The concept of Ananke in Greek Literature before 400 BCE

Submitted by Alison Clare Green to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Classics, February 2012.

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signed..........................................................
Abstract

This study seeks to explore the concept of ἀνάγκη (and the related terms ἀναγκαίος and ἀναγκαίως) in Greek literature written before 400 BCE. All passages containing these words from the time period were located, translated and analysed according to specific criteria concerning the usage and interpretation of the term. The resulting exploration was then split into five main sections: physical compulsion, moral compulsion, cosmology, circumstantial compulsion and the personification of compulsion. These sections were then examined according to both context and subtle differences in the meaning of ἀνάγκη terms within these contexts. The vast majority concerned some form of violence, physical force or fear of violent repercussions. Although the focus was on the interpretation of texts dating to before 400 BCE, owing to their fragmentary nature but considerable importance, the cosmological texts had to be examined in conjunction with later texts in order to shed more light on the meaning of ἀνάγκη in this context. Statistical analysis was performed on the 466 texts located and they were further analysed to track variations across time and genre-specific usages. Several types of usage were seen to develop only towards the end of the fifth century after 450 BCE including the notion of relative compulsions; the necessity for revenge and compelled alliances were seen to develop at this time. Recommendations were made with regards to the best and most appropriate translations; the majority of passages would require either the translation of coercion, constraint or compulsion for ἀνάγκη with the exception of the adjectival ἀναγκαίος which can mean blood relatives or similarly obligated individuals. The translation of necessity, although generally the given interpretation of ἀνάγκη was seldom appropriate since it did not grasp the entire meaning of the term in context.
# Table of Contents

Title Page 1  
Abstract 2  
Table of Contents 3  

1. Introduction 7  
   (i) Acknowledgements 7  
   (ii) Literature review 8  
   (iii) Why is ἀνάγκη important? 9  
   (iv) What is the etymology for ἀνάγκη? 9  
   (v) What are the primary questions to be asked about the concept of ἀνάγκη? 9  
   (vi) Methodology and rationale 10  
   (vii) Schema for the subdivisions in the database 11  
      (a) Primary categories 11  
      (b) Secondary categories 15  
      (c) Tertiary categories 17  
      (d) The author database 17  
      (e) The works database 18  
      (f) Other related databases 18  
   (viii) Practical implementation of the database in the thesis 18  
   (ix) Possible translations for ἀνάγκη 19  

2. Textual Commentary 21  
   (i) Interpersonal physical ἀνάγκη 21  
      (a) Simple interpersonal coercion 21  
      (b) Violent conquest 27  
      (c) ἀνάγκη as the threat or promise of violence 29  
         i) Use of ἀνάγκη to force alliances, treaties and oaths 29  
         ii) Threat of violence 32  
      (d) Use of ἀνάγκη as torture of slave witnesses in legal cases 33  
      (e) The use of ἀνάγκη as a supernatural coercive force 35  
      (f) Slavery 39  
   (ii) Phusis and physical necessity 49  
      (a) Physiological necessity 49  
         i) Necessity within the process of giving birth 49
ii) Erotic necessity

iii) Necessity that children are nursed correctly

iv) Eating and Drinking

v) Other biological necessities

vi) Poverty and other deficiencies

vii) The inevitability of Death

(b) Necessity and phusis of the natural world

(c) Prophecy

(iii) Interpersonal moral ἀνάγκη

(a) Kinship

i) Kinship and duty of care to the living

ii) Duty of Obedience

iii) Blood relations who have duties and obligations

iv) Constraints and coercion concerning marriage

(b) Gender

(c) Despotic or Tyrannical dictates rulership – necessity of obedience

i) Rulership

(d) Cultural taboos and Religious Customs

i) Burial Rituals and the duty of care

ii) Supplication

(e) Necessity of the law

(f) Oaths and Treaties as Binding Necessities

(g) Prophecy and divine dictates

i) Necessity that prophecies are fulfilled

ii) Necessity of fate and divine dictates

(iv) Circumstance, expediency and personal necessity

(a) Inevitability of certain events and behaviour

(b) The desire to preserve life and ward off death

i) The necessity to survive in certain circumstances

(c) Necessities of circumstance in the lawcourt

(d) Rhetorical and Historical Necessity

(e) The necessity of poetic composition

(f) The necessity of personal intention and revenge

(v) Cosmology
(a) Necessity as a goddess of Cosmic Order in Orphic Theogony
(b) ἀνάγκη in Philolaus and early Pythagoreanism
(c) The function of Necessity in the Derveni cosmogony
(d) Ἀνάγκη in Parmenides
   i) Analysis of Parmenides’ texts
   ii) The location of necessity in Parmenides
   iii) Personified Necessity in the fragments of Parmenides
   iv) Possible conclusions for Parmenidean ἀνάγκη
(e) Necessity in the Atomist world view
   i) Leukippos Fragment 2 – The philological debate
   ii) Demokritos Fragment 144
   iii) Aristotle
   iv) Diogenes Laertius
   v) Other sources
   vi) The form of Atomist ἀνάγκη
   vii) The debate concerning whether Atomist ἀνάγκη is extraneous or immanent?
   viii) The function of Atomist ἀνάγκη
   ix) Is Atomist Necessity Supernatural or Scientific?
(f) Non-personified reification in biological and cosmological passages
(g) ‘Logical’ Necessity in Cosmology and Pseudocosmology

(vi) Eschatology
   (a) ἀνάγκη and other underworld deities
   (b) Vase paintings of ἀνάγκη
   (c) ἀνάγκη in Pindar’s Olympian Ode II
   (d) Empedokles
      i) Empedoklean ἀνάγκη and its relationship to eschatological and theological belief in Magna Graecia
(vii) Non-cosmological personification of necessity
   (a) Non-divine personified and reified necessity
   (b) Necessity and the notion of fate or destiny
   (c) Divine personified necessity

3. Conclusions
   i) How should ἀνάγκη be translated?
(a) Interpersonal physical necessity 213
(b) Biological necessity 213
(c) Moral necessity 213
(d) Circumstantial necessity 214
(e) Fate, destiny and divine dictates 214
(f) Cosmological, eschatological and logical necessity 215
(g) Treaties and military expediency 215
(h) Personification 216
(ii) Does the use of ἀνάγκη change across time? 216
   (a) Coercion 216
      i) Compulsion 217
      ii) Constraint 220
(iii) Necessity as a relative concept 224
(iv) Does a sense of personal or individual necessity develop over the time period? 226
(v) Overall observations 229

4. Index of passages 230
5. Bibliography 241