

POWER MOTIVATION IN SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, EUGIPPIUS, AND NONNUS

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Power can be thought of as the capacity to produce effects, consciously and unconsciously intended, on the behaviour and feelings of others. Power motivation arises when an individual experiences a need that can only be fulfilled by inducing appropriate behaviour in others.¹ Ideals of service are an important means for taming or socializing power, rendering it more acceptable. This often means that a drive for power is marked by talk of duty and responsibility. The ranks of teachers, psychologists, clergymen, journalists, and urban planners contain above average numbers of people with a high power motivation.² It can be hard to distinguish legitimate and necessary leadership from coercion and domination, for the latter may not be perceived as such by followers.³ People vary enormously in the degree to which they are prepared to challenge existing structures and norms to gain power, and they vary in their response to the attainment of power. The mere status of their position may be sufficient for some: power is not vigorously or selfishly exercised, nor is it conspicuously displayed. There may be present a fear of power, i.e., a fear of abusing it, which is defended against by maintaining that power is not one's own but a gift of grace to be used for the benefit of others. Charismatic or messianic leaders often make this claim. They are able to enhance the self-esteem of followers by providing a potent object of identification, and they lead by making their followers feel powerful rather than by commanding them. Identifying with any winner or hero, whether

sporting, religious, or political, provides a vicarious experience of power.⁴ The need for power, therefore, is not only about a drive to influence others.

Alcohol consumption induces a feeling of power. For those frustrated in their hopes of gaining real power, it offers a substitute, as do sex and violent behaviour. A drive for personalized power may be accompanied by high alcohol consumption, low inhibition of impulses, and, more so than socialized power, it has a present orientation, a moment-by-moment quality that has to be constantly reaffirmed. Gambling offers opportunities to impress and to win in the short run. A socialized power drive is characterized by low alcohol consumption and high inhibition, and may be advertized by dietary and sexual asceticism.

The legendary Don Juan exemplifies a high need for personalized power. Devoid of altruism, doubt, or sensitivity to the needs of others, he is driven to approach and seduce women. He displays an exaggerated male striving for sexual control and irresistible prowess. Yet he is threatened by women, and tricks, debases, and flees them. He both seeks and avoids feminine fusion.⁵ A master of dissimulation and disguise, Don Juan demonstrates how the power motive is associated with aliases, anonymity, and the control of information about the self via transformation and masks. He gambles for high stakes and scorns the future. Don Juans may be conquistadors of both hearts and territory, but usually not for long.⁶

Examination of the power motive is not the only way of studying power in an author but is the approach we have adopted with three fifth-century writers who provide figures of power for identification with. Sidonius Apollinaris, senator and, later, bishop, provided definitions of imperial power in verse panegyrics of three emperors. Early in the sixth century, Eugippius, disciple of St Severinus, wrote in praise of this ascetic hero and servant of humanity, who died in A.D. 482. Severinus exercised a good deal of power in the Norican communities where he spent most of his mature years.⁷ Like Sidonius' panegyrics, the *vita* is a blend of ideal type and historical background. Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is, *inter alia*, an extended panegyric, for it closely adopts the encomiastic structure and episodes recommended by Menander Rhetor.⁸

Sidonius' panegyric on Avitus (456), Marjorian (458), and Anthemius (468), poems 7, 5, and 2 respectively, owe much to the imperial eulogistic tradition in general, and to Claudian in particular. In late antiquity, panegyrics were a means of co-opting generals into the traditional power structure by telling them how to behave as protectors of Romania.⁹ The emperor is a divine protege and embodied proof of a harmonious relationship with the gods, especially Roma, for his manly virtue and military success

indicate divine favour. With victory secured, divine favour produces peace, prosperity, and unity in the empire. The emperor's *pietas* produces good character traits such as clemency, modesty, restraint, kindness, lack of lust for power. Subjects can gladly count on his power and flock to him not out of fear but attracted by hope of good treatment and by identification with his strength. A recurrent theme is his ability to control the elements. In short, a highly socialized ideal of power, with the emperor eschewing revolutionary innovations and asserting himself for Rome's welfare. He is an inspiring figure and an earthly counterpart to Jupiter. Naturally, the appetites that suggest a personalized power drive are passed over.¹⁰

In Sidonius' panegyrics, self-restraint is mentioned, though not stressed.¹¹ Its existence may be inferred from lack of reference to such power oriented behaviour as accumulating or flaunting prestige possessions (apart from the normal imperial regalia, 5.3-4, 7.577-80: cf. the image of Superman). The dominant image is that of the emperor as great hunter, athlete, and warrior. Foreign foes fear him as much as animals presumably do, for he is a great butcher and a hero in the classical epic tradition.¹² The relationship with Roma is interesting because by personifying duty and a higher cause in this way, Roma is seen to act out of self-interest in stimulating and guiding the emperor's activity to revive her. But whatever can be done for her benefits the whole empire.¹³

St Severinus arranged the lives of the monks in the monasteries he founded (4.6, 19.1), organized Roman provincials into taking defensive and offensive action against heretic barbarian marauders (1.4, 7.2), and asserted himself effectively against barbarian rulers.¹⁴ Penitential, charitable, and ascetic disciplines were enjoined on the Noricans to strengthen them against barbarian and other threats, such as plague and famine.¹⁵ Severinus gave unsolicited aid and advice, a common, if unconscious, power play. As a miracle worker and healer he clearly demonstrated power over nature,¹⁶ just as he exercised control over his own physical elements by fasts, vigils, and minimal clothing (4.9-10, 39.1-2). His powers allegedly included clairvoyance and prophecy.¹⁷ As a supreme example of his power, he arranged the migration of Norican communities to Italy.¹⁸ He provided, like many other holy men of the time, a very potent model of power,¹⁹ and offered leadership where it was needed as the Roman administrative power ebbed and new forms of protection and justice were necessary.²⁰

Severinus' power resembles that of the ideal Roman emperor: it is highly socialized, protects the weak, promotes justice, and is exercised on behalf of an institution. He too can intimidate barbarian rulers into returning

prisoners (19.3). His powers differ in that the contact with influencing divinity is more insistently reiterated and is exercised as much for spreading right Christian worship as upholding the current Roman order. Severinus rejects all symbols and positions of power in favour of a simplicity that actually enhances his ability to influence others to adopt practices intended to make them feel more powerful. He disdains rather than claims potency and attributes all his good effects to God.²¹ His grass roots charitable activity offered a different, more widely imitable example than the aggressive power of the emperor, whose ostentatious gift-giving was as much an act of politics as of compassion. Severinus was proof of the victory of good rather than of physical strength, beauty, and intellectual distinction. He was a charismatic leader operating outside the normal structure of power but not seeking to overthrow it, furthering a divine mission but not messianically.²²

In the first two books of Nonnus' 48-book *Dionysiaca*, before Dionysus was born, Zeus has to defeat a challenge to the existing power structure by the monstrous Typhoeus. This episode has been called "a myth of the primary political act, the establishment of active intelligence and calculation over blithering, unstructured ferocity."²³ Typhoeus does not understand the constructive use of power and the same could be said of Dionysus.

Like Alexander the Great, Dionysus gathers an army, travels east, and attacks the Indians. After great victories he enjoys a triumphal progress through Greece. He has dispensed a new order and shown the potential of the Dionysian way. The poem is soteriological as well as militaristic. A Christ-like saviour, he offers a solution to pain -- wine -- and spreads viticulture. Like Christ, he fulfils a prophecy and challenges existing values.²⁴ He appears to stand for joy and freedom against absolutism and control.²⁵ And like many successful revolutionaries and apparent saviours, Dionysus becomes a betrayer. The last seven books are marked by failure, defeat, brutality, and destruction, for which Dionysus is either directly responsible, or indirectly, in that they occur in his brave, new, corruptible regime.²⁶ Icarion is murdered by drunken rustics and Ariadne turned to stone; the Argive women are driven mad and turned into child-killers; Pentheus is torn to pieces and Aura raped and psychologically destroyed. Bliss and harmony remain elusive. This is not surprising, given the nature of Dionysus' gift which, when imbibed freely, increases aggression and the drive for personalized power.²⁷

Dionysus' exercise of power is not notable for its altruism, is not primarily socialized. It bears many resemblances to the Don Juan syndrome. Although less promiscuous than Don Juan, Dionysus' quasi-necrophiliac rapes

of the nymphs Nicaia and Aura, deflowered while they are drugged with wine, is consistent with a major theme of the poem, sexual exploitation and callous inter-gender relations. Zeus with Europa and Persephone, (would-be) satyr and Indian rapists display a similar attitude. Dionysus' fear of stepmother Hera and his dependence on nurses and masculine women for protection is matched by the violence of his attempts to dominate and humiliate men, women, and animals.²⁸ The Indian war, with its male-female combats, illustrates at length the theme of sexual rivalry. The greater success of the females touches on a phenomenon deeply threatening to most men. Intra- and inter-gender contests for power range from formal games to insult exchange and efforts to convince that wine, not honey or ambrosia, is the best food. Even for a god, Dionysus has an unusual number of alternative names. His capacity for transformation and disguise constantly puts others at a disadvantage, and keeps them at a distance.²⁹ Nonnus' characters relate and communicate poorly with each other.³⁰

Further insight into power motivation in our three authors is provided by a model of power drives that is linked to the stages of ego maturity.³¹ The need for power is primarily about the need to feel powerful. People seek power to overcome a sense of weakness or inferiority. The greater the feeling of weakness, the higher the proneness to fancies of omnipotence. If the environment increases one's sense of power, a primary objective has been fulfilled. The source of strengthening may be either outside or inside the self, and the target or object of power can be the self or another. There are therefore four different ways of feeling powerful, depending on the relationship between sources and objects, and these correspond to four stages of ego development:

Stage 1: Support or Intake Mode. The object of power at this stage is to strengthen the self, the source of power is external. It is the oral, supported stage. "It" (God, my mother, my leader, spouse, friends, sporting heroes, food) strengthens me. I incorporate strength from another, like a baby sucking milk. I like, draw strength from being in the presence of or contemplating powerful others. I may be prone to imbibe power from drugs. This is the way of the client or mystic, and folk tale themes illustrating this stage feature eating, taking, leaving, (fear of) abandonment. There is a respectful attitude to (assumedly) benevolent authority.

Stage 2: Autonomy or Self-actualizing Mode. The object of power here is to strengthen the self, the source of power is internal. It is the anal, self-reliant, self-willed stage. I strengthen, control, direct myself. I do not need to depend on others. The self may be extended to include

controllable possessions, and prestige possessions are sought and accumulated, or the emphasis may be on self-discipline and asceticism. It is the way of the body-builder, yogi, dieter, and the collector and the compulsive routinizer. Anger must be curbed. Although controlling the self is more important than impressing others, self-actualization (e.g., by singing, dancing, body-building) may be exhibitionistic. The illustrative folk tale themes are: I / he have or go and find (valuable possessions or special knowledge). The attitude to authority is, inevitably, critical.

Stage 3: Assertion Mode. The object of power is to influence others, the source of power is internal. It is the phallic, assertive, competitive, arguing stage. I have an impact on others, can exploit or help (i.e., assume superiority over) others. It is the way of the criminal, athlete, lawyer, politician, journalist, teacher, Don Juan. Folk tale themes deal with hunting and being able. Anger and hostility are expressed, for the attitude to authority is rebellious, but much depends on whether this is done in (a) an impulsive, self-endangering way (criminal, Don Juan) or (b) in a disciplined, constructive, socialized way (teacher, army officer, top administrator).

Stage 4: Mutuality or Moralized Action Mode. The object of power here is to influence others, the source of power is external. It is the stage of mutual genitality, principled assertion, duty, membership in voluntary organizations. "It" (religion, laws, my group) move me to serve, influence others. The need for power is satisfied by joining and by subordinating personal goals to a higher, impersonal authority, showing compassion, serving the common good. "Thy will be done," and I will feel strong and happy. It is the way of the messiah, manager, scientist. The illustrative folk tale theme is: we / they ascend or fall (obedience to hierarchy).

All four of these modes of satisfying power needs have their appropriate time and place, and the mature person moves easily amongst them. Immaturity means being over reliant on one or two.³² A great spiritual leader like Jesus healed, possessed unusual knowledge, influenced others effectively, and was especially compassionate. In his portraits of emperors, Sidonius emphasizes stage 3, assertive behaviour, in its socialized, disciplined, principled type B sub-mode. Great hunters and athletes from boyhood, they turned their aggression to protect the weak and restore the empire. In doing so, Sidonius is expressing a great deal of stage 1, support, power feeling. The power of the protective emperor is such that it flows to subjects and to the audience of the panegyric, who profess to fear abandonment (5.9-12). The strength of the panegyrist's feeling infuses the portrait of the emperor, so that he becomes a magically omnipotent figure, deriving superhuman strength

from the favour of gods and adulation of subjects. Many rulers see it in their interest to encourage the mutual flow of support between omnipotent patron and dependent, strength-imbibing clients, despite the risks of coming to believe assurances that they can, for example, reverse the incoming tide.³³ The imagined omnipotence of the father / ruler is the omnipotence of the infant ("His Majesty the Baby") who believes that mere wishing or opening the mouth to utter brings things about, projected onto a figure of undoubtedly superior power and magnified to become a sun on earth (7.1-3), a surrogate Jupiter (1.1-30), a controller of elements (2.11, 92). Sidonius makes clear that the health of Roman society depends on the virtue of the ruler. Normal cause and effect do not apply in a magical world where to read a scroll is to bring peace (7.308-10), where merely to come is to conquer.³⁴ In the panegyrics, stages 2 and 4 tend to be crowded out by stage 1 and 3 power feelings. Successful leadership and self-assertion makes the emperor so dominant that figures within as well as subjects without the poems are reduced to semi-helpless dependence, bidding him order them (7.569-71). Africa suddenly bursts into tears and appeals for aid to Marjorian (5.53-106; cf. 2.341-46). In the panegyric to Avitus, Roma laments before Jupiter her inability to protect her dominions and is sent Avitus to destroy her foes. The mere wish of Avitus restores Gaul, pale with fear (7.297-98; cf. 2.232-33) and makes the Goths do good (7.340): "So many thousands you keep in check by your nod; your influence alone keeps off the Gothic peoples" (7.341-42).

What distinguishes stage 3 B from stage 4 power is that the socially responsible leaders in the former mode see the power and authority they exercise coming from themselves rather than see themselves as true selfless instruments of higher authority. Their good works, therefore, have to be advertized if power is to be retained. Also, benevolent authority is exclusive to the clients who, while paying lip service to a higher power infusing the emperor, want and encourage the image of an immediate and incarnate protector. Rome's enemies would not have seen the emperor's activity as constructive. True compassion, on the other hand, is more inclusive, arising from tolerance and understanding.³⁵

St Severinus' long hours of prayer and his drawing strength from God suggest the stage 1 mode of feeling powerful and most of those who dealt with the saint drew strength from him. They were ready to believe he had great powers so that they themselves could feel stronger or be healed (11.1). Presumably, much of Severinus' prayer was intercessionary, for Eugippius stresses the way he used his power in the service of others. Inclined to the solitary life -- he practised periodic retreats to recharge his batteries -- he humbly

obeyed God's will that he do and organize good works in the community (4.6-7, 28.2). Eugippius also stresses his asceticism and sense of routine, the stage 2, autonomy, way of strengthening the self. He thereby preserved the power that came to him and more effectively carried out his duty. Severinus sought to impose strict standards of self-discipline (fasting, vigils), particularly at times of crisis, upon provincials and monks who sought his aid, although it was by good works as well as by asceticism that one learnt to fight by heavenly arms.³⁶ His power of insight and prophecy gave him privileged information and a prestige possession which he nevertheless used pro-socially, disclaiming all personal credit for it.³⁷ When Severinus asserts (stage 3), he does so to reproach and correct the ways of barbarian aggressors and Roman exploiters of the poor. Although his tolerance was strained by Arian heretics, his charitable activity, such as organizing alms-giving and ransoming Christian captives, a compassion which extended to brigands (4.4), and attribution of all good effects to God's power (14.3) are the marks of the stage 4 power mode. In sum, a portrait of a mature man who operated effectively in all four modes.

Nonnus has a body of mythic material to draw upon and has more scope than Sidonius or Eugippius to infuse it with his own imagination and drives.³⁸ Evidence for the intake, support mode is superabundant. Feelings of power are imbibed from rivers of wine and milk flowing from the earth, or from breasts, male and female, animal and human, mortal and immortal. Lactation imagery includes the virgin goddesses Artemis and Athene nursing infants, and a daughter her father (26.101-42, 30.127-85). Breast fixation emerges in many descriptions of women, especially when they are being spied upon, compared or furtively suckled. The cosmos appears as it would to an infant (3.379-408). The Great Mother is multiform, many-nippled, incomprehensible, even cruel, but also abundantly nurturant and fruitful. As an infant, Dionysus had a series of foster mothers -- the daughters of Lamos, Ino, Mystis, Rheia, and Corybants. As an adult, he is protected from enemies by Athene and other surrogate mothers ("See how Dionysus' nurses play the heroes," 21.44), saved from madness by Aphrodite and offered refuge at the breast of Thetis when attacked by Lycurgus (20.307-68). Immediately after dreaming of destroying the whole Indian race, he flees, in the dream, an attacking lion and hides under the sea. Bacchant's muzzle and tie up the lion (18.169-90). Even the persecuting Hera offers him her breasts to suckle and thereby regain his senses. Mother's milk matches the restorative powers of wine. Getting his nurses to destroy his enemies and enjoying unrestricted access to the breast are two infantile fantasies. Dionysus offers such access to another

source of power.³⁹ His wine offers relief from the pain of loss and abandonment, fantasies of omnipotence, and fusion with the environment. Salvation and immortality are closely associated with ingesting wine, nectar, or ambrosia (40.411-22). Dionysus' mere presence breathes power into his followers and he is the "protector of the human race" (7.96). Both vulnerable and invulnerable, Dionysus fosters a dependence on external power that mirrors his own.

The ability to change shape or appearance at will, to preserve the self and outwit or confound foes and rivals is a fantasy particularly appealing to the stage 2, autonomy, mode. Dionysus is the god of many masks. In trying to get to grips with his Protean opponent, the Indian leader Deriades cries out, "Why do you hide yourself, Dionysus? Why tricks instead of battle? Do you fear Deriades, that you change into so many strange forms?"⁴⁰ Masking and dancing (cf. masques) are closely related activities and Nonnus makes even war a dance-drama. All creatures revel and release themselves in joyous dance and explosive sound. Alien control is denied. The self actualizing aspect of the stage 2 mode is emphasized by the thirty-five different epithets for autonomous action (self-growing, -moving, -born, -circling, -spiralling, etc.), used 292 times. The self-restraint and inhibition aspect of the autonomy mode is rare in the *Dionysiaca*.⁴¹ In his account of Dionysus' early years, Nonnus proceeds straight from the oral stage to the phallic, assertive, stage 3 of hunting and wrestling (9.160-83). Needing to escape from the encircling arms of powerful mother figures, Nonnus' characters assert themselves violently and often: they mock, jeer, boast, rape; they scratch, hunt, flog, bind, and kill humans or animals; they assault the environment. But these eruptions of rage are "blithering, unstructured ferocity." They are like explosions or skyrockets, immediately painful or impressive, but failing to influence or organize others in the medium or long term.

The noble elements in Zeus' plan to give birth to a saviour whose gift of wine and jubilation will rival the gift of Demeter's corn are swamped by the prevalence of stage 1, 2, and 3A, power behaviour, in the narrative of how it came about. The dancing, rampaging hordes of Dionysus' and Deriades' armies are scarcely service organizations which, in its modest way, the Roman army became. They are groups held together by having a common external focus of hostility. Dionysus speaks freely of destroying all Indians. There is pity by individuals for individuals and humanity but little sense of mature solidarity in some altruistic cause. In so far as Dionysus' efforts are to spread the worship of himself, his motivation is narcissistic. He is required

to conduct exploits such as the conquest of India to win a place for himself in heaven. Others, such as Semele or Ampelus, who are catasterized or immortalized in some way are consoled for some loss rather than rewarded for outstanding service.⁴² People exist for Dionysus to live out his own two-way dependency needs upon, both inflating and being inflated by them. Dionysus' victory celebrations over the Indians glorify self- rather than other-assertion. As noted earlier, (p. 4), Pentheus' unwillingness to further magnify the victorious Dionysus is cruelly punished, and Dionysus' regime has a brutal side far removed from Severinus' enlightened ministry.

Icarus, who imprudently soared too high after escaping from the confinement of the labyrinth and plunged into the bosom of the sea, has lent his name to a conflict of power needs very evident in the *Dionysiaca*. Icarianism is a stage 2 act of exhibitionism and self-will that erupts into an often dangerous and suicidal, always insecure and ambivalent stage 3A attempt to be assertive, and is not at all a disciplined display of force.⁴³ It is an attempted breakout from the pull-back of stage 1 intimacy to which, in death or reunion, it eventually succumbs. Icarian imagery centres around flying, leaping into the air, fire, sun, ascent of tall structures, and, complementarily, diving underwater or descending underground. A spectacular example in Nonnus is Phaeton's fiery career across the sky and rapid descent into the river Eridanus (38.155-423). There are many literal references to birds, flying deities, leaping and dancing Bacchantes and animals, as well as flight to an underground or underwater sanctuary. There, safe in the arms of a protective figure,⁴⁴ fresh power can be absorbed and collapsed aspiration for fame and immortality can be fired anew. Phaeton reascends to take a place in the heavens. Dionysus, finding refuge with submarine Thetis, re-emerges to lead his forces.⁴⁵ Nonnus' characters shriek rather than speak, and are too busy stretching, springing, hurrying, rioting, and banging to communicate or assert intelligibly. The curse of the stage 3 power mode is nagging doubt about continued elevation and success. Swift regression to infantility and dependence (sometimes via madness or violent ecstasy) ever beckons. High Icarianism is featured by a strong need for grounding and external stimulation. Nonnus' style is extremely sensuous.⁴⁶

A degree of Icarianism can go with prolonged self-restraint and community service, as the stylite saints proved. In Nonnus it does not. To maintain, not just gain, an empire, a high need for power + high inhibition is required. Low Icarianism has passed beyond narcissistic forms of expressing a power drive to interpersonal attempts to feel more powerful by influencing others, stage 3. In Sidonius, power is expressed in the more mature stage 3B mode,

as well as in modes 1, 2, and 3A. A patriarchal, organization-revering, justice-dispensing concept prevails. In Nonnus, a matrifocal, authority-disdaining attitude prevails and retards constructive expression in the maturer modes.

If portrayals of power in Sidonius, Eugippius, and Nonnus are three aspects of power in the fifth century, in the sixth century, when they have separated out more, they can be seen as leading to, respectively, the paternalistic and bureaucratic aspect of the Byzantine empire, the healing, penitential, and charitable aspect of the Christian church, and the uninhibited, violent, rudely organized aspect of the barbarian kingdoms, so well illustrated by Gregory of Tours.⁴⁷

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NOTES

¹ D. Winter, *The Power Motive* (New York 1973) 5; cf. D. Kipnis, *The Power-holders* (Chicago 1976) 17; A. Etzioni, *The Active Society* (New York 1968) c. 13.

² Winter (at n. 1) 105 ff.

³ Cf. J.K. Galbraith, *The Anatomy of Power* (London 1984) 6, who distinguishes condign, compensatory, and conditional power, which depend, respectively, on punishment, reward, and persuasion for effect.

⁴ A. Davis, *Leadership, Love and Aggression* (New York 1983) 3.

⁵ Cf. Winter (at n. 1) c.6. Winter argues that Don Juan seeks fusion with his mother through serial seduction but cannot escape the unwelcome and threatening elements of such a prospect.

⁶ Cf. Winter (at n. 1) 193 on the general connection between war and the Don Juan legend, although the direction of causality is not clear. In Tisso's seminal story, composed in 1616, Don Juan asserts that men can gain and hold true power only if able to break free from the encircling arms of powerful women. To do this they must trick women and thereby establish male

independence. Cf. too W.J. Ong, *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality and Consciousness* (Ithaca 1981) on the whole question of male independence, indeed male life, vis-à-vis the female, and H.D. Dunn, *The Hunt as an Image of Love and War in Classical Literature*. Univ. of California diss., 1970.

⁷ On the parallels between panegyric and hagiography, see F. Chatillon, "Paulin de Perigues, auteur de la *Vita Martini*, et Sidoine Apollinaire Panegyriste des Empereurs," *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 23 (1967) 5 ff.

⁸ Cf. E.D. Lasky, "Economic Elements in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 357 ff.

⁹ G. Harrison, *The Verse Panegyrics of Sidonius Apollinaris: Poetry and Society in Late Antique Gaul*, Univ. of Stanford diss., 1985, 38.

¹⁰ See R. Seager, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 129 ff.; C.F. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and his Age* (Oxford 1933) 32 ff., 98 ff.; R. Storch, "The XII Panegyricae Latini and the Perfect Prince," *Acta Classica* 15 (1972) 71 ff.

¹¹ 2.159, 210-11, 5.124-25, 324-32, 338-41, 7.108-10, 170, 215.

¹² Cf. Harrison (at n. 9) 9; A. Aymand, "Sidoine Apollinaire et la Chasse," *Hommage à Jean Bayet, Collection Latomus* 70 (1964) 44 ff. Hercules is the archetypal hunter-server.

¹³ A strong sense of duty and *noblesse oblige* emerges from Sidonius' letters. He was sanctified for the Roman qualities of devotion, discipline, and executive ability. He was a successful man of power himself, sensitive to reputation, and negative about Epicurianism, demagogic stirrers, challengers to authority, and brutal tyrants who violate his ideals of socialized power. In letter 1.2, virtually a short prose panegyric, he comments favourably on Theodoric for hunting, living a disciplined life, protecting the weak, and being a dutiful Christian. (He notes, however, the delight Theodoric took in gambling and in inspecting his prestige possessions such as stables and treasures.) Sidonius saw power as properly hierarchical and paternalistic; and as bishop after 470, he was concerned to use his power to provide justice and protection, rather than to organize and dispense charity, though he did that too. See G. Chianéa, "Les Idées Politiques de Sidoine Apollinaire," *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger* 47 (1969) 353 ff.; W.H. Semple, "Apollinaris Sidonius: A Gallo-Roman Seigneur," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1968) 136 ff.; P. Rousseau, "In Search of Sidonius the Bishop," *Historia* 25 (1936) 356 ff.

¹⁴ 19.2, 31.5, 42.1.

¹⁵ E.g., 1.2, 28.1 People were "protected against the enemy by the armour of pious fasting," 25.3.

¹⁶ 3.3, 6.1-5, 12.1, 13.2, 14.3, 15.2-4.

¹⁷ 1.3, 3.2, 5.2, 9.1, 16.2.

¹⁸ M. Van Uytfange, "La Bible dans la 'Vie de Saint Severin' d'Eugippius," *Latomus* 33(1974) 324 ff., likens him to a second Moses, leading his people to the promised land.

¹⁹ See R. Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's life in the Early Byzantine World," in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint*, Univ. of Birmingham 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (1981) 117 ff. Browning compares the Byzantine saint to a kind of ancient Superman, a reminder of the range and power of human ability backed by God's will.

²⁰ A major theme of P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (London 1981). See too J. Dummer, "Eugippius über die Rolle der Kirche in die Übergangsprache," *Klio* 63 (1981) 639 ff.

²¹ 4.11, 14.3. Severinus was no priest, not even a monk in today's ecclesiastical sense of the term, no soldier, knight, or statesman, and yet he was all of these in one person, a quasi-Roman magistrate. See I. Bona, "Severiana," *Acta Antiqua* 27 (1973) 281 ff., esp. 326. Eugippius owes much to Biblical and earlier hagiographic figures, but there are some distinctive features in his account, notably the lack or rarity of fantastic adventures, voyages, dreams, hallucinations, and conflict with demons or Satan. See V. Pavan, "Note sul Monachesimo de S. Severino e sulla Cura Pastorale nel Norico," *Vetera Christianorum* 15 (1978) 347 ff.

²² F. Lotter, *Severinus von Noricum. Legende und Historische Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart 1976) 83; K. Gamber, "Die Severinus -- Vita als Quelle für des Gottesdienstliche Leben in Norikum während des 5. Jh.," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde* 65 (1970) 145 ff.

²³ G. Braden, "Nonnos' Typhoon: *Dionysiaca* Books I and II," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 15 (1974) 851 ff., at 878.

²⁴ 7.85-105, 366-67, 9.149-51.

²⁵ Cf. J. Lindsay, *Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt* (London 1965) 369. On parallels with Alexander see Lasky (at n. 8). On parallels with Christ and on the theme of prophecy, see F. Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis: Les Dionysiques*.

Tome 1. *Chants I-II* (Paris 1976) ix ff. Vian dates the *Dionysiaca* to 450-470. Whether Nonnus wrote the paraphrase of the St John Gospel before or after the *Dionysiaca*, the latter does raise questions about Nonnus' understanding of Christianity.

²⁶ W.F. Otto, *Dionysus: Cult and Myth* (London 1965) 110.

²⁷ Cf. 45.83-84, where Pentheus says, "What wine always does is to drag drunken men into lust; what wine does is to excite an unstable man's mind to murder." Translation here and elsewhere by W.H.D. Rouse, *Dionysiaca* (London 1945).

²⁸ Cf. R.F. Newbold, "Discipline, Bondage and the Serpent in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*," *Classical World* 78 (1984) 89 ff.

²⁹ Discussed at great length by W. Fauth, *Eidos Poikilon. Zur Thematik der Metamorphose und zum Prinzip der Wandlung aus dem Gegensatz in dem Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Göttingen 1981).

³⁰ They rave on with little effect or to no-one in particular. Cf. J. Winkler, *In Pursuit of the Nymphs: Sex and Comedy in Nonnos' Tales of Dionysus*, Univ. of Texas diss., 1974, 23 ff., 96.

³¹ For what follows see D.C. McClelland, *Power: the Inner Experience* (New York 1975) c.2; *idem*, *Human Motivation* (London 1984) c.8.

³² It can be difficult to attribute some features of the power syndrome to one stage. Drinking alcohol could belong to the intake mode 1 or could heighten the aggressive behaviour of mode 3. Explosive comment, interruptive talk may stem from stage 1 orality or from stage 3 assertiveness. To accumulate rather than exercise power, to be focussed, concentrated and absorptive rather than active and victorious in the field may be the collecting behaviour of stage 2 or the gathering of resources for the radiance and service activity of stage 4. Stage 4 self-transcendence may resemble stage 1 submergence in the other.

³³ The alternative is to reduce subjects' expectations and tone down their image and bring it closer to reality. See Kipnis (at n. 1) 64 ff., 154 ff., and esp. 168 ff.

³⁴ 5.367, 584-85, 7.308-10, 415-16. Cf. Harrison (at n. 9) 42 ff., 215 ff. Cf. too P. Slater, *The Glory of Hera* (Boston 1968) 150: "Observers have often wondered at the strange divinity lavished on kings and queens by their insistent subjects. But from the point of view of the follower, the most important quality a leader must have is protective power so that he may

satisfy his followers' dependency needs. Since leaders are mortal, ways must be sought to aggregate this power psychologically and the most common method is to increase his 'mana'," and to encourage the ruler to remain in or revert to a state of infantile narcissism, where he is always looked at and admired for his omnipotence and where merely wishing achieves results.

³⁵ Many clerics, therefore, act, and are expected by their flocks to act, in mode 3B rather than mode 4.

³⁶ 1.4, 2.1, 2.2, 36.4.

³⁷ Bona (at n. 21) contends that Severinus' clairvoyance was really well informed judgment based on gathered intelligence. If so, this illustrates the connection between special knowledge and power once more. But such scepticism is unnecessary. For millennia and across cultures, the occult and hagiographic traditions have insisted that asceticism, particularly sexual continence, brings or enhances psychic powers.

³⁸ Dionysus and subordinate characters are poorly individualized, so that much of what one says about the psychological mechanisms in the poem applies to all characters. They spring from a relatively undifferentiated psychic matrix. Cf. F. Bornmann, "Sulla Specdizione di Dioniso in India," *Studi Italiani di Filologica Classica* 47 (1975) 52 ff., esp. 55; G. D'Ippolito, *Studi Nonniani* (Palermo 1964) 52.

³⁹ The provision and imbibing of wine, eliminating as it does the female breast as a source of strength, helps overcome male insecurities over their dependency on women. See J.O. Waddell, "Sucking at the Father's Breast: Oral Magic in Algonquin-European Transactions," *Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology* 6 (1982) 255 ff.

⁴⁰ 36.339-40. See Fauth (at n. 29); Otto (at n. 26) 86; C. Kerényi, *Dionysos* (London 1976) 80. Also, I. Massey, *The Gaping Pig: Literature and Metamorphosis* (Berkeley 1976).

⁴¹ The wandering Artemis checks herself from shooting animals (22.51-54). When an Indian checks himself from intercourse with a slain Bacchant, he is primarily motivated by Deriades' threat of punishment. Deriades only banned rape because it might detract from efficiency in killing Bacchants (35.17-30). Discipline is imposed from outside, by threats or bondage: cf. Newbold (at n. 28).

⁴² 10.120-25, 11.480-81, 12.173-87, 38.424-31.

⁴³ See McClelland (at n. 31) c.5, "The Icarus Complex: Traditional Mexico." McClelland takes his cue for High Icarianism among Mexicans from their identification with the power and glory of the skyrockets they delight in setting off, rockets which fall, spent, back to mother earth.

⁴⁴ Usually female, since physically or emotionally absent fathers (cf. Zeus and Dionysus) characterize this syndrome.

⁴⁵ 21.279 ff. Cf. Ambrosia who actually attacks Lycurgus, flees, "And the earth, mother of all fruits, opened a gulf and received Ambrosia, the nurse of Bromios alive in a loving embrace." Ambrosia then becomes a vine and throttles Lycurgus (21.3-22).

⁴⁶ L.R. Lind, "Un-Hellenic elements in the *Dionysiaca*," *L'antiquité Classique* 7 (1938) 57 ff.

⁴⁷ And commented upon by E. Auerbach, *Mimesis* (New York 1957) c.4. Cf. p. 79: ". . . unqualified force comes to the fore in every local district, so that the central governments are no longer alone in its possession . . . lusts and passions . . . show themselves in the raw and palpable immediately . . . to him who would describe (this brutal life), it presents itself as devoid of order and difficult to order, but tangible, earthly, alive."