long strands on the sides of the head cover the ear and have been brought backward in a similar way. Additionally, the left leg is stretched further to the front than in the figure of Kairos; the movement is understood as rapid running. Thereby, the left foot



13 Relief Medici (lost)

in the lost relief hovered in the air similar to the Turin Kairos, so that this trait must already have been innate in the statue. From the shared features of the reliefs in the Medici Collection and in St. Petersburg, it results that they go back to the same model that varied the relief version of the Lysippian Kairos as represented by the Turin and Trogir specimens.

Obviously, the interpretation became divided already in the Early Roman Imperial period. While, in the Greek east, the term Kairos and the description as a beautiful male youth continued until Late Antiquity, the translation of Kairos with *Tempus* in the Latin west also brought about a re-interpretation: Now the figure means “time” in general and as “*Tempus*” it is represented of higher age and with a beard. For this reason, the wings may seem symbols of the fugacity of time that cannot be arrested, but always continues. This agrees with the motif of motion changed into rapid running. It is matched in turn by ideas found e. g. in Virgil’s famous verse:<sup>91</sup> “*fugit irreparabile tempus*”. Seneca used it as a starting point for

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91 Virgil, *Georgica* 3,284.

moralising maxims: “If we do not hurry, we will lag behind” or “rapid day pushes us and is pushed itself”.<sup>92</sup> The changes of content are consistent with the changes of form: The front curl has been reduced, but the motive of movement has turned into fast running: Tempus runs rapidly but steadily; time cannot be arrested by any means. Because of the renaming, part of the attributes lost their original sense, e. g. the knife and the pair of scales, since Tempus, i. e. time – unlike Kairos – is predictable and can be included into long-term planning. Therefore, it is intelligible that the razor was replaced in some specimens.

In the Roman Imperial period “καίρος” was also employed in its plural form. The use of the word in the sense of “fraction of time” is already attested in Aeschines and Demosthenes in the late 4th century B. C.<sup>93</sup> It clearly conflicts with Posidippus’ interpretation in which Kairos signifies a unique situation without recurrence. In fact, the word had obtained a new meaning in the Roman Imperial period: “καίροι” now refers to the seasons of the year.<sup>94</sup> To this, a completely different time concept is connected: The seasons represent a preordained sequence and a cyclic return and thus stand for properties, the absence of which exactly constitutes the Late Classical Kairos. Greek “καίροι” equates to Latin “tempora (anni)”. Admittedly, the Greek language also knows the older (and more common) term “ἔρραι” for the seasons, which therefore appear as female personifications.<sup>95</sup> As Phaedrus translated “Καίρος” with “Tempus”, the reciprocal translation of “tempora” with “καίροι” occurred here.

The change of meaning of the word unmistakably shows in the different iconography, too. The seasons are mostly represented as a collective. On sarcophagi in the city of Rome<sup>96</sup> the “Tempora” are usually four boys or male youths, whose iconography neither complies with the Late Classical Kairos nor with the bearded Tempus/

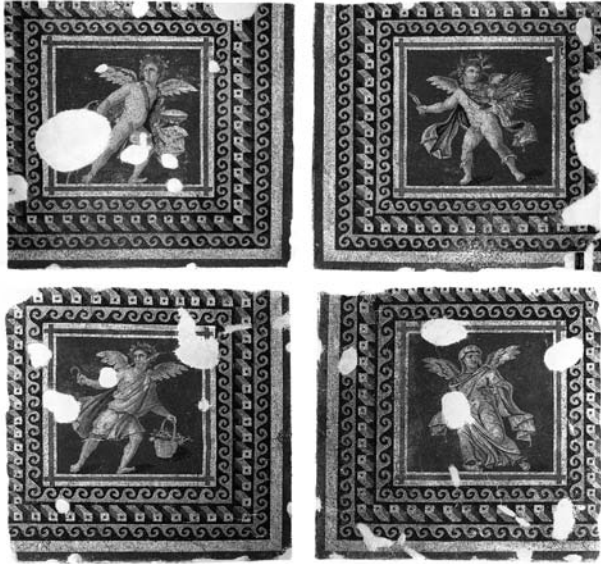
92 Seneca, Letters to Lucilius 108,24.

93 Trédé 1992, 55-56.

94 Robert 1950, 51-60 no. 3.- Hanfmann 1951, I 174. II 71-72. note 50.- Abad Casal 1990, 891-920, particularly 913-914.

95 Abad Casal 1990, 502-538.- Cf. Shapiro 2011.

96 Hanfmann 1951.- Kranz 1984.



14 Antioch, Archeological Museum: Mosaic featuring the four seasons (Kairos)

Chronos; with regard to hairstyle and wings they rather conform to Eros in many cases; sometimes, however, they are demonstratively childlike. On the one hand they always closely resemble each other with regard to size, age bracket, hairstyle, and composition, on the other hand they are distinguished from each other by wreaths, attributes, and (occasionally) costume. They are coequal and equivalent, but non-exchangeable. They are characterised by the produce of nature: flowers are attributed to spring, grain spikes to summer, grapes to autumn, and reed to winter. At the same time, they are characterised by attribute animals: For spring a ram (Aries) hints at the zodiac sign of the beginning of spring, for summer a lion reminds of the corresponding astrological constellation. From a different domain come the duck and boar as typical game of wintertime and the panther assigns to autumn, because of its connection to Bacchus, the god of wine.



15 Image of “Le monde” in Gilles Corrozet’s “Hecatographie” (1540)

In contrast to Roman sarcophagi, seasons on mosaics nearly always appear as female figures. In the former case (male youths on sarcophagi) the Latin term “Tempora” underlies the image, in the other one (mosaics) the Greek term “Horai”. In just a few cases, e. g. in Antioch and Seleucia, the mosaic pictures, too, display boys (fig. 14).

Some representations of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. possess labels calling them “Kairoi”, so that their interpretation is clear.<sup>97</sup> Although the “Kairoi” were thus deduced from “Kairos” from a linguistic point of view, they had different connotations. The collocation between the term “Kairos” and Lysippos’ statue has irrevocably been lost here.

<sup>97</sup> Abad Casal 1990a, 891-920 no. 62 (Antoninian mosaic from Antioch); no. 245-248 (examples with inscriptions from the 3rd century A. D. onwards).

Medieval and Early Modern representations only exceptionally and, if so, only indirectly depend on the formal repertory of the Late Classical statue; usually this is the case, exactly when the figure was not recognised in its original meaning, but identified as *Tempus*. Thus, Francesco Salviati used the relief in the Medici Collection between A. D. 1543 and 1545 as a model for a fresco in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence;<sup>98</sup> he took over from the ancient figure the beard, the pair of scales, the foot wings, and the spinal wings. The same model was utilised for an emblem published in Gilles Corrozet's "Hecatographie", firstly (1540) under the title of "Le monde" (fig. 15), later (1544) as "Le temps".<sup>99</sup>

Even clearer and perhaps even more direct is the dependence on the Medici relief for a copper engraving printed by G. C. Capaccio in A. D. 1592 as an example of an emblem without an inscription (fig. 16): It shows a winged and bearded man running to the right, balancing a pair of scales on a wheel in his extended right hand and, at the same time, regulating the position of the scale pans with two stretched fingers of the left hand.<sup>100</sup> The gesture of the left hand, in particular, leaves no doubt about the dependency on the antique model and thus ultimately also on Lysippos' statue. In contrast to the Medici relief, the bearded runner wears a wreath and winged boots. Similarly to Corrozet before him, Capaccio interpreted the figure as an image of "effetti del tempo" and thus failed to establish the connection with the statue of *Kairos* known in the literature. This also explains why the copper engraving interpreted the object in the extended right hand as a cartwheel: Without knowledge of the literary sources, the semicircular object of the antique relief could not be recognised as a razor. Francesco Salviati probably used the same antique model for a fresco in Palazzo Sacchetti in Rom, too.<sup>101</sup>

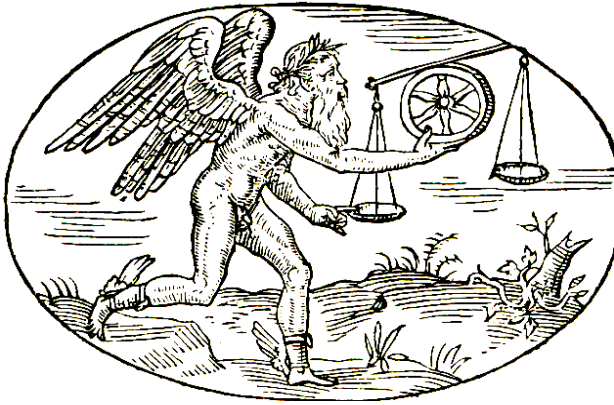
98 Paolozzi-Strozzi – Schwarzenberg 1991, 307-316 with fig. 1.

99 Corrozet 1540. 1544 fig. Niib.- On the emblem of A. D. 1544: Henkel – Schöne 1967, 1813.

100 Capaccio 1592, I 4.- Greifenhagen 1935, 84 fig. 20.

101 Paolozzi-Strozzi – Schwarzenberg 1991, 310 fig. 4.- The figure represents a beardless youth; what speaks against its use in the *Kairos* relief in Turin (Altekamp 1981, 145), is the different hairstyle with the strongly elongated front curls.





16 Copper engraving from G. C. Capaccio, “Delle imprese trattato” (1592)

When in the Middle Ages or in Early Modern Times, not *Tempus*, but *Kairos* or *Occasio* were to be allegorised, this happened on the basis of the literary sources. The pictures picked up iconographic elements from the ancient texts and their adaptations which, for their part, ultimately went back to Lysippos' statue. Since artists resorted to different texts and implemented their information with different accuracy, the resulting artworks widely differ, not only in aspects untouched by the texts, but also with regard to the attribution and emphasis of the described elements. Sculptors, drawers, painters, and engravers in copper used the blanks of poetry to provide their own ideas with a vivid shape. Thus, a relief (probably 11th century) in Torcello (fig. 17)<sup>102</sup> shows *Kairos* shaven and with the attributes of the Late Antique literary descriptions: with a pair of scales as in *Himerius*, with wheels as in *Ausonius*, and with a knife. But the knife no longer is a razor, but has a long blade. And it is not used for balancing the scales, but is swayed overhead. This, in turn, corresponds to the description by the Byzantine author *Tzetzes*:<sup>103</sup> *Chronos* holds “πρὸς τὸ κατόπιον μάχαιραν”; he holds a sword (or large knife) behind his back. The figure has been integrated into a

102 Moreno 1995, 195 no. 4.28.5.- Greifenhagen 1935, 70-71. fig. 4.

103 *Tzetzes*, *Chiliades* 8, 428-434.- Kansteiner 2007, 106-107.



17 Torcello di Venezia, Duomo, Santa Maria Assunta: Medieval relief

scene: One man grabs it at a tuft of hair; another one has just missed it. A mourning woman to the right, behind the running man, is reminiscent of Ausonius' poem in which Occasio is connected to repentance (*Metanoia*). The Medieval sculptor of this relief used no model of the Lysippian *Kairos*; obviously the iconographic tradition had been broken. But undoubtedly, he was aware of Late Antique or Byzantine texts meant to describe the statue. This must also have been the case with an illumination in a manuscript on Mount Athos<sup>104</sup> of A. D. 1602. An addendum calls the figure “*Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ*”, which corresponds to Posidippus' epigram. This *Kairos*, however, is bearded like *Tempus* or *Chronos*. Admittedly, his hairstyle, foot wings, and knife conform to the literary evidence, but their shape decidedly differs from the Late Classical original. Instead, the pair of scales and the spinal wings, unmentioned by Posidippus, are missing.

As was shown by Rudolf Wittkower, the representations of the “*occasione con la penitenza*” by Giorgio Vasari (around A. D. 1565) and by Girolamo da Carpi (around A. D. 1540) had been

104 Moreno 1990, 923 *Kairos* 15 with additional examples.- Bouras 1966, 26-34 pl. 14-19.



18 Occasio in Andrea Alciato's "Emblemata" (1584)

inspired by Ausonius' poem, and the other ancient sources had been considered, too, in the second case.<sup>105</sup>

The 16th-century Books of Emblems are also based on the literary texts as to their explanation of Occasio.<sup>106</sup> Thus, the "Emblematum liber" of Andrea Alciato of A. D. 1531 contains a Latin version of Posidippus' epigram of Kairos under the title "In occasionem".<sup>107</sup> Alciato takes over the dialogue form of the model, calls Lysippos of Sicyon the creator of the work, and – like Posidippus – mentions foot wings, razor, front curls, and bald occiput as attributes. Despite

105 Wittkower 1984, 207–217.

106 Henkel – Schöne 1967, 1809–1811. – An exception is the aforementioned emblem in Gilles Corrozet's "Hecatographie", the illustration of which goes back to the ancient relief in the Medici Collection.

107 Alciato 1531 A 8 Emblema CXXII. – Henkel – Schöne 1967, 1809.



19 Emblem of J. J. Boissard (1588)

the title, the adaptation avoids naming the described figure and circumscribes it as “*capti temporis articulus*”, i. e. as a representation of an opportunity being seized. The image added to this features a woman naked except for a loincloth. In analogy to the text, her hairstyle consists of long front curls blown forward and a bald occiput; in contrast to it, the figure stands on a sphere unmentioned in the text, while the quoted foot wings are missing; the attributes in its hands can hardly be explained as razors. In the Latin-French edition published in Paris in A. D. 1548, Posidippus is explicitly mentioned as the source of the poem.<sup>108</sup> The added illustration (fig. 18) with the title of “*In Occasionem*” once more displays a nude female with her forelocks blowing in the wind and a bald neck, but adds foot wings and a knife in the right hand and enhancing the compliance with the literary text. On the other hand, the image provides a new interpretation of *Occasio*, since the figure is crossing the sea on a cartwheel between two ships.

In J. J. Boissard’s “*Emblematum liber*” of A. D. 1588 the dependency on Ausonius’ poem becomes clear.<sup>109</sup> The illustration (fig. 19) with the title “*Qui perd l’occasion, tard se repend*” shows a flying naked woman, whose hip-length front curls are dauntlessly seized

<sup>108</sup> Alciato 1584, 169-170.

<sup>109</sup> Boissard 1588, 60-61.

by a warrior in an antique suit of armour. This is matched by the fact that “l’occasion” – like Victoria elsewhere – holds a palm leaf as a trophy. Her occiput is bald, which is additionally stressed by the addendum “a tergo calva est”. The flying Occasio is vainly persecuted by an appalled woman; the Latin text calls her *Metanoea* (like Ausonius), the longer French version “la penitence”. Boissard’s warrior takes “Occasio” prisoner like an opponent by pulling her to the ground by her hair; by doing so, he observes the exhortation of the antique literary texts. In a 16th-century medallion it is the running *Fortuna*, who is seized by a tuft of hair by a warrior and pulled back like an enemy on a battlefield.<sup>110</sup> The circumscription “velis - nolis-ve” additionally underlines the violence of the grasp not aiming at a single opportunity here, but at fortune in general. Emblems of this kind could easily be transferred into other genres and included into new contexts, e. g. into the architectural decoration of a Spanish palace just as well as into poems by Martin Opitz or Heinrich Heine.<sup>111</sup>

A synopsis reveals that Lysippos’ statue amalgamated the concepts of *Kairos* (and thus of certain aspects of time) into an experienceable, sensuously perceptible form. What is most striking in this, is the fallback to a Homeric verse already proverbial at the time and describing the culmination of a dangerous situation by placing it “on a knife’s edge”. It owes its lasting effect to the inclusion into the *Iliad* and the authority of its alleged creator, Homer, but its figurative implementation in the statue of *Kairos* may have had a share in its staying familiar until Late Antiquity and beyond. Due to the transcription of *Kairos* into the medium of literature, resulting from Posidippus’ epigram, the aspects made concrete by Lysippos were unambiguously (and at the same time biasedly) interpreted two generations later. The reception of Posidippus’ epigram into anthologies of poems provided for continued propagation of the acquaintance with Lysippos’ statue, even at a time, when the iconographic tradition had been broken in Late Antiquity. Thus,

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110 Warburg 2008, 35-36. 37. 118 fig. 50.

111 Architectural decoration: Zafra 2004, 688-692 with fig. 19-22.- In Early Modern literature: Rüdiger 1966, particularly 131 (Opitz). 162-163 (Heine).

an isolated element has survived to this day, namely the German proverbial notion of an opportunity having to be seized at “a tuft of hair”. It originated from the hairstyle of the statue of Kairos unambiguously and arbitrarily interpreted by Posidippus and transmitted further in a linguistically concise form. Additionally, the epigram enabled a linguistic transfer: The Latin adaptations translated the word Kairos either with “Tempus” or with “Occasio” and thus accepted a shift of meaning: “Tempus” could no longer be perceived as a male youth, and the renaming suppressed the incidental and arbitrary aspect of Kairos. As regards content, the translation of “Kairos” with “Occasio” chosen by Ausonius was more to the point, but it demanded a sex reversal. In contrast to the Latin texts, the statue keeps its original name in the Greek adaptations, even in the 4th century A. D.. Therefore, it is all the more striking that the Byzantine authors of the Middle Ages take up the Latin version and interpret the figure as “Chronos”, i. e. time in general. They obtained their knowledge of the statue not immediately from Posidippus or from any of the Greek adaptations, but – circuitously – from the Latin-speaking West. In the Middle Ages and particularly in Early Modern Times, the literary descriptions were retransferred into images once more.

Beside the literary tradition, there is the monumental one; in this, transcription into different media and revised versions played an important role, too. A first transcription can be grasped by the production of a (lost) relief version created perhaps in the Late Hellenistic period, i. e. in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. It transferred the three-dimensional and voluminous movements and forms of the statue into a two-dimensional genre, so that the figure with its attributes became legible from a single view. This relief version provided the model for the surviving copies in Turin, Trogir, and Athens; it is possible that also some of the intaglios with a beardless Kairos can be traced back to this. A second relief version, perhaps created not before the Roman Imperial period, changed the figure into a bearded man and thus corresponded to the interpretation as “Tempus” as it is found in the Latin poem of Phaedrus. This, too, was distributed in the shape of relief copies such as intaglios. It stands out from both the images of Kairos and

the representations of *Tempus* that the reliefs closely correspond to each other as regards form and thus copy the common model more exactly, than is the case with the intaglios showing much more variation, e. g. with regard to the specification of attributes, the shaping of the wings, and the handling of the scales. The illustrations have been adapted to the shift of meaning resulting from the Latin translation; they carry on the reinterpretation by the substitution of attributes. In Late Antiquity, the iconographic tradition of *Kairos* was obviously interrupted; Medieval and Early Modern artists produced representations of *Occasio* on the basis of the literary sources without creating a new and binding iconography. Anyhow, the concept of *Kairos* persisted right up to the present day.<sup>112</sup>

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#### PROSPECTS

The statue of *Kairos* offers itself as a case study on the genesis, mediality, and dynamics of cultural figurations for several reasons: It is well documented by antique sources of different epochs, both by the literary tradition and by copies and reflections in the visual arts. The ancient sources are manifold but manageable yet and mostly well published. Therefore we can reconstruct, when and in which works the concise concepts of the decisive moment obtained their recurrent shape and in which way this obtained a revised form: In the time around 700 B. C. in the linguistic image of epic verse; in the time of Alexander the Great by Lysippos' statue of *Kairos*; in Early Hellenism with Posidippus' epigram; in the Early Roman Imperial period by relief copies and the reinterpretation in the Latin adaptations.

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112 This is shown by the discussion of the term in philosophy (e. g. Barthes 2005, 279-289; Agamben 2006, 82-83; Konersmann 2007, 327-348) and theology (cf. Englert 2001, 739) in recent decades. Modern literature: Rüdiger 1966, particularly 131 (Opitz). 162-163 (Heine).

In this tableau Lysippos' statue proves a tangible and visible concretion of current contemporaneous concepts, that is the actual morpheme. This study has not only investigated its formation and its sustainability, but also revealed its fading since Late Antiquity and its revival in Early Modern Times. Thereby it made clear that Lysippos' Kairos included the almost 400-year-old linguistic image of the Iliad that had, for its part, long become recurrent because of its proverbial use. Thus, the latter could be understood as a morpheme of a notion of crisis-laden culmination, too. In relation to the statue of Kairos it represents a proto-morpheme in the sense that, formally composed in the medium of an epic, it offered a pre-condition for the formation of the morpheme in the strict sense. Subsequently it was literary adaptations again, that achieved unambiguousness of interpretation and thereby rendered possible the sustainability of the morpheme to the present day, although only for a single element. The complex and initially ambivalent message of the statue was namely reduced to the exhortation to seize the opportunity "by a tuft of hair".

At the same time, Lysippos' statue is only one morpheme of time beside several others in the 4th century B. C. Aristotle's remarks, which can partly be connected to this but, to a major degree, impart different ideas, are an approximately contemporaneous concretisation. It is exactly the analysis of Kairos as a manifestation of time concepts which reveals that this philosophical text must not indiscriminately be considered generally binding for its period.

Even though the shape of Kairos has been handed down in Antiquity with constant main features, the ideas connected to it have changed, at least partly – as was demonstrated in the present study: The same figure obtained a different meaning by renaming which, again, caused adjustments of iconography. Reversely, an identical naming could be combined with a totally changed iconography. This was obviously the case with the Roman Imperial and Late Antique "Kairoi" representing the seasons of the year and thus a predictable cyclical process. They typify completely different concepts, than does the statue of the 4th century B. C., and form a morpheme complementary to Lysippos' Kairos – as do the images of the zodiac, the twelve months, or the seven planetary gods.



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This publication examines how archaeological objects concretise notions of time, giving them tangible form. The focus is on a particular statue, depicting the “opportune moment” or Kairos, created by the Greek sculptor Lysippos and dating from the era of Alexander the Great. It will be shown how this statue absorbed earlier notions of the opportune moment, combined them into a new form, and thus imbued this form with lasting potency.

The statue was interpreted and re-interpreted in art and literature since Classical times, and, in changing from one medium to another, emphasis was put on new aspects. Because of this, the long-lost statue has made a potent and lasting impact on people’s notions of time.



ISBN 978-3-7705-5614-4



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WILHELM FINK