Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of English Language and Literature

British Cultural Studies Programme

REPRESENTATION OF VIOLENCE IN THE TROUBLES POETRY OF SEAMUS HEANEY

Osman İŞÇİ

Ph.D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2024

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury concludes that Osman İŞÇİ has on the date of 05.09.2024 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his Ph.D. Dissertation titled “Representation of Violence in the Troubles Poetry of Seamus Heaney”.

Prof. Dr. Hande SEBER (Jury President)

Prof. Dr. Huriye REİS (Supervisor)

Prof. Dr. Nurten BİRLİK (Jury Member)

Prof. Dr. Özlem UZUNDEMİR (Jury Member)

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Osman İŞÇİ

To the victims of the Troubles,

To those who contributed to peace in Northern Ireland.

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ABSTRACT

İŞÇİ, Osman. *Representation of Violence in the Troubles Poetry of Seamus Heaney*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2024.

This thesis studies Seamus Heaney's Troubles poetry from the perspective of violence theory and argues that these poems represent violence performed and experienced during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Violence theory defines violence as a concept that causes multiple harm at individual and collective levels. In fact, violence denies the human qualities of any individual or community to prevent people from realising their full potential. The violence theory also classifies violence according to the form and impact of violence under three categories, namely physical, structural, and cultural violence. While physical violence is about physical attacks of which results are immediate, visible, and useful to create a sense of fear among individuals and at the community level. Moreover, structural violence refers to social, economic, and political policies and practices. The other form is cultural violence, which is about policies and practices on cultural elements such as language, religion, and customs to distort individual or collective identity as well as to justify practices of the two other violence forms. Heaney's selected poems engage with the destructive effects of these forms of violence and make the violence of the Troubles more visible. Accordingly, Chapter I analyses the representation of physical forms of violence, the deaths and injuries caused by killings, torturing, bombings, beatings in the poems "Limbo" from *Wintering Out* (1972), "Punishment", "The Grauballe Man", "Summer 1969" from *North* (1975), and "Casualty" from *Field Work* (1979) and shows that Heaney's poems of physical violence foreground the physical violence communities were subjected to during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Chapter II examines structural and cultural forms of violence. "For the Commander of the Eliza" from *Death of a Naturalist* (1966), "Requiem for the Croppies" from *Door into the Dark* (1969), "The Toome Road" from *Field Work* (1979), and "From the Frontier of Writing" from *The Haw Lantern* (1987) are examined under the structural forms of violence. Chapter II demonstrates that Heaney represents the structural form of violence as injustice and discrimination resulting from the political and social structure of Northern Ireland. Heaney's poems also focus on the British colonial policies related to the religion, language, and customs of Northern Ireland as cultural forms of violence in "Traditions" from *Wintering Out* (1972), "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" and "Funeral Rites" from *North* (1975). This thesis concludes that Heaney's Troubles poetry examines violence under the physical, structural, and cultural forms of and makes violence resulting from the Troubles more visible and functions as the voice of the victims.

Keywords

Seamus Heaney, Troubles Poetry, Troubles, Northern Ireland, violence theory, forms of violence

ÖZET

İŞÇİ, Osman. *Seamus Heaney'nin Sorunlu Yıllar Şiirinde Şiddetin Temsilir*. Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2024.

Bu tez Seamus Heaney'nin Sorunlu Yıllar Şiirini şiddet teorisi açısından inceler ve bu kategorideki şiirlerin Kuzey İrlanda'daki Sorun Yıllar'da uygulanan ve deneyimlenen şiddeti ele aldığını savlar. Şiddet teorisi şiddeti bireysel ve kolektif düzeyde çoklu zarar ve yıkıma yol açan bir kavram olarak tanımlar. Esasen, şiddet bireylerin ve toplulukların potansiyellerini tam olarak gerçekleştirmelerini önlemek amacıyla insani özelliklerini inkar eder. Ayrıca, şiddet teorisi şiddeti biçim ve etkilerine göre fiziksel, yapısal ve kültürel şiddet biçimleri olarak sınıflandırır. Fiziksel şiddet sonuçları hemen ortaya çıkan ve görünür olan fiziki fiiller ile ilgili olup bireysel ve toplum düzeyinde korku yaratmak için elverişlidir. Öte yandan, yapısal şiddet sosyal, ekonomik ve politik alandaki politika ve uygulamalar ile ilgilidir. Diğer bir şiddet biçimi olan kültürel şiddet bireysel ve kolektif kimliğe zarar vermek aynı zamanda diğer iki şiddet biçimini gerekçelendirmek üzere dil, din ve gelenek gibi kültürel bileşenlere ilişkin izlenen politika ve uygulamalardır. Heaney'nin seçili şiirleri bu şiddet biçimlerinin yıkıcı etkilerini ele alır ve Sorunlu Yıllar dönemindeki şiddeti daha görünür kılar. Bu bağlamda, tezin birinci bölümü *Wintering Out* (1972) kitabından "Limbo", *North* (1975) kitabından "Punishment", "The Grauballe Man", "Summer 1969" ve *Field Work* (1979) kitabından "Casualty" şiirlerinde ele alınan öldürme, işkence, bombalama ve dövme fiillerinin yol açtığı ölüm ve yaralanma biçimindeki fiziksel şiddetin ele alınışını inceler. Bu incelemede Heaney'nin fiziksel şiddet şiirlerinin Kuzey İrlanda'daki Sorunlu Yıllar döneminde toplumun maruz kaldığı fiziksel şiddeti öne çıkardığını gösterir. İkinci bölüm yapısal ve kültürel şiddet biçimlerini ele alır. *Death of a Naturalist* (1966) kitabından "For the Commander of the Eliza", *Door into the Dark* (1969) kitabından "Requiem for the Croppies", *Field Work* (1979) kitabından "The Toome Road" ve *The Haw Lantern* (1987) kitabından "From the Frontier of Writing" şiirleri yapısal şiddet kategorisinde incelenir. İkinci bölüm Heaney'nin yapısal şiddet şiirlerinin Kuzey İrlanda'daki politik ve sosyal yapıdan kaynaklı haksızlık ve ayrımcılığı ele aldığını ortaya koyar. Heaney'nin şiirleri Britanya'nın Kuzey İrlanda'daki din, dil ve geleneklerle ile ilgili izlediği kolonyal politikalara da kültürel şiddet biçimleri olarak odaklanır. *Wintering Out (*1972) kitabından "Traditions", *North* (1975) kitabından "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" ve "Funeral Rites" şiirleri bu konuları ele alır. Bu tez Heaney'nin Sorunlu Yıllar Şiirinin şiddeti fiziksel, yapısal ve kültürel biçimleri olarak ele aldığı ve Sorunlu Yıllar dönemindeki şiddeti daha görünür kıldığı ve şiddet mağdurlarının, kurbanlarının sesi olarak işlev gördüğü sonucuna varır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Seamus Heaney, Sorunlu Yıllar Şiiri, Sorunlu Yıllar, Kuzey İrlanda, şiddet teorisi, şiddet biçimleri

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyses selected poems from Seamus Heaney's (1939-2013) Troubles Poetry in his collections *Death of a Naturalist* (1966), *Door into the Dark (1969)*, *Wintering Out* (1972), *North* (1975), *Field Work* (1979*),* and *The Haw Lantern* (1987) to discuss how the poetry of violence represents three forms of violence, physical, structural, and cultural, caused by the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Within the scope of violence studies' theories, it argues that Heaney's Troubles Poetry can be classified as the poetry of physical violence and structural and cultural forms of violence. As explained below, the thesis defines the physical form of violence as apparent policies and practices, including any direct physical attack, beating, death, or injury on people to create and maintain a climate of fear both at individual and collective levels, and structural form of violence in the sense of policies and practices to pursue social injustices without exerting recognisable violence. It takes cultural form of violence as efforts to undermine and neglect cultural values, and traditions. Heaney's Troubles Poetry represents violence policies and practices in these forms by shedding light on different aspects and layers of violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the late twentieth century. Representation of violence in Heaney's Troubles Poetry provides a deeper understanding of the Troubles.

In analysing these poems, the present study looks at specific terms, namely the Troubles, the Troubles Poetry, and violence. As it will be discussed below in detail, these terms are key elements of Heaney's Troubles Poetry. Hence, this thesis argues that Heaney's Troubles Poetry represents three forms of violence in a way that goes beyond the dichotomy of the conflicting parties, more specifically, the British Army and the IRA. These poems reflect on the Troubles' suffering and destruction and also highlight that nothing could justify violence since it affected and harmed everyone. Similarly, this thesis asserts that Heaney's Troubles Poetry tells stories about ordinary people not seen and heard by the society. These anonymous victims enable Heaney to focus on violent incidents. The representation of violence in these poems also draws attention

to structural problems and cultural discriminatory practices that are intrinsic characteristics of the Troubles. This study demonstrates that Heaney's Troubles Poetry represents different forms of violent policies and practices through broader lenses and sheds light on suffering *per se*. The representation of violence departs from the grand narratives of the conflicting parties, the British Army and the IRA, and points to other aspects of the Troubles. In this respect, the Introduction will first discuss the Troubles as a concept and its scope in Northern Ireland. In addition to its scope, the Introduction will explore the historical background of the Troubles. Then, considering its significance, the role of religion will be discussed within the framework of the Troubles. Furthermore, there will be a part on propaganda, another useful tool for the conflicting parties during the Troubles. Following the discussion about historical and religious aspects of the Troubles, the Introduction will look at the Troubles Poetry and Seamus Heaney as a Troubles poet. This part will provide details about Heaney's poetry, with particular attention to his Troubles Poetry. The last part of the Introduction will discuss the concept of violence and its three forms, namely the physical, structural, and cultural violence, which were prevalent during the Troubles and observed in the selected poems by Heaney. Given the scope of this thesis, these terms will be defined in terms of their relevance to the study of Heaney's Troubles Poetry and the representation of three forms of violence.

The Troubles is a term that refers to problematic relations between the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland from 1968 to 1998. Its scale affected Northern Ireland and Britain's history, economy, politics, communal dialogue, and literature. There are many of Irish poets such as John Hewitt, Eavan Boland, Alice Kinsella, Michael Longley, Paul Muldoon, Patrick Kavanagh, John Montague, Brendan Behan, Derek Mahon, Louis MacNeice, and Seamus Heaney whose poetry is shaped by the Troubles. This thesis selects Seamus Heaney and focuses on his Troubles Poetry for several reasons: Firstly, there is a parallelism between Heaney's professional poetic career and the beginning of the Troubles. Heaney’s first collection, *Death of a Naturalist,* was published in 1966. The Troubles began in 1968 in Northern Ireland. Hence, Heaney’s poetic journey began

before the Troubles, and he proved himself as a poet before 1968. As one can imagine, Heaney closely observed violence in daily life during the Troubles. Secondly, Heaney extensively wrote on the Troubles and covered various aspects of these problems. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1995 for his poems produced and published during the Troubles. In this respect, it needs to be noted that Heaney won this prize "for works of lyrical beauty and ethical depth, which exalt everyday miracles and the living past" (the Nobel Prize Committee n.p). Considering that Heaney is the only poet who won the Nobel Prize in literature among his contemporaries in Northern Ireland, this thesis examines Heaney's poems on the Troubles and the representation of violence in this respect. Thirdly, his Troubles Poetry does not make propaganda of any conflicting party but concentrates on the Troubles' devastating results and explores its roots in history. Indeed, there are numerous theses and studies on Seamus Heaney. This present thesis departs from other works by analysing Heaney's Troubles Poetry under three categories: physical, structural, and cultural forms of violence. Additionally, how poems under these categories represent violence is another aspect and quality of this thesis. The categorisation of Heaney's poem under the three forms aims to provide a framework for the Troubles and the level of violence in Northern Ireland. Moreover, this categorisation will demonstrate how violence permeated daily life and how harmful it was for citizens in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, analysing the representation of violence in Heaney's Troubles' Poetry is a distinctive quality of this thesis since it contributes to the framework of Heaney's poems in this respect by classifying them as physical, structural, and cultural violence. Moreover, examining the representation of violence in these poems shows how Heaney's Troubles' Poetry explores Troubles' devastating impacts on communities and makes the suffering more visible.

Introduction part gives a definition of the Troubles, the Troubles Poetry, and violence below and explains how violence is generated and represented in the poetry of the period. The Troubles is a term that defines the violent period from 1968 to 1998 in Northern Ireland. This violent period resulted from problematic and unequal relations between the Catholics and the Protestants and

led to high tension and various forms of violence in Northern Ireland in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Historically, the relations between the two communities have been unsettled regarding many aspects of life. However, this period is named the Troubles for its high level of violence as well as incredibly destructive impacts on the Catholics and the Protestants. The eruption of violence, which was highly dominant during the Troubles, affected all parts or aspects of life in this territory. This period of violence is called the Troubles to label the scope and framework of the phenomenon in the history of Northern Ireland. Gordon Gillespie provides the following definition, "[the Troubles] is the term used to describe the violent conflict in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s until the late 1990s between members of the Protestant unionist community and Catholic nationalist community" (249). This conflict made negative impacts on society and led to serious damage and casualties in both Catholic and Protestant communities. As a result, neither Catholics nor Protestants were free from the destructive outcomes of the Troubles. Before the violence took control over the society and the incidents were named the Troubles, Catholics, together with some supporters from the Protestant community, organised marches and demonstrations in the form of civil rights movements through which they aimed to express their grievances. The civil rights movement adopted a position to protest discrimination in employment, housing, participation in social, economic, political and cultural life, and to demand equality (Ruane and Todd 124). The British authorities, however, responded to this peaceful civil rights movement with violence. Consequently, the sectarian conflict led to more violence in Northern Ireland. People from both communities were killed and injured in Northern Ireland and also in other parts of the United Kingdom and Ireland. Numerous attacks and other forms of violent actions led to severe casualties. In this regard, Landon Hancock notes:

> The Troubles have been protracted and costly in every sense of the word. From the time of the first civil rights marches in 1968 the cost, in both human and material terms, has been steadily mounting. Between 1968 and 1994, over 3,500 people died and over 35,000 were injured in Northern Ireland as a direct result of the fighting.

> Robberies, bombings, assassinations, and terror tactics spread to engulf Great Britain and the Irish Republic, greatly decreasing the common person's sense of security and impinging on the populace's personal freedom. (par. 1)

Hancock provides statistical data on the catastrophic impacts of the Troubles. These figures indicate that the life of ordinary citizens was reshaped by violence in their homeland. People suffered from various violent practices in the Troubles. Violence never brings a permanent solution or serves the good of any society. In this respect, Hannah Arendt, in her book *On Violence* (1970), draws readers' attention to a common misunderstanding about violence and states, "[i]f we look on history in terms of a continuous chronological process, whose progress, moreover, is inevitable, violence in the shape of war and revolution may appear to constitute the only possible interruption" (30). Considering the casualties and extent of damage related to the Troubles, it becomes more evident that the representation of violence through broader lenses is essential.

The advent of violence affected all directions of social life in Northern Ireland. The impacts and outcomes of violence resulting from the Troubles were not limited to physical safety concerns only. Marie Therese Fay et al. focus on the economic impact of the Troubles and state that "[it] has cost several billion pounds damage both directly and indirectly to the economy of Northern Ireland" (120). In a political conflict in which thousands of people lost their lives the decline in economy was not important to be mentioned. However, the financial aspect is essential to see the whole picture in Northern Ireland. The Troubles violated the physical safety of citizens but also damaged their economic capacity. It should be noted that economic problems worsened discrimination against the Catholics in terms of employment and housing. People were also worried about their freedom and rights in general. Regarding different forms of violent actions in Northern Ireland, among other things, Gerry Kearns lists "road blocs, army searches, petrol bombs, car bombs, warnings of car bombs, swaggering sectarian marches, punishment beatings of neighbors, sectarian and reprisal killings, 'peace walls', and increasing religious segregation" (26). Certainly, no resident in Northern Ireland was safe under these conditions. While Kearns'

list of violent practices is related to mainly one form of violence, the physical one, there were other practices such as discrimination in housing and employment and the right to education. The practice of discrimination resulted from structural and cultural forms of violence in Northern Ireland. These different forms of violence will be discussed in detail later in the Introduction. These violent actions and discriminatory practices were the reflections of an orchestrated policy on Ireland and later Northern Ireland. In this regard, Allen Feldman foregrounds the function of the British objective of this policy and refers to the public institution as well as the authorities' approach to the Catholic community. Feldman also states, "[i]n Northern Ireland the state apparatus, from policing, incarceration, social welfare, and urban planning to housing, conceives of governance in terms of counterinsurgency" (86). In light of this statement, it can be argued that the public administration and official policies aimed nothing but to keep the Catholics under control and undeveloped so that they could not protect and promote their rights. These policies have had a negative impact on the Catholics and led to higher awareness of the problems that they faced. The more the Catholics became aware of these policies, the more reaction they showed. Catholics, particularly nationalists and activists, criticised these policies in the streets or parliament when the MPs made their speeches. The following statement was made by a nationalist MP, Gerry Fitt, who criticised discriminatory and violent practices and policies in Northern Ireland:

> If the Unionist Government can exist only by having the draconian Special Powers Act to support it, by denying social justice to the 40 per cent minority in Northern Ireland, by discriminating in jobs and houses, if that Government can exist only by having all these standards to support it, that Government has the right to be overthrown. It is the moral duty of anyone who believes in Christianity and of anyone who believes in social justice to overthrow such a structure, which can exist only with such legislation to protect it. (qtd in O'Duffy 67)

Fitt's speech underlines the unequal and asymmetric treatment of Catholics in Northern Ireland and also aims to raise awareness about these wrong policies at the parliamentary and societal levels. In addition, Fitt tries to encourage people to resist these policies or to justify any form of resistance to these policies. However, one more layer of such calls is violence from other actors. In addition to the main parties, the British' security forcers' and IRA, to the conflict, there were paramilitary groups, such as the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), which exerted violence in Northern Ireland. Gillespie notes that these paramilitary groups' main activity was broadly defined as attacking people from "the other community and escaping" (32).

Of course, the time frame and common practices of the Troubles may not give a meaningful picture without knowing the source of this conflict. In his *Literature, Rhetoric and Violence in Northern Ireland, 1968-98* (2001), Patrick Grant attempts to find the origin of the Troubles in his definition when he writes that "the Northern Ireland Troubles can best be understood as an ethnic conflict in which religion is a principal marker of identity (religion, that is, as an indicator of one's lineage, regardless of whether or not one is a believer)" (25). Religion, in other words, constitutes the basis of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Different religious identities, namely Catholic and Protestant, in Northern Ireland has created and may still create problems for people in this territory. It is certain that the religious identity was the primary factor in determining living standards of citizens in the 1970s in Northern Ireland. The Troubles can be considered a period of violence and also intolerance to those who are from the other community. People were sensitive to religious, cultural, and political elements that formed their identity. Catholics and Protestants were fully aware of their different religious identity and the conflict between these two sects (MacEóin 36). Bearing in mind that there was a conflict between the religious communities, people built —in fact had to build— an isolated life and communicated with their community only. Their schools, churches, shops, and social areas were different. They did not have neighbours from the other side of the society. It is evident that there was no dialogue—or at least

not at a satisfactory level—between the Catholic and Protestant communities during the Troubles. Therefore, it can be suggested that the atmosphere of no communication created, supported, and deepened the gap between the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Due to the sectarian division, Catholics and Protestants attended their church only in Northern Ireland. The Catholic church was active in mobilising Catholics to demand their rights. People from the Catholic community have been carefully following their churches since "the [Catholic] Church has frequently been thrust into playing a political role in Ireland because it has been the institution best placed to provide stability and coherence for the Catholic community" (Mitchell 6). Given the root cause of sectarian violence, religion and religious institutions, namely the church, had an important place regarding the conflict over the course of Irish history, including the Troubles period.

Different groups were responsible for the gap between the communities in this period because violence and a violent atmosphere related to the Troubles were not a result of practices by the practices of official security forces only. In addition to these state actors, there were also non-state actors, be they from the Catholic community, such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA) or from the Protestant community, such as the Ulster Volunteer Force. As a result of this fact, people were at a higher risk of facing violence during this period. There was not a single authority that had control over Northern Ireland in the Troubles. Heaney's following observation indicates the prevalence of violence in his homeland. He notes:

> If it is not army blocks, it is vigilantes. They are very efficiently organized, with barricades of new wood and watchmen's huts and tea rotas, protecting the territories. If I go round the corner at ten o'clock to the cigarette machine or the chip shop, there are the gentlemen with flashlights, of mature years and determined mien, who will want to know my business. (*Preoccupations* 31)

As Heaney's observations indicate, army officers and unofficial actors from different paramilitary groups were influential in controlling Northern Ireland. Heaney's personal experience underlines the key characteristic of the Troubles: taking control through violence. Following eruption of the Troubles, violence dominated all fields of social life. It is seen that violence shaped and reshaped public life in Northern Ireland. Heaney's quote demonstrates that even an ordinary act, shopping, was monitored by different actors. The issue of the non-state actors, to some extent, worsened the Troubles since these actors practised various and uncontrolled forms of violence in this period. The above-mentioned personal observation also sheds light on ordinary citizens' situation: they had no idea about the rules of the conflict because of the unpredictability of violence. Heaney says, "How far they are in agreement with the sentiments blazoned on the wall at the far end of the street I have not yet enquired" (*Preoccupations* 31). Moreover, Heaney's observation reveals that those who exerted violence were not bound to any rules or accountable for their actions to any legal or administrative body. Those who carried guns were almost free to do whatever they deemed right. This fact, however, led to an environment with more and more violence that affected almost everyone. Heaney continues to share his observation when he notes, "But 'Keep Ulster Protestant' and 'Keep Blacks and Fenians out of Ulster' are there to remind me that there are attitudes around here other than defensive ones. I walk back-'Good-night now, sir'-past a bank that was blown up a couple of months ago and a car showroom that went three weeks ago" (*Preoccupations* 31). As shown by Heaney's personal experience, non-state actors used violence in their free territory. Both Catholics and Protestants suffered from such violent actions in their daily life during the Troubles in the late twentieth century. This detailed observation of daily life under the Troubles is also useful for grasping Heaney's poetic stance, *viz* Troubles Poetry. In other words, such personal observations in Heaney's life have contributed, if not directly formed, to his Troubles Poetry, which will be discussed later.

The Troubles did not erupt overnight in 1968, in fact Northern Ireland (and Ireland in earlier centuries) suffered from different forms of violence, such as physical, cultural, and structural, due

to its relations with the United Kingdom. Not surprisingly, the Troubles has a long history in Northern Ireland in terms of its relations with the United Kingdom. In this regard, Gary MacEóin states that "[f]rom the beginning of the Anglo-Norman invasion, every effort was made to destroy the Irish system of learning and way of life" (118). Irish religious and cultural elements were under the threat of extinction since Ireland was under the dominancy of the United Kingdom. The history of violence or conflict in Northern Ireland goes back to the twelfth century when Britain colonised Ireland (Fitzduff 1). Indeed, these unbalanced relations between Ireland (later Northern Ireland) and Britain can be observed from the earlier centuries. These historical problems certainly paved the way for the Troubles. The origin of Anglo-Irish Relations, in Paul F. State's words, "begins when Dermot MacMurrough, the king of Leinster, asked help from Henry II to save his territory from Norman Invasion in the early 12th Century" (64). This request for help triggered a long and conflict-oriented history with English in Ireland. The history of Irish-English/British relations indicates that the state and its organs were used as tools to accomplish a colonial policy and vision. Not surprisingly, religious organs were not an exception in this respect. However, there were political and military attempts to plunder and occupy Ireland and convince the Irish people that the English king was their ruler, too; such an invasion required compliance and societal approval. In the course of history, a detailed and organised programme was applied by the English so as to keep the Irish people under control and to prevent them from protecting and promoting their identity. Britain aimed to occupy Ireland politically and economically as part of its expansionist policies. In this regard, English kings aimed to control Ireland by sending their representatives who were loyal to the English kingdom. This mission, however, was not easily accomplished and failed several times. These failures led to plantation, a term meaning systematic confiscation of lands belonging to the Irish. As Ian Gregory et al. state, "[t]he major plantations of Ireland, which were put in place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were an attempt, or a series of attempts, to establish a Protestant population from England and Scotland in Ireland" (11). Accordingly, plantation policy had two central objectives, which can be categorised as political and economic. While political policies aimed to protect England from any

threat and even invasion from France or Spain through Ireland, economic policies tried to control the trade relations and zone between Scotland and Ireland (Gregory et al. 11). It can be inferred from Gregory et al.'s argument that the political reason for seizing Ireland is an argument to justify this invasion. Equally, the economic reason was not convincing since the plantation policies caused severe suffering in Irish people's lives. This orchestrated programme was based on legislative regulations adopted by the English parliament. In this regard, MacEóin gives the following information:

> Fifteenth-century legislation known as Poynings Law provided that all acts of Irish parliaments were to be subjected to review or abrogation by the English king and his council, and that the Irish Parliament had no control over the executive named for Ireland by the English king. In addition, it forbade the use of Irish law, Irish names, Irish dress, and the Irish language by the English settled in Ireland. (118)

These legal regulations undoubtedly hurt the Catholic community and deteriorated living conditions in Ireland.

To understand such discriminatory practices, which amount to a structural form of violence, it is necessary to examine and analyse policies in Ireland. In fact, English kings did act in harmony with these policies for centuries. Legislation is defined as an element that constitutes Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) by the French philosopher Louis Althusser. In his book *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (1971), Althusser defines the ISAs as: "[…] a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions" (143). The ISAs' definition highlights that these are institutions with special functions to accomplish certain goals, in this case, the colonisation of Ireland and discrimination against the Catholics. Althusser also provides a list of these institutions, which are:

> The religious ISA (the system of the different Churches), the educational ISA (the system of the different public and private 'Schools'), the family ISA, the legal ISA, the

> political ISA (the political system, including the different Parties), the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.), the cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, sports, etc.). (143)

From Althusser's perspective, the Poynings Law's function, controlling the Catholics, becomes more precise. The scope of the Law in question covers political bodies, legal organs, education and culture, and religion. Furthermore, Althusser emphasises the operation principle of these apparatuses by indicating that "every State Apparatus, whether Repressive or Ideological 'functions' both by violence and by ideology" (145). Certainly, the British programme used violence, one of the terms to be discussed later, to achieve its objective, as it can be concluded that these discriminatory legal regulations and practices were not a case only in the fifteenth-century Irish-British relations. The Poynings Law is an example of how a prolonged problematic policy, which goes back to earlier centuries, in Ireland caused violations and led to the Troubles in the second half of the twentieth century in Northern Ireland.

According to Gerry Kearns, legislation functioned as an ideological state apparatus in Ireland:

> In Ireland, this [sic] Protestant supremacy was codified by a set of Penal Laws passed by a subordinate Protestant Parliament in Ireland, and designed to constrain the political and economic rights of Catholics who were excluded from the franchise, from public office, from many of the learned professions, and who were not to hold land on tenures exceeding thirty-one years, to have a horse worth more than £5, to possess arms or ammunition, or teach their children to read and write. (12)

Kearns' analysis demonstrates one fact: discrimination against Catholics was reinforced by legislation. It can be observed that legal provisions were formulated so as to fortify the Protestant supremacy over the Catholics by limiting their rights in educational, professional, political and public life. As a matter of fact, these legal regulations were prepared to justify the unequal and degrading treatment accorded the Catholics and the exclusion of Catholics from public life in

Ireland. Having such legal provisions creates a more suitable atmosphere for the use of violence on individuals and the community. The discrimination that the Catholics suffered was largely because of their different religious affiliation. The essence of these legislative regulations points out that discrimination was not temporary or coincidental but permanent and systematic in Ireland. This historical background of the Troubles in Northern Ireland points to the source of the problem: inequalities, participation in social, cultural and political life. The Catholic community was deprived of the chance to protect and promote their religious and ethnic identity. It is known that Catholics have been perceived as dangerous to harmony in Ireland as well as the United Kingdom.

Religion has overlapped with ethno-national, economic and cultural differences since the seventeenth century, providing institutional support and values and often leadership to Catholic and Protestant groups (Ruane and Todd 242). Being the main reason for the Troubles in Northern Ireland, religion played a crucial role in the organisation of actors from both sides of the conflict. Therefore, the Catholic church also performed a political function in this land. Mitchell draws attention to the political function of the Catholic church and states, "[w]hilst this was unofficial throughout most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Church became a permanent participant in the political sphere in the nineteenth century as it threw its weight behind campaigns for Catholic Emancipation and home rule" (6). The church transformed into a political institution rather than a religious one in time. Catholics attribute a different meaning to churches in Ireland and later Northern Ireland. In addition to religious functions, the church was important for Catholics' struggle for equality in their homeland.

Given the fact that religion played a principal role in the Troubles, the phenomena of violence affected not only those who were active participants in the incidents but also those who were passive and even had no interest in these issues. Most societies bore the brunt of the Troubles due to several factors, such as the source of the incidents, namely religion, which is a broad and complex concept. The problems have a long history, and different components lead to a more

complicated controversy. As a person based in Northern Ireland for a long period, Heaney had a chance to observe the communities through first-hand experience. Hence, Heaney's following observation, for example, highlights both the complexity and the depth of the problems. Heaney draws attention to the widespread violence resulting from the sectarian divisions: "Like the rabbit pads that loop across grazing, and tunnel the soft growths under ripening corn, the lines of sectarian antagonism and affiliation followed the boundaries of the land" (*Preoccupations* 20). Heaney explains that sectarianism permeated all layers of social, political, and cultural life in Northern Ireland. In this personal observation, he makes an analogy between the uncontrollable movements of animals in fields and the unimaginable scope, depth, and impact of the Troubles on society. There is an analogy between the holes in a field, which rabbits dig, and random holes of attacks, specifically bombing attacks (which reminds people of a minefield) in Northern Ireland. Heaney's poetic approach to the Troubles, in other words, Heaney's Troubles Poetry, comes from his direct and comprehensive observation. Ian N. Gregory et al. refer to another aspect of the Troubles and state that its terminology is complex, so these terms are sometimes confused (182). The problematic outcome of this challenging aspect of the Troubles is the possibility of generalisation for Catholics and Protestants. It would, however, be unrealistic to think that the conflicting parties to the Troubles did not apply various tools of physical, structural, and cultural violence to gain advantages. In this regard, propaganda was very useful for both parties since it created a suitable atmosphere to justify discriminatory policies and violent actions throughout the history of English and Irish relations.

Both the British Government and the IRA have used the propaganda tool since these actors are fully aware, in Patrick Grant's words, that "propaganda simplifies the truth about violence in much the same way as violence simplifies the truth about human relationships" (4). There is a certain risk that facts are manipulated if and when a conflict or armed clash exists in a society. Grant indicates that neither truth nor human relations are free from such practices. It was the case also in Northern Ireland in the 1970s. Accordingly, larger segments of society have been directed in a

way that the conflicting parties wanted. These propaganda acts blurred the boundaries between truth and falsehood during the Troubles. The propaganda had no objective but to change the attitudes towards the other community. As a tool to shape and reshape public opinion, the propaganda machine also needed people to whom it conveyed its messages. Building a discourse became efficient with citizens who believed in a narrative produced by propaganda. Concerning the function of followers, MacEóin foregrounds that people from different communities have different values and perceive public authorities and orders from public institutions differently because of their subjective positions and experiences (36). MacEóin suggests that people with different religious affiliations behaved differently because of their mindset, which was shaped by violent policies and practices, in this case by propaganda, during the Troubles.

Being subjected to such disinformation resulted in unjust practices. Thus, there was a different and unequal approach to different religious communities. In this regard, the following data by Brendan O'Duffy provide a picture of the propaganda's influence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. O'Duffy writes, "[t]he nationalist community was disproportionately subjected to internment: from 1971 through 1976 there were two loyalists interned for every death attributed to loyalist paramilitaries, compared to thirty-five for every death attributed to republicans" (94). These numbers demonstrate no standardised implementation of the laws in the case of Protestants and Catholics, though alleged actions were the same. The term internment refers to excessive use —in fact, abuse— of power since it enables authorities to intern citizens without trial (Gillespie 131). This uncontrolled power helped the British authorities make propaganda in this period. There was a massive arrest operation conducted by the British Army on 9 August 1971 in Belfast, and "342 republicans, mainly from the Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA), were arrested from a list of 452 people sought. No loyalists were arrested" (Gillespie 131). At first glance, this operation or these figures may not mean much. However, this operation was very significant for the British Government in two aspects: creating a sense of insecurity in the society, particularly

among the Catholics and introducing impunity for loyalist people, mainly the Protestant. In other words, the British Government has distorted the idea that all citizens are equal before the courts.

Equality before justice is one of the critical elements that can give people a sense of full citizenship irrespective of background. The Catholics were not treated equally before courts in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. There was arbitrariness that led to excessive use of authority in the case of the Catholics and, relatively, to impunity in the case of British army officers and Protestant perpetrators. It is known that propaganda is a functional tool to blur the line between truth and lies to create illusions. As one can easily infer, such illusions and manipulations of the facts generated a suitable atmosphere for violence throughout the Troubles. In other words, propaganda and violence created a vicious circle in Northern Ireland in this period. The British government actively benefited from the propaganda tool during this period by being aware of its function, *viz* manipulation of truth and facts. As part of this indoctrination, the British Government, for example, applied law enforcement forces and judicial organs to achieve its propaganda goals. There were a series of massive arrests in Northern Ireland after the internment had been introduced. Marie Therese Fay et al. note, "[i]n the first six months of internment, over 2400 people were arrested" (27). Again, it needs to be underlined that the British Government arrested so many people as part of its propaganda on the IRA in particular and Catholics in general. Given the vast need for propaganda in Northern Ireland, British authorities also used other institutions to circulate news in line with the official policies. Concerning the propaganda institutions, Colin Coulter says:

> One of the numerous divisions that operates within the parameters of the NIO [the Northern Ireland Office] is the Northern Ireland Information Service (NISS). It is the explicit function of the NIIS to propagate the official version of the political developments that unfold within the six counties. (155)

The critical term in Coulter's statement is "official version" because authorities aimed to shape public opinion in a particular direction, favouring official discourse. There were other versions of the incidents, yet the propagandists spread the official one. As a result of these practices and the British Government's indoctrination, Northern Ireland experienced physical, structural, and cultural violence resulting from discriminatory policies in this period. Hence, propaganda during the Troubles aimed to reach and influence everyone in Northern Irish society. However, propaganda could not permeate every field of life, and poetry was one of these fields.

The Troubles Poetry has no fixed definition because the difficulty in presenting a clear-cut definition is directly related to the complexity and unlimited scope of the Troubles. Justin Quinn draws attention to the challenge of giving a common definition of the Troubles Poetry by asking the following questions about its distinctive qualities of language, subjects, and location of poets (1). While Quinn's questions mainly address Irish poetry in general, these questions can also be directed to the Troubles Poetry. Franks Ormsby provides a broad definition of the Troubles Poetry despite the challenges. He suggests, "it is arguable that any poem by a Northern Irish poet since 1968, on whatever subject, could be termed a Troubles poem, in that it may, consciously or unconsciously, reflect the context in which it was written" (xviii). In fact, Ormsby's formulation answers questions raised by Quinn since it provides an extensive framework regarding language, topics, and poets. According to Ormsby's definition, the Troubles Poetry includes all poems by a Northern Irish poet since the Troubles occurred in 1968. In other words, any poem written during the Troubles period falls into the category of the Troubles Poetry. Ormsby's criterion can definitely be expanded to include poems by non-Northern Irish poets. There are poems to make propaganda in favour of one side of the conflicting parties. In fact, the Troubles Poetry is an appropriate tool to analyse the relationship between violence and literary productions during this period. Given the interdependent relationship between socio-political issues and literary production, the Troubles also had an impact on literary works. Accordingly, the Troubles Poetry

focused on this tense political situation in Northern Ireland during the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Due to the close and, to some extent, complicated connection between the Troubles and poetry in the 1970s, poets extensively covered the Troubles in their works. In this respect, Heather Clark, in her book chapter "Befitting Emblems: The Early 1970s", expresses that poets are reluctant to cover violent incidents in Northern Ireland, but the dominant political atmosphere gave almost no other choice than the Troubles Poetry to poets (373). Clark makes a fair point that poets were not free from prevalent social circumstances. Given that several poets produced their literary works under the Troubles Poetry category, there are different approaches to the Troubles. Clark draws attention to these differences and writes, "Montague, Boland, and Kinsella condemned injustices committed by the British, while Heaney and Mahon alluded to contemporary violence through historical settings and metaphors" (373). As Clark indicates, poets adopted various approaches to the Troubles. Despite the variety in approaches, poets needed to respond to violence in Northern Ireland. Regarding the emerging Troubles Poetry, Hufstader indicates, "In the mid-seventies, Northern Irish poets began most explicitly to respond to the events of the province" (5). Therefore, Northern Irish poets who were directly suffering from the Troubles began to write about the Troubles in the mid-1970s. As it can be easily noticed, the representation of the Troubles immediately began in poems by Northern Irish poets. Indeed, these poems are mainly about the bloody results of the Troubles. Therefore, most poems have dealt with violence in their subjects. It was not a coincidental choice but a compelling decision. Violence has become a driving force for many poets. As Denis Donoghue states, "much of Irish literature has been provoked by the violence of the Troubles" (184). That is to say, the different forms and impacts of violence are significant issues for the Troubles Poetry. Various practices of these different forms of violence can be summarised as beating, kidnapping, murder, threat, discrimination in housing, employment or access to public life, and hostility between Protestants and Catholics in the late twentieth century. Violence is one of the most common subjects that Northern Irish poets dealt with in their

literary works related to the Troubles. In this respect, Lloyd draws attention to a noteworthy fact when he underlines, "[w]ith the possible exception of greenness, no quality has more frequently and repetitiously been attributed to Ireland than violence" (125). This fact demonstrates the significance of the representation of violence in the Troubles Poetry.

Seamus Heaney asks the question of what poetry and poetic stance are, and his answer gives an idea about his poetic stance as well as the basis of Troubles Poetry, particularly about his approach to the representation of violence. Heaney states "[p]oetry is out of the quarrel with ourselves and the quarrel with others is rhetoric. It would wrench the rhythms of my writing procedures to start squaring up to contemporary events with more will than ways to deal with them" (*Preoccupations* 34). Poetry, for Heaney, is inspired mainly by the poet's internal conflict. He makes the following statement, which is essential to understand the basis of Heaney's Troubles Poetry: "From that moment [the occurrence of the Troubles], the problems of poetry moved from being simply a matter of achieving the satisfactory verbal icon to being a search for images and symbols adequate to our predicament" (*Preoccupations* 56). As a poet, Heaney closely follows what is happening in his society. Hence, he revises his poetic understanding in line with incidents with social impacts. Heaney's “search for images and symbols adequate to our predicament" (56) in poetry demonstrates that his personal observation of the Troubles influenced his poetry. The term "predicament" (56) is not a coincidental choice. In fact, predicament refers to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Heaney's observational skills make him a unique poet regarding the representation of violence resulting from the Troubles. Heaney provides further explanation about his ideas about the Troubles poetry: "I mean that I felt it imperative to discover a field of force in which, without abandoning fidelity to the processes and experience of poetry as I have outlined them, it would be possible to encompass the perspective of a humane reason and that the same time to grant the religious intensity of the violence its deplorable authenticity and complexity" (*Preoccupations* 56-57). In fact, Heaney starts a poetic journey during which he questions how to deal with and represent social issues surrounding him. This is the formulation of the basis of

Heaney's Troubles Poetry. In addition to Heaney, Andrews discusses the function of the Troubles Poetry and the representation of violence in poems, particularly by Heaney. The following part of his discussion illuminates the function of poetry and why poets deal with these issues in their works. He writes:

> It is a comfort to receive such news, especially in poems such as Heaney's. The outrage of an obscene act such as the bombing of the La Mon Hotel is indeed the denial of humanity which it entails, but it is also its immediacy. This outrage is not diminished by anything we can say of it. Heaney's poems are as helpless in this respect as any editorial after the event in a newspaper or the standard expressions of sympathy from politicians and bishops. (91)

Unlike media reports or politicians' statements, poems deal with the Troubles from a perspective that evokes human characteristics. The gap between individuals and communities is filled by the Troubles Poetry in Northern Ireland. The power of narration became an important tool to respond to violent incidents in the 1970s.

Heaney is a poet who produced poems about various subjects related to Northern Ireland and beyond. Some of these subjects can be listed as follows: rural life, the beginning and end of life, memories, family and civil war. Heaney deals with these issues and topics in his poetry in several different aspects and represents them through the lens of nature, mythology, and personal experiences. These lenses, undoubtedly, provide the poet with a stronger power of narration and higher observation skills. Heaney's poetry is interested in contemporary issues because the poet has not had an isolated life from present incidents in the community. As a member of the society, Heaney was subjected to violence and secondary trauma resulting from the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, Heaney followed what was happening in Northern Ireland even though he moved from Belfast. Accordingly, Heaney observed violence related to the Troubles and these observations can be seen in his Troubles Poetry. With regard to the representation of violence in

Heaney's poetry, Thomas George McGuire, in his PhD thesis entitled "Seamus Heaney and the Poetic(s) of Violence" (2004), writes:

> Much of this [Heaney's] poetry of violence has at its core some act of physical force or coercion that is politically or religiously motivated (the two being often inextricably intertwined), or it focuses on the psychological and bodily effects of culturally and politically-cultivated hatreds and antagonisms. These poems typically allude at some point to specific historical and/or contemporary acts of brutality, and then move, sometimes tentatively and other times decisively, to a conclusion in which Heaney seeks to better "understand the exact tribal revenge". (4)

McGuire draws attention to the source of violent incidents that Heaney represents. According to McGuire, Heaney represents mainly physical and cultural forms of violence that are politically and/or religiously oriented. In addition to two forms of violence, McGuire refers to "politically-cultivated hatreds and antagonisms" that is a different name for structural violence. Heaney uses different methods to choose an ancient event, present incidents, and represent violence in his poetry. He is a poet who is against all forms of violence, that is to say, he does not see any difference between the perpetrators of violence and holds them responsible be it the British Government or the IRA. Still, Heaney's poetry is interested in violence *per se* rather than the profile of perpetrators or victims. This attitude, of course, may equip readers with better awareness and understanding of the Troubles. In this respect, Schirmer's following comments on Heaney's poetic stance are useful to get a clearer idea about his Troubles Poetry. Schirmer says "Heaney has sought to create an imaginative space in which the historical forces behind the conflict, often read and misread in ways that fuel sectarian and political animosities, can be better understood" (353). It can be inferred that Heaney represents the Troubles-related violence in his poetry so as not to promote other community's positions or the policies of any conflicting parties. He, however, aims to present a better perception of the Troubles and to make contributions to the solution if possible.

Robert Fitzroy Foster in his book *On Seamus Heaney* (2020), highlights the significance of Northern Ireland in Heaney's poetry and writes: "He was born in Northern Ireland in 1939, grew up among the nods, winks, and repressions of a deeply divided society, and saw those half-concealed fissures break open into violence" (2). Foster foregrounds the impact of violence on Heaney's poetic works. As indicated by Foster, Heaney grew up in a period that social problems resulting from the unsolved issues between Catholics and Protestants were present and gradually increased. Moreover, Quinn explains Heaney's attitude towards poetry: "Heaney writes in the knowledge that the poems must resonate responsibly within the public arena, much like a newspaper editorial would. In a violent and volatile zone, Heaney's poems try to achieve balance and reconciliation" (132). Quinn draws attention to the motivation for Heaney's Troubles Poetry. This statement indicates why Heaney represents the Troubles and different forms of violence in his poems written during this period. Quinn also discusses factors that led Heaney to write poems about the Troubles and violence that occurred in Northern Ireland and notes "Heaney grew up in Northern Ireland, where the Catholic minority experienced systematic discrimination-in matters such as the allocation of public housing and gerrymandering-that he felt that his imaginative force should be expended in redressing the balance" (132). Northern Ireland was surrounded by all forms of violence in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and Heaney responded to this fact in his poetry. Alan Robinson foregrounds Heaney's poetic stance related to the Troubles in the following words "he has sought to resist reducing poetry to propagandism or reportage" (124). Being a sincere poet, Heaney neither promotes violence nor reports issues through someone else's lens. He, however, produces poems in a manner that upholds the credibility of literature in general and poetry in particular.

Due to the fact that the Troubles is associated with murder, kidnapping, and various forms of discrimination, the Troubles Poetry inevitably deals with agonies, grievances, funerals and negative feelings between the communities. Communication, dialogue and familiarity between the communities are the key concepts that can fill the gap between Catholics and Protestants.

These three concepts are related to, among others, one concept: listening. As an integral part of any communication, listening is highly significant in any unsettled situation. Andrew D. Wolvin, a specialist in listening behaviour and the editor of the book entitled *Listening and Human Communication in the 21st Century* (2010), writes a book chapter on listening and engagement. He discusses different aspects of listening in this book chapter entitled "Listening Engagement: Intersecting Theoretical Perspectives." In his book, he examines various dimensions of listening, such as psychology, sociology, physiology, and communication. About the communication aspect of listening, the author refers to Stephen W. Littlejohn, who works on the theoretical foundation of listening. While Littlejohn lists nine different benefits of listening, the following three are applicable to the Troubles Poetry of Heaney: "(3) clarify what we observe; (4) offer a tool for observation; and (9) generate change" (qtd in Wolvin 8). In fact, Littlejohn makes the list of benefits of listening in general. On the other hand, being a poet who is fully aware of the function of effective listening, Heaney pays attention to this behaviour. Thus, listening has become a powerful element in Heaney's poetry.

Listening has a greater space in Heaney's life than being merely a poetic tool. Heaney has observed what was happening in his country and other parts of the world through listening. The poet talks about the function of listening in his personal life when he delivered his Nobel Lecture entitled "Crediting Poetry" in 1995. In this lecture, he refers to silence, overhearing or unintentional listening and listening on purpose. There is a close relation between Heaney's age and this direction. He realises the function of listening on purpose when he is grown. In this respect, Heaney explains that "[t]hen as the years went on and my listening became more deliberate, I would climb up on an arm of our big sofa to get my ear closer to the wireless speaker" ("Crediting Poetry" n.p.). Heaney's listening was on purpose in that period. This is why Heaney observes what is happening around him in a better way. Listening functions as a tool to perceive and get better knowledge of topics in Heaney's poetry. Listening has become a path for Heaney to reach a deeper level of the Troubles. Hence, listening became an essential part of Heaney’s

poetic journey: "I have always listened for poems, they come sometimes like bodies come out of a bog, almost complete, seeming to have been laid down a long time ago, surfacing with a touch of mystery" (*Preoccupations* 34). As one can observe, Heaney uses listening to learn, interpret and represent the Troubles that affected both Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Unlike hearing and/or overhearing, listening requires concentration and focus for the entire process. As a result, listening becomes a key part of Heaney's poetry for communication and dialogue.

Other critics, including Richard Rankin Russell observe Heaney's success in listening. Russell highlights the listening aspect of Heaney in his analysis of "Digging", a poem from the first collection, *Death of A Naturalist* (1966). For Russell, "listening represents Heaney's typical poetic posture that he displays time and again in his poems" (*Poetry and Peace* 180). Heaney has followed a journey from overhearing to hearing and listening. Undoubtedly, this journey has enhanced Heaney's observation skills and understanding of people from other communities and made a contribution to the representation of violence in his poetry. Michael Parker emphasises this issue and states:

> [t]hroughout the 1970s and 1980s when the Northern conflict was at its most intense, Heaney's antennae had been consistently turned to foreign stations, to voices, times and cultures far removed from his own, not simply as a means of extending his poetic range but in order to enrich his understanding of others' history. (370)

Parker draws readers' attention to the interrelatedness of improving poetic skills and deepening his ability to understand people from other communities and countries. Thanks to listening, Heaney has achieved understanding of both communities in Northern Ireland during the Troubles.

In fact, Seamus Heaney has a broad perspective on the scope and roots of the Troubles. It is obvious that such a perspective makes him a unique poet —particularly related to the Troubles— in Northern Ireland. Unlike the conflicting parties, militants, and politicians, Heaney forms his approach to the problems in his homeland based on his first-hand observation as an ordinary

citizen. This attitude, in fact, is influential for Heaney's poetic stance on the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the conflicting parties aim to reach their followers only, while Heaney's poems have a broader target. Heaney represents three different forms of violence, which will be discussed in the following section of the chapter, on the basis of this poetic stance.

Unquestionably, there are several other poets from Northern Ireland or who write about Northern Ireland, such as Michael Longley, Thomas Kinsella, John Montague, Richard Murphy, Derek Mahon, Medbh McGuckian, and Nuala Ni Domhnaill. Needless to say, these poets produced significant works during and after the Troubles. Seamus Heaney, however, has a unique place among these poets not only for winning the Nobel Prize in Literature but also for representing different forms of violence in his Troubles Poetry. Furthermore, he objects to violence irrespective of the perpetrator and victims' identity viz he represents violence from the Protestants to the Catholics and the Catholics to the Protestants. Heaney's Troubles Poetry also explores violence from the Catholics to the Catholics. In addition to these qualities, Seamus Heaney had already proven his promising poetic career when the Troubles began. Richard Rankin Russell comments on Heaney's poetic voice and underlines that he had already established his poetic stance about ten years ago (*Poetry and Peace* 7) before the Troubles occurred in the late 1960s. Similarly, Kieran Quinlan highlights Heaney's poetic career before the Troubles and states, "[b]y the time the crisis in Northern Ireland broke out in 1969, Seamus Heaney had established himself firmly as a significant new voice in Irish poetry with his first volume, *Death of a Naturalist*, published by Faber & Faber in 1966" (365). As highlighted, Heaney's poetic journey began before sectarian violence became dominant in Northern Ireland in 1968. Why violence is important for Heaney's Troubles Poetry is because violence was one of the main elements of Northern Ireland's (and earlier Ireland's) relations with Britain for a long period.

Although there is violence in British-Irish relations, it is not easy to define this violence or accurately determine its forms. This difficulty results from a definite fact: violence is a broad

phenomenon and concept so that it is not easy to figure it out. John Keane draws readers' attention to this fact and writes:

> The task of clearly defining violence is complicated by the fact. The use of the term' violence' has been broadened; its meaning has come to be seen as heavily context-dependent and in consequence of which the term' violence' and its negative connotations are now notoriously contested in such fields as criminal law, journalism, public policy and everyday life. (30-31)

Violence is observed in various contexts. Accordingly, it becomes an issue of different fields such as legislation, media, politics and ordinary life. Undoubtedly, the experience in Ireland and Northern Ireland does prove this difficulty since there are various types of violent practices such as curfew, killing, murder, interrogation, prison, discrimination in legislation and execution of the relevant legislative pieces. Within the framework of the Troubles, violence was so prevailing that inequalities and unjust relations could be observed at the family and community levels. Due to the depth and complexity of life and the violence scale, which permeated into all fields of private and public life, providing a clear-cut definition and scope of violence in Northern Ireland is highly challenging. No definition and scope can be adequate to cover the Troubles' destruction.

Violence is a complex concept and has been defined in several ways depending on social factors. As Zygmunt Bauman argues "[v]irtually all writers attempting to come to grips with the phenomenon of violence find the concept either under-, or over-defined, or both. They also report in other writes (if they no display it themselves) an amazing reluctance, ineptitude, to resolve the confusion and put things straight" (139). Bauman draws attention to the complexity of providing a clear-cut definition or scope of the term. This is why, according to the author, researchers are unable to overcome the complications in this respect. Similarly, Johan Galtung, who is a Norwegian sociologist and one of the prominent figures in peace and conflict studies, emphasises the hardship of defining violence. In his article "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" (1969), he

defines violence in relation to the concept of peace. Galtung underlines the significance of the interconnectedness of peace and violence definitions (168). This perspective relies on a common understanding, which is formulated as "peace is absence of violence" (168), in the field of peace studies. Having indicated that there is no satisfactory answer to what violence results from several reasons, Galtung remarks that what is crucial in the definition of violence is the recognition that violence has many forms (168). Accordingly, even though there is no fixed and clear-cut explanation violence —in fact it is an inherent problem for the complexity of the concept of violence— discussing the various of violence is still necessary to examine and comprehend the concept better. Such an approach leads scholars, researchers and other relevant actors to understand the concept better.

In fact, definitions of violence are attempts to understand its nature, too. Gerry Kearns, in his book chapter "Bare Life, Political Violence, and the Territorial Structure of Britain and Ireland" (2007), claims that violence occurs "[w]here people are constituted as objects by a colonial power, as mere biological life and not as political subjects [and when] standard democratic forms of expressions are closed to them" (8). According to Kearns' approach, violence is observed in any type of relation based on an oppressive mentality viz when people are not treated properly. It is a case, especially when those who suffer from inhumane conditions have no chance to express their grievances. In this regard, both Galtung and Kearns point out the fact that violence occurs and becomes visible when and/or if there is no dignity for all members of a community. While the former author discusses this issue in relation to peace, the latter focuses on available channels to challenge problematic circumstances. Both authors' arguments are relevant to this study since there was no peace in Northern Ireland during the 1970s, and those who suffered from violence had no chance, at least in an efficient manner, to express their views and challenge such brutal practices.

Raymond Williams, an influential figure in the field of cultural studies, argues, "[v]iolence is often now a difficult word, because its primary sense is of physical assault, as in 'robbery with

violence', yet it is also used more widely in ways that are not easy to define" (329). Williams indicates that the complexity of the term violence is connected to its wide range of uses. Providing a commonly accepted and undisputed definition might be an easier task if there is a reference to physical violence only. Furthermore, Williams discusses agency or actor and rightly points out that the perception of violence changes according to who is behind it. He comments on these issues and draws attention to the distinction between authorised and unauthorised use of violence. Williams comments on the difference between these two types and suggests "'unauthorized' uses: the violence of a 'terrorist' but not, except by its opponents, of an army, where 'force' is preferred and most operations of war and preparation for war are described as 'defence'" (*Keywords* 329). This difference is not intrinsic to the concept of violence. Rather, it is mainly related to one's standpoint.

In fact, the conflicting parties made propaganda of their own actions under the pretext of defence and used the term terrorism for the other party's actions. Similarly, Hannah Arendt analyses the concept of violence in terms of its relation to power. Theorists from different spectrums reach a general consensus that violence permeates power (35). It is certain that violence and power are intermingled and influence each other. Arendt also points out that "violence is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power" (35). Arendt draws attention to the close relationship between violence and power though they are not identical. To clarify the difference between these two concepts, Arendt argues, violence relies on power (35). Considering the fact that Northern Ireland suffered from violence for almost three decades, the issue of power becomes critical. Andrew Heywood analyses power in terms of its capacity to influence others. In this respect, Heywood points out that power can be considered a type of relationship to change one's decision and opinion in a manner that is not his/her choice (35). As it can be inferred from the analysis of Arendt and Heywood, power cannot be fully understood without its function regarding the relation among individuals, communities, and societies. That means power is a tool to exercise, or at least legitimise, violence against people. Regarding the relationship between power and

violence, Arendt also comments on the circumstances that create a suitable atmosphere for violence. The author indicates that no violence occurs unless power is at risk (56).

In light of these points, this thesis defines violence as a concept that causes multiple harm at individual and collective levels. In fact, violence denies the human qualities of any individual or community. Hence, the concept of violence prevents people from realising their full potential. Moreover, violence requires a perpetrator or perpetrators and broad policies about economic, social, cultural, and political fields in life, which can create and maintain a violent atmosphere.

Evidently, the case in Northern Ireland falls into the category of concerns about losing power. The Catholics began expressing their grievances, yet the authorities responded in a violent manner. As a result, the problems resulting from inequalities deepened in Northern Ireland. Patrick Grant analyses the issue of equal treatment among citizens while he discusses the concept of violence. According to Grant "[b]roadly, violence occurs whenever another human being is treated as an object or thing, rather than as a person able to give consent or to refuse to enter into a discourse or relationship" (3). That is to say, violence is a concept that harms and destroys human aspects. Furthermore, John Keane focuses on the destructive power of violence on people. He states, "violence is one-extreme-form of the denial of a subject's freedom to act in and upon the world" (37). Like Grant, Keane draws attention to how individuals suffer from violence in their daily lives. Unless one has no chance to express views on any issue related to his/her life, there is no chance to exercise citizenship at a satisfactory level. This is what happened in Northern Ireland. Therefore, both authors' definitions of violence are profoundly pertinent to the scope of this thesis. It is relevant since Heaney's Troubles Poetry deals with the impact of violence on life in Northern Ireland.

Before discussing different forms of violence, namely physical, structural and cultural, the part on the definition and scope of violence can be concluded by referring to Arendt's following statement since it is highly suitable for the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Arendt states "[t]he

practice of violence, like all action, changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world" (80). This is what happened throughout the Troubles. Hannah Arendt foregrounds the primary characteristic of violence: implementation (4). Violence, in essence, has no agency, so it relies on agency, perpetrators. Conflicting parties used violence in daily life throughout the Troubles in Northern Ireland. However, the scale of violence reached an unprecedented level for the Catholic and Protestant communities. Arendt draws attention to these inherent risks and states "[t]he very substance of violent action is ruled by the means-end category, whose chief characteristic, if applied to human affairs, has always been that the end is in danger of being overwhelmed by the means which it justifies and which are needed to reach it" (4). Arendt underlines that the magnitude of violence might be so destructive that there can be no return. The irreversibility of violence may cause more serious harm than any perpetrator may plan or predict in advance. Considering the casualties and the level of destruction, the Troubles is an appropriate example of how means turned into an end in Northern Ireland. Hence, violence can be defined as a black hole that has an infinite appetite for destruction.

As will be discussed below, violence led to a higher level of violence in Northern Ireland. There were various practices that amounted to different forms of violence during the Troubles. The first form of these violent practices is physical violence. Given the definition of violence, this form has more than one name. For example, physical violence is also called "direct violence" (Galtung 170). For the purpose of this thesis, it will be defined as physical violence because the selected poems under this category focus on physical aspects. Due to its direct and immediate harm, undoubtedly, the physical form of violence is highly visible. Considering this characteristic of the physical form of violence, it is easier to criticise and condemn this form of violence. Willem Schinkel defines this form of violence as follows: "Private [physical] violence is a form of violence the executive agency of which can be located at the level of one or more individual agents. Individual persons may be such agents, but organizations can as well" (175). This form of violence usually takes place at an individual level. Therefore, it does harm individuals directly.

Yet, it does not mean that physical form of violence affects only targeted individual/s. Due to its capacity to create and maintain a climate of fear, the physical form of violence affects almost all members of a community. The sense of fear related to another aspect of the issue; its results are noticeable by others.

Knowing the fact that more than three thousand people lost their lives and tens of thousands were injured in bomb attacks, assassinations and other types of brutal actions, Northern Ireland suffered a lot from the physical forms of violence during the Troubles. People from both the Catholic and Protestant communities were subjected to violent attacks that resulted in heavy casualties. For example, Bloody Sunday, where thirteen unarmed civilians were killed by the British Army, is an incident of a physical form of violence. These people were killed while they were part of a demonstration with twenty thousand to raise their concerns about internment policies (Walsh 7). Although these people gathered to exercise a legal right, freedom of assembly, in the public space, security officers' use of excessive violence resulted in casualties. In addition to the murder of thirteen people, dozens of them were injured and beaten by security officers on that day. The intervention went beyond the scope of public authorities' mandate; in other words, it was an abuse of power, as it can be concluded that the abuse of power amounts to violence. Considering the destructive impact of physical violence, victims suffer from trauma. Needless to say, the intervention led to trauma among the demonstrators as well as the Catholic community in general. Patrick Joseph Hayes and Jim Campbell examine the events of Bloody Sunday in their book *Bloody Sunday Trauma, Pain and Politics* (2005) in detail. This book focuses on the trauma of the families. The following quotation from Hayes and Campbell gives an idea about how the physical form of violence began on 30 January 1972, Bloody Sunday:

> The confrontation between the rioters and army at barrier 14 on William Street and the shootings which wounded Damien Donaghy and John Johnston were to be the first of many violent events of the day. These accounts also record that the army

> rushed the protestors and chased them to Rossville Flats car park where Jackie Duddy was shot dead. (14)

This violent intervention is an exemplary case of the physical form of violence during the Troubles. As discussed earlier, neither the British Government nor the IRA hesitated to exert violence. Therefore, not only Catholics but also Protestants were subjected to physical forms of violence in Northern Ireland. One of the most tragic IRA attacks on Protestants was La Mon Restaurant Bombing that took place on 17 February 1978 in Belfast. Regarding the bombing attack, *Conflict and Politics in Northern Ireland* (CAIN), which is a website hosted by Ulster University, gives the following information: "Twelve people, all Protestant civilians, were killed and 23 badly injured when an incendiary bomb exploded at the restaurant of the La Mon House Hotel, Gransha, near Belfast. The bomb had been planted by the Irish Republican Army (IRA)" (n.p). Bombing a restaurant is an example of an uncontrolled form of physical attack. Certainly, the bombing attack made a negative impact on Protestant individuals and the Protestant community *per se*. Northern Ireland suffered from numerous attacks throughout the Troubles. Like other forms of violence, physical violence aims to create and maintain a sense of fear among the citizens and at the public level. One of the most common aspects of physical violence in Northern Ireland was the climate of fear in the society. It is certain that physical violence and other forms of violence, namely structural and cultural, are interconnected and influence each other.

The second form of violence is called structural violence, which results from social and economic inequalities; therefore, it is also called social injustice (Galtung 171). The pioneering scholar of peace studies, John Galtung, coined the term structural violence. Galtung focuses on injustices in society in his definition of the structural violence. Structural violence is exercised through various social systems and is mainly related to economic inequality in a society (Schinkel 188). The examination of social and economic systems is useful for gaining a better understanding of such inequalities. Todd Landman discusses structuralism, which is relevant to structural forms of

violence, in his book *Studying Human Rights* (2006). Landman states "[structuralist analysis] focuses on the holistic aspects of society, including the interdependent relationships among individuals, collectivities, institutions and/or organizations" (47). As underlined by Landman, structural violence relies on various relations at individual and institutional levels. Thus, the structural form of violence is complex to be analysed and any attempt to eradicate this form of violence requires a holistic approach.

The structural form of violence may occur in various practices depending on actors, system, administration, level and density of inequalities in this respect. It is a form of violence, and its roots can be observed in the essence of social structure. Considering the fact that the Troubles occurred as a result of inequalities as well as injustices, the structural form of violence is highly relevant and significant to examine. The structural form of violence manifested its practices in discrimination against the Catholic community as regards housing and employment policies. Furthermore, the increase in the number of security officers in Northern Ireland was another visible example of the structural form of violence during the Troubles. Due to legislative regulations, Catholics were not allowed to exercise their rights throughout the violent period. The above-mentioned quote, which discusses how legislative arrangements were made to maintain Protestant supremacy, from Gerry Kearns's perspective, provides an excellent example of the historical background of structural violence against the Catholics in Northern Ireland. These regulations aimed to prevent Catholics from joining public life and benefiting from social and economic opportunities at the public level. In this respect, the British Government did its best to ensure job security for Protestants by "[t]he creation of thousands of relatively lucrative positions within the security forces, however, tended to stern the rise of unemployment within loyalist districts" (Coulter 42). The British Government created some job opportunities for those acting in line with its policies. One may claim that creating jobs is one of the responsibilities of any government that respects social state principles. However, the British Government's policies were not comprehensive for the Catholics since no satisfactory and efficient steps were taken to

eliminate the high level of unemployment in areas where the nationalist labour force lived (Coulter 42). This policy on un/employment was about the British Government's practices that amounted to structural violence. In light of these points, it can be concluded that the term "interdependent" (57) used by Landman is applicable to the structural violence that Catholics suffered during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Considering that rights and freedoms cannot be separated and they are interconnected, it can be concluded that there is a thin line among these categories of violence forms.

In addition to the legislative arrangements and un/employment policies, prisons were used by authorities to strengthen the structural forms of violence in Northern Ireland. Allen Feldman states, "[t]he transformation of the prison system was initially precipitated by the massive increase of the prison population. In 1968, before the start of the Troubles, the prison population was 727. By 1971 it had increased to 944; in 1974 it reached a high of 2550; and in 1980 it levelled out to 2500" (148-149). This quotation demonstrates that there was a parallelism between the Troubles and the policing as well as punishment policies. As these numbers clearly point out, structural violence was effectively exercised through arrests and detentions.

Another manifestation of the structural form of violence during the Troubles is the presence of security officers, armed militants of the IRA and paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland. There were various security organisations and paramilitary groups that were actively involved in the Troubles. For example, the Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) was created in 1920, and it had about ten thousand members, entirely from the Protestant community (Gillespie 259). This security network, like other key public services, was composed of citizens who were loyal to the British Government. Needless to mention, the USC did not have a good reputation among Catholics, while Protestants supported it. British authorities decided to establish another security organisation to be stronger in terms of security policies. In this respect, the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) was created in 1970 and had a mission "to guard installations and carry out patrols that included road blocks and searches. Initially the UDR had 6,000 members in 7

battalions. During the first two years of its existences, the UDR expanded to 11 battalions" (Gillespie 256). This is an important fact to be considered by scholars so as to understand these well-coordinated security policies. It can be concluded that there was an attempt to suppress or control the Catholic community through security and imprisonment policies.

Another security organisation that should be discussed here is the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The relevancy and significance of this organisation are related to changes in its employment policy. As an organisation from the 1920s, it had Catholic officers in the beginning; yet these Catholics were replaced with Protestants (Gillespie 225) in the course of the years even before the Troubles. The change in the RUC is related to un/employment policies as well. British authorities sustained their discriminatory policies against Catholics. Over the years, Catholics raised awareness about such policies and decided to act against them. Niall Ó Dochartaigh gives the following information about how the civil rights movement began, "in August 1968, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association held its first civil rights march in Northern Ireland, from Coalisland to Dungannon, Co. Tyrone where the Unionist-controlled council was accused of housing discrimination" (xv). This is how the civil rights movement, the precursor of the Troubles, began in Northern Ireland. The civil rights movement was followed by violent actions of other actors. Given the fact that a structural form of violence creates a suitable atmosphere for other violent actions, there were also non-state actors who were part of the problem. The IRA certainly had security practices such as patrolling and checkpoints in areas under its control. As discussed earlier, Heaney's personal observation of these practices is useful to get an idea about the scope of the IRA practices in its areas in Northern Ireland. The structural form of violence can be observed from the policies and practices of the British Government and the IRA.

The third form of violence is called cultural violence, as it is through symbolic values and symbols. Cultural elements, such as religion, language, and education, fall into the category of cultural forms of violence. John Galtung states "[b]y ‘cultural violence’ we mean those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence-exemplified by religion and ideology, language

and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)-that can be used to justify or legitimize direct [physical] or structural violence" (291). Galtung underlines the importance of the symbolic sphere of this form of violence. It is related to any aspect of cultural life. In his book chapter "Linguistic Constructions of Violence, Peace and Conflict" (1999), C. David Mortensen indicates that the cultural form of violence is an issue of relations between individuals and communities (337). Mortensen also draws attention to the relatively invisible feature of the cultural form of violence (337). Thus, unlike the two other forms of violence, namely the physical and structural forms, it is not easy to notice the cultural form of violence in daily life, nor is it simple to find out the perpetrators. However, the cultural form of violence can be observed in unsettled situations and conflict zones, as in the case of Northern Ireland. Practices of cultural forms of violence are backed by other forms of violence, namely physical and structural. Similarly, it supports these forms of violence. In other words, cultural forms of violence are neither effective nor useful in any place or country without physical violence and well-established structural violence.

In the case of Northern Ireland, the cultural form of violence occurred mainly in the religious sphere of cultural life. As is known, the source of the Troubles is the problems between the religious communities, namely Catholics and Protestants. The Troubles is considered a period of violence and also intolerance to those who are from the other community. People were sensitive to religious, cultural, and political elements that formed their identity. Catholics and Protestants were fully aware of their different religious identity and the conflict between these two sects (MacEóin 36). Bearing in mind that there was a conflict between the religious communities, people built -in fact had to build- an isolated life and communicated with their community only. Their schools, churches, and workplaces were different. They did not have neighbours from the other side of the society. It is evident that there was no dialogue -or at least not at a satisfactory level- between the communities during the Troubles.

Additionally, Michael Parker comments on the destructive impacts of cultural violence on language and identity. In this respect, Parker states, "[a]s a result of acts of violence and deceit over the centuries, the Irish lost their language and identity, along with their territory" (98). The distortion of language did not help to build communication between the communities. Therefore, it can be claimed that the atmosphere of no communication created, supported, and deepened the gap between the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland during the last quarter of the twentieth century. In this regard, the role of churches in structuring social, as well as religious, life has led to high levels of physical and ideological segregation between communities (Morrow et al. 1991). Traditionally, the Catholic church was interested in demanding Catholic rights. People from the Catholic community have been carefully following their churches since "the [Catholic] Church has frequently been thrust into playing a political role in Ireland because it has been the institution best placed to provide stability and coherence for the Catholic community" (Mitchell 6). Given the function of religion concerning the conflict over the course of Irish history, including the Troubles period, the position and significance of the Catholic Church is understandable. The Catholics paid attention to their church for the reason that they thought that the source of the problem could also be the source of the solution. Religious affiliation was the key feature of the cultural identity in Northern Ireland. This identity could determine one's living conditions and participation in social and economic life. Hence, being a Catholic or Protestant in Northern Ireland, particularly during the Troubles, was enough to be labelled and channelised into a particular path in terms of education and professional life.

As a productive and well-known poet, Seamus Heaney is a popular figure for researchers and critics. Thus, there are numerous of works on Heaney's poetry. While some of these works analyse Heaney's poetic stance regarding identities, be they religious or national, as in the case of John Michael Bell's PhD thesis entitled *Compelling Identities: Nation and Lyric Form in Seamus Heaney* submitted to Saint John's College University of Oxford in 1993. Similarly, Eugene O'Brien examines Irishness and other concepts such as myth, aesthetics, and language issues in

his book *Search For Answers* (2003). Other works explore Heaney's poetry about nature. Aytül Develi's MA thesis, *The Changing Concept of Nature in Seamus Heaney's Poetry*, submitted to Hacettepe University in 1996, exemplifies this category. Furthermore, in her PhD thesis "Words As Bearers of History: Testimony and Trauma in Seamus Heaney's Early Poetry", submitted to Hacettepe University in 2019, Gülay Gülpınar Özoran examines Heaney's poetry from a trauma perspective. Another scholar Mümin Hakkıoğlu analyses Heaney's response to the Irish repression in poems in his PhD thesis, written in Turkish, in 2009. Richard Rankin Russell is a professor of English at Baylor and specialises in Contemporary British and Irish Literature. Russell's book titled *Poetry and Peace: Michael Longley, Seamus Heaney, and Northern Ireland* analyses the poetry of Michael Longley and Seamus Heaney in terms of contributing to peace in Northern Ireland. In his Ph.D. thesis, "Seamus Heaney and the Poetic(s) of Violence" (2004), Thomas George McGuire focuses on Heaney's approach to violence. Michael Parker's book *Seamus Heaney: The Making of the Poet* (1993) is about Heaney's poetic journey. Another book that explores Heaney's poetry, particularly the interaction with other poets, was written by Michael Cavanagh in 2009. The title of the book is *Professing Poetry Seamus Heaney's Poetic*. The present thesis will analyse Seamus Heaney's representation of different forms of violence in his Troubles Poetry. This study departs from other theses by categorising the violence Heaney represents in his *Death of a Naturalist, Door into the Dark, Wintering Out, The North, Field Work,* and *The Haw Lantern* into three: physical, structural and cultural violence, thus providing a well-established framework of the dominant, violent atmosphere and its adverse impacts on public life.

Moreover, this thesis demonstrates various violent acts that both communities suffer. Heaney's close observation and attitude to the Troubles is another difference. Unlike the state and non-state actors, who exerted violence, Heaney's approach to violence in his poetry draws attention to the depth of suffering. In fact, distinguishing between personal experience and poetic stance, which is supposed to be impartial, is challenging in Heaney's poems of violence. Nevertheless, this study will carefully analyse the poems to draw a line in this respect. Seamus Heaney aptly expresses his

personal feelings about the Troubles. He does not hesitate to reveal his personal opinions, which are the basis of his Troubles Poetry.

The concept of violence and its forms explore complexity and depth within the framework of the Troubles. Accordingly, violence is a phenomenon resulting from policies and practices that disregard the dignity of everyone in Northern Ireland. Thus, the concept of violence refers to any measure that neglects and disregards the physical and mental integrity of people during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Moreover, Heaney's Troubles poems will be analysed under a broad framework to explore the sense of fear and inequality that permeated daily life during the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Poems of physical, structural, and cultural forms of violence are discussed in two chapters. Hence, Chapter I examines the representation of physical form of violence in: "Limbo" from *Wintering Out*, "The Grauballe Man," "Punishment," "Summer 1969" from *North*, and "Casualty" from *Field Work*. Heaney certainly has more poems that deal with physical violence. In fact, these five poems were selected for their shared characteristics, covering different aspects of physical forms of violence observed during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Each poem deals with a different aspect of the physical form of violence. "Limbo" (1972) is about an infanticide by the mother. Of the two poems from the *North* (1975), "Punishment" explores the Troubles' destructive impacts on girls and women since it elaborates on violence in this category by commenting on a case from an earlier period. The poetic persona makes an analogy between an incident from the past and violent acts against teenage girls and women under the name of prevention of adultery. Similarly, "The Grauballe Man" sheds light on the ongoing violence by drawing readers' attention to violence in the past and aims to raise questions about the present violence in Northern Ireland. The poem tells the story of an exhumed body that suffered from brutality under the name of sacrification. The last poem from this collection is "Summer 1969" (1975), which highlights the impossibility of moving away from the Troubles and how the violent atmosphere chases people even in other countries. In this poem, security forces exert violence on

a group that takes the streets in Northern Ireland. The final poem in this section is “Casualty,” from *Field Work* (1979), demonstrating the scale of violence resulting from the Troubles. The poem explains how violence affected ordinary people and disrupted daily routines in Northern Ireland by presenting a bombing attack on a pub. This chapter examines poems that zoom in on various aspects of physical violence related to the Troubles. In this respect, Chapter I argues that Heaney's Troubles Poetry on the physical form of violence makes the invisible layers of these incidents visible at the public level. These poems reveal how the Troubles damaged everyone irrespective of age, gender, class, religious affiliation, and active involvement in the conflict.

Chapter II discusses seven poems representing structural and cultural forms of violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Four of these poems are under the structural violence category, while the last three poems represent the cultural form of violence. Hence, there are poems about structural violence, such as “For the Commander of the Eliza” from *Death of a Naturalist* (1966). “Requiem for the Croppies,” from *Door into the Dark* (1969), “Toome Road,” from *Field Work* (1972), and “From the Frontier of Writing,” from *The Haw Lantern* (1987), show that there are systematic practices to deepen inequalities. For example, “For the Commander of Eliza” is about a ship that performs patrolling on the shores of Ireland during the Great Famine. Furthermore, “Requiem for the Croppies” describes the living conditions of Irish people, including warriors, without giving details about a concrete battlefield. Similarly, “Toome Road” tells the story of military presence in a small village even though there is no actual clash and observes local people's feelings. The final poem, “From the Frontier of Writing,” deals with a checkpoint case, how officers approach the driver, and how the person feels during this process.

Following the analysis of poems on structural violence, the Chapter moves to poems on cultural violence. These three poems, “Traditions” from *Wintering Out* (1972), “Whatever You Say Say Nothing,” and “Funeral Rites” from *North* (1975), delve into different aspects of cultural violence observed in policies about cultural values and traditions. Such as, these poems deal with policies and practices that do not respect but neglect, ignore, and reject religious beliefs, language, local

and historical names of villages and cities, etc. The first poem, “Traditions,” focuses on language and Irish identity. The poem underlines the strong parallelism between language and identity regarding problems that Irish people faced. This poem represents violence by indicating that pressure on cultural values throughout history is detrimental to the community's progress and leads to anger and violence. The second poem, “Whatever You Say Nothing,” explores the role of media during the Troubles. The last poem, “Funeral Rites,” sheds light on the gap between the Catholic and Protestant communities during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. This poem manifests a cultural form of violence by elaborating on a social problem: the impossibility of organising a proper funeral ceremony because of the Troubles in the late twentieth century in Northern Ireland. The poem shows the scale of violence by focusing on the lack of communication resulting from the Troubles, even during funerals and mourning.

Analysing the representation of the physical, structural, and cultural forms of violence in Heaney’s Troubles Poetry demonstrates the widespread violence that affected different groups in the society in Northern Ireland. Moreover, Heaney’s representation of the Troubles draws attention to the invisibility of these violent policies and acts that harmed society. In fact, those who exert obvious violence aimed to make social segments and communities which were linked with these victims invisible. Accordingly, the representation of physical, structural, and cultural forms of violence in Heaney’s Troubles Poetry makes the invisible victims of these violence, which are observed through overt policies and practices, visible and the experiences of unknown segments of the communities heard.

CHAPTER 1
REPRESENTATION OF THE PHYSICAL FORMS OF VIOLENCE IN HEANEY'S TROUBLES POETRY

This chapter analyses five poems from three collections of Heaney: "Limbo" from *Wintering Out* (1972); "The Grauballe Man," "Punishment," and "Summer 1969" from *North* (1975); and "Casualty" from *Field Work* (1979) *and argues that* Heaney's Troubles Poetry represents physical forms of violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. As will be discussed in detail below, violence against an infant, young girls, and ordinary people from an earlier period and the inescapability of the violence generated by the Troubles are the primary focus of these poems. Indeed, the contribution of this chapter to literature is mainly in terms of reading Heaney's works as poems of physical violence exercised by the conflicting parties of the Troubles between 1968 and 1998 in Northern Ireland. Analysing these poems by focusing on the representation of physical acts of violence enables us to better understand the Troubles in Northern Ireland and the impact of the phenomenon of violence it created. In fact, as stated above in the Introduction, Heaney's Troubles Poetry tends to foreground violence, and hence, he has more poems that represent the physical forms of violence observed during the Troubles. However, the selected poems cast light on different aspects of physical violence that were observed during the Troubles. Moreover, these poems have unnamed victims through whom they reflect on violent acts *per se* committed during the Troubles and make the magnitude of physical violence become more visible. It is important to note that these poems also represent the violence period from a distant location, that is, from County Wicklow and Dublin, where Heaney lived, respectively, in 1972 and 1976. Even though he moved from Belfast, the epicentre of violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland, Heaney was able to observe violence and suffering. Heaney also reflected on violence in Northern Ireland while he was based in another location.

Heaney's Troubles Poetry is much studied, and these poems, too, have been read by several readers. Kirsty Williams, in her Ph.D. thesis, *Structures of Belonging: the Poetry of Seamus Heaney* (2003), examines Heaney's poems from a religious perspective to understand the sense of communal belonging in Ireland. She argues that the religious, indeed Catholic, elements are abundant in Heaney's poems. However, Heaney's poetry also relies on other elements, such as violence, the Troubles, and history. Williams' study analyses how Heaney's poems use language that acts as a mediator among people and history. Similarly, her text examines poems focusing on gender related issues and violence. In this respect, Williams' study is relevant to the present thesis, particularly to this chapter that examines violence against a teenager in "Punishment" and the violence experience of a mother, though she is the perpetrator, in "Limbo." Her study suggests that Heaney's poem represents the contemporary violence against women by an analogy with an earlier age.

Another scholar, Sarah Steele, analyses Heaney's collections within the scope of resistance or renaissance in her Ph.D. thesis, *Politics, Religion and the Work of Seamus Heaney* (1999). Steele's thesis pays attention to the political poetry of Heaney and discusses how political, religious, and social dynamics re/shaped Heaney's poetry of the Troubles. She argues that the Troubles made a direct impact on Heaney's poetry. Furthermore, her thesis underlines that, as will be argued also in this study, Heaney's poetry on violence was shaped by the Troubles. Steele highlights that the Troubles related violence was dominant in Northern Ireland, and Heaney wrote poems to cover the Troubles while maintaining his distant and objective position on the conflicting parties. Considering the representation of violence, Steele's argument is valid for this thesis. It is obvious that Heaney would not have written poems focusing on various forms of violence if the Troubles had not occurred. Similarly, Thomas George McGuire's *Seamus Heaney and the Poetic(s) of Violence* (2004) focuses on Heaney's representation of violence as dehumanising and destructive. Furthermore, McGuire's work is interested in Heaney's poetic evolution while responding to violence related to the Troubles. Furthermore, McGuire observes that violence was one of the

most common subjects in Heaney's poetry albeit not the only source of poetic imagination. Additionally, McGuire's study presents how Heaney's poetry changed in the course of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Richard Rankin Russell, a specialist in the poetry of Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley, in his book *Poetry and Peace: Michael Longley, Seamus Heaney, and Northern Ireland* (2010), examines Heaney's Troubles Poetry as the poetry of violence and recognises the significance of violence in the poetry written during the Troubles. In his book, Russell's main point relies on how Heaney's poetry demonstrates the depth of agony suffered by the people and the need for peace in Northern Ireland. Russell's argument is valid to this chapter's argument, yet this study differs from Russell's study concerning the classification of violence forms in Heaney's poetry.

Another Heaney specialist, Elmer Andrews, analyses Heaney's collections *Death of a Naturalist, Door into the Dark, Wintering Out, North, Field Work, Sweeney Astray, and Station Island* in his book, *The Poetry of Seamus Heaney* (1990). These sections examine the concept of identity both national and cultural in Heaney's poems. There is also a chapter, "The Gift and the Craft", in which Andrews provides details about Heaney's poetic fundamentals as well as other poets who influenced Heaney. In his book, Andrews provides an extensive analysis of Heaney's poetic journey. On the other hand, this chapter pays attention to how Heaney's poetry approaches the physical form of violence by examining several violent practices, including violence on a baby, a teenage girl, and an ordinary citizen. He discusses how violence haunts people even in a distant location and makes an analogy with a historical incident. Similarly, *Seamus Heaney in Context* (2021), edited by Geraldine Higgins, has various sections on Heaney's poetry exploring various elements including literary figures who influenced Heaney, lyrical forms, and Catholicism. These elements are examined within the scope of Seamus Heaney’s poetic journey.

In addition to these theses and books, there are also articles that examine Heaney's poems on violence. Siobhán Campbell discusses "Casualty", which is one of the poems in this chapter, in her article "Casualty: Causal or Casual?" (2014). This article comments on how "Casualty" refers

to the contemporary violence in Northern Ireland and has three sections dealing with the victim, the circumstances, namely Bloody Sunday, and the speaker. As will be discussed below, Campbell's reading of "Casualty" is similar to this chapter's argument: violence is the main characteristic of Heaney's Troubles Poetry. The difference, however, is related to the focus of analysis: while Campbell focuses on the abovementioned three aspects, the present chapter examines the poem through the lens of the representation of the physical form of violence. Similarly, Ashby Bland Crowder examines one poem, "Limbo", in his article "Seamus Heaney's Limbo" (2012). In this short article, Crowder indicates how the poem is built on three different voices to categorise dramatic aspects. In fact, Crowder's interpretation of the poem relies on a different angle than this chapter. Crowder's article explores the poem by looking at three different voices in the poem while this chapter focuses on the elements of the physical form of violence and how Heaney represents the violence form in question. In another article, "A Cold Eye Cast Inward: Seamus Heaney's *Field Work*" (2002), George Cusack explores the whole collection. The article demonstrates the direct and immediate relation between moving from Belfast to County Wicklow and the change in Heaney's poetic approach to violence in Northern Ireland. It analyses the collection by stating that the collection's different sections reveal Heaney's poetic evolution in these years. The key difference between Cusack's article and this thesis is related to the point of view. Cusack reflects on Heaney's residence and how moving to a new location affected his poetic stance. On the other hand, this chapter looks at Heaney's poetry with specific attention to the physical violence elements in these five poems and how Heaney represents it. On the other hand, Kieran Quinlan focuses on how some of Heaney's poems in *Death of a Naturalist, Wintering Out, North,* and *Field Work* approach to the victims of violence. As it will be explained below, Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence foregrounds the victims. In this respect, there is a similarity between Quinlan's study and this chapter's argument. Yet, it needs to be noted that Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence is mainly interested in violence itself rather than solely in victims. In this respect, there is a difference, though slight, between these two studies. In fact, the main difference and contribution of this chapter to the studies on Heaney's

poetry is related to the classification of Heaney's poems under the physical form of violence and how Heaney represents such violent practices in his poetry.

As stated, the Troubles was a period of atrocities and cruelties that led to devastating impacts on the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland during the second half of the twentieth century. Violence-driven policies and practices were abundant in Ireland from 1968 to 1998. Most of violence appears to fit in what this chapter calls the physical form of violence. The term “physical violence”, as used in this chapter, refers to an extensive range of physical attacks, including beating, wounding, kidnapping, torture, degrading treatment, and murder. The framework is broad since the policies and practices concerned are various and continuous. Throughout the Troubles, both the British army and the IRA used physical violence to have control in Northern Ireland. There are two primary reasons for using physical forms of violence at such a high level. Firstly, compared to other forms of violence, it is relatively easy to exert physical violence at individual and communal levels. Attacking individuals and civilians was a common practice during the Troubles. Accordingly, Therese Fay et al draw attention to the higher portion of civilian deaths and states that the total rate of loss among paramilitary organisations and security officers was only thirty percent (159). These figures demonstrate the level of violence targeting civilians in the Troubles. Secondly, as it is evident and has immediate results, forms of physical violence are more effective in creating and maintaining a climate of fear. All these were observed in Northern Ireland throughout the Troubles since both the British army and the IRA used physical violence. While the former claimed to eliminate and neutralise those whom they considered terrorists to maintain public order, the latter tried to justify their acts by claiming that they protected the rights and interests of the Catholics. Clearly, the conflicting parties develop their respective narratives for reasons to employ physical violence, which generally amounts to propaganda.

In his book *The Longest War Northern Ireland's Troubled History* (2002), Marc Mulholland gives the following example of the full-scale physical violence that took place in Ireland in the late 1960s:

> On the night of the 14th, the worst violence of the 1969 disturbances occurred in Belfast, notably in the Ardoyne and on the Falls Road. The police, who believed by now that they were facing an armed uprising, used guns, including Browning machine-guns mounted on Shorland armoured vehicles. Four Catholics were shot dead by police fire: one Protestant was killed by a shot fired by a rioter in Divis Street. Catholic houses were burnt by Protestants, especially in the Conway Street area. The only clear evidence of direct IRA participation in these riots occurred at the St. Comgall's School in Divis Street, where automatic fire was directed against the police. On the same night there was a riot in Armagh, as a result of which a Catholic man was killed by USC fire. (72)

As indicated by Mulholland, violent incidents from 1969 demonstrates that police forces used physical force and guns against the Catholics and even killed them. Furthermore, a Protestant community member was shot by a non-state actor. In addition to guns, some Protestants damaged and fired houses that belonged to the Catholics. The report also refers to the involvement of the IRA in the violent incidents. Hence, this incident shows the variety of actors and physical violent acts related to the Troubles. Unfortunately, police officers were not the only state actors that exerted violence. Another actor of violence was the British army during the Troubles. For example, Bloody Sunday, 30 January 1972, is an obvious example of the British troops' violence against civilians. Hayes and Campbell's book *Bloody Sunday* (2005) examines various aspects of Bloody Sunday and notes that "13 unarmed male civilians were killed by the British Parachute Regiment during a banned civil rights demonstration" (1). While security forces are authorised to exert proportionate violence, killing civilians goes beyond borders of proportionality. Inevitably, as observed, violence brought more violence and led to a vicious circle. As a response to Bloody

Sunday, the IRA launched a counter-attack on the Bloody Friday. Gillespie's book *The A to Z of the Northern Ireland Conflict* (2009) gives an idea about the level of death toll and destruction resulting from the physical forms of violence during the Troubles:

> On Friday, 21 July 1972, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) detonated 26 bombs across Belfast in just over an hour. Nine people were killed and 130 injured. A car bomb at Oxford Street bus station killed four Ulsterbus workers and two soldiers. Two women and a schoolboy were killed by another car bomb on Cavehill Road in North Belfast. (36)

The IRA planted about thirty bombs in the living areas of the city. These bombs killed several people, including children, and injured many. Gillespie states that the bombings deformed civilians' bodies so badly that it took time for authorities to give an accurate number of dead people (37). Similarly, Lorenzo Bosi and Gianluca De Fazio refer to the killing of more than one thousand eight hundred and forty civilians during the Troubles and conclude that this conflict is classified as one of the most destructive post-war periods in Western Europe (11). As these examples illustrate, the conflicting parties did not hesitate to use such physical acts and inflict severe suffering on their enemies to achieve their goals. Unsurprisingly, not only activists and members of the opposing parties but also civilians, ordinary citizens, workers, women, and children —indeed almost everyone in the society— experienced different forms of physical violence. About three thousand people lost their lives throughout the Troubles that lasted three decades (Fay et al. 64). Furthermore, many more were kidnapped, beaten, and injured by British security officers and armed militants from the IRA and paramilitary groups.

Undoubtedly, Heaney was one of the Irish citizens/civilians who suffered from the violence of the Troubles. In this sense, to a certain extent, there is inevitably a robust and high correlation between Heaney, the person, and Heaney, the poet in Heaney's Troubles Poetry of violence. Concerning violence resulting from the Troubles, Heaney says, "I am fatigued by a continuous adjudication between agony and injustice, swung at one moment by the long tail of race and

resentment, at another by the more acceptable feelings of pity and terror (*Preoccupations* 30). Like any other ordinary individual suffering from Troubles, Heaney's feelings were not fixed but continuously changed even within a day. His feelings with regard to the violence during the Troubles oscillate between "resentment," "pity," and "terror". Robert Fitzroy Foster, in his book *On Seamus Heaney* (2020), highlights the significance of Troubles in Heaney's poetry and notes, "[h]e was born in Northern Ireland in 1939, grew up among the nods, winks, and repressions of a deeply divided society, and saw those half-concealed fissures break open into violence" (2). As Foster suggests, violence related to the Troubles is one of the essential elements of Heaney's poetry. In fact, Heaney observes the "agony," "injustice," and "terror" generated by violence in Northern Ireland during the Troubles and tends to write poems not only through his community's lens but through the eyes of everyone involved and affected by the violence of the period. Similarly, Alan Robinson states that Heaney "has sought to resist reducing poetry to propagandism or reportage" (124). Accordingly, Heaney's following poems to be discussed below focus on physical violence to understand its scope and to present its magnitude through representation.

Heaney, moreover, produces poems in a manner that upholds the credibility of literature, notably poetry. In line with John Stuart Mill's views on poetry, according to which, unlike eloquence that supposes an audience poetry is overheard (95), Heaney writes poems to make violent incidents heard and known by readers. Accordingly, Heaney's Troubles Poetry chooses one aspect or part of the physical violence in each poem and thus represents multiple aspects of suffering and violence related to the Troubles. Heaney indeed defines the physical violence of the Troubles with the following words: "We survive explosions and funerals and live on among the families of the victims, those blown apart and those in cells apart" (*Preoccupations* 30). The poet points to the fact that Northern Ireland, particularly Belfast, was full of violence and suffering resulting from bombings, armed clashes, and riots. Accordingly, Heaney's attitude towards poetry is also shaped, as Quinn states, by "the knowledge that the poems must resonate responsibly within the public

arena, much like a newspaper editorial would. In a violent and volatile zone, Heaney's poems try to achieve balance and reconciliation" (132). It should be noted that Heaney's background is another aspect that influenced his Troubles Poetry. As Quinn further states, "Heaney grew up in Northern Ireland, where the Catholic minority experienced systematic discrimination-in matters such as the allocation of public housing and gerrymandering-that he felt that his imaginative force should be expanded in redressing the balance" (132). Heaney's Troubles Poetry reflects this diversified violence practices.

As stated, this chapter discusses five poems selected from Heaney's Troubles collections, namely "Limbo" from *Wintering Out*, "Punishment," "Summer 1969", and "The Grauballe Man" from *North*, and "Casualty" from *Field Work*. As explained below, each of these poems is a poem of physical violence, and they all respond to the most damaging aspect of violent actions that took place during the Troubles. As stated, the human cost of the Troubles was too heavy; thousands of people were killed and more than thirty thousand people, which was almost three percent of the total population (Mulholland 93), were injured by physical attacks. As the Introduction of this study extensively explains, such physical forms of violence aimed to create fear, injury, and even death.

Heaney's "Limbo" treats violence against children, the most innocent segment of any society. The poem is about an infanticide case of which the perpetrator is the mother. Reportedly, the baby is killed in Ballyshannon. The second poem, "Punishment", is one of Heaney's bog poems and focuses on violence against girls and women during the Troubles by using the body of a girl found in Windeby, Germany, in 1952 (Glob 110). Perpetrators physically punish, through severe beating, a girl who allegedly committed adultery and kill her by torturing her. Another poem, "Summer 1969", from the same collection, takes place in Madrid and tells the story of policing practices to silence protestors in Belfast. When citizens tried to raise their concerns, they were beaten by security officers. "The Grauballe Man", on the other hand, exemplifies the results of torture practices on an adult. This man was found in a historical site in Grauballe, Jutland,

Denmark, in 1952 (Glob 37). To ensure diversity of victims, Heaney chooses a male victim in this poem. Similarly, the last poem, "Casualty", tells the story of an adult man who is killed in a bombing attack targeting a pub under the name of retaliation for the murder of thirteen civilians on Bloody Sunday when he was out drinking on a curfew night. These poems demonstrate the disruption of daily life in Ireland during the Troubles and how violence affects every person irrespective of their social status, age, and place. They show the impossibility of escaping the violence of the Troubles with references to historical instances of physical violence in Ireland during that time.

Physical Violence Perpetrated against Children and Women

"Limbo" is one of Heaney's poems on physical violence, published in *Wintering Out* in 1972. *Wintering Out*, a transition from winter to spring symbolises a change in Heaney's poetic stance. In addition to some nature poems, this collection has poems on contemporary violent incidents in Northern Ireland. Heaney wrote most of the poems in *Wintering Out* right after the political incidents and violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s (Andrews, *The Poetry of Seamus Heaney* 48). It was a period of physical attacks on people and buildings with beatings, injuries, killings, and bombings in Northern Ireland. No one was safe because of the intense level of violence during the Troubles. Following the eruption of sectarian violence, the conflicting parties to the Troubles -IRA and the British forces, as well as paramilitary groups- began beating, torturing, shooting and bombing people. Thousands of people from both Catholic and Protestant communities were killed or injured by these shootings, bombings, and beatings during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Heaney was aware of the social and political atmosphere that led him to write these poems. Furthermore, Heaney knew that the Troubles dominated life in Northern Ireland and it was impossible to escape from it. Thus, Heaney adopted a new poetic stance to represent the Troubles and respond to the new context. Heaney states, “[f]rom that moment, the problems of poetry moved from being simply a matter of achieving the satisfactory verbal icon to being a search for images and symbols adequate to our predicament”

(*Preoccupations* 56). The poet explains that the Troubles channelled, to some extent, forced poetry to deal with social incidents, namely violence and discrimination. In this context, Sarah Steele compares *Wintering Out* with two previous collections of Heaney and concludes that Heaney channels his energy and efforts to understand, to deal with, and even challenge the violence of the Troubles. (44). Hence, as in "Limbo", Heaney presents the physical form of violence to understand and demonstrate the scale of the destruction caused by the Troubles to Ireland and the Irish people. In fact, Heaney adopts two different approaches in his treatment of the violence related to the Troubles. As Andrews states in *Wintering Out,*

> In Part I, 'our predicament' is treated in cultural and political terms, but in Part II, Heaney presents a series of more personalized dramatic images - often from the point of view of women - in which human loss, hurt, derangement and alienation are absorbed within a timeless, archetypal and cosmic perspective. (49).

Considering the fact that "Limbo" is from Part II of *Wintering Out,* one can conclude that the poem represents the physical forms of violence mainly related to the personal tragedies suffered because of the Troubles, how a woman is forced to kill her baby, for instance, because she had a relationship with a man from the other religious sect.

Moreover, as Alan Robinson points out, in *Wintering Out*, Heaney builds his poems of violence on figures usually not welcomed by society; "[t]ypically, its poems dwell on social outsiders, Catholics marginalised by the Unionist hegemony as it has evolved historically" (124) Accordingly, "Limbo" focuses on individuals who are invisible and unknown to the community. In fact, people are not even fully aware of the presence of such members. The victims in "Limbo" are such people. The physical violence presented in "Limbo" concerns a newborn baby who is found dead by the fishermen in Ballyshannon in Northern Ireland. The child seems to be a victim of the Catholic norms, which became stricter because of the physical violence resulting from the Troubles. In fact, the Troubles worsened disputes between the Catholic and the Protestant communities, and acts of physical violence such as shootings and bombings heightened the

enmity between them in this respect. The Troubles eliminated any possible communication and dialogue between the communities to the extent that instead of trying ways of legitimating her child, the mother had no other alternative but to drown her own baby because of the Catholic view of children born out of wedlock.

In this sense, the poem's title is important in conveying the impact of the infanticide it describes. Indeed, "Limbo" presents a limbo in many ways. As Andrews argues,

> The very fine 'Limbo' presents a picture of an unregenerate world. The social order is reductive, authoritarian and responsible for the corruption or denial of natural human feeling; the private life is speculative, repressed and infinitely sad; the natural world and, beyond that, the whole cosmic order, are cold and dead. Consequently, all creation is condemned to a state of inescapable and perpetual limbo. (*The Poetry of Seamus Heaney* 72)

In this context, the poem suggests that the infanticide it presents is the result of social circumstances and the political situation in Northern Ireland. By highlighting the pressure on the mother, who finally decides to kill the baby, the violence described in the poem asks readers to reflect on concepts such as family. In addition to the family, representation of the physical violence in the poem also raises questions about the social and religious norms which impose a *de facto* ban on inter-communal affairs in Northern Ireland. The Troubles and its violent atmosphere made inter-communal relations taboos more visible at the public level.

It is significant that the drowning of the baby takes place in Ballyshannon, a historical location in County Donegal. In his book *Ballyshannon Its History and Antiquities* (1937), Hugh Allingham notes that Ballyshannon's the most essential feature comes from the river, Erne, that crosses through the town (5). The town's name is relevant to the geographical characteristic of Ballyshannon. In this respect, as Allinghman suggests, "Ballyshannon was generally called by the old annalist Ath-Seanaigh. Bel-atha signifies ford entrance, or mouth of a ford" (5). The term ford

is relevant to "Limbo" since it indicates shallow water that enables people to cross the stream. Heaney's choice of location symbolises that the baby is close to the edge of life. The location is a reminder of the thin line between life and death. In fact, the Troubles blurred the thin line between them in Northern Ireland. He could have crossed the border of death and entered the life if the mother had not drowned him. Moreover, Ballyshannon is on the hilly banks of the river Erne, where it meets the sea. The town is close to the sea and combines soil and water, two vital elements of life. In this sense, the place constitutes an ironic contrast to what happens there. Clearly, water is essential to the life and the people of Ballyshannon; in fact, water is the reason why people started living there. Ballyshannon represents the source of life and symbolises the cradle of life in Northern Ireland. However, in "Limbo", this city becomes a crime scene, a place of physical violence where life is destroyed. Ballyshannon, where the infanticide takes place, is located between Ireland and Northern Ireland. Ballyshannon is in County Donegal, Ireland, yet it is so close to Northern Ireland that it is a kind of limbo as a place for its location between Northern Ireland and Ireland. In a sense, it is the location of the violent act of the mother in the poem that gives the poem its title.

Another important aspect of the city of Ballyshannon is that its name comes from the word Seannach. As Maureen Donachie, in her article "The Storytelling Keepers of Ireland's Rich Folklore Heritage" (2023), notes, "Seanchaí (shan-a-key) were traditional Irish storytellers and the custodians of history for centuries in Ireland" (1). Given its long history, the town of Ballyshannon has numerous stories about its people. Thus, it is possible that Ballyshannon has a story to tell about the violence in Ireland as life begins there. Significantly, in "Limbo", the murder of an infant by his/her own mother frustrates such positive associations that the place suggests. The infant could have had a story if the Troubles had allowed it. On the other hand, while the poem has a specific location, which has historical and religious importance, as stated, there is no reference to any historical period. The lack of a particular date suggests that such violence is timeless. By referring to the location only, "Limbo" implies that the violent atmosphere

transformed Northern Ireland into a place with such timeless violent crimes. Instead, as stated, the town becomes a place where new life is ended, and the potential story of a baby is ended, too.

Moreover, as Michael Walsh states, the poem's title as a religious concept refers to "a kind of in-between state, neither the happiness of heaven nor the torments of hell, where the unbaptised go if they have lived upright lives" (100). Accordingly, while "limbo" symbolises the unbaptised baby's position, it also has specific implications for the mother's position. The following lines illustrate the mother's physical suffering and how she treats her baby, whom she is drowning:

> … But I am sure
>
> As she stood in the shallows
>
> Ducking him tenderly
>
> Till the frozen knobs her of her wrists
>
> Were dead as the gravel (6-10)

These lines signify the perpetrator’s physical condition, which is better than that of the victim. Compared to the baby, the mother is in a safer condition and can control her situation. It may appear that there is no danger to her since the water level is not too high for her. However, killing her baby is not an easy task, she stands in the water too long, and "her wrists" (9) are affected by the cold water and "gravel" (10). The persona makes an analogy with stones in water. Heaney represents the physical form of violence by giving details about the moves of the perpetrator, the mother while committing the crime. Heaney compares the mother's "knobs and wrists" to a stone, an object with no emotion. Moreover, stones are motionless, so they represent the perpetrator's long standing in the water. Heaney represents the physical form of violence by comparing the physical conditions of the perpetrator's arms with a stone in water. Furthermore, this representation implies that one's heart should look like a stone to commit such a grave crime.

Furthermore, limbo refers also to the communities' deadlock related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. It is evident that the title is substantially symbolic since limbo refers to the situation of the unbaptised Catholics in afterlife. The International Theological Commission provides the following definition for limbo, which is "a state which includes the souls of infants who die subject to original sin and without baptism, and who, therefore, neither merit the beatific vision, nor yet are subjected to any punishment, because they are not guilty of any personal sin" (2). Infants under this category shall remain in between heaven and hell and because their journey is incomplete, there can be no judgement in their case. The title, "Limbo" in this sense refers to the state of the murdered baby who as a Catholic will remain in limbo for not being baptised. While the title frames the poem with a state of limbo, thus the poem describes how the fishermen find the baby. Moreover, the poem speculates about the mother's motives and reasons for this violent act. The poem, in fact, treats this physical form of violence as a crime and focuses on the crime scene. The mother, who is supposedly the perpetrator, is fully aware of the consequences of having a baby out of wedlock, particularly for her child and makes the most difficult decision about the fate of her baby. As Michael Parker notes, "ather than risk ostracization by the 'Christian' community in which she lives, the unmarried mother of 'Limbo' drowns her newborn baby" (112). In a way, the mother herself is in limbo, too. It can be inferred that she falls in love with someone who is not considered an appropriate father, most probably from the Protestant community, for the baby thus making her baby ineligible for baptism. She accordingly commits physical violence to escape from physical violence and social ostracization probably from other forms. Unlike her relatively superior physical conditions than the baby in the water, the mother does not feel safe since her baby is testimony to the fact that she acted in a contrary way to the, in Daniel Tobin's words, "community's strict sexual taboos" (97). Thus, it seems that it is the "fear of reprisal, [that] force[s] her to commit the most heinous crime against that community, and herself" (97). In fact, the mother seems to be forced to commit physical violence also because she tries paradoxically save her baby by killing the baby. It can be suggested that the mother aims to prevent the baby from being labelled as an illegitimate person in Northern Ireland.

In this context, the poem illustrates one of the most tragic and harmful forms of physical violence caused by the Troubles: the murder of an innocent infant. Additionally, the poem underlines how the fear of loneliness resulting from social and religious norms and terror form the basis of this crime. Heaney represents the physical form of violence by showing these aspects of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. These norms became stricter during the Troubles, so that they encircled a mother, who became hopeless and found no exit. Consequently, she decided to kill her baby. Concerning the social norms, Michael Parker focuses comments on their role in his reading of the poem and states, "[t]hough the killing was in part motivated by her desire to protect herself, it can also be seen as a perverse act of love, for if the child had survived, he would have suffered the stigma of bastardy. One must assume that the forgiveness that Christ showed to the woman taken in adultery has no place in Ballyshannon." (113) Parker's point is valid since it is evident that the Catholic norms and rules create and maintain pressure on its followers, in this case, Northern Ireland. In other words, as a victim of religious segregation, a young Catholic mother turns into a perpetrator and kills her baby.

As Roger Sawyer suggests, "infanticide committed to avoid disgrace, may have been commoner than contemporary observers appreciated" (32). The poem represents hence violence against children in the form of infanticide to highlight the role of religion in the physical violence generated by the Troubles. Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, in her article "Seamus and Sinead: From "Limbo" to Saturday Night Live by way of Hush-a-Bye Baby" (1994), states that infanticide aggravates the limbo status and blocks infants' happiness since it is a cruel act (49). As highlighted by Cullingford, infanticide deters babies from eternal happiness since the act of killing eradicates the possibility of baptism, a substantial religious process. Although the poem deals with only one incident, it demonstrates that such form of physical violence is not an isolated case in Northern Ireland. The Troubles created a violent atmosphere that affected everyone, including children, in the society. Marie Therese Fay et al. provide a detailed chart about the profile of the victims during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. According to this study, four hundred and sixty eight

children were killed from 1969 to 1998 (182). There is a wide range of causes of death, such as explosion, stabbing, poison, assault, accident armoured army vehicle, beating, suicide, and shot (Fay et al. 192). Heaney uses two elements to reinforce the sense of physical violence as a collective problem. The first element is that fishermen find the corpse of the baby. The persona does not allude any form of shocking among the fishermen. Accordingly, the persona states that, they, the fishermen, “Netted an infant last night” (2). In fact, the fishermen's response, showing no sense of being shocked, to the dead body of an infant symbolises the sheer level of physical violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. In addition, it is these very fishermen who report the case to the public authorities. Clearly, the baby is thrown into the water, and he is caught in a fishnet like a fish and presented to the disapproving social world only as a dead baby. The baby is not welcomed by the fish, either. In a way, it remains perpetually between the worlds. The poem does not tell readers the victim's name, which implies that any member from both communities might become the next victim. Indeed, beginning the poem with the recovery of the body of a dead baby from the water implies that violence was so prevalent that everyone was at risk during the Troubles but more so was the future of the segregated communities, as the Troubles killed children and infants. As stated above, the physical form of violence included the killing of an infant during the Troubles. Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence through infanticide underlines the severity of violence against children during the Troubles.

On the other hand, the act of drowning a baby by immersing the baby in water is similar to baptising. The concept of baptism refers to “the crucial symbolic rite by which a person enters into the Christian community through a ritual washing called baptism (from the Greek *baptizein*, “to plunge [into water]”) (Cunningham 126). This religious ritual is a substantial element in Catholic belief. Nevertheless, there is a considerable difference between baptising and drowning: while baptism welcomes a baby to the Christian faith, drowning takes its life. Baptism cleans the body and proves that a person who undertakes this process is purified. The process opens the door to being accepted by the Catholic community. When the mother kills her baby in "Limbo", she

eradicates all these possibilities. The poem demonstrates that the child, as a victim of violence, has no choice or power other than being thrown into the water like small and dead fish. Inherently, baptism is a passive process for a person who is baptised. The passivity is doubled for an infant since an infant has no agency or choice about being baptised. The poem emphasises the baby's passive position when the baby does not react to "ducking" (8). Consequently, like the baby and its killing mother, people became stranded and had no choice but stayed and suffered the consequences of the Troubles. The baby, as the victim, who is innocent and unaware of the potential danger of physical violence, represents the people who had no active position or involvement in the Troubles. For example, Mulholland draws attention to the assassination of eighty Catholic civilians from 1970 to 1972 in Northern Ireland (107). These civilian victims constituted a high portion of the overall figures. Similarly, Niall Ó Dochartaigh points to the British army's acts targeting or resulting in the murder of civilians and how, before 1972, the British soldiers beat to death civilians including two children (246).

Another significant element in the poem "Limbo" is the concept of family. As Scot McKnight, in his book *It Takes a Church To Baptize* (2018), states, "the nucleus of a church is the family, and "family" includes a single-person family as well as families with bundles of little children running around. Pastors and leaders in churches are vital, but the health of the church is shaped by healthy families" (11). As stated above, the mother in "Limbo" is clearly aware of the potential risks to her baby as a bastard baby cannot have a proper family, according to the Catholic church. Thus, as the baby is too small, like a small fish, which is not eligible to be caught, the mother decides that the baby is not eligible for a Catholic family; hence, the baby is thrown back into the water. Although the size of the baby and fish is comparable, the result of throwing them into the water is notably different. As Ashby Bland Crowder argues in his article "Seamus Heaney's Limbo" (2012), when the too-small fish is "thrown back," it gets a second chance at life, gets a chance to grow—whereas the unwanted baby has his life cut short in being given to the water"

(224). Hence, the baby's situation explains why the poem is titled "Limbo" and how there is limbo in the experience it describes.

In addition to the baby's situation, the persona casts light on the mother in the process of drowning the baby. Unlike the baby, the mother has an agency that leads to the murder. The poem introduces the mother with the expression, "she stood in the shallows" (7). Although the perpetrator stands with no motion in the water, she is the active figure in the crime scene. Since the baby is too young to stand on his feet, and the water level is too risky for a baby, the mother's agency becomes more visible. In fact, this analogy between the victim and the perpetrator focuses on the ability to exert violence and is applicable to other victims and perpetrators of violence related to the Troubles. The poem shows that the mother drowns her baby by "ducking him tenderly" (8). As a mother, the perpetrator does her best to act tenderly. Heaney's choice of expression serves to create an impression that the mother did not act ruthlessly, so the baby did not suffer a lot. In fact, Heaney represents the physical act by the adverb "tenderly" (8), which is a contraction and draws attention to the brutalities in the form of shootings, murders, and bombings during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The mother's tenderness in "ducking" (8) her baby evokes a children's game; almost all children play in the bathtub. It is known that children sometimes play with ducks while they have their baths in the bathtub. There seems to be an ironic analogy between the bath and the sea to underline the difference between safe and dangerous places for an infant. As long as a bathtub functions as a playground, it is not a dangerous place for a baby since it is not so deep and there is someone else, e.g., a parent, to take care of the child. The sea, however, has a hazardous atmosphere for several reasons it is not a game that the mother plays with her child when she ducks him tenderly, but she kills him. She is fully aware of the fact that this is not a game.

In the third stanza, the persona informs readers about the physical conditions of the perpetrator and the victim. In this respect, the persona says the mother was suffering from the water, as well. The line "the frozen knobs of her wrists" (9), which may resemble the hands of a corpse,

represents that exerting violence harms the preparator. Undoubtedly, the perpetrator's sufferings do not amount to death so that they cannot be compared to the victim's tragedy. In this sense, "Limbo" does not favour the baby or the mother. Cullingford draws attention to the fact that "the poet interprets the mother's motives through a non-appropriative act of personal trust: “But I'm sure.” He guarantees that her act was not lightly undertaken. He does not speak in her voice; he speaks on her behalf, with empathy” (52). The narrator fully understands the violent act's burden on the mother. Thus, there is an attempt to achieve a balance and highlight that there are two victims. Considering these facts, one can conclude that both the infant and the mother are in limbo, as stated above. Moreover, the persona compares the infant to “a minnow with hooks” (11) as it is known, fishermen use small fish, minnows, to attract the attention of the bigger fish. The minnows, thus, are functional but unimportant. As a result, fishermen can easily ignore and neglect them and throw them back into the water. Like “a minnow” (11), the baby is too small so that the mother can throw him into the water to protect herself and the baby from the attacks of society.

The fourth and the fifth stanzas take readers to the other world and focus on the further stages of the baby's journey there. Although there is no direct reference to the name or profile of the baby and mother, "the sign of her cross" (14) reveals that the mother is a Catholic woman. The cross is another religious element in "Limbo." Considering the family concept, the Catholic norms and the social taboos, the cross provides an additional explanation of the mother's motive for the murder. In these two stanzas, the baby is finally dragged by fish and taken to limbo. The new world is not appropriate for the baby. The depiction of the new location for the baby has a religious tone since it says, "Even Christ's palms, unhealed, / Smart and cannot fish there" (19-20). These two lines underline that even Christ's extraordinary power cannot save the baby who is in a new place that is not suitable to survive and functions as limbo. The baby's new place symbolises the violent atmosphere, which was not favourable for civilians, of the Troubles. The poem completes the infant's story by indicating that there is no possibility of healing the agony.

Evidently, "Limbo" is a poem that examines the physical form of violence. Heaney chooses a considerably sensitive case, a mother killing her baby. To connect this infanticide with the Troubles' root cause, belonging to different sects, in Northern Ireland, Heaney uses several religious elements "cross" (16), and "Christ's palms" (19). Furthermore, the title "Limbo" itself is a religious element. Heaney represents the physical form of violence by showing the mother's motive for the murder, social exclusion resulting from the religious and social norms, and the baby's suffering in the water. "Limbo" presents the mercy killing of a baby caused by the segregation of communities in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. In this poem, Heaney underlines that exerting violence is as harmful to victims as to perpetrators. Moreover, "Limbo" suggests that the level of violence resulting from the Troubles was so high that it affected almost everyone in the society. In addition to the violence against a child, Heaney's Troubles Poetry also represents violence against girls, which the following poem will examine.

Violence against girls and women / Gender-based violence in "Punishment"

As in "Limbo," Seamus Heaney represents physical violence against a specific segment of society, namely girls and women, in "Punishment," from *North*, published in 1975. *North* was published after Heaney moved from Belfast to County Wicklow in 1972. The period in which Heaney completed his poems in *North* was a highly violent period. As Fay et al. state, there were fourteen deaths in 1969, which increased to eighteen in 1970, to ninety-seven in 1971, and to two hundred and fifty-eight in 1972 (159). Although there was a slight decrease in the following years, the number of death toll was still high from 1973 to 1975. The figures were as follows in that period: one hundred and thirty-five deaths in 1973, two hundred and four in 1974, and one hundred and seventy-eight in 1975 (Fay et al 159). Concerning Heaney's poems on violence in this collection, Russell points to the prevalence of violence in *North* and notes that it criticises various forms of violence irrespective of the location, victims, and perpetrators of it (*Poetry and Peace* 214). Similarly, Patricia Boyle Haberstroh compares Heaney's attitude to social and political issues in *North* to that of William Butler Yeats. Haberstroh notes that "in *North*, Heaney chose to confront

directly the political crisis in Ireland. Like Yeats' "Easter 1916," *North* gives us a poet's perspective on social problems, and Heaney's own life, like Yeats', makes him an invaluable observer. The confusion and frustration that a poet feels in the face of overwhelming social chaos are the subjects of *North*" (206). As Haberstroh suggests, *North* is a collection that responds to contemporary violence in Ireland and underlines the gravity of physical violence during the Troubles. Manifestly, instead of focusing directly on the incidents of violence, *North* uses images and symbols from Ireland's past to represent violence and political conflicts of the end of the late twentieth century. As Andrews argues, in *North*, Heaney's poetry is concerned with "political unrest and the daily massacre in Ulster, the more general challenge offered to ancient pieties by the modern world, the claims of the emerging self" (82). As Andrews further states,

> Heaney looks for definitive images befitting our predicament. Hence his fascination with Iron Age society, the Viking ethos and aesthetic, Icelandic saga, ancient Celtic ritual and Catholic ritual. They provide him with a proliferation of malleable images imbued with psychological and ritual suggestiveness and, as he uses them, relatively free of set doctrinal associations. (*The Poetry of Seamus Heaney All the Realms of Whisper* 84)

Heaney carefully focuses on the social atmosphere in *North* by using several settings in his poems on violence.

In this respect, "Punishment" represents the physical form of violence Heaney is concerned with. As a poem of violence, "Punishment" was inspired by P. V. Glob's book *The Bog People* (1969), which provides an extensive analysis of dozens of dead bodies from the Iron Age. The book also has about seventy images of these dead bodies. Heaney composed his poem on one of these bodies, more specifically, on the body of a young girl[1]found in Windeby, modern Germany, in

[1] It needs to be noted that later, it was proved that the body was a young man, according to Heather Gill-Robinson, a physical anthropologist from North Dakota State University (A. Lobell Jarrett and S. Patel

May 1952 (Glob 113). In fact, "Punishment" uses this young girl's body discovered in the bog to make an analogy between the violence against girls in the past and in the Troubles period in Northern Ireland. As Gülay Gülpınar Özoran, in her PhD thesis *"Words As Bearers of History": Testimony and Trauma in Seamus Heaney's Early Poetry* (2019), argues, "Heaney's "Punishment" builds a connection between past and present cultures in terms of their approval of violence as a means to correct behaviour in society" (122). Thus, Heaney presents a contemporary problem of violence against girls and women by focusing on a similar case, the Windeby Girl, from the past. It needs to be noted that the concept of "bog" (10) is instrumental and significant in Heaney's Troubles Poetry. Heaney benefits from archaeology in his poetry. P. J. Mathews, in "Bards of Erin", comments on how the poet relies on archaeology in his poetry and makes a comparison between the function of history and earth (20). As Mathews argues, while the former can be subjective and selective, the latter stores and preserves everything in order with no exclusion. Thus, archaeology, in Mathews' words, "becomes a richly symbolic procedure for negotiating the complexities and the discontinuities of the Irish past" (20). Heaney uses the bog or archaeology to understand the past better and to create an analogy with contemporary Northern Ireland in "Punishment". He also underlines the continuity rather than the discontinuity of violence. Heaney explains why he uses these images in his poems, which are called "bog poems," in his book *Preoccupations* (1980). He states, "the unforgettable photographs of these victims blended in my mind with photographs of atrocities, past and present, in the long rites of Irish political and religious struggles" (57-58).

Heaney's representation also aims to highlight the physical sufferings of Northern Irish girls caused by people from the same or the opposite sect. The title is revelatory in the sense of physical violence because it suggests that somebody is punished for committing a crime. Inevitably, this

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Samir "Windeby Girl and Weerding Couple"). This new scientific conclusion, however, does not influence the poem's main point as it still provides a representation of physical violence by creating an analogy between the earlier ages and contemporary Northern Ireland.

punishment involves a form of violence. The persona tells readers about the physical form of violence in the poem that punishment involves. Significantly, physical violence as a form of punishment was used against those who failed to behave according to the rules imposed by certain groups, declaring their *de facto* authority in society. Accordingly, this poem represents how non-state actors inflict serious injuries by exerting physical violence and torturing the victim. Although there is an explicit description of how the perpetrators tied the victim, a young girl, it is likely the perpetrators beat (slapped or punched) her before drowning the body. In fact, the concept of beating, one of the typical physical forms of violence, used against people, who allegedly defy the community rules, was called "punishment beating" which Gillespie defines as "physical attacks by paramilitary groups on individuals who are judged by the paramilitaries" (214). Gillespie's point reveals the aspects of arbitrariness and injustice in the physical form. Similarly, as Dochartaigh notes there was a gradual increase in the number of assault cases usually at nighttime and a group of youngsters stopped some other people, particularly youngsters, to ask questions about their identity and behaviours to classify them as appropriate members of the society (33). It was up to the members of paramilitary groups to judge whether someone acted appropriately or not. Considering that these paramilitary groups tend to exert violence, and they were not specialists in any sense of assessing one's behaviour or in investigating a case, their judgments were often wrong.

Clearly, violence against women is a grave violation of human rights. Violence against women affects not only women but also their families and, eventually, society in the long term. This phenomenon is one of the aspects of gender inequalities at the local, national and global levels. Undoubtedly, the phenomenon is a highly deadly and destructive form of inequality that girls and women still suffer. Margaret Ward highlights the correlation between the violent atmosphere and particular attacks on women in Northern Ireland. As Ward states, "[violence] is a particular and often hidden problem in societies emerging from conflict" (par. 12). In fact, punishment beatings usually targeted young and women members of the communities. As Fay et al. note, between

“1973–97, a total of 2096 people were victims of 'punishment shootings', 214 of whom were under the age of 20. A further 1283 people were casualties of 'punishment beatings' in the period 1982–97, and of those 287 were under the age of 20” (195). As highlighted by Fey et al., these figures clearly demonstrate that young people highly suffered from physical violence under the name of punishment. While these figures do not tell how many of these victims were girls and women, it can be inferred that violence against girls and women was not an isolated case during the Troubles. Regarding the violence against women, Rachel Green draws attention to the fact that violence against women during the Troubles would occur in vertical or horizontal forms, that is to say, between the communities or within the community. In her article "The Impact of Conflict on Violence Against Women in Belfast," Green states that "[c]ommunity members know that women were victims of intragroup (between members of one group) and intergroup (between members of different groups) sexual and physical violence during the conflict, but due to low reporting rates and the stigma against victims of gender-based violence, little has been documented" (4). Accordingly, punishment is a marker of violence; therefore, it suggests that violence against women is a form of violence justified through punishment as the women are believed to violate social taboos or norms. Regarding the poem’s title, “Punishment”, John M. Bell states, "[it] is the kind of euphemistic distortion of language which totalistic discourse instrumentalises to transform its arbitrary narrative of barbaric empowerment into a legitimating narrative of civilising intelligibility" (283). The title is, to some extent, manipulative since it implies that the perpetrators are right to torture the victim.

The poem begins with an explicit comprehensive depiction of a violent act though the persona does not give specific information about the victim and the perpetrators. The narrator in the poem is watching the body of a young girl discovered in the bogs in Windeby, Germany, and describes the discovery of the body and how it looked. It is only at the end of the poem that a direct link is established between this young adulteress drowned in the bog blindfolded and her hair shaved. There is a reference to contemporary violence case against girls when the persona says, "I who

would have stood dumb / when your betraying sisters" (37-38) were punished. The persona takes readers into a scene where the victim is discovered "in and old peat-cutting" (Glob 112). The persona shares his first observation, "I can feel the tug of the halter at the nape" (1-2). "Halter" is a tool to harness animals, particularly horses, and punish them if the rider deems it necessary. Clearly, the perpetrators aimed to block the girl's ability to move since they did not consider her as a human but an animal hence she deserved the punishment. Perpetrators applied this torturing method to the girl to captivate her because they aimed to punish her for inappropriate behaviours, specifically for adultery. The use of the halter symbolises the imperative to control women, particularly those accused of being contrary to the norms. This representation is powerful since perpetrators also cut the girl's coordination between her movements and her brain. Regarding the condition of her brain, Glob states that the brain was so well preserved that its condition would be surprising to many people (113). Thus, Heaney's representation of the violence against this teenager shows that the perpetrators were able to harm her body only. The persona describes her situation by using the terms the "nape" (2) and the "naked front" (4) in the first stanza to highlight the victim's poor physical condition. The nape, the back part of one's neck, symbolises the perpetrators' cowardice since they did not dare to show their face to the victim. There is no solid proof, yet one can argue that perpetrators could not have found enough courage to torture the victim if they had made eye contact with her. It is mainly because the victim was a member of their community, too. Moreover, they did not want to be seen by the victim. In addition, attacking someone at the back is a powerful tool and methodology to create and maintain a sense of insecurity and a climate of fear in society.

The description of the violence against the bog girl does not stop at this stage. The persona provides more details about the scene and the painful situation of the girl. He notices, "It [wind] blows her nipples" (5). The perpetrators inflicted damage on the girl's "nipples" (5), symbolising her girlhood. They aimed to punish the erotic zones of her body by deforming, and even decomposing, her body. The primary objective is to penalise the girl for having a love affair with

a person whom these perpetrators deem inappropriate. This stanza completes the representation of the physical violence by indicating her weak bodily condition: "It [wind] shakes the frail rigging of her ribs" (7-8). The wind intensifies her body's weak condition. The lines seven and eight from the second stanza demonstrate that her body is in a fragile condition resulting from beating and torture. Accordingly, as the first two lines of the fourth stanza powerfully highlight (17-18), there is a deliberate distortion of the girl's body to dehumanise and degrade her. The perpetrators shaved her head to accomplish dehumanising her and thus punishing her twice. Long hair is associated with women, and for a teenager, appearance is significant. The persona uses the word "stubble" (18), associated with a man's appearance. It means short, stiff hairs growing on a man's face when he has not shaved.

The objective of punishment is to penalise and harm her and send a message to the rest of the community: if one wants to be beautiful, in the sense of society's standards, s/he must act in line with its orders. The representation of these acts, namely shaving her head and torturing her, also highlights the perpetrators' male-dominant mentality. Imposing such norms on girls and women intensifies the sense of insult and degrading, though having no hair does not make any substantial difference in one's life. The attackers kill their victim after she is "blindfolded" (19) and using a "noose" (20). They aim to have absolute control over her body and isolate her from the outside world. The blindfold itself amounts to an act of physical violence because it causes a loss of connection with the outside world, as eyesight is one of the fundamental skills that people have in order to connect with the world. It becomes clear in the third stanza that the teenage girl is already dead. Perpetrators used a heavy stone (11) to ensure that she was drowned (9). In addition, perpetrators used rods (12) and boughs (12) to weigh her body down and achieve their goal.

The poem "Punishment" presents the violence against the victim through the gaze of the persona, who does not give the victim's name or the perpetrators. On the other hand, the persona is a passive audience who watches the violent scene because he says, "I am the artful voyeur" (32).

Moreover, the poem implies that even the narrator believes that the punishment could be justified because the victim had been a sexual offender, "Little adulteress" (23). Also, the narrator expresses that he secretly allows such acts of physical violence under the name of punishment since he says,

> I who have stood dumb
>
> when your betraying sisters,
>
> cauled in tar,
>
> wept by the railings,
>
> who would connive
>
> in civilized outrage (37-44)

The poetic persona refers to a specific punishment case when he tells the part about "betraying sisters" (38). Readers learn these details when the persona makes an analogy between the material case from the past and the violent circumstances of Northern Ireland, where hundreds of girls and women were attacked during the Troubles. Hence, the girl in the poem becomes "My poor scapegoat" (28), as killing a young girl for alleged adultery is an arbitrary act. Also, she is punished to put the blame of violence on her. In fact, the bog girl symbolises the whole community that was punished by perpetrators. Indeed, she seems to be punished for not treating the British soldiers as enemies. Similarly, the narrator casting "the stones of silence" (31), that is, by not protesting the violence exerted on the Irish girls and remaining silent, partakes in violence and in a way endorses the violent treatment of the Irish girls. He says that he almost loves the victim but is sure to remain silent about the punishment she suffers. Clearly, "stones of silence" (31) is used as an expression to demonstrate that it is a reference to the punishment of adultery by stoning to death or by heaping stones on the body of the adulteress. By remaining silent in such a case, the narrator thus contributes to the exhibition of the betrayal of the Irish girls as a form of punishment.

As Elie Wiesel says, "Let us remember: What hurts the victim most is not the cruelty of the oppressor, but the silence of the bystander" (x). The narrator evidently admits that he would probably join the group to punish the girls as betrayers by remaining passive. In this sense, "cast" (30) is a significant word deliberately chosen by Heaney since it has two meanings for the poem: firstly, it means throwing something into a specified direction, in this case, to the young girl. Secondly, it means discarding someone; in other words, getting rid of someone. The bystander wants to ignore and neglect the victim because the persona is an "artful voyeur" (32) only, a person who just stands in the historical site and watches the scene; even, considering the connotations of “voyeurism”, it can be interpreted as an unauthorised act of watching.

Furthermore, Henry Hart comments on these penalising acts and states that "Catholic girls in Northern Ireland have been ‘cauled in tar’ for repudiating I.R.A. taboos" (408). By admitting, "I who have stood dumb" (41) is a clear confession from the persona who, like the other supporters of the IRA or those who did not actively object to such practices, did not act to prevent similar punishment cases in the past. In this respect, according to Hart, the poem involves self-punishment, e.g. the narrator's self-criticism. Hart says, "[i]ndeed, his [Heaney's] poem is an act of self-punishment, in which he attacks himself for not standing up to and actively resisting the abhorrent reprisals of his Catholic tribe against those who, like himself, have abandoned its religious and revolutionary principles" (408). Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence by focusing on the persona's attitude towards such cases sheds light on the community's position in a general sense. In addition to the society's position, the poem also tries to explore the reasons for such physical attacks as primitive. The speaker's confession that he understands the "tribal and intimate revenge" (44) highlights how violence resulting from the Troubles was seen almost as normal in Northern Ireland.

Thus, in "Punishment" Heaney focuses on the physical form of violence by drawing readers' attention to violence against girls and women during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Heaney builds an analogy between the Windeby girl's situation and the physical violence against women

in Northern Ireland in his poem. He benefits from Glob's book, which provides scientific details about dead people whom he examined from the past, to make violence against girls and women visible during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. His representation of the physical form of violence in "Punishment" also questions the community's indirect approval or at least silence in the case of such violent acts. In this respect, Heaney speaks on "Punishment" as “a poem about standing by as the IRA tar and feather these young women in Ulster. But it is also about standing by as the British soldiers tortured people in barracks and interrogation centers in Belfast. It is about standing between those two forms of affront" (*Preoccupations* 34). Heaney's point underlines that physical form of violence was dominant in social and public life during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The poem “Grauballe Man” that will be discussed below examines the same form of violence though the victim is a male in this case.

Comparing the Physical Form of Violence in the Past and the Troubles: "The Grauballe Man"

"The Grauballe Man" is a poem from the same collection, *North,* as the previous poem "Punishment". Like other poems focusing on the representation of physical violence through bog people, "The Grauballe Man" tells the violent story of a man whose body was found in a historical site, in this case, in an excavation site in Jutland, Denmark, in 1952. Following the preliminary contact with the dead body, the specialist, P. V. Glob, took over the process and placed the body in the Moesgaard Museum in Denmark. The description of the Grauballe Man reads: "The man was buried naked, lying on his stomach in an Iron Age peat cutting. He was exceptionally well preserved, with clearly defined facial features, smooth skin, a shock of red hair, and even the stubble of a two-week-old beard on his cheek" (Moesgaard Museum para. 1). Heaney builds his poem on this body, taking readers on an unpleasant, sorrowful, and painful journey. As Steele suggests, Heaney chose the Grauballe Man to represent the physical form of violence in Ireland as he was aware of the space that he could use to explore and analyse the contemporary violent issues by reflecting the violent incidents in the past (86). In this exploration, the poet makes

various comparisons to provide a more profound depiction of the results of physical violence. In fact, "The Grauballe Man" is not the only poem representing this form of violence. The other poems are "Bogland', from *Door into the Dark* (1969); "Tollund Man" and" Bog Oak" from *Wintering Out* (1972);" and Bog Queen", The Grauballe Man", "Punishment", and "Strange Fruit" from *North* (1975). This chapter examines "The Grauballe Man" because it is about the impact of physical violence on an unnamed male body and contributes to the presentation of physical violence resulting from the Troubles. Like “Punishment”, "The Grauballe Man", as a poem of violence, provides a detailed description of the body which suffered from physical violence. Glob comments on the physical condition of the body and notes that there were fractures in bones, a scar on the face, and the throat was cut (48). The Troubles caused the death of thousands of males in Northern Ireland. Compared to women, there were more male victims of the Troubles. As Theresa Fay et al. point out, 3279 men lost their lives during the Troubles (161). Heaney uses "The Grauballe Man" to represent physical violence with no specific perpetrator, thus suggesting that everyone was responsible for the physical form of violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Eugene O'Brien foregrounds the fact that the narrator serves as a camera while he depicts the body's physical condition (*Seamus Heaney Creating Irelands of the Mind* 36). The dead man was subjected to various physical acts of violence including beating and stabbing which were common practices of violence also during the Troubles (Fay et al. 192). Similar to the previous poem, "Punishment", Heaney represents the physical form of violence by taking readers to a historical case from the past. The only difference between "Punishment" and "The Grauballe Man" is related to the gender of the victims. While Heaney focuses on the violence against girls and women in the previous poem, the victim is a male in this poem.

The persona begins telling the story about the victim by describing the victim, "As if he had been poured / in tar" (1-2) to show the blackness of the body. In fact, the persona knows that no tar has been used to cover the body of the victim and makes it clear to readers. However, this expression indirectly relates blackness to the poor conditions of the victim. Heaney uses a sharp image, "tar"

(2), which is a dark and flammable liquid and directly related to the image “tar” (2) as appears in “Punishment”. Tar is a material that workers use in roadmaking. Yet its main function is to cover the ground and to cut the connection between the earth and pedestrians or vehicles. Considering its thickness, it serves to achieve an absolute disconnection with the ground. Heaney chooses this expression to show the level of suffering resulting from the sectarian violence in Northern Ireland and how the society was unaware of this communal problem's impacts. In fact, the persona just says the first part continues with another dark expression when he says, "seems to weep / the black river of himself" (4-5). The persona creates an image that the victim cried for his physical condition and creates an impression that the "tar" (2) is the product of his tears. Once again, the persona knows that the victim had no impact on the body's blackness. Nevertheless, the persona maintains his efforts to create an image and impression about the victim's poor conditions. It seems that the victim in "The Grauballe Man" was sacrificed. Jonathan Hufstader indicates that the Grauballe Man's "throat was cut; his face, unlike that of the placid Tollund man, shows signs of weeping and suffering" (40). The physical form of violence represents a case as it would in a natural death, and the corpse shows that he was tied before he was buried. Accordingly, his "wrist" (6) is bruised, Heaney purposefully uses the term "bog oak" (7) since it highlights the devastating circumstances of the bog for oak and the Troubles for the communities in Northern Ireland.

The bog oak is a type of wood that turns black without direct and external interference. It is mainly because of the prolonged contact with the bog. Steve Earis, a professional woodturner, gives information about the texture of the bog oak, whose distinctive characteristics rely on burying it in such places for a long period. Earis refers to the peat's "acidic conditions where iron salts and other minerals react with the tannins in the wood, gradually giving it a distinct dark brown to almost black color" (The Wood Database p.1). This is why Heaney observes that the body of the victim is dark. In other words, the poem builds connections between the outcome of the long burial of the body of the Grauballe man and the potential risks posed by the Troubles in the long term. As explained in the Introduction, the communities suffered from the results of the prolonged

violence of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Landon Hancock sheds light on the scale of violence and states that a prolonged violent cycle, namely The Troubles, destroyed all fields of communal life, and there was a gradual increase in casualties as well as material losses (para 1). Even if there had been no direct killing or any other casualty in a single day, the Troubles continue to be inherently destructive.

The narrator continues to navigate across the body and reaches the dead man's heel, which is observed to be "like a basalt egg" (9), a phenomenon that is the apparent result of physical violence. The poem combines two contrasting items, namely, egg and stone. While the former is rich -and white- in terms of nutrition, the latter is not considered even under the food category. The only common aspect between a stone and an egg can be their shapes. The black colour indicates no sign of life in the body. Moreover, this representation of violence reminds readers of the dark and destructive aspects of the Troubles. Furthermore, the persona continues to compare the victim's poor physical conditions with an animal, a "swan" (11), and an unproductive field, a "swamp" (12). Readers learn, "His instep has shrunk / cold as a swan's foot / or a wet swamp root" (10-12) and the parallism is implied also with the double paromasis between “swan’s foot” (11) and “swamp root” (12). As highlighted by the narrator, the victim's "instep" (10) shows no sign of life that is why it is so thin and fragile. In this respect, the poem "The Grauballe Man" demonstrates that there can be no life unless there is a favourable atmosphere to live free from violence and torture. As observed in the poem, in addition to the "heel" (9), the Grauballe Man's foot (11) was not in its ideal form since it became thinner while it was under the bog. The persona does not discuss a bright or strong foot, an essential body part to stand on and walk. Similarly, the "hips" (13) depicted as "ridges" are not in their original shape but deformed. Similarly, the dead man has a "spine" (15) that cannot stand straight since it is "eel arrested" (15). It cannot move because of "glisten[ing] mud" (16). Briefly, the body cannot function properly since it has a black heel (9), thin feet (11), a deformed hip (13), and a broken spine (15) due to the physical torture. Similarly, one cannot expect a regular and safe public life in a society marked by violent

acts, as also in the present case, the Troubles. From the very beginning, the narrator purposefully uses several expressions, "as if" (1), "seems" (4), "like" (7 and 9), and "as" (11), to indicate that he is looking at a body from the past. However, the narrator reminds readers that there are similar acts under the physical form of violence in his contemporary period, which is the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Following the observation of the deformed "wrist" (6), "foot" (11), "hips" (13), and "spine" (15), the persona talks about the upper part of the body, more specifically the "head" (20). This part of the poem aggravates the dark tone and violence suffered by the victim. The dead man's "chin is a visor" (21); it is like a cover or shield rather than a body organ. Heaney knows the fact that this dead body was buried after he was tortured. Thus, he explicitly represents the physical violence exerted on the body and how he has a "slashed throat / that has tanned and toughened" (24-25). Significantly, the persona is unsure about calling the Grauballe man a "corpse" (25) or a "body" (27) for its lifelike appearance and since the word “body” (27) can function as a synonym to “corpse” (25) in a particular context, this poetic hesitancy underlines the ambiguity of the form of the victim.

As also outlined by the term poetic hesitancy, Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence relies on the combination of the two opposite concepts: dead and alive. Although it is known that the victim is dead, the persona describes the upper parts of the "body" (27) as "vivid cast" (26) to make the opposite impression that he looks alive. Heaney's representation aims to raise questions in readers' minds about the victim's status: dead or alive. In any ordinary case, one can recognise a corpse since it is relatively easy to decide whether someone is alive or dead. The poem represents a challenging and complicated case of this dead body due to sacrifice and the bog. Heaney compares the conditions of the dead body and the Troubles. The persona's observations that oscillate between a real and an imaginative case from history demonstrate that even one case of is too complicated. Furthermore, in this poem, Heaney uses the innocence of a baby to stress the lifelong violence in Northern Ireland. To emphasise the innocence of the dead

body, the persona creates an imagery link between the dead body's hair and an infant's growing hair, the "rusted hair" (29) and a few hairlines of "a fetus" (31). Moreover, the poem describes the violence committed against the innocent civilians as "perfected in my memory" (37-38). Hence the poem contrasts the "beauty and atrocity" (42) of the dead body and links it, through the Dying Gaul, a victim of invaders, and the bog bodies, to "the beauty and the horror of the North that he sees" (Haberstroh 212). In a way, Heaney reminds his readers of the similarity between the brutality of the past and that of the Troubles. As the two lines suggest, Gaul's physical acts are killing people. "With the actual weight / of each hooded victim / slashed and dumped" (46-47) represents the physical form of violence, more specifically, the murders of victims during the Troubles. In this respect, Sarah Steele writes, "[t]he language of this poem 'slashed', 'hooded', 'dumped', jerks the reader into contemporary Belfast" (88).

In "The Grauballe Man," Heaney picks one of the bog people to illustrate the prevailing physical violence in Northern Ireland. In Steele's words, "[f]or Heaney The Grauballe Man is a timeless victim whose contemporary incarnation is the Catholic victim in Northern Ireland" (88). Concerning Heaney's Troubles Poetry, the concept of timeless victims is significant to represent physical forms of violence related to the Troubles. Readers follow a detailed depiction of the dead body throughout the poem. In fact, "The Grauballe Man" does not examine the physical suffering of a local person from Northern Ireland. David Llyod, in his article "The two Voices of Seamus Heaney's North" (1979), argues that Heaney creates an imaginary link between the victim and the Irish people (7). Thus, Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence in "The Grauballe Man" contributes to the visibility of violence resulting from the Troubles in Northern Ireland by taking one case from the past and presenting it to contemporary readers' attention.

The Troubles Harms Ordinary Life and Daily Routines in "Casualty"

"Casualty" is a poem from Heaney's fifth collection, *Field Work*, published in 1979. This poem is an elegy to lament the murder of a fisherman, Louis O'Neill, who was killed by an IRA bombing following the curfew it had declared. "Casualty" expresses its deep sorrow over the murder of this

fisherman, who had an ordinary life in Northern Ireland. The victim lost his life while he was following his daily routine, which included going to a pub. There are two more elegies, "A Post Card from North Antrim" is about the murder of Sean Armstrong, a friend of Heaney from the university period, in 1973. Similarly, "The Strand at Lough Beg" tells the murder case of Colum McCartney in 1975. In "Casualty", unlike the two other elegies, there is no direct reference to the victim's name, so he remains anonymous in the poem. As argued above, Heaney chose anonymous characters in some of his poems to express the large scale of violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. *Field Work* is a collection that has several poems about the Troubles and sheds light on more recent and contemporary incidents. Jonathan Allison, in his book chapter "Politics" (2021), discusses the political circumstances in Northern Ireland and the relationship between politics and Heaney's poetry. Allison states that Heaney's elegies written "for murder victims, including John Lavery, Louis O'Neill, Sean Armstrong, Colum McCartney and William Strathearn" (235) serve this objective. It is seen that these three poems are about the contemporary political and communal issues in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, Develi casts light on one of the critical differences of this collection from Heaney's other Troubles Poetry. As Develi argues, the poems in *Field Work* focus on issues both communities, the Catholics and the Protestants, face daily. Similarly, in his book *Search for Answers* (2003), Eugene O'Brien states that the profile of the victims of recent violent incidents varies from sports fan to fishermen (*Seamus Heaney Search For Answers* 125), they are ordinary citizens of society. The perpetrators, on the other hand, include the British army officers and IRA armed militants, as well as paramilitary groups.

Evidently, several poems in *Field Work* respond to the recent violence in Northern Ireland. Yet, in "Casualty", Heaney proves his poetic stance on violence irrespective of its perpetrators and victims. Heaney's poetic stance on the Troubles Poetry is based on neutrality since these poems' primary concern is violence itself. More specifically, this poem represents the physical form of violence (and it has a structural violence element that is curfew) that targets an ordinary citizen during the Troubles. The poem shows that the victim is killed as a result of a random bomb planted

by the IRA. As Gillespie writes, "[d]uring the course of the Troubles, the IRA was responsible for 1,768 deaths" (140), which is almost half of the total casualties. In fact, these attacks are part of the IRA strategy, the Long War that Gillespie defines as intense and large-scale attacks to create a sense of fear among the British forces and to send a strong message to the British public about the difficulties with governing Northern Ireland (147). This strategy relies on the intensification of the use of violence and an increase in casualties to make the situation more complicated and challenging for the British forces. In this respect, Siobhan Campbell, in her article "' Casualty': Causal or Casual?" (2014) notes that the poem commemorates Louis O'Neill, who lost his life in an IRA attack to take revenge for Bloody Sunday (133). Although the persona does not name the victim, it is known that Heaney wrote this poem for Louis O'Neill, an acquaintance, a harmless old alcoholic, who defied the curfew imposed by the IRA three days after thirteen people were killed in Derry and, on his way to a pub late at night, he was killed by a bomb (Andrews, *The Poetry of Seamus Heaney All the Realms of Whisper* 124). The IRA declared the curfew as a response to the Bloody Sunday incident, one of the most violent attacks on civilians in the Troubles. Regarding the Bloody Sunday attack, Gillespie provides the following information: "On 30 January 1972, 13 men were killed, and another fatally wounded when soldiers from the British Army's Parachute Regiment opened fire at the end of a civil rights march in Derry City" (37). In fact, Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence by making the murder of O'Neill underlines the destructive results of violence exerted by the IRA. On the other hand, the representation of the physical violence in "Casualty" proves one obvious fact: violence, in this case the Bloody Sunday violent incident, led to more violence, the bombing attack on a pub in Northern Ireland. Hence, Heaney's representation of violence makes these violent acts more visible at the public level.

The poem, in fact, represents the arbitrariness of violence in the 1970s in Northern Ireland. The poem's title, "Casualty," is highly significant in this sense. It explicitly reminds the readers that if there is violence, everyone is at risk. As Heaney states about Northern Ireland, “Here the

explosions literally rattle your window day and night, lives are shattered blandly or terribly, innocent men have been officially beaten and humiliated in internment camps-destructive elements of all kinds, which are even perhaps deeply exhilarating, are in the air" (*Preoccupations*, 34). Similarly, "Casualty" depicts casual violence, which dominated daily life in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and threatened the lives of all. At first glance, the title may seem to underestimate the seriousness of the violence it involves by using a generic concept of casualty rather than referring to the specific murder of the poem's victim. However, it, in fact, points to the depth and broad scope of violence in Northern Ireland.

The bombing attack in "Casualty" represents the high number of deadly attacks in Northern Ireland. In this respect, the following figures might provide a better understanding of violence in the 1970s: "In the first year of the 'troubles,' only 13 people died, but this figure rose quickly to an all time high of 467 in 1972. After this, a slight drop occurred but deaths per year still averaged around 250 for the period 1973 to 1976" (Cairns and Wilson 366). Moreover, Cairs and Wilson comment on the bombing attacks during the first phase of the Troubles in Northern Ireland:

> In the beginning, street rioting was by far the most common form of violence, though this period only lasted for about 2 to 3 years. Since then, some form of confrontation between the security forces and the paramilitary organizations has become the norm. Also, the form that these confrontations have taken changed over time. For example, bombs were rather more common in the late seventies, often directed at "economic" targets, such as shops, hotels, or pubs. (366)

Accordingly, "Casualty" provides a detailed description of the irreversible loss and destruction caused by a bombing attack that resulted in the death of an ordinary and innocent civilian. The poem describes the victim as a man who regularly drinks alone or does his best to be invisible in pubs. The first line, "He would drink by himself" (1), suggests that the victim does not want to socialise with other people in pubs and keeps himself to himself, he shows no interests in any party to the Troubles. The victim, most probably, is aware of the social and political problems in

his homeland but has no active involvement in the Troubles. It is also possible that he, thus, tries to protect himself from the pervasive violence in his country. The dominant violent context, which the representation of physical violence demonstrates, seems to force people to live in isolation. The persona notes that he raises "a weathered thumb" (2), that is, he orders his drinks using body language "without having to raise his voice" (5-6), and "By a lifting of the eyes" (8). He presents, in short, "a discreet dumb-show" (9). As stated, he seems to deliberately attempt not to get involved in the ongoing violent incidents in his society. In this respect, the physical description of the victim, too, underlines how unsociable he was. The narrator underlines how shy the victim is. Even, he does not feel comfortable with eye contact, hence he is "Too busy with his knife, / At a tobacco plug, / And not meeting my eye" (24-26). The victim's shyness is useful to protect him from engaging with other people in the pub. However, when he is drunk enough "after a slug" (27), he is unable to refuse to talk about various issues such as "poetry" (28), "eels" (33), and "horse and cart" (34). Clearly, the victim is happy to talk about something that he likes. In addition to these topics, the persona skilfully changes the subject and begins talking about politics "or the Provisionals" (35), the contemporary political and social issues including the recent attacks on civilians during the march (33-34), but the victim is unwilling to comment. Heaney refers to these incidents to give a clearer picture of the violent atmosphere during the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Moreover, the poem stresses the ordinariness and low income of the victim. He is "In waders and peaked cap" (12) and is, in fact, unemployed, "A dole-kept breadwinner" (14). To feel comfortable in his boat, a typical fisherman wears waterproof boots or "waders". The narrator depicts the victim as a person who is typical of his profession. As such, he wears fisherman boots. He is unemployed and lacks the financial means to stand on his feet since he depends on the government's social aid. Finally, the narrator informs the readers about Louis O'Neill's habit: he "At closing time would go" (11), indicating that he stays in the pub till it closes. Based on the victim's profile, it can be concluded that he can be any member of the Northern Irish society.

It is in this context that the poem presents the form of his death, that

> He was blown to bits
>
> Out drinking in a curfew
>
> Others obeyed, three nights
>
> After they shot dead
>
> The thirteen men in Derry. (38-42)

So, he gets "blown to bits" (38) because he does not observe or even know about the curfew after the Derry incidents which killed thirteen men. As Arendt states, in another context, an inherent characteristic of the violence of the Troubles is that "while the results of men's actions are beyond the actors' control, violence harbors within itself an additional element of arbitrariness" (4). "Casualty" underlines the randomness and arbitrariness of the Troubles through the representation of a casual victim who was out drinking on a curfew night. As stated, such bombings, which were commonly used by perpetrators, were part of daily life in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. As Fay et al. state, "[i]n the early and mid-1970s bombing of city centres was the predominant feature of IRA violence" (13). For example, "the bombing of the Dropping Well pub in Ballykelly, County Derry on 6 December 1982. Seventeen people were killed in this attack which was the second highest death toll in any incident during the Troubles" (Fay et al. 15). Dozens of people lost their lives in this attack. In addition to the IRA or similar organisations, bombings were used by the Loyalists, too. Fay et al. point out that "1971 saw the beginning of the Loyalist bombing campaign, when a bomb left at McGurk's Bar in Belfast by the Ulster Volunteer Force killed 15 people" (60). These bombings deepened the violence and disrupted daily life in Northern Ireland. O'Neill in "Casualty" becomes the victim while "Out drinking in a curfew" (39). The poem thus draws attention to an important aspect of life during the Troubles: the conflicting parties may

declare curfew[2] and order people to stay home. In his book *Seamus Heaney Regions* (2014), Richard Rankin Russel underlines the fact that the poem does not imply that Louis O'Neill is responsible for his death since he simply goes to the pub as part of his daily routine (398). However, Louis O'Neill gets killed because the IRA declared the curfew and planted a bomb to take revenge on the British Army for killing the thirteen men in Derry. Some other people "obeyed" (40) the order.

The poem also shows how violence breeds violence in this context, The bombing that kills the unaware civilian is a response to another violent attack. It happens "After they shot dead / The thirteen men in Derry" (41-42). This form of violence also provides a favourable tool to perpetrators since they can harm more people. As stated above, causing more deaths is part of the long-war strategy adopted by the IRA. Clearly, the conflicting parties in Northern Ireland used violence to solve violence-related problems and had no concern for the loss of civilian lives. As Fay et al. state, "[e]xplosions and shootings were the predominant causes of death. Almost 91 per cent of victims died from these causes. Deaths caused by explosions were more characteristic of the 1970s with shootings more evenly distributed across the period" (139). The bombing attack in "Casualty" that resulted in the death of an innocent civilian shows that it is not an isolated case. The society is aware of this fact and fears a similar attack. Heaney states that such attacks created an atmosphere of fear and kept people from public places: "[t]here are few enough people on the roads at night. However, fear has begun to tingle through the place. Who's to know the next target on the Provisional list? Who's to know the reprisal won't strike where you are? The bars are quieter" (*Preoccupations* 31). Heaney's words give a clear picture of the mood of the society in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. The climate of fear shaped daily life throughout the

[2] The concept of curfew falls into the category of the structural form of violence that the second chapter will discuss. The curfew practice aims to create a broader impact at the public level since it targets the whole society. Perpetrators do not go and threat citizens one by one. Rather, the practice *per se* functions as a threat to citizens' safety.

Troubles. The poem hence underlines the people's reaction to Bloody Sunday and the violence it potentially perpetuated: "That Wednesday / Everybody held / His breath and trembled" (44-46).

In fact, the second part of the poem emphasises the atmosphere of terror caused by such violent acts. The victim goes to a pub as part of his daily routine, which is "fused with terror" (66). The word “fuse” in the phrasal verb “being fused with” also means a small device that detonates an explosive – probably a double-entender which adds an additional dimension and association to the line. The victim enters the pub without being aware of any potential attack. Other people can spot and recognise him since he has a "still knowable face" (67) before the attack. The bombing attack has yet to happen. However, it gets complicated and even impossible to spot his face when the bomb explodes in the pub, "Blinding in the flash" (69). When the bomb detonates, the pub is full of chaos. As a result of the bombing attack, his face is decomposed. The bombing shatters windows, tables, chairs and other stuff and leads to destruction in the pub. In fact, the bombing attacked killed him. Before the attack, the victim was capable of walking back to his home tough it was "the showery dark" (13) period of the night no matter how drunk he was. Heaney shows how the Troubles disrupted daily life in Northern Ireland. The poem completes the representation of the physical form of violence committed by the IRA by raising a serious question: "How culpable was he / That last night when he broke / Our tribe's complicity" (78-80). The narrator questions the curfew and why everyone, only because they live in Northern Ireland, should feel obliged to follow such orders. It seems that the IRA justifies the killing of Louis O'Neill as a casualty because he did not follow the orders, and he did not want the violent atmosphere to rule his life. Siobhán Campbell asks essential questions related to these lines: "[w]hat kind of complicity is meant here? The tribal decision to obey the call by the IRA to keep businesses closed as a mark of mourning? Or the collective fear of being bombed or of speaking up against such threats? Who is complicit with whom?" (134). These questions represent the problematic and destructive aspects of violence resulting from the Troubles.

In "Casualty", Heaney draws attention to the fact that violence was common and dominant in daily life of people during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The poem tells the story of an ordinary citizen, Louis O'Neill, who does not obey the curfew and gets killed by the IRA's bombing attack. The persona informs readers that the victim is an unemployed citizen and is not interested in politics. The poem, then, underlines the arbitrariness of the physical form of violence in Northern Ireland. Heaney's representation of violence in "Casualty" suggests that the Troubles affected everyone in the society even though these people did not want to be part of it.

No Way to Escape from the Troubles Atmosphere: The physical Violence of the "Summer 1969"

"Summer 1969" is a poem that deals with the physical form of violence from a different angle than the previous poems discussed in this chapter. "Summer 1969" casts light on the physical violence committed during the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the summer of 1969, with a specific reference to the incidents in the Falls, through observations of the persona who looks upon Northern Ireland from Madrid, Spain. It is understood that violence takes place in Belfast and the persona is away from home, that he seeks refuge from the violence in Northern Ireland by taking a holiday in Spain but still is following what is happening back at home through the media reports on physical violence in Falls, Northern Ireland. Clearly, the poem suggests that there was no way to escape the Troubles even when one was not in his homeland. As Elmer Andrews writes, "'Summer 1969' sees the poet withdrawn from the ugly immediacies of life in Northern Ireland which keep battering at him. At a time when sectarian savagery has once again gripped his country, he is holidaying in Spain" (*The Poetry of Seamus Heaney All the Realms of Whisper* 112). In this context, the poet chooses a striking title, "Summer 1969", to represent the daily violence related to the Troubles. Although the Troubles began in 1968, the violence related to the Troubles was deepened in 1969. In his book *From Civil Rights to Armalites* (2005), Dochartaigh states that the level of tension was much higher than an ordinary issue that could be fixed by recognising certain rights in 1969 (98). Similarly, Mulholland draws attention

to the tension resulting from the physical attacks and policies that led Catholics to leave their home and move to specific locations in the city of Belfast (77). In addition to political problems and occasional violence in the streets of Northern Ireland, 1969 was the year that British troops arrived in Belfast (Fay et al 26). Clearly, there is a contrast built between the summer, which is associated with the holidays, a slower pace in everyday life, and peace of mind following a busy working period and the violent 1969.

Accordingly, the poem's first two lines describe a stark reality in the Falls by informing readers about a violent attack of security forces, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), "Constabulary" (1), on the victims, "the mob" (1) by "Firing" (2), in "the Falls." As Gordon Gillespie, in his book *Historical Dictionary of Northern Ireland* (2009), states,

> The police force of Northern Ireland was established in 1922. The RUC initially had a significant Catholic membership, but as former Catholic members of the Royal Irish Constabulary who had transferred to the RUC retired, their numbers were not replaced, and the force was increasingly made up of members of the Protestant community. (225)

The replacement of Catholics with Protestants resulted in a significant change in the composition of this department. In fifty years, Catholic and Protestant presence in the RUC substantially changed in favour of the latter. Fay et al. state that "[i]n 1969, it was revealed that Catholics accounted for only 11 percent of the force" (21). The decrease in question points to a deliberate policy. In response to the Troubles in 1968, the British Government recruited more staff for this unit. Gillespie highlights that the recruitment policy has tripled the number of RUC members in two decades (225) who actively used violence in Northern Ireland.

In addition to the perpetrators, the poem represents the victims or "the mob" (1). The victims are Catholics in the poem. On the contrary, The RUC takes action to control "the mob" (1) or the local people. They are, as Andrew Walsh, in his book *From Hope to Hatred: Voices of the Falls*

Curfew (2013), states, the "workers, invariably poor Catholics, settled within the Falls area and the newly constructed side streets, creating a sizable Catholic community in the process" (56). As Welsh indicates, Catholics are the main population in the neighbourhood, and any orchestrated violence against the local people aims to target the Catholics.

As a form of physical violence, the RUC force uses the deadliest action, which is killing people rather than bringing them to justice. Normally, if the demonstrators commit a crime, there should be an investigation, prosecution, imprisonment, or other forms of punishment rather than directly shooting and killing them. Similarly, security officers should be accountable for their acts that are contrary to their duties and authority. The poem does not give any victims' names as no specific list of the victims is in harmony with the brutal and large-scale destruction of the shooting people in the Falls. Furthermore, the poem clearly shows that the RUC members who used violence against the local people were fully armed, carrying heavy weapons, and using armoured vehicles to control "the mob" (1). The following part from an official report, Violence and Civil Disturbances in Northern Ireland in 1969 Report of Tribunal of Inquiry (1972), might be helpful to understand the RUC's approach to the protestors and the level of destruction they caused, “On the night of the 14th, the worst violence of the 1969 disturbances occurred in Belfast, notably in the Ardoyne and on the Falls Road. The police, who believed by now that they were facing an armed uprising, used guns, including Browning machine-guns mounted on Shorland armoured vehicles” (para. 23). The inquiry report demonstrates that the RUC members shot people and exerted violence in the Falls.

Accordingly, perhaps to emphasise the indifference of the world and the authorities to the violence perpetuated through the state on the civilians, the poem alternates the representation of the violence in the Falls with the daily routines and observations of the speaker holidaying in Spain. After mentioning the shocking killings in the homeland, the persona returns to his challenge that is "the bullying sun of Madrid" (3). Furthermore, he has some other challenges in Madrid. For example, he reads "The life of Joyce" (5), he is unhappy with the unpleasant smell of the local

food market, which “stinks from the fish market” (6). Ironically, these are the difficulties that make the narrator's life unpleasant in Madrid, but there is no direct mention of the fact that compared to the problems in his homeland, these are trivial issues. It seems that the whole world has taken a break from the violence in Belfast and enjoys, hence, “gules of wines” (8) at night. There are also references to vulnerable groups, i.e., “children” (9) and “Old women” (10), indicating that Madrid has no security problem. The persona understands that kids play in the “dark corners” (9) and face no violence, and there are “old women” (10) who safely “open the windows” (10) in their daily clothes. The sense of security is so ordinary that no one is concerned about it.

The poem, however, compares the physical violence problem resulting from the Troubles in Northern Ireland by the statement "I was suffering, Only the bullying sun of Madrid" (2-3) as opposed to the extent of the physical violence in Northern Ireland. In his book, *Seamus Heaney The Making of the Poet* (2004), Parker underlines the fact that "Summer 1969" is a poem about the persistent violence in Northern Ireland. The Troubles dominate the persona's life even while he is away from home. Parker states, “[e]ven on holiday in Spain in the summer, for Heaney there was no respite from home thoughts” (90). “Summer 1969” thus underlines the inescapability from the Troubles by representing the shootings and policing activities of the RUC forces in Belfast. Accordingly, while the poem shows how the persona spends his days in Madrid, there is always a reference to the troubles at home. An image from the Spanish past reminds him of the violent atmosphere at home. As Kieran Quinlan states, "Spain's Catholic Guardia Civil reminds him of the equally intimidating Protestant police force in Northern Ireland" (367), and he realises that the violence of the Troubles haunts him everywhere. One may be safe from the shootings when not at home, but there is no peace of mind and no forgetting of the impact of its continuing violence.

Due to the reports of violence at home, perhaps particularly because the victims are Catholic workers this time, the poem's second part is about the response of the narrator to the news of

violence and how he tries to cope with it. So, this part begins with an unspecified message: "Go back" (15). Then, the unknown character continues with an instruction, "try to touch the people" (15). This instruction represents a substantial pillar of peace and harmony in any society: talking to each other and knowing each other well. Yet, the persona still compares what happens in the Falls, Belfast and Madrid. While he watches TV, he listens to the news to learn more about the casualties and gets information about "death counts" (17) from home, while the news about Spain covers "bullfight" (17) related issues in Spain. "Summer 1969" thus represents physical violence by comparing the RUC's shooting of people and the matadors' harm to bulls. While watching the TV, the persona realises what parts of the TV reports were more serious. In this respect, "celebrities" (18) and "the real thing" (19) indicate serious incidents were taking place in his homeland. This part of the poem tells readers that reports on "death counts" (17) are related to physical attacks of the RUC in Belfast. Moreover, the harm resulting from the "bullfight" (17) can be compared to the level of violence and its results in Northern Ireland. Heaney represents the physical form of violence through a comparison of media reports on the incidents in the Falls and Madrid. It is certain that "bullfight" (17) is an activity with a potential risk of physical violence that may result in injury. However, there is still a certain level of control over these bullfight activities. On the other hand, the RUC's attack on citizens in the Falls were out of control and posed more risks of injury and even death. Heaney presents two different settings to highlight the level of violence in Belfast, Northern Ireland. This comparison, in fact, aims to underline the inescapability of the violence resulting from the Troubles.

Moreover, the poem represents the physical violence in the Falls by referring to Goya's paintings in a famous "Prado" gallery (20). The persona pays attention to "Goya's Shootings of the Third of May" (21) since it is identical to the Troubles. The RUC members shoot at protestors, and Goya's painting depicts a similar violent case. Elmer notes, "Goya's mural depicts the horror of the Napoleonic firing squad which executed Spanish patriots who had staged an unsuccessful rising against the French in 1808" (112). The RUC members act similarly to Napoleon's firing

squad. Goya presents the characters in military uniforms "the helmeted / And knapscaked military" (22-23) that remind the narrator of the RUC members. By highlighting the similarity between the military figures in the picture and the RUC members who are ready to attack their enemies, "Summer 1969" shows that the persona's mind is always busy with violence at home, which does not have a break. There is one more painting by Goya in the art gallery, Saturn, a mighty Titan from classical mythology depicted as "Jewelled in the blood of his own children" (28), which suggests that there is a peaceful victory for any conflicting parties. Heaney uses the image "Jewelled in the blood of his own children" (28) to demonstrate that sectarian violence occurs between two communities that co-exist in Northern Ireland. It is like a fight of siblings. Therefore, the only option for a victory is more bloodshed in Northern Ireland. Another painting depicts a fierce fight between angry and uncontrollable "clubs" (31). These clubs fight to the death to win the battle for "honour's sake" (32). However, the persona tells the readers they are "sinking" (32) while trying to kill each other. Furthermore, these lines point to the inescapable fall of the conflicting parties. The conflicting parties are doomed to lose even if there is a victory on the battlefield of the Troubles. This fight scene represents the vicious circle of the Troubles. It suggests that violence leads to more violence in any community at any time.

Finally, "Summer 1969" is a poem representing the physical form of violence committed in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. It compares the RUC's attacks on protestors in Belfast and the bullfight, set in the calm life, in Madrid and tells readers that violence is hard to ignore and for the Irish citizens no matter where they were during the Troubles. The poem highlights that there was no possibility of a peaceful mind for those concerned about the physical violence in Northern Ireland.

In conclusion, Heaney's Troubles Poetry, particularly "Limbo", "Punishment", "Summer 1969", "The Grauballe Man", and "Causalty", represents the physical form of violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. "Limbo" and "Punishment" point to communal taboos as the source of violence. On the other hand, "Summer 1969" demonstrates that escape from the violent context

of the Troubles was not possible. The poem "The Grauballe Man" presents violence in the Troubles by analogising the Grauballe man and his suffering with the violence suffered then in Northern Ireland. "Casualty" underlines the prevalent violent atmosphere and its potential to harm everyone in the society during the Troubles. In these selected poems, Heaney explores different aspects of the physical form of violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The next chapter discusses two other forms of violence, namely the structural and cultural violence in Heaney's Troubles Poetry in his collections *Death of a Naturalist (1966), Door into the Dark (1969), Wintering Out (1972), North (1975), Field Work (1979),* and *The Haw Lantern (1987).* Under the structural form of violence, the following poems will be analysed: "For the Commander of the Eliza", "Requiem for the Croppies", "The Toome Road", and "From the Frontier of Writing". The part of the next chapter will analyse "Traditions", "Funeral Rites", and "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" to discuss the cultural form of violence.

CHAPTER 2
REPRESENTATION OF STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL FORMS OF VIOLENCE IN HEANEY'S TROUBLES POETRY

This chapter argues that Heaney's Troubles Poetry represents, in addition to the physical form of violence which chapter I discusses, the structural and cultural forms of violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. It demonstrates in detail that Heaney's representation of the structural and cultural forms of violence policies and practices are diverse and target society as a whole. As argued in Chapter I, Heaney represents the physical form of violence through several violent practices, including infanticide, torturing and beating, and bombing. The previous chapter selected five poems of physical violence with anonymous victims. Moreover, Heaney's representation of the physical form of violence in "Limbo," "Punishment," "The Grauballe Man," "Summer 1969," and "Casualty" makes these violent acts of the Troubles visible at the public level.

In this chapter, as discussed in the Introduction in detail, the structural form of violence refers to discriminatory policies and practices, such as exclusion from social and public life, that could lead to generalisation in society and generate labels for people from certain groups. In this respect, discriminatory policies in housing, education, employment and access to justice fall under the category of structural form of violence. Moreover, the cultural form of violence, as formulated in the Introduction, that any violent policies and practices that target the cultural elements can be defined under this category. Accordingly, institutions which affect culture, such as the media, have the potential to exert cultural forms of violence.

Accordingly, in two main parts, this chapter analyses seven poems from five collections. The poems "For the Commander of the Eliza" from *Death of a Naturalist (1966)*, "Requiem for the Croppies" from *Door into the Dark (1969)*, "The Toome Road" from *Field Work*

(1979), and "From the Frontier of Writing" from *The Haw Lantern* (1987) are presented as poems of structural forms of violence, while three poems, "Traditions" from *Wintering Out (1972), and* "Funeral Rites" and "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" from *North* (1975) are discussed as poems of cultural violence. In line with Chapter I, these seven poems are selected to give a comprehensive idea about the forms of structural and cultural violence and the policies and practices that contributed to the performance of violence during the Troubles, as represented by Heaney. In this respect, the first poem of structural violence, “For the Commander of the Eliza” presents the practice of the patrolling activity of the British navy during the Great Famine of the 1840s as a form of structural violence. Heaney represents the structural form of violence by sharing the narrator's observations of people who starved during the Great Famine, which was worsened by official British policies in the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, the second poem, “Requiem for the Croppies”, provides readers with a picture of challenging conditions during a battle without referring to any specific incident of armed clash. The structural form of violence is observed in presenting the violent conditions that the “Requiem for the Croppies” demonstrates. Similarly, “The Toome Road” describes a military presence in a local town. Heaney's choice of location is significant since Toome, meaning tumulus, makes an analogy with the past military presence and intrusions in Ireland. The last poem of the section concerning the structural form of violence, “From the Frontier of Writing,” presents a driver's experience in Northern Ireland during the Troubles when he is stopped at a checkpoint as a form of structural violence. Heaney's poems of structural violence demonstrate that the Troubles disrupted citizens' daily lives and that citizens were unprotected when they encountered security officers in Northern Ireland during the Troubles.

As in the poems of physical violence, in these poems, too, Heaney usually takes one case, either a contemporary happening or an incident in the past, to demonstrate the depth and broadness of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. As stated, Heaney's violence poetry makes the Troubles more visible at the public level and shows the impact of violence on the lives of the people. He wrote

the first two poems, "For the Commander of the Eliza" and "Requiem for the Croppies", while living in Northern Ireland. These two poems focus on historical incidents to represent structural violence related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The literature review in the Introduction and Chapter I indicates that Heaney's Troubles Poetry is much studied. Michael Cavanagh examines Heaney's poetic interaction with other poets in his book *Professing Poetry Seamus Heaney's Poetic* (2009). Cavanagh covers some of the poems which this chapter analyses, including "For the Commander of 'Eliza'", "The Toome Road", and "Funeral Rites" in his book. In his analysis, Cavanagh draws attention to the historical background and language of these poems but makes little mention of violence as a theme, so he states Heaney is aware of challenges to poetry resulting from contemporary events (11). Elmer Andrews' book *The Poetry of Seamus Heaney All the Realms of Whisper* (1990) explores several collections by Heaney, including *Death of a Naturalist, Door into the Dark, Wintering Out, North, and Field Work.* All these collections are relevant to this thesis except for the last two collections, *Sweeney Astray* (1993) and *Station Island* (1984), examined by Andrews. In his book, Andrews comments on Heaney's poetic stance, which is an essential factor in Heaney's Troubles Poetry, and writes, "[l]ike Yeats, Heaney writes political poetry; but, also like Yeats, he is not political in any doctrinaire sense" (12). As suggested by Andrews, Heaney maintains his objective and neutral position on subjects of violence, too, in his poetry. Heaney's poetic position on contemporary violent incidents resulting from the Troubles enables him to explore violence through broader lenses and to draw attention to victims' conditions.

In this context, it is important to note that studies such as Gülay Gülpınar Özoran's PhD thesis *"Words As Bearers of History": Testimony and Trauma in Seamus Heaney's Early Poetry* (2019), presents Heaney's poetry in relation to its representation of trauma (2). Trauma is undoubtedly a relevant concept to different violent phenomena and informs Heaney's poetry about violence, but clearly, it does not address the forms of violence Heaney is interested in the poems this chapter analyses. Naomi Marklew, too, in her thesis, "Northern Irish Elegy" (2011), analyses Heaney's

collections, specifically *Death of a Naturalist, Wintering Out, North, and Field Work,* from an elegiac perspective and concludes that Heaney wrote elegies both about the general situation in Northern Ireland and personal losses (33). Similarly, Floyd Green Collins explores Heaney's Troubles Poetry in his PhD thesis, *Seamus Heaney: The Crisis of Identity* (1997), and foregrounds the relationship between Heaney's poetry and his identity-related issues, specifically how the Troubles affected Heaney's personal and poetic identities (22). As discussed in the Introduction, the Troubles created serious problems for both communities in Northern Ireland. Besides the physical form of violence discussed in Chapter I, Catholics and Protestants suffered from structural forms of violence that caused discrimination and deprivation. People experienced structural forms of violence in areas such as housing, employment, education, and justice. As Justin Quinn argues, Heaney as a Catholic show how his community was subjected to discrimination in housing (132). The policies and practices of structural violence, for instance, led to inequalities in the society. Institutional policies, such as excluding Catholics from any decision-making bodies, are examples of structural violence. As Niall Ó Dochartaigh states, Catholics were denied the right to exercise political power at virtually every level in Northern Ireland. No Catholic was ever included in the government based at Stormont (9).

Such structural forms of violence, as Gary MacEóin explains, were most visible in housing and employment since "[p]ublic housing was provided by local authorities controlled by their Protestant majorities. They could make a newly married Catholic couple wait up to 12 years for a place of their own. Similarly, employment in local and central government, as well as in industry and commerce, was guaranteed for all Protestants but not for young Catholics" (29). Indeed, Catholics and Protestants had entirely different experiences in accessing and benefiting from housing and employment. As the Protestants were in control of public housing services, they did not make fair decisions about Catholics' applications. Furthermore, MacEóin shares striking figures to explain why discrimination was severe in the case of Catholics. He writes, "[b]etween 1937-1961, the latest years for which there are figures, 21 per cent of the Catholic population

emigrated but only 8 per cent of the Protestants. Even with this heavy emigration, more than 30 per cent of the men in the Catholic ghettos were unemployed" (29). Such policies intensified discrimination, leading to more barriers between the two communities as well as causing more violence. As Quinn states, Heaney chooses to represent these violent practices because "he felt that his imaginative force should be expended in redressing the balance" (132). Thus, poems of structural violence represent the prevalent injustice in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. Unlike physical forms of violence, structural forms of violence do not need to target individuals directly. The mere presence of any measure resulting from discriminatory policies, which aim to exclude certain groups from public life, has enough potential for structural forms of violence. In fact, structural forms of violence practices are apparent and even evident in public life, thus, they pose certain threats to certain citizens and groups in a society. Galtung also draws attention to this intimidation quality of structural forms of violence by indicating that structural violence acts as social life models that "threaten people into subordination" (172). In this respect, Heaney's poems on the structural forms of violence shed light on the discriminatory system which regenerated inequalities in Northern Ireland.

Patrolling Activity as a Form of Structural Violence in "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'"

Heaney's first collection, *Death of a Naturalist,* has poems about his childhood experience in rural areas of Ireland and changes in his life. In this respect, Andrew Elmers notes that the collection is about transforming Heaney's lifestyle from rural to urban (20). Despite the dominant theme of nature, as in "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'", the collection represents structural forms of violence, too. "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'" tells a story about the Great Famine, which hit Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century, and how it destroyed the lives of the Irish people because of British policies. The poem depicts the living conditions of Irish people during the Great Famine. The British vessel's commander, who oversees duty, observes and then reports to his superiors the state of the Irish people during the Great Famine. It has a dark tone and it presents the Irish people's fragile conditions. To some extent, this poem is the continuation of "At A Potato

Digging" from the same collection. While "At A Potato Digging" focuses on the dire consequences of the famine, "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'" diverts readers' attention from the fields to the British vessel, which can be interpreted as the root cause of these problems, and its overseeing activity.

Evidently, the Great Famine has important connections with the state of the Catholics/Irish during the Troubles. In her MA thesis, *The Changing Concept of Nature in Seamus Heaney's Poetry*, Aytül Develi discusses how the use of historical events functions in Heaney's poems. According to Develi, Heaney represents these forms of violence regarding the past so that he can discuss and even define the unsettled relations in his contemporary period in Northern Ireland (50). According to Develi, "Heaney made references to certain historical events which served as landmarks in the history of the nation and whose sores are still traced among the Irish. One of these events was the Irish Famine of 1845, to which Heaney made references in *Death of a Naturalist*" (50). The famine affected the whole island and is associated with violence in Heaney's poetry. It is a significant source for Heaney's Troubles Poetry since the famine was extremely destructive and left a strong mark in the history of Irish people (Arnold 5). Given its unforgettable destruction, Heaney builds his poem on the Great Famine associated with extreme hunger, malady and mass emigration between 1845 and 1852 in Ireland (Kinealy 104).

Due to its large scale, the Great Famine affected the entire community. A substantial decrease in potato yield in 1845 led to serious problems in the community since many people depended on this agricultural product. As regards the significance of potatoes for Ireland, Dennis Brindell Fradin writes, "[i]n 1845, the country's population was 9 million. By then, potatoes were a vital part of the diet—and often were the only food for two-thirds of Ireland's population" (14). The Great Famine became so destructive since most of the society was meeting their nutrition needs with potatoes, one of the key products. Although there is no exact number of human losses during the Great Famine, it is estimated that about a million died, and almost another million left Ireland (Ó Gráda 122). People could not find necessary food since there was not enough potato

production. Concerning the significance of potatoes for Irish people, Fradin indicates that Irish peasants began growing this product in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and highly relied on it because of certain advantages, including appropriate climate, costs, and dietary values (13).

The key question is what policies and measures aggravated the Great Famine? In his article "The Famine" (2004), Patrick Brantlinger reflects on this question. In addition to the common belief that it was a natural disaster related to agriculture only and that prevention was not possible in the nineteenth century, Brantlinger points to authorities' approach to the famine. Accordingly, he argues, "[t]reating the Irish peasantry as a drag on modernization, the officials often expressed genocidal thoughts about them, wishing them either dead or out of Britain. During the Famine, the officials grudgingly tried to mitigate mass starvation" (195). As Brantlinger suggests, the root cause of the Troubles was Britain's unwillingness to meet the needs of the Irish during the famine. Brantlinger also records that Sir Robert Peel, the prime minister, made some efforts to respond to the famine. Nevertheless, these efforts were poorly coordinated since extra imported food was not distributed equally across Ireland (195). In light of Brantlinger's points, it can be concluded that Britain did not take the necessary measures to alleviate the gravity of the famine. On the other hand, George L. Bernstein, in his discussion of the British liberals' approach to the Great Famine in his article "Liberals, the Irish Famine and the Role of the State" (1995), comments on Peel's approach to the Great Famine. In this respect, Bernstein states, "[l]ike most Englishmen who had lived in Ireland, Peel, a former chief secretary, was suspicious of the Irish. He had observed corruption and jobbery in public workers there, which made him reluctant to support their expansion" (518). Similarly, Sarah Steele argues that the British Government's policies were not humanitarian-oriented (19). Rather, the British Government's policies were driven by "an attitude, often concealed, that Irish fecklessness and lack of economy were bringing a retribution that would work out for the best in the end" (19). In fact, points made by Brantlinger, Bernstein, and

Steele point to the official British policies on Ireland and how these policies aggravated the Great Famine.

Furthermore, it seems that the political atmosphere allowed the British Government to execute its measures during the Great Famine in Ireland. Woodham-Smith refers to the Act of Union, signed in 1801, and how the Union raised ungrounded expectations about economic improvement and a better situation for Catholics (16). Evidently, the political panorama favoured England. In this context, Heaney seems to be aware of the function of history in presenting the structural forms of violence in his poem "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'". As Daniel Tobin states, "[w]hat also remains in poems such as "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'" is Heaney's burgeoning awareness of history as the conveyor of an apocalyptic power no less brutal than that which can be found in nature" (32). Accordingly, as stated in "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'", Heaney uses the patrolling activity of a British vessel during the Great Famine to represent the structural form of violence taking place in Ireland during the Troubles. Patrolling is one of the regular activities of a security force to deter crimes within the designated territory. Richard V. Ericson, in his book *Reproducing Order: A Study of Police Patrol Work* (1982), indicates that patrolling officers mostly do not have direct contact with criminals or citizens and spend most of their time in security vehicles (6). The presence of security officers sends a message to suspects and criminals. The function of patrolling, namely, deterrence through sending a message, fits the patrolling vessel in this poem. The British vessel has no direct contact with the suffering Irish citizens; instead, it navigates only in the sea. Unlike the practices of physical violence, the structural form of violence is observed in the existence of a violent instrument, in this case, the patrolling vessel during the Great Famine. Ericson underlines that the primary function of patrolling is the "reproduction of order" (7), which is the function of the British ship in this poem. The ship navigates across the seashore to monitor the Irish suffering from the famine.

“For the Commander of the ‘Eliza’” begins with an epigraph from Woodham-Smith’s book *The Great Hunger* (1962) that provides a detailed analysis of the Great Famine. The epigraph depicts

the critical and desperate situation of the people in need of help and food on a boat. This epigraph is preceded by another paragraph that indicates the vessel's function. Woodham-Smith writes:

> The revenue cutter, *Eliza*, making a visit of inspection, on June 22, to the Killeries, a wild district of mountain and deep ocean inlets in the far east, was implored for food by a boat-load of skeletons. The Commissariat officer at Westport, support centre for the Killeries, had been instructed to send no more meal to the region because the depot was becoming empty. (85)

The British vessel comes across this small boat while navigating the seashore of the Irish lands. Although the British officer noticed that these people were in need of food, no action was taken to alleviate their suffering. This was mainly because of the order from his superiors, who were implementing the British policies in Ireland.

Hence, the beginning of the poem, “Routine patrol” (1), reveals the setting and tone since it demonstrates and the unbalanced relations between the two parties, Britain and Ireland. The term “routine” (1) indicates that the British vessel is continuously present in this land. The term patrol highlights the British approach, which is driven by security policies, to Ireland. Heaney uses this striking combination to represent the structural form of violence exercised on the Irish people since the official patrolling activity, which deters Irish people from finding and even searching for food, amounts to violence. Both the vessel and the patrolling serve as instruments of the British policies concerning Ireland. As Arendt states, "[v]iolence is by nature instrumental; like all means, it always stands in need of guidance and justification through the end it pursues" (51). The poetic persona, the commander of the British vessel, sees a boat that "six wrecks" (10) uses. Heaney uses this occasion to intensify the sense of structural violence since there is a comparison between the vessel and the boat that belongs to the British and the Irish, respectively. The different sizes of the sea vehicles symbolise the unequal strength of the British and Irish people. Upon noticing the small boat, which is "heading unusually far / Beyond the creek" (2-3), the commander makes observations and shares them with readers. He notes, "their stroke had clearly weakened" (4)

because these Irish people lacked energy due to food shortage during the famine. Readers understand that the people in the small boat are Irish since the vessel commander calls them "in Gaelic" (4). Similarly, the Irish people reply to the commander in Gaelic, "Bia, bia, bia" (11-12) and ask for food. The Gaelic element intensifies the difference between the British and Irish people's conditions. The persona concludes by sharing his observations with readers at the beginning of the poem's second part. The Irish people, who have no food and are in "desperation" (11), are compared to "starving gulls" (13). Using animal symbols has two functions. Irish people are not seen as human beings but as animals and are hunting for food in the sea.

In addition to the comparison of the size of the vessel and the boat, Heaney compares the availability of food in the hands of the British and of the Irish to represent the structural violence exercised by the British. In this respect, the commander notes, "We'd known about the short but on board / They always kept us right with flour and beef" (14-15). These two lines reveal the stark difference between Britain and Ireland in terms of their access to food during the Great Famine. While there is no food in Ireland and Irish people suffer from hunger, Britain has no problem with food availability, and British people, as well as the crew of the vessel, continue to have their regular lives. The commander expresses a certain level of sympathy with the Irish people since their situation is tough. In this respect, Andrew Elmers notes, that the poem presents "a British naval officer during the Famine whose sympathy for the plight of the starving comes into conflict with his orders to withhold food from some men dying in a rowing-boat" (17-18). The commander finds himself in a dilemma of sharing food with the starving Irish people or keeping food for themselves. However, the commander does not offer any food to the Irish boat since he is an officer "[w]ho had no mandate to relieve distress" (17). Heaney thus emphasises the structural form of violence by showing how an individual is incapable of taking action to alleviate the suffering. Similarly, as Steele states, "[t]he living dead call out in Gaelic to the commander for food" (19), demonstrating that the Irish people's fundamental objective is finding food, and although "[t]he English naval officer is sensitive to the group of desperate, starving natives" (19)

the officer does not take action. Steele underlines the fact that the naval officer personally does not have any power to make any change in these official policies about the Great Famine in Ireland.

On the other hand, it must be noted that if the commander had shared the food with the Irish boat, it would have significantly helped these people. The persona's reference to the “Westport” (18) underlines the root cause of the starvation as the official policies of Britain concerning the Famine. Following the change in his sympathy's direction and deciding to act under the official policy’s commands, the commander also changes his tone in sharing his observations. The poetic persona reveals most probably his real feelings that “they [the people on the boat] cursed and howled / Like dogs that had been kicked hard in the privates” (20-21). The Irish people are described again with reference to animals, in this case, dogs. The British commander attributes no human quality to them. He depicts them as violent animals that are ready to attack them. The commander probably remembers the primary function of his service, which is maintaining order, not sharing his food with the Irish people. To fulfil his patrolling function, he believes “Less incidents the better” (25) and returns to his routine.

It is important that, after returning to the safe port, the commander reports the incident concerning the starving people on the boat to his superiors. His superior, Sir James, listens to the commander's observations and "urged free relief / For famine victims in the Westport Sector" (30-31). As Woodham-Smith explains,

> [t]he officer reported to Sir James Dombrain, Inspector-General of the Coastguard Service, who had served on relief during the famine of 1839, and Sir James Dombrain, 'very inconveniently', wrote Routh, 'interfered'. He 'prevailed' on an officer at the Westport depot to issue meal, which he gave away free; he also 'prevailed' on the captain of the Government steamship, *Rhadamanthus*, to take 100 tons of meal, intended for Westport, to the Coastguard Station at the Killeries. (85)

Sir James was one of the primary commanders who served during the famine. Edmond P. Symes gives the following information about his career: “The Commodore of the fleet was Sir James Dombrain, then aged 50, who for the past twenty-five years had been Inspector General of the Coastguard in Ireland” (56). Although Sir James was an experienced and high-level commander, he received a “tart reprimand from Whitehall” (32). However, the roots of the official British policies about the Great Famine are deeper and more complex that is to say more efforts than Sir James' mandate were needed to eradicate poverty and hunger resulting from the Great Famine in Ireland. As the final section of the poem shows, the official approach to Irish people is to “Let natives prosper by their own exertions; / Who could not swim might go ahead and sink” (33-34). Clearly, although the British policies worsened the situation in Ireland, they took no responsibility for the tragic consequences of the famine. Heaney’s poem suggests that the authorities were entirely indifferent to the suffering of the Irish, and cruelly left them to die when they argued that Irish people must survive through their efforts or can quickly die as a solution.

To conclude, Heaney presents the British policies of dealing with the Great Famine and the starving Irish people as illustrations of the structural forms of violence suffered by the Irish during the Troubles in “For the Commander of the ‘Eliza’”. Specifically, this poem, by telling the story of a patrolling ship that meets a smaller boat searching for food during the Great Famine, reveals how the British did nothing to help the Irish people but rather used their power to aggravate their suffering. Heaney, thus, draws attention to the discriminatory policies in housing and employment, which targeted mainly the Catholic community, by presenting such policies as structural violence. The poem suggests that unless there is a substantial change in policies, there could be no changes in the forms of problems. For example, in the nineteenth century, Ireland suffered from starvation, which turned into discrimination in social and economic life during the Troubles in the last quarter of the twentieth century. In this sense, the lack of food and consequent starvation are problems similar to discrimination with regard to access to housing and

employment, as they are structural violence. Evidently, the British policies concerning the problems of the Irish continued the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

"Requiem for the Croppies": A Battlefield with No Clash as Structural Violence

As a poem of structural violence, Heaney's "Requiem for the Croppies" in *Door into the Dark* was written to commemorate those who died during the 1916 Easter Rising, a rebellion against the British rule in Ireland. Heaney states that "'Requiem for the Croppies' was written in 1966 when most poets in Ireland were straining to celebrate the anniversary of 1916 Rising" (*Preoccupations*56). *Door into the Dark* was published in 1969, which means in the wake of the emergence of the Troubles in 1968. As Develi notes, "though it contains the embracing attitude towards his [Heaney's] Mossbawn years, it goes beyond the places of his childhood and extends into townlands. His concepts of art, family, home, nature had undergone many changes" (30) by the time he wrote the "Requiem for the Croppies" because of the Troubles. In fact, "Requiem for the Croppies" represents the structural form of violence by exploring a battle scene with no clash, yet the poem has some elements that can be interpreted as praising rebels who took part in the Easter Rising. In this respect, Gülpınar Özoran foregrounds the fact that this poem turns into a propaganda tool for its nationalist sentiments and states that Heaney stopped reading this poem at a public event because of its nationalistic implications (151). Actually, in "Requiem for the Croppies", similar to "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'", Heaney represents the structural form of violence suffered during the Troubles by presenting a battlefield from the past and comparing it to the battlefield of the Troubles and its sufferings. That is, the poem uses an earlier rebellion, namely the 1798 Rebellion by the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, to develop the idea that there are several rebellions in the history of Ireland, and they are equally violent. As Kearney notes, the 1798 rebellion aimed to realise Republican goals, since the late nineteenth-century atmosphere was favourable for the Republican revolution in Ireland (45). Heaney uses the

rebellion to write the poem in 1966, on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising, to commemorate and remember the struggle for independence in the past.

In his article "The Unforgotten: Memories of Justice" (2001), Walter James Booth discusses the relationship between justice and remembering and refers to several violent incidents, including the Troubles in history. Booth argues that "memory occupies a vital place at the heart of justice and its struggle to keep the victims, crimes, and perpetrators among the unforgotten" (777). The main point of Heaney's poem "Requiem for the Croppies" is accordingly the historical aspect of the unsettled relations, which often amounts to violent actions between Ireland and Britain. It should be noted that Britain continuously attempted to maintain repressive policies and practices in Ireland. Likewise, the Irish nationalists responded to them through rebellions. The rebellion that Heaney uses was inspired by other revolutions, namely the French and American revolutions, key historical events to gain civic and political rights in their respective countries. In their book entitled *The Dynamics of Conflict in Northern Ireland* (1996), Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd also draw attention to the American and French revolutions' impact on the characteristics of the rebellion in Ireland (86). Substantial similarity between the American and French revolutions and the Irish rebels can be observed in the framework of the demands such as better living conditions and equality in Ireland (Ruane and Todd 48). Additionally, the Irish rebellions took action to achieve their goal of freedom from the British dominance in Ireland.

Accordingly, "Requiem for the Croppies" has several references to the circumstances of the people in Ireland and their victimization by military presence. For instance, the poem describes the fighters' severe conditions of food and accommodation during the rebellion dated 1789 to commemorate those who lost their lives during the 1916 Easter Rising. Moreover, Heaney's representation of the structural form of violence by exploring the battle circumstances suggests that these uprisings aimed to defeat the British army. Furthermore, "Requiem for the Croppies" represents the structural form of violence by comparing two conflicting parties, namely the Irish rebels and the British "infantry" (8) and "cavalry" (9). However, it needs to be noted that the

persona does not explicitly give their names. The poem, “Requiem for the Croppies”, referring to Irish rebels who fought in 1798 to liberate Ireland from the British domination, is in the first place, as Stephen Regan states, “an elegiac sonnet commemorating the Irish patriots who died at Vinegar Hill in County Wexford during the 1798 rebellion” (13). As such, the poem's tone is sad and mournful. The term requiem suggests that the poem deals with a serious topic, namely death. The second part of the title suggests that it salutes a group of people from the same rebel group. In his article “A Dialect Glossary for Seamus Heaney's Works” (1998), Richard Wall provides the following definition of croppy: “a rebel, patriot; a Catholic, a Nationalist, a Republican; after those of the 1789 uprising who were close-cropped hair as a sign of sympathy with the French Revolution” (74). Regarding the similarities between the rebels of these two uprisings, Regan notes, “[t]he poem speaks from within the ranks of croppy boys (so-called because they wore their hair in the style of French revolutionaries)” (13). Thus, the title combines two different tones: a depressing and a praising one. The title’s significance is also related to the comparison of the conflicting parties, the rebels and the army, on the battlefield.

To represent the rebels' poor physical conditions, the persona informs readers about the conditions of the rebels who have “No kitchens on the run, no striking camp” (2). The rebels’ conditions while running away from the British army symbolise their power in the battle. The conditions in question indicate that there is an uprising against British rule. The poem does not report any direct contact or armed clash between the Irish rioters and the British army. However, it is still evident that the severe situation results from the presence of the British army in the land of the Irish and how the Irish have to run in "their own country" from the British forces: "No kitchens on the run, no striking camp / We moved quick and sudden in our own country." (1-2). Having "no kitchen" (1), that is to say, no adequate nutrition or "no striking camp" (2) to get rest suggests that compared to an organised army, which may meet the basic needs of its soldiers, the rebels do not have enough food or a place to stay. The unequal capacity and power of the conflicting parties is an example of structural violence. For instance, the rebels are subjugated and forced to escape from

the British forces under challenging circumstances because Britain is an occupying force in Ireland. The dominant theme in "Requiem" is, thus, fear of violence to the people and the land resulting from the presence of the British army, which represents one of the structural forms of violence in Ireland. The poem only suggests that their specifically direct armed clash between the British army and the Irish rebels results in the defeat of the rebels. Thus, the British army's function appears to exercise violence to maintain the order of the occupiers in Ireland, by encircling the Irish rebels and sending a message to the society about their presence in Ireland.

In addition to the above-mentioned physical conditions, the poem depicts the psychological state of the Irish people who joined this expedition, too. It is suggested that they are attacked and chased by the British army: they "moved quickly and suddenly" (2). Although the poem does not give the army's name, it can be understood that the rebels tried to escape from the British army. Similarly, the poem does not depict the British army's conditions, yet the persona uses "infantry" (8) and "cavalry" (9) while he is talking about the soldiers. Based on these two terms, it can be inferred that the British army in Ireland was confident in its higher operational capacity through organised soldiers. The poem underlines the fact that the Irish had to live with the soldiers who made their lives more difficult. To survive under these circumstances, the Irish people applied some tactics, such as creating confusion among the British army officers. For instance, they "… stampede cattle into infantry" (8) to distract the soldiers' attention and keep walking. Rather than a direct battle, the rebellious Irish people seem to use their animals to distract the organized army and win time. Another manoeuvre to avoid a direct clash with the British army is that the Irish rioters follow the paths where soldiers are not present: "Then retreat through hedges where cavalry must be thrown" (9). Clearly, the rebels do their best to avoid the danger, that is the cavalry, which is one part of the British army. The cavalry acts fast and controls a more extensive area because of their horses. In other words, the combination of the infantry and the cavalry increases the impact of the British army's presence in Ireland. The structural form of violence is stressed by the persona's persistent references to the operational capacity difference or the unequal power

position between the conflicting parties in the 1798 rebellion in Ireland. Following the depiction of the tactics, which the rebels apply to avoid the British soldiers, the persona also refers to the historical and religious aspect of the conflict between them. In this respect, the persona uses the term "Fatal conclave" (11), which foregrounds the heavy casualties during an important meeting.

Moreover, the word "conclave" (11) has a religious connotation since it refers to particular gatherings of Catholic religious figures. Heaney's representation of the structural form of violence by referring to "conclave" (11) highlights the religious element of the relationship between Irish and British people. Heaney also refers to "Vinegar Hill" (11), located in Enniscorthy, the second-largest town in County Wexford and historically associated with Irish rebels. Vinegar Hill was also a crucial place for the rebels since it was one of the main bases during the uprising. In fact, Heaney's representation of the structural form of violence by using a battle scene from history symbolises the recurrence of violence in Ireland and Northern Ireland. The violence recurs because of the military presence in Ireland.

In addition to the recurrence of violence, the poem aims to highlight the potential destruction caused by the structural form of violence in Northern Ireland. In this respect, it draws attention to "Terraced thousands died" (12). That is, there were countless atrocities and too many dead people in Ireland to have an ordinary life. In this respect, to underline the extent of the bloodshed in the country, the speaker says, "the hillside blushed" (13). Even the colour of the fields turns red because of the murders. No proper funeral is held in Ireland, mainly because of the war circumstances and the British army's attacks. Booth states that it is not too late to commemorate and honour people who sacrifice their lives for their country (778). Being aware of the significance and function of the funerals, the poet refers to this problem and writes, "They buried us without shroud or coffin" (14). These are regular elements of any ordinary and conventional funeral ceremony. While the battlefield presents physical forms of violence, the potential destruction caused by the policies and practices are structural forms of violence in Ireland. As a result of the violence, people were even deprived of a proper funeral.

On the other hand, the poem glorifies the rebels and their struggle to free Ireland. The rebels are buried without any ceremony but as Naomi Marklew comments, "[w]hile the dead are buried "without shroud or coffin" (13), the "barley" (14) in their pockets does not die with them, but continues to commemorate their lives after they have died (25)." The idea that the rebels may die, yet their cause never ends since there are always newcomers is significant in that the structural violence used by Britain to weaken the Irish and justify the policies of Britain is bound to fail. On the other hand, because of the military power of the oppressor and their continuous exercise of violence, as Tobin states, "the metaphor of rebirth that ends Heaney's requiem is suspended between contraries. It vacillates between symbolising a transcendent pattern of new birth and a very different kind of eternal return: a cycle of recurrent violence" (54-55). As Tobin indicates, the immortality of the rebels is countered by the recurrence of violence. In this sense, the poem suggests a vicious circle of violence in the history of Ireland. The poem uses “barley” (1), an essential food for people.

Regarding the symbolic meaning of “barley” (1), “Understanding The Symbolism Of Barley In The Bible: Its Historical And Biblical Significance" (2023)” provides the following information, “[b]ecause it was a common crop and not considered as luxurious as wheat, barley was often associated with the lower classes or the poor” (n.p). As indicated by the article, barley symbolises the poor Irish people. Heaney's choice of food in the battle also stresses the severe conditions that the rebels suffer. Additionally, barley symbolises strength despite challenging conditions (“Understanding the Symbolism of Barley” n.p.). Hence, the persona uses “barley” (1) to indicate the rebels' difficult conditions and to underline their strength. The poem's last line, "And in August the barley grew up out of the grave" (15), implies that there will be other rebellions in the future. For Eugene O’Brien, potential future rebellions mean resurrection foregrounds. In this respect, O'Brien, in his book *Examining Irish Nationalism in the Context of Literature, Culture and Religion* (2002), notes, “[t]his image of resurrection symbolises the continuity between the traditions of the rebels of 1798 and those of 1916” (141). As suggested by O’Brien, there is a

continuous cycle of rebels in Ireland. In fact, the persona implies a parallelism between the recurrence of violence and the resurrection of the rebels.

To conclude, “Requiem for the Croppies” represents the structural form of violence prevalent in Ireland during the Troubles through a rebellion subdued by the British in the late eighteenth Century in that it draws attention to the military and political power of the British in Ireland and how they use their power to suppress and control the Irish people. Clearly, like the rebels of 1798, the Irish people during the Troubles had to submit to and suffer because of the violent practices of the British. The poem presents a historical case with no real clash to underline the potential destructive power of the structural form of violence exercised by Britain in Ireland. In this context, the poem presents the unequal power and capacity of the conflicting parties, the Irish rebels and the British army, in Ireland as the cause of the structural violence.

"The Toome Road": Continuous Military Intrusion as Structural Violence

The third poem selected for its representation of structural violence experienced in Northern Ireland during the Troubles is "The Toome Road", from *Field Work*, published in 1979, when, as Andrew states in his book *The Poetry of Seamus Heaney: Essays, Articles, Reviews (2000)*, violence and its impacts became so dominant that there was, to some extent, no possibility of escape from these issues (112). Consequently, the whole society was affected by the structural form of violence generated by the British Government's official policies of order in Northern Ireland. Britain strengthened its forces and added new military measures to monitor life in Northern Ireland. As Fay et al. state, “[In April 1970] The Ulster Defence Regiment replaced the all-Protestant B-Specials. The new regiment had almost 40,000 members over its 22 years of existence, but attracted very few Catholics to its ranks. It was envisaged that the UDR would assist the regular army by guarding the key locations and checkpoints” (26-27). In fact, the introduction of the UDR in Northern Ireland in 1970 is symbolic of the structurally violent policies in Northern Ireland because it points to the discrimination in the employment of Catholics and demonstrates the level of military operations with an objective of controlling certain

locations. Accordingly, Heaney's poems in *Field Work* were shaped by the high level of violence in the early 1970s. As Ronald Schuchard states,

> [t]he violence brought about a stylistic and thematic shift in volumes from *Field Work* (1979) to *The Haw Lantern* (1987), filled as they are with killings, funeral rites, elegies and a guilty conscience over the poetry not yet being equal to the historical crisis, the objects in Mossbawn landscapes seemingly displaced by Derry and Belfast bombscapes. But not entirely. (78-79)

McGuirk highlights that Heaney's middle-period poetry, including *Field Work*, represents the clash between traditional, not political, and the imperative contemporary issues, that is to say, the Troubles. Similarly, Develi states, "[t]hough the book [*Field Work*] depicted the violent atmosphere in Ireland, it differed from other volumes greatly. Heaney had a spirit-passion which was still rooted in the Irish history but also rooted in contemporary Northern Ireland" (111). In this respect, "The Toome Road" is an example of how Heaney responds to the structural violence of the Troubles that seemed to have deepened in the 1970s. In fact, "The Toome Road" represents a form of structural violence by presenting an incident which, most probably, happened in the past and can also happen in the contemporary period. As Joe Pellegrino, in his PhD thesis *Heaney's Dead: Seamus Heaney and the Anglo-Irish Elegiac Tradition (1996)*, states, *Field Work* is full of images that reflect the ongoing situation in Northern Ireland and Heaney's primary concern is to understand these contemporary issues (155). In this regard, "The Toome Road" provides essential background information about the structural form of violence during the 1970s. It is a poem, Michael Parker says, “that depicts a depressingly recurrent scene from Irish history, a foreign army moving at will, violating the integrity of the territory” (158). Heaney locates the military presence of Britain in Ireland in the centre of this poem. As stated, the military or armed militant presence was part of daily life in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. In this respect, Heaney’s following statement based on his personal experience is highly relevant:

> And we have to live with the Army. This morning I was stopped on the Falls Road and marched to the nearest police barracks, with my three-year-old son, because my car tax was out of date. … It hasn't been named martial law, but that's what it feels like. Everywhere soldiers with cocked guns are watching you-that's what they're here for-on the streets, at the corners, from doorways, over puddles on demolished sites. (*Preoccupations* 30)

These officers, as Heaney underlines, acted in a manner that they were controlling the whole life in Northern Ireland. Accordingly, the poem is about the persona's experience when he sees approaching military vehicles in his town. Like other poems of violence by Heaney, this poem, too, has an anonymous narrator and presents the situation as an everyday routine experience. On the other hand, the title indicates that the military intrusion occurs in Toome, a small town in Northern Ireland. The Irish name of Toome is "Tuaim", which means (grave-)mound, burial-place (*Placenames Database of Ireland* n.p). Heaney deliberately chooses this place to represent the military occupation and domination of Ireland by the English as a structural form of violence since the term burial place, tumulus, implies that there were similar military actions in the past. Hence, the location name helps reinforce the message that military presence is not new to Northern Ireland.

The poem's first four lines introduce the structural violence that seems to be dominant. The poetic persona informs readers that he notices the military vehicles and soldiers early in the morning, disguised:

> One morning early I met armoured cars
>
> In convoy, warbling along on powerful tyres,
>
> All camouflaged with broken alder branches,
>
> And headphoned soldiers standing up in turrets. (1-4)

The persona notices that a group of military officers are approaching the town. One of the key points is that the persona is an individual while there are many soldiers. Heaney chooses this contrast to highlight the difference between the victims, Toome's inhabitants, and the perpetrators, the army. In fact, the persona does not tell readers that it is the British army. Another important aspect related to the time of this incident is that it was early in the morning, which means that the local community was still in bed. The military vehicles arrived in the town while people were defenceless. The persona also indicates that the perpetrators are "all camouflaged" (3) to hide their identities in this operation. These military officers symbolise British power and are ready to invade Northern Ireland. In this regard, Kirsty Williams says, "as 'The Toome Road' demonstrates, a feeling of violation is caused and perpetuated by state apparatuses. This recurs in particular relation to the major police and army presence in Northern Ireland in the 1970s" (109-10). The army certainly is one of the state apparatuses.

Moreover, it is essential to pay attention to the type of tree, the alder tree, the soldiers use for camouflage. The military officers hide under the tree of "broken alder branches" (3), one of the most common trees in Ireland. As regards the alder, the Irish Tree Explorers Network gives the following information:

> [I]t was believed that the first man 'sprung' from an alder. However, he advises that, at the same time, alder was generally seen as an unlucky tree. [I]n various European traditions, alder is associated with death, likely on account of the way it appears to bleed and turn from white to red when cut. It is also widely associated with war, perhaps for the same reason, but also due to the fact that, historically, alder was used to make shields. (n.p)

Heaney's choice of alder is significant in that alder refers to death, though there is no actual act of killing in the poem. Still, there is a high risk of death because of the military operation witnessed by the speaker. Furthermore, alder, which soldiers use for protection purposes, reminds readers of the possibility of war in Toome. Indeed, we have soldiers who receive commands from the

headquarters through their "headphone[s]" (4). This device enables superiors to direct their soldiers and prevent them from interacting positively with the local community. These superiors are ready to give commands to their soldiers who are "standing up in turrets" (4). In his PhD thesis, "Seamus Heaney and the Poetic(s) of Violence" (2004), Thomas George McGuire states that

> [r]egistering his outrage over the violation of his land as he wakes to see and hear his land invaded by British occupying forces, the speaker emphasizes the disjuncture between the pastoral scene and the invasion of his pastures. Instead of birdsong, what greets his ear is the perverse "warbling" of armored vehicles. (127-28)

Thus, the poem emphasises the structural violence exercised by the British authorities through the persona's question, "How long were they approaching down my roads / As if they owned them?" (5-6). In fact, the persona asks a key question to highlight the military presence since these military officers freely navigate the town, though they are not local. Toome is a historical place, and military incursion poses certain risks of demolishing the site. Roben Moi states that "Toome is situated in the Bann valley, one of the oldest inhabited areas in Ireland, and the site of many archaeological finds" (174).

Moreover, the incursion becomes more sinister considering the fact that "The whole country was / sleeping" (6-7) While the perpetrators of structural violence, the British soldiers, are on duty and awake, the victims, the local community, are sleeping at this hour of the day. Thus, the victims are defenceless. Indeed, the contrast between the British army and the Irish community is that while the British army is aggressive, the local community is peaceful. The persona reflects that "I had rights-of-way, fields, cattle in my keeping, / Tractors hitched to buckrakes, the greens and reds / Of outhouse roofs. (…)" (8-11). The British army's presence threatens this order despite the fact that there is no attack or armed clash. Indeed, having no direct clash amounts to a structural form of violence. Peter Sirr, in his article" 'In step With What Escaped Me': The Poetry of Seamus Heaney" (2009), reflects on the relation between territory and its meaning in a broader

sense. He states that territory is more profound than the area in which people live, so Heaney's poem responds to the real, spiritual, and mythological significance of the place Toome (9). The structural violence, in this poem, comes from the soldiers in armed vehicles who threaten the town and its history and culture, in other words, life itself. Heaney, as stated, draws attention to the broader framework of potential violence related to the military presence in Toome. Heaney's representation of the structural form of violence indicates that such policies and practices target all institutions and the whole society.

In conclusion, it is clear that the British army intruded on Northern Ireland even though it had no aim of launching a war. Such an intrusion is a form of structural violence, it disturbs the peace and violates the rights of the people living there. As Arendt suggests, "[i]f we look on history in terms of a continuous chronological process, whose progress, moreover, is inevitable, violence in the shape of war and revocation may appear to constitute the only possible interruption" (30). The armed militants' destructive power and deterrence capacity of war, and revolution clearly have an impact on Ireland. In "Toome Road," Heaney underlines that structural violence as a constant threat of destruction of Irish life and culture is posed by the British military.

“From the Frontier of Writing”: Structural Violence Targets Ordinary Citizens

“From the Frontier of Writing”, a poem in *The Haw Lantern* published in 1987, describes a form of structural violence that dominated the 1980s in Northern Ireland. *The Haw Lantern* is a collection that has poems on losses caused by the Troubles and the political situation in Northern Ireland. Kieran Quinlan states, "Heaney manages for the most part to repeat and even extend his earlier work -the matter of writing itself, political reflections on the situation in Northern Ireland, the personal lyric-without simply retracing his previous path" (459). Heaney continues to explore the problems of violence related to the Troubles in this collection. The title of the collection refers to a wildflower which, according to Zoë Devlin, is "native to Ireland and its genus name Crataegus, from the Greek kratos, which means strength, is thought to be a reference to the hardness of the hawthorn's wood" (“Information on Hawtorn” n.p). In this sense,

the title, *The Haw Lantern*, has a symbolic meaning. It signifies the endurance and survival in the face of trouble during the Troubles. Alan Robinson suggests that because of the political subjects in these poems, language is not a transparent instrument but a metaphorical subject in *The Haw Lantern*. Robinson similarly emphasises the metaphorical elements (149) in "From the Frontier Writing." To represent the structural form of violence in this poem, Heaney uses the official policies on security and public order imposed and employed by the British forces and how these policies affect citizens' daily lives in Northern Ireland. In this respect, Dillon Johnston suggests that this poem on violence questions the direct relation between art and life, particularly when poetry interferes with the space of contemporary political issues (125). As Sarah Steele argues, Heaney makes efforts to maintain his social responsibilities and artistic freedom in *The Haw Lantern*, yet it is not an easy task because of imperative pressure on Heaney at personal and poetic levels (187).

Heaney's representation of the structural form of violence in "From the Frontier of Writing" takes readers into the checkpoints sphere, an important element of life during the Troubles. "From the Frontier of Writing" is about the functioning of the checkpoints in controlling people and where they go in their daily lives. John McGary and Brendan O'Leary discuss the impact of the Labour Government's policies in the mid-seventies on some of these practices. He argues that the whole country was under perpetual monitoring. They list the practices that illustrate structural violence in Ireland in the 1980s as “huge investments in security devices, surveillance systems, cordoned-off town-centres, checkpoints, forts, observation posts, and computerized civilian screening on a massive scale” (*The Northern Ireland Conflict* 208). As demonstrated by McGary and O’Leary, surveillance practices were diversified and aimed to cover all aspects of public life during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Other practices, such as house searches, were also widespread during the Troubles. Regarding the figures and meaning of house searches, Niall Ó Dochartaigh provides the following information:

> In the early 1970s, there were about 100,000 Catholic households in public housing in Northern Ireland, those most likely to have their houses searched. Between 1971 and 1979, the British army and the RUC carried out 308,000 recorded house-searches in the North. The reality was not that 'the war was over' but that many areas of Northern Ireland were now under permanent military occupation and surveillance. (251)

It should be noted that these were the recorded and official searches, so they do not reflect the whole picture. As indicated by Niall Ó Dochartaigh, these practices aimed nothing but to create a sense of continuous and perpetual monitoring by the security officers. To maintain such absolute control practices, the British Government employed thousands of security officers. In fact, the British Government created this regiment to perform tasks including patrolling and checkpoints as structural control practices. As McGary and O'Leary explain "[a] battery of techniques has been employed to contain the conflict. Up to 30,000 personnel regularly patrol the countryside and- city-streets of the region, establishing armed 'check-points' at will" (*The Politics of Antagonism* 33). The combination of such monitoring practices and such a vast workforce increased the level of the structural form of violence.

In this context, "From the Frontier of Writing" tells the story of an ordinary citizen whom security officers stop at a checkpoint. The poem is about this person's experience during this security check. Once again, Heaney represents the structural form of violence by focusing on the incident *per se* by exploring the victim's experience at the checkpoint. As Steele states, "[i]t [From the Frontier of Writing] describes what is a frequent occurrence for many of the inhabitants of Northern Ireland but in particular for the Catholics of that province, who live in fear and subjugation and whose basic liberties are eroded daily by the tyranny of an occupying power" (191). In this sense, the poem indicates that getting checked at a checkpoint is not an isolated case but part of public life related to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. As in "The Toome Road", which highlights the recurrence of a structural form of violence performed through the military presence

of Britain in Ireland, in this poem, too, structural violence is presented as permanent through the checkpoint experience of the speaker.

In this context, "From the Frontier of Writing" introduces the use of checkpoints as structural violence and reveals the speaker's feelings of fear and stress at a checkpoint. The poetic persona's response to the checkpoint control illustrates the way structural violence impacts the lives of the people in Northern Ireland. The poetic persona makes it clear that being stopped at a checkpoint is not a pleasant experience, for instance, which is why he feels "The tightness and the nilness" (1) that encircles his "space" (1) when "the car stops" (2). The car does not stop due to the driver's decision. However, it is stopped at the checkpoint. The persona is not an active agent in this process since he is forced to stop his car by "the troops" (2). The poem reveals that the victim of structural violence is an individual, while the perpetrators are a group of soldiers. The poem also exposes that these soldiers stop the persona to "inspect" (2) him. Unlike the persona, perpetrators act on purpose and deliberately stop the driver. In the poem, there is a situation of the powerful subordinating and victimising the weak. The security officers check the plate number of the car. The persona continues with the depiction of the officer's actions when he approaches the vehicle's window, "eyeing with intent down cradled guns" (5-6). The critical element is "the cradled guns" (6) here, in terms of structural violence. Even though the soldier does not point his gun to the driver, the gun still performs the function of threatening and menacing the driver, as well as highlighting that he is "under cover" (6). Like the presence of the checkpoints, the presence of the "cradled guns" (6) is enough to activate the structural form of violence since the guns serve to scare the victim. The persona expresses his feelings, highlighting how the soldiers restrict his freedom. According to the persona, "everything is interrogation" (7), that one's liberty is subjected to the officers' judgement. If they wanted, citizens were free to travel. Otherwise, they could be stopped by troops at a checkpoint. Significantly, the driver departs when "a rifle motions" (8) that he is free to go.

The persona consequently feels a "quiver in the self" (11), he is trembling after what he has experienced at the checkpoint. Furthermore, he is "subjugated" (12) as well as "obedient" (12). Heaney focuses on the persona's fear-driven reaction to the inspection at the checkpoint in these lines. Clearly, the persona does not feel safe, though he is cleared by the troops at the checkpoint. Dillon Johnston draws attention to fears and concerns citizens may have when troops stop them in the poem. As Johnston states, "[t]he first four tercets of the poem recount the anxiety and affront many Irish experienced in crossing through British-manned border-checkpoints" (124). The structural violence continues in the second part of the poem, too, when the persona says, "you drive on to the frontier of writing" (13). The driver continues to move but is fully aware that he is free to drive until "it happens again" (14). This line underlines an obvious fact: checkpoints formed an important part of the structural violence in daily life in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 80s. Thus, there was no possibility of escape from such violent practices throughout the Troubles. Roads were full of soldiers and heavy weapons. The persona says that "[t]he guns on tripods" (14) that were present in the streets were pointed at the citizens. These weapons, which symbolise power, intensify the sense of structural violence through which security officers maintained their authority. It is essential to highlight that the violence-dominated atmosphere created by the checkpoints led to the dehumanisation of citizens and the way they became recorded data. Accordingly, one would have "the sergeant with his on-off mike repeating / data about you" (15-16). It is clear that structural violence is reinforced by the officer's mike and the sense of interrogation it creates. The persona is reduced to "data" (16) in this process of checking his background, so he is victimised by denial of his human aspect as well as being integrated into a system that operates through violence. As one can imagine, it is impossible for the driver to feel safe and comfortable even though he is sure he did nothing wrong.

In his PhD thesis, “Seamus Heaney: The Crisis of Identity,” (1997) Floyd Green Collins comments on the persona's inner world and states, “[f]eeling oneself drawn up into the crosshairs of a rifle scope can make being itself an onerous experience, but Heaney's discomfort doubtless

escalates as he hears his personal identity reduced to “data” filtered through the static on a two-way radio” (181). As Collins indicates, the structural violence in the poem creates a fearful situation for the victims and renders them powerless. Moreover, clearly, the persona realises that the troops do not approach him as a human being but as a potential suspect and a target. The persona expresses that he has conditioned himself not to act until “the squawk of / clearance” (16-17). He understands that he is free to go upon a mechanic signal, another symbol of dehumanisation in the poem. In fact, “The squawk” is entirely in harmony with the metal sounds of guns at checkpoints.

In "From the Frontier of Writing" several statements about the effects of the checkpoint experience on people underline the presence of structural violence. For instance, the driver knows the checkpoints' function and says that he was "arraigned" (19) to inform readers that the soldiers charged him. On the other hand, he tries to find something positive and adds, "yet freed" (19) to indicate that soldiers could have detained him for longer. The final part of the poem is about the abundance of soldiers, military vehicles, and heavy weapons on the streets of Northern Ireland. The persona tells readers how he passes "armour-plated vehicles" (25) in these streets. These military vehicles are equipped with heavy weapons and ready to attack if soldiers or decision-makers deem it necessary. According to the persona, "the posted soldiers" (26) are still in the streets. Clearly, "From the Frontier of Writing" represents the checkpoints to illustrate the destructive impacts of the structural form of violence on the psychology of individuals and the community in Northern Ireland. The structural form of violence seems to target the humanness of the individuals who are stopped and searched at the checkpoints. Furthermore, an inherent element of structural violence, as illustrated in "From the Frontier of Writing", is that it gives the message that perpetrators are not responsible for their exercise of violence since dominant political circumstances lead to this imperative policy and practice. The denial of responsibility in a way dehumanises the executioners of these practices. In his book *Formations of Violence (1991),* Allen Feldman explains that interrogation in an interrogation room as a form of structural

violence functions as having a perpetual "eye" on suspects, and this perpetual surveillance reinforces the structural force within the institution and creates a misperception about responsibility since it diverts attention from individuals' responsibility for their acts to other aspects such as technology and infrastructure (127). Feldman's points are relevant to the structural forms of violence in Heaney's representation of structural violence in “From the Frontier of Writing”, which, however, underlines that the victims are human beings. Thus, there can be no justification for exerting violence on people.

Regarding the scale of violence represented in “From the Frontier of Writing”, Steele underlines that *The Haw Lantern* is a collection that reveals how Heaney's poetic approach has broadened. He states:

> Although there is a turning away from the immediate political concerns of Ireland, Heaney is still concerned with Northern Ireland's affairs but he now looks at the Irish Troubles in the broader context of human suffering and difficulty. The experience of the Eastern European poets highlights for Heaney that Northern Ireland is not the only place on earth where peace, justice and truth are not generally at work in society. (188)

Still, by exploring an individual case, Heaney demonstrates how the whole society is negatively affected by structural violence. Heaney's representation of structural violence, hence, contributes to the visibility of suffering at national and international levels.

To conclude, similar to previous poems, in “From the Frontiers of Writing,” too, Heaney represents structural violence by comparing the power of the victim and the perpetrators. The persona makes it clear to readers that the victim is weak in relation to his position before the perpetrators. In addition to these poems on structural forms of violence, Heaney wrote poems on the cultural forms of violence exercised in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. The following

part will analyse three poems: "Traditions" from *Wintering Out* (1975), "Whatever You Say Say Nothing", and "Funeral Rites" from *North* (1975) under the cultural forms of violence.

Representation of Cultural Forms of Violence in Heaney's Troubles Poetry of 1972-1975

The representation of cultural forms of violence in Heaney's poems is the last category to be analysed in this thesis. As mentioned in the Introduction, the cultural form of violence refers to policies and practices that target cultural elements, such as religion, language, and ceremonies. In fact, the cultural forms of violence can be observed at an individual level as well as a community level. Why Heaney represents the cultural form of violence is also an important issue to be analysed. Heaney covers violent practices that target the cultural aspects related to the integrity of individuals and communities. He is aware of the function of culture to construct narratives and to find tools that can justify injustices. As explained, due to the high level of violence in various forms during the Troubles, the Irish people did not have a safe life together in Northern Ireland. In his book chapter " 'Pap for the dispossessed': Seamus Heaney and the Poetics of Identity" (1992) David Llyod states,

> Place, identity and language mesh in Heaney, as in nationalism, since language is seen primarily as naming, and because naming performs a cultural reterritorialisation by replacing the contingent continuities of a historical community with and ideal register of continuity in which the name (of place or of object) operates symbolically as the commonplace communicating between actual and ideal continua. (98)

As argued by Lloyd, language and national identity in Heaney's poetry serve as cultural elements. These two elements are needed to build and maintain the continuity of an identity. In this respect, as a Troubles poet, Heaney represents the contemporary issues related to cultural aspects of the Troubles by keeping the function of language and knowing the significance of local names and cultural elements in mind. Heaney's interest in cultural forms of violence can be understood much better when one reads about his interest in Irish cultural elements in his life, especially in his British-ruled home. He notes, "[a]t school I studied the Gaelic literature of Ireland as well as the literature of England, and since then I have maintained a notion of myself as Irish in a province that insists that it is British" (*Preoccupations* 35). Heaney was born into a Catholic Irish family

and was raised in an entirely Catholic environment. Although he also studied English literature at school, he never gave up on his Catholic identity and clearly always felt his identity to be under threat. That is, Heaney is fully aware of the pressure in terms of culture and identity, and in his poetry, he addresses the cultural forms of violence that target the Irish cultural elements. Therefore, he observes the violent life in Northern Ireland from a cultural perspective as well. In this respect, Heaney raises the issue of place names in Northern Ireland. He writes, "[i]n the names of its [Northern Ireland] fields and townlands, in their mixture of Scots and Irish and English etymologies, this side of the country was redolent of histories of its owners. Broagh, The Long Rigs, Bell's Hill; Brian's Field, the Round Meadow, the Demesne; each name was a kind of love made to each acre" (*Preoccupations* 20). The names of places are a mixture of Scottish, Irish, and English words due to the repressive British policies. As highlighted by the abovementioned statement by Heaney, there are numerous place names that changed from Gaelic to Scottish and English throughout Irish history. Nevertheless, the poet indicates that these mixed place names do not reflect Irish characteristics.

As a result of being under British control for ages, Ireland and later Northern Ireland suffered from such colonial policies of which tendency was to Anglicise the place names and erase the cultural history of Ireland. In fact, changing the names of places is a deliberate policy rather than a coincidental one. Ashcroft *et al.* explain the function of naming in societies from a post-colonial perspective: "Whatever the nature of the post-colonial society, language always negotiates a kind of gap between the word and its signification. In this sense, the dynamic of naming becomes a primary colonizing process because it appropriates, defines and captures the place in language" (165). The function of language, particularly naming, is essential to succeeding in colonial policies that included control over people's minds under occupation. Being aware of these colonial policies and the power of narration, Heaney identifies cultural forms of violence as dominant and effective in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. Another cultural element was the media institutions' problematic position on the Troubles and the position in question resulted in the

cultural form of violence in that period. In addition to language and cultural institutions, cultural forms of violence, as it will be discussed below, targeted also ceremonies during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The shared point of media institutions' position and the cultural ceremony is religion. As discussed earlier, religion is considered the root cause of the sectarian violence that affected Catholics and Protestants during the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

"Traditions*":* Changing the Language as a Form of Cultural Violence and Oppression

"Traditions" is a poem from *Wintering Out* (1972), a collection published during the high tension of the Troubles. In his book *Instabilities in British Contemporary Poetry* (1988), Alan Robinson comments on the collection and states, "*Wintering Out* (1972) moves beyond the isolated political references of his [Heaney's] earlier collections to espouse a self-conscious Nationalism, subsuming his sectarian perceptions in a new interpretation of the Northern problem as a postcolonialist legacy of usurpation" (124). As suggested by Robinson, to present the level of pressure on cultural elements, Heaney explores and represents the Troubles through the broader framework of culture and the violence exercised on and through it. Thus, Heaney's poems present issues of exploitation and oppression that target cultural elements in the case of "Traditions" language.

Furthermore, Robinson provides an analysis of the characters of the poems in *Wintering Out.* According to Robinson, these characters are social marginals and Catholics whose sufferings followed a similar line of the Unionist power in history (124). Furthermore, Parker foregrounds that Heaney "concentrated primarily on the origins and hinterland of the conflict in *Wintering Out*, through elegiac poems celebrating the identity, history, territory and tongue of his people, the Northern Catholic Irish" (89). Parker states that Heaney reflects on language, place, past and identity in this collection. Moreover, Parker also provides the definition of the collection's title and states that "the verb' winter out' means to see through and survive a crisis and is derived from a farming custom which involved taking cattle to a sheltered area, feeding them on a minimum diet throughout the winter, before fattening them in the spring and summer" (89-90). As

highlighted by Parker, the term wintering out has two layers: one symbolic and one related to survival through a crisis. On the one hand, wintering out symbolises the Troubles in Northern Ireland as well as farming cattle. Another scholar, Tobin, pays attention to the centre of the poet's inquiry in this collection and concludes that the concept of language forms a type of proto-narrative in this collection (69). Tobin's point indicates that Heaney locates language into its poetic journey in this collection. That is, poems in *Wintering Out* represent divisions between the communities based on sectarian problems, imperial issues, and cultural values (Tobin 70). The collection, in Elmers' words, "highlights the notions of survival, continuance and durability amid the severities of 'winter'" (48) that symbolise the Troubles.

Accordingly, "Traditions" is a poem about cultural violence, and it explores cultural forms of violence with particular attention to language[3]. In this poem, Heaney is concerned with national identity-related problems in the national language, Gaelic, and perspective, as discussed below. Unlike the other poems, in which Heaney represents violence related to the Troubles, "Traditions" is a poem that addresses the whole community since language is a cross-cutting issue for everyone in society. Heaney dedicates this poem to Tom Flanagan, a friend of his. Russell notes that Flanagan was Heaney's friend who "led him deeper into readings of Yeats and Joyce and Irish history and culture" (*Seamus Heaney's Regions* 145). As highlighted by Russell, Heaney built relations with Flanagan who was an author interested in Irish identity. Parker notes, "Tom Flanagan, author of *The Irish Novelists 1800-1850,* whose deep concern for Irish history and literature strengthened Heaney's resolve to embrace the national theme" (93). Like other poems, Heaney represents the cultural form of violence through an unnamed victim, though there are references to literary "MacMorris" (25) and "Bloom" (33), religious "Brigid's Cross" (7), and

[3] Michael Parker notes that in addition to "Traditions", Heaney wrote "The Last Mummer", "Anahorish", "Broagh", "Toome", "A New Song" and "Gifts of Rain" – to represent the linguistic dispossession of the Irish people.

political figures "Elizabethan English" (14). All these names from literature, religion, and political fields are relevant to the cultural element, language, in the poem.

Heaney's representation of the cultural form of violence in “Traditions” by referring to these three figures underlines that there is not an individual victim, but the whole community and nation is the victim. In this respect, the poem's first line intensifies the sense of collective victimhood because the poem begins with the expression, "Our guttural muse / was bulled long ago / by the alliterative tradition," (1-3). The first three lines reveal the subject, national language, and the theme of the poem, which is suppression. The persona states that "Our guttural muse" (1) "was bulled" to underline the sense of collective victimhood and the sufferings at the national level. Heaney's choice of the plural possessive determiner aims to indicate that domination by the British is a nationwide problem. Furthermore, the third line points to the distortion of Irish language because of the "alliterative tradition" of the English. The persona makes it clear that Gaelic is the victim while English is the perpetrator in the poem. Of course, Gaelic is victimised by those who executed the official English language policies. In this regard, as Andrews states, “‘[t]raditions’ begins with an image of violation, a brutal sexual metaphor to describe the displacement of the feminine Gaelic vowel by the hard consonantal language of English” (*The Poetry of Seamus Heaney All the Realms of Whisper* 56). Clearly, there was a colonial relationship between Ireland and Britain and between Ireland and Britain. The poem suggests that English distorted the Gaelic language, and this distortion forms the basis of the cultural violence in Northern Ireland. Indeed, the British policies targeting Irishness through language have a more extended history. In his book *Northern Ireland: Captive of History* (1974), Gary MacEóin underlines this fact and states that "from the beginning of the Anglo-Norman invasion, every effort was made to destroy the Irish system of learning and way of life" (118). As MacEóin argues, the root causes of the Troubles have been embedded in British policies and practices for ages. In this respect, the author draws attention to the British policies executed in Ireland in the fifteenth century since these policies prevented Irish people from using their language and name (118). As argued by MacEóin, the

British policies and practices, which caused the suffering of Irish people, were justified by the legislation. The legislation served as an instrument to ban any element that preserved Irishness. Hence, the British authority controlled the legislative body in Ireland and did not allow any value, particularly language or custom, that could have contributed to the development of Irish national identity.

This historical background makes the English responsibility for maintaining repressive measures with regard to the Irish culture apparent. Hence, Heaney locates the cultural violence exercised at the centre of "Traditions." The poem describes the current situation of the Irish language as distorted and undeveloped: "her uvula grows / vestigial, forgotten / like the coccyx / or a Brigid's Cross / yellowing in some outhouse" (4-8). Cultural elements in these lines, like throat, are related to speaking ability and determine one's accent. The second element is Saint Brigid, a prominent religious figure and one of the earliest saints of Ireland. In his article “The Story of Saint Brigid” (2024) Adrian Murph underlines that Saint Brigid is known as the patron of poets and creativity (n.p.). Hence, Heaney's choice of Saint Brigid is relevant since she is associated with the community's cultural practices and poetry both are cultural elements. In addition, Heaney draws attention to the distortion of the Irish language in the course of the period and how it becomes unused and "forgotten" (5).

In "Traditions", Heaney also reflects on the target of the culturally violent British policies that aim to destroy the Irish identity. Therefore, to represent the cultural form of violence observed in the repressive policies targeting harmony and peace in society, Heaney chooses Saint Brigid, one of the earliest saints of Ireland. Choosing Saint Brigid is related to her contribution to peace in Ireland. Roger Sawyer states "[f]or more than three centuries after St Brigid's time, life in Ireland was more peaceful than in most European countries" (10). Heaney uses Saint Brigid in this poem to highlight that Ireland was peaceful before the British government arrived.

On the other hand, the persona admits that not many people are sensitive to "a Brigid's Cross" (7), and it is "yellowing", which means neglected and worn out in Ireland. The poem's first part ends

with a direct reference to "the British isles" (12), the perpetrator, to imply the colonial aspect of the relations between Ireland and Britain. The poem, thus, suggests that as a form of cultural violence generated by the British occupation of Ireland, there is pressure on the Irish language, and the Irish people are insensitive to their language being replaced by English. Hence, the persona says, "We are to be proud / of our Elizabethan English" (13-14). Again, Heaney chooses a female figure to reflect on the language problem. As Tobin states, "by casting the Irish language as a feminine muse and the English as the masculine aggressor, Heaney places the numinous sexual modes of his early work in historical and political context. As in Heaney's reflections on his imaginative modes, the union of feminine and masculine is also generative" (73). Like Saint Brigid, Elizabeth I was chosen specifically since she was the queen of Britain in the sixteenth Century. *The Official Website of the British Royal Family* provides the following details about her regime: "Her 45-year reign is generally considered one of the most glorious in English history. During it a secure Church of England was established. Its doctrines were laid down in the 39 Articles of 1563, a compromise between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism (n.p)." For almost half a century, Elizabeth I ruled the British empire and made contributions to the establishment of the Church of England. As explained in the Introduction, the source of conflict between English and Irish people mainly is related to the different religious identities. In this respect, in addition to the English accent that many Irish people try to achieve, the persona continues to give examples of the results of language oppression. "We 'deem' or we 'allow' / when we suppose / and some cherished archaisms / are correct Shakesperean" (16-20). Shakespeare lived in the same period as Elizabeth I. as Robinson states, "[i]t is implied that their political subordination is effected largely through unconscious ideological conditioning" (124). The persona completes this part by indicating that Irish people are "shuttling obstinately / between bawn and mossland" (23-24). Clearly, Irish people contribute to the development of the oppressor's language since they are unable to speak their mother tongue.

In presenting the cultural violence the Irish culture suffered, the poem's third and final part, includes some figures, MacMorris who is "gallivanting / round the Globe" (25-26) and Bloom. MacMorris is a character from *Henry V* (1599) by Shakespeare. The persona informs readers that MacMorris is moving around the stage and tries to find an answer to the following question:" 'What ish? my nation?" (32). Tobin suggests that this question confirms "the assumption of Britain's cultural superiority over its colonies, particularly its oldest colony, Ireland" (73). On the other hand, the reply to this question comes from "Bloom" (34) a character from *Ulysses* (1922) by James Joyce, in the poem's final stanza. The persona admits that the reply is given "though so much / later, the wandering Bloom / replied, 'Ireland' said Bloom, / 'I was born here. Ireland'" (33-36). P. J. Mathews states that "Heaney, in this instance, plays particular tribute to the cultural achievement of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, which he regards as some measure of compensation for the cultural fragmentation that resulted from the processes of colonisation and the loss of the Irish language" (19). Bloom's answer suggests that there is resistance to the cultural domination of Britain because, as Said states, "the rediscovery and repatriation of what had been suppressed in the natives' past by the processes of imperialism" (210) provides a strong and durable instrument to resist such oppressive policies and practices. Actually, Said's point demonstrates the source of problem "imperialism" (210) and the solution: returning to the roots. In his argument, Said refers to the imperialism's key practice restricting natives' space. Thus, Said argues, going back to the roots can contribute to efforts that aim to overcome problems resulting from the imperialism.

"Traditions" is a poem in which Heaney represents the cultural form of violence by focusing on how British cultural policies and practices kept the Irish language under pressure and subordinated the Irish language and literature. Heaney explores the national language of Ireland as a cultural element and how it is impacted by the cultural forms of violence employed by the British in this poem. Accordingly, Heaney uses a historical background as well as political, religious, and literary figures, which enables him to highlight the relationship between cultural violence and the destruction of national cultural life in the poem. Heaney's representation of the cultural form of

violence in "Traditions" shows the potential risks of a violent atmosphere to cultural elements and identity in a society. Indeed, the "traditions" are shown to face the risk of total disappearance as a consequence of cultural violence.

In addition to language and identity in relation to cultural violence, Heaney presents how language and the inability to talk or misrepresentations of the cultural issues in the media may amount to cultural forms of violence. The next section will explore the use of the media as a form of cultural violence in the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

"Whatever You Say Say Nothing": Cultural Violence in the Troubles and the Media

"Whatever You Say Say Nothing" is one of the poems that are primarily about contemporary events and recent history and anecdotes in *North* (1975). The poem represents cultural violence experienced in Ireland in relation to the Troubles. In fact, *North* is a collection that focuses on present issues, which are dominated by violence, in Northern Ireland. In his book chapter "Irish Poetry and the News" (2012), Jahan Ramazani points out,

> [t]he bifurcated structure of his [Heaney's] most famous and controversial volume, *North* (1975), embodies poetry's long-running ambivalence toward journalism. The collection divides between a first part, intensely lyric poems that could scarcely be less journalistic, and a second part, poems that openly adapt and engage news rhetoric. (558)

"Whatever You Say Say Nothing" is about the position of the British media and journalists on the sectarian violence in the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The poem underlines the media's problematic approach to the Troubles. Specifically, the poem indicates that the media does not cover violence related to Troubles as it should because the persona indicates that media turns into a space “Where zoom lenses, recorders and coiled leads / Litter the hotels” (5-6). Furthermore, there is a manipulated presentation of violence that does not reflect the communities' sufferings. The poem conveys its message through the persona sharing his observations on the media people

when they talk about the Troubles. The poem has four parts; while the first and third parts focus on the cultural form of violence, the second and the fourth parts are mainly about the physical form of violence readers observe through and by the persona.

Like Heaney's other violence poems, there is an anonymous persona in this poem, too. The poem's title explicitly signals that the problem is the unwillingness to talk about serious issues and ignoring imperative and grave problems. Indeed, the title tells people not to talk about the Troubles openly. It suggests that if one cannot avoid commenting on contemporary social problems, s/he talks in a way that does not touch upon the realities. It can be inferred that this way of talking is a safety mechanism to survive under a violent atmosphere, namely the Troubles in Northern Ireland. In her article “Creative Tensions in the Poetry of Seamus Heaney” (1991) Atfield states, "[in the poem] the strain of constant disruption and personal insecurity is implied even in the title and in the weariness of the tone in the opening lines" (85). Similarly, Grant argues that "[t]he [poem's] title repeats a well known bit of Northern Irish folk wisdom" (49). That is, Heaney borrows the poem's title from his local culture, and choosing the title from the local culture is logical since it deals with the media, which is part of the culture. The poet represents the cultural form of violence by placing the media at the poem's centre.

Concerning the media's position on the Troubles, MacEóin writes, “[t]he British press, dominated by Conservative interests, had long adopted an attitude similar to that of the London Government. It avoided any questioning of Stormont’s decisions” (93). As highlighted by the author, the majority of the media in Britain adopted a position that was in line with the Conservative Party's stance. Considering the media's mission to inform the public about incidents objectively, the British press' attitude resulted in mis-representation and under representation of violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Additionally, MacEóin underlines that the media did not objectively and extensively cover the Troubles even when violent incidents reached a level that could not be ignored by media outlets (93). As suggested by MacEóin, media institutions' attitude to injustices that the Catholic community was suffering was problematic even before the Troubles.

Furthermore, the media did not change its position, which favoured the British government's official position, while Catholics were peacefully expressing their equality demands. Even when the sectarian violence led to the Troubles, the media continued to maintain its policy of turning away from the realities of the conflict. They did not report incidents in detail and did not question the root causes of the sectarian violence.

It is important to indicate that, as this poem suggests, one of the problematic aspects of cultural violence in Northern Ireland is the gap between those who are subjected to violence and those who are perpetrators, responsible, and people outside Northern Ireland. Indeed, media can potentially shape and reshape public opinion by televising or presenting certain events and excluding others. Patrick Hayes and Jim Campbell argue that the media's general approach to the Troubles was to publicise opinions about certain individuals or segments of society that victims could blame (68). The approach in question contributed to maintaining hatred and polarisation in Northern Ireland. MacEóin pays particular attention to the power of TV stations that presented what was happening in Northern Ireland and made these violent incidents and injustices visible at the public level in England and beyond (93). These reports covered peaceful marches and demonstrations in which official security officers and non-state actors interfered. Additionally, O'Brien, in his study of media's function and potential power, *Seamus Heaney Creating Irelands of the Mind* (2002), refers to "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" and notes,

> [b]oth the march [5th of October] and the rioting were filmed, and this drew the attention of the world's media to Belfast, and embarrassed both the unionist power structure and the British government. The presence of the media, a point highlighted in Heaney's discursive "Whatever You Say Say Nothing", in *North*, was of central importance in the bringing this conflict to the attention of the world. (18)

O'Brien reveals how the media acted to perform its function, informing the public, in the early period of the Troubles. Although O'Brien's analysis does not engage with the media dysfunction of representation throughout the Troubles, he also agrees that the British authorities realised the

need to take action to stop the media. In this regard, as MacEóin states, British authorities responded to the media's potential to change public opinion and “[t]he Stormont leaders recognized this, and it made them fear that London would yield to the pressures and take a more active hand in their affairs” (94). As suggested by MacEóin, the public authorities took some measures to control the media. "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" represents the attitude of media people under the control of the state.

As Andrews argues, "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" is a highly political poem and gives its message explicitly (*The Poetry of Seamus Heaney All the Realms of Whisper* 108). Indeed, it is a political poem that deals with Trouble-related violence, particularly in the cultural form. As Tobin suggests, "Heaney turns to a more explicit treatment of his themes without neglecting or losing the amplitude of his symbols. Such explicit treatment of Heaney's particular historical and cultural milieu is powerfully at work in "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing" (136). Kirsty Williams, in her PhD thesis "Structures of Belonging: the Poetry of Seamus Heaney" (2003), draws attention to Heaney's primary concern, and says that the poem underlines the stark difference between what was happening in citizens' daily lives and what was the media presenting to the public during the Troubles (113). The media certainly aimed to form a particular public opinion through its reports on citizens' sufferings, in the form of physical beating or social exclusions that became daily routines, during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Mary P. Brown, in her article, "Seamus Heaney and *North*" (1981), explains how Heaney uses this poem to express his views on the contemporary cultural violence in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, Brown emphasises the poem's language and Heaney's style:

> The language is colloquial, idiomatic, the commentary on the Northern Ireland situation is direct, terse and witty; the rhythm is tight and varied, accommodating political commentary and reflection as well as description, dramatic action and dialogue. Heaney is able to express his sheer exasperation with Northern Ireland in the poem's tones and rhythms as well as his actual examination of hollowness of the

> assertions of people like himself and the overall deceit and the duplicity of Northern Irish consciousness. (296)

Evidently, the poem directly deals with the politicisation of the media in covering the Troubles and how it becomes a tool of cultural violence as it involves censorship and suppression of the truth of the events. In other words, the media becomes an instrument of cultural violence. Even if the media covers violence related to the Troubles, the poem reveals that there is an attempt to underestimate the seriousness of violence in the media. Hence, the representation of the cultural form of violence primarily focuses on the media's position.

The poem begins with the persona who tells what happens "after an encounter / With an English journalist in search of 'views / On the Irish thing'" (1-3). The first three lines provide several details about the poem's subject: a journalist underestimating and minimising Northern Ireland's sufferings and the Troubles. The "English journalist" (2) appears as a figure who tries to learn what is happening in the Troubles; however, the persona clarifies that the journalist is not aware of the gravity of the situation in this respect. Readers understand that there is a difference between the persona and the journalist's perception of the sufferings in Northern Ireland. Indeed, Heaney's representation of the cultural violence underlines the difference between not only the persona and the journalist but also between Northern Ireland and Britain. The fourth line reads, "bad news is no longer news," which explains the context of the conversation between the journalist and the persona. This dialogue is about murders, injuries, beatings, and threats, which became part of daily routines during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The persona gives more details about the attitude of journalists, be they permanent media people, "media-men" (5) or assignment-based reporters, "stringers" (5), to the ongoing violence and injustices in Northern Ireland. While describing these journalists' working style, the persona informs readers that they do not have a sincere approach, they "sniff and point" (5) to the situation in Northern Ireland, so "zoom lenses, recorders and coiled leads / Litter the hotels" (5-7). The journalists do not produce genuine reports to inform the public about the Troubles in Northern Ireland, evidently. What the media produces

results in "litter" (7) instead of reporting the reality. The term "litter" (7) implies a lack of representation and misrepresentation of the social incidents in Northern Ireland. In fact, "Litter" (7) symbolises the cultural form of violence because the media reports turn into useless productions.

The third stanza compares the position of the journalists and politicians to the religious officers. The persona states, "But I incline to as much to rosary beads / As to the jottings and analyses / Of politicians and newspapermen" (8-10). The persona tends to believe in religious officers more than politicians or journalists. In fact, Heaney introduces the religious layer of the sectarian violence in this stanza. Ironically, the persona refers to the religious officers to suggest that religion constitutes the essence of the problem in Northern Ireland. The persona, however, shows no sign of trust in journalists or politicians even though they have been following these events since "the long campaign from gas / And protest to gelignite and stern" (11-12). People were campaigning for their rights and protesting injustices before violence dominated Northern Ireland during the Troubles. McGuire notes that "but the media is not the only object of his [Heaney's] satire. Throughout the first three sections of the poem, a chorus of voices representing a conflicting range of interests and political identities underscores the impotence of public and private utterance in a dire situation where force has replaced constructive dialogue as the usual mode of discourse" (73). As highlighted by McGuire, Heaney represents the cultural form of violence, which is observed in the form of lack of presentation or forming misperceptions about the events of violence in Northern Ireland, in the case of journalists as well as politicians. The persona explicitly indicates different political views on the political and social situation in Northern Ireland. In this respect, the persona refers to some terms to describe the reporters,

> Who proved upon their pulses ‘escalate2,
>
> ‘Backlash’ and ‘crackdown,’ “the provisional wing,”
>
> ‘Polarization’ and ‘long-standing hate’.

Yet I live here, I live here, too, I sing. (13-15)

In the fourth stanza, the persona elaborates his criticism of the media, which neglected, if not ignored, its problematic position towards the social problems in Northern Ireland. In the abovementioned stanza, the persona underlines certain terms such as “escalate” (13), “Backlash” (14), ‘crackdown’ (14), “the provisional wing” (14), “Polarization” (15), and “long standing hate” that determine these journalists’ position about the Troubles in Northern Ireland. These highlighted terms indicate that the media used certain terms to cover the social problems that worsened the Troubles without covering the social problems in detail. At the end of the stanza, the persona gives a clear message to the journalist, who seems to learn more about his views on the ongoing violent atmosphere in Northern Ireland and says, "Yet I live here, I live here too, I sing," (16). The persona underlines one obvious fact that he knows much better than the journalist for his first-hand experiences in Northern Ireland. Actually, it is highly possible that the journalist is biased and there would be no comprehensive and true report, the persona still tries to prompt him to give the right message: “Yet I live here” (16). Conor Carville comments on the persona's attitude in question and states, “[a]fter listing several media clichés and euphemisms for the ongoing political and sectarian violence which forms the poem's backdrop, the close of stanza four switches to a more romantic mode: ‘and yet I live here, I live here too, I sing’” (577). The persona, Carville argues, still maintains a mode that gives a message to the journalist. The persona underlines a sound fact: he lives in Northern Ireland, no matter how the media covers the problems. Highlighting this fact serves as a counterargument to the media's manipulated reports on the sectarian violence in Northern Ireland.

Similarly, the following stanza describes these media people, who skilfully use words, as "Expertly civil tongued" (17) in their reports. However, the persona draws readers' attention to the essence of their activity, which relies on "Sucking the fake taste, the stony flavours / Of those sanctioned, old, elaborate retorts" (19-20). Clearly, there is a profound contradiction between the media people’s appearance and current work concerning the Troubles:

‘Oh, it’s disgraceful, surely, I agree,’

‘Where’s it going to end?’ ‘It is getting worse.2

‘They’re murderers.’ ‘Internment, understandably…’

The ‘voice of sanity’ is getting hoarse. (21-24)

Thus, the first section’s final stanza shares some statements, most probably the media’s headlines, to reveal the media’s approach to the Troubles. The media reflects its views in these headlines, so “Interment” (23) becomes an understandable practice. Concerning the internment in Northern Ireland, Floyd Green Collins notes, “[i]ntroduced in August 1971 to stem I.R.A. harassment of British forces, internment without trial merely heightened the intensity of the conflict…” (105). As pointed out by Collins, internment means extrajudicial detention of citizens in Northern Ireland. On the other hand, the persona indicates that journalists tend to accept it since the media says, “They are murderers” (23). Similarly, journalists do not hide their attitude to the Troubles, and the Troubles deform their highly civilised manner. They cannot maintain a civil tone in their speech as the persona says, “The ‘voice of sanity’ is getting hoarse” (24). Heaney's representation of the cultural form of violence reveals how these journalists lose their control and begin talking angrily about violent incidents and certain segments of the society rather than producing objective and high-quality reports to cover the suffering in society. Line 24 also indicates that there is no sense of equality, which is why “The ‘voice of sanity’” gets angry. In fact, Heaney's representation underlines this inequality in Northern Ireland. The first part of the poem ends with this clear picture.

As indicated above, the poem's second part focuses on the physical form of violence. In the third stanza, the persona continues to comment on the cultural sphere, the position of the media, and its problematic presentation of violence during the Troubles. For example, the first quote, "Religion's never mentioned here, of course" (53), highlights the root cause of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The Trouble is about religious affiliation, an element of cultural identity. Thus,

the persona refers to this problem, which explicitly indicates that citizens did not feel safe to talk about their beliefs as well as the sectarian-led violence in their daily lives. Heaney chooses an expression to underline the origin of the problem by underlining that no one wanted to talk about the differences during the Troubles. As expressed in the Introduction, religious identity, whether one was Catholic or Protestant, was the primary factor of sectarian violence in Northern Ireland. Similarly, the persona's statement, "You know them by their eyes" (54), points to the media's problematic representation of the Troubles. It reveals the media's problematic approach to the Troubles. The media does not report the cases objectively but tends to generalise or stereotype them. Similarly, "hold your tongue" (54) represents the cultural form of violence by indicating that one should not talk about the Troubles and its consequences or violent practices in Northern Ireland.

It seems that the media's position is relative to the dominant, violent atmosphere resulting in shrinking Northern Ireland's space. The Troubles changed the culture because people did not want to discuss their problems. In this respect, "The famous / Northern reticence, the tight gag of place" (60-61) reveals not only the main characteristic of the media, which is part of the society but the attitude of the people in Northern Ireland. As the persona stresses, Northern Ireland became a place of absolute silence because "Of the 'wee six' I sing / Where to be saved you only must save face / And whatever you say, you say nothing." (62-64). The persona states that due to the Troubles, Northern Ireland became a place where people could not express their views. The violent atmosphere, created particularly by bombings, shootings, and murders, was not in favour of free speech. Accordingly, it is "(…) the tight gag of place" (62) that dominates. A gag is an instrument to keep people silent. A gag is like a harness that people use to control a horse. The culture of silence is indeed produced by the culture of violence. People have to adopt a poker face in their daily lives, "you only must save face" (63). As stated above, "whatever you say, you say nothing" is a saying in Ireland and implies that one should not openly discuss delicate issues. Whenever possible, one should stay away from talking about such topics in conversations. If it is

not possible, the conversation's tone and meaning should not hint at any position. This line highlights that cultural violence was an integral part of life and culture as the Troubles' violent atmosphere deterred people from freely expressing their opinions. Heaney the poet desires a society where people can talk without fear of retribution, of course. As M. Reza Ghorbanian notes, this line manifests the prevailing communitarian, political and religious discourses in Northern Ireland (120).

On the other hand, some people were freely asking people inquisitive questions. "Manoeuvrings to find out name and school, / Subtle discrimination by addresses" (68-69) refer to the attempts to profile citizens based on their educational background or residence. In this form of cultural violence, the religious affiliation, which is the primary denominator, would be used to subject people to discrimination based on their religious identity. In fact, there was segregation based on people's religious identity in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. In this respect, Ian Shuttleworth et al. argue that "the onset of The Troubles saw large-scale communal violence, with residents being forced to flee from areas where they were in the minority, thereby increasing segregation" (3). As this quote underlines, people moved to neighbourhoods where they could feel safe. They aimed to protect themselves from any violence, in the form of discrimination, by moving to areas where people from the same religious sect lived. Furthermore, the persona tells readers that to protect themselves from violence, citizens developed other types of communication, such as "handgrip, wink and nod" (71) rather than talking to each other to protect themselves from violence. They replaced conversation with gestures to decipher "O land of password" (71) in Northern Ireland. Thus, cultural violence forces people to develop other forms of communication other than talking. These practices indicate that the media's problematic approach to contemporary issues transformed the culture in Northern Ireland into a culture of violence.

In conclusion, Heaney represents the media's position on the Troubles, namely reflecting the official policies as a form of cultural violence in "Whatever You Say Say Nothing." In this respect,

Coleen Grace Comerford-Nilsen states, “[t]he poem shows how easily talk of the Troubles lapses into empty cliché” (40). As discussed above, the media's position was not free from the official policies. The poem is about how the Troubles' violent atmosphere created a culture of silence. Furthermore, the media’s position forced people not to express their honest opinions about contemporary social issues. Additionally, “Whatever You Say Say Nothing” highlights that there were not only *de facto* borders that divided the two communities in Northern Ireland but also cultural borders in the communities' minds. As Russell notes, “Heaney, too, has recognized such a space in his divided society, and he writes of it in poems from North such as ‘Whatever You Say Say Nothing,’ a lyric that attempts to speak truth into tired clichés but does not fully succeed” (*Seamus Heaney’s Regions* 165). Heaney referred to various cliché statements that kept the communities from each other. There was no active and meaningful dialogue between the communities during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Lack of dialogue or no engagement with the other side of the society deepened the gap in Northern Ireland. The only way to fill the gap was to get to know each other and become familiar with each other. Caleb Caldwell reflects on the attitude to injustices that people from the other community suffer from and suggests, “[s]ilence of various weights presses against speech, but the poems of Heaney's *North* acknowledge that if we refuse to engage with or witness for the dead other, we also exclude his or her otherness from ourselves and hence prevent any transformative interaction with the other” (111). Caldwell questions how one should react to violence against people whom he does not know. Before answering, Caldwell underlines the transformative potential, like the media's function, of familiarisation and interaction with people from the other side of society. The more people learn about violence and injustices, the better community relations will be. Heaney's representation of the cultural form of violence practiced by and through the media contributes to efforts to fill the gap. The next section will focus on how violence is observed in the form of a cultural practice, specifically a funeral, in the poem "Funeral Rites."

"Funeral Rites": Funerals and Cultural Violence During the Troubles

"Funeral Rites" is a poem from *North* (1975) that tells readers how sectarian violence prevents communities from observing and conducting a proper ceremony because of polarisation during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. As a collection published in 1975, *North* examines the sectarian violence in Northern Ireland. Andrews states that "there is an elaborate development of this strategy of setting ancient situations, perceived with freshness and immediacy and with a sensitivity to their disturbing and awe-inspiring mystery, against contemporary situations" (12) in *North*. As highlighted by Andrews, in *North,* Heaney represents the contemporary violence exerted by the parties, the British Government or the IRA, as well as other paramilitary groups, during the Troubles with references to various incidents from the past. Pellegrino suggests that Heaney's poetry, including *North,* deals with deaths, some of whom Heaney knew, from his contemporary period and the past (111). Similarly, Hart reviews *North* and its main themes and states, "[d]eath, sex, and a gruesome fusion of the two find a new and startling expression in Seamus Heaney's *North*. Heaney descends into history's mire, but with the purpose of offering up the dead to be judged for their deeds and the deeds done against them" (387). Hart asserts that Heaney's poems explore death in *North*. John Hildebidle argues that *North* explores Ireland's political history, which is marked by the colonisation by the English (393). As seen, this collection represents the cultural form of violence through deaths caused by the predominant violence, history and politics.

"Funeral Rites" is occasioned by a common burial ceremony in Heaney's community. The title itself refers to a cultural practice. The poem, in fact, represents the sectarian violence in Ireland as a form of cultural violence by focusing on a contemporary funeral ceremony with reference to a rite from the past. Like other poems representing the physical and structural forms of violence, to represent the cultural form of violence in this poem, Heaney relies on an unnamed persona. The poem demonstrates that there were mass killings, and the people were not allowed to observe a proper funeral because of the violence exerted. To make victims and their suffering visible in the community, Heaney focuses on the function of funeral rites in his community. Regarding the

poem's structure, Marklew notes, "Funeral Rites is a tripartite poem . . . [and] deals in the first section with childhood memories of "dead relations" (3) before moving into the present-day violence of the Troubles in the second part" (27). The third section returns to the past to make connections between contemporary incidents of violence and similar violent acts from earlier ages. In this respect, Russell notes that "Funeral Rites" can be read as an exploration into and rejection of the utter unhealthiness of funeral customs past and present, despite their promise to placate violence" (*Seamus Heaney's Regions* 147). Similarly, Collins suggests that "in "Funeral Rites," Heaney expresses a fervent desire to transcend the constant sectarian strife that has so dramatically defined his own personal identity and that of his culture" (88). According to Campbell, "in 'Funeral Rites', Seamus Heaney imagined a funeral procession of those who had died in the Northern Irish' Troubles' of the late twentieth century, travelling through a landscape marked by Viking and British invasions to Newgrange" (6).

The poem opens with a direct funeral scene: "I shouldered a kind of manhood / steeping in to lift the coffins / of dead relations" (1-3). The persona shares some personal opinions about attending a funeral ceremony of a relative and carrying the coffin. These lines imply that the persona attended more than one funeral ceremony since s/he carried "coffins / of dead relations" (3). The persona is almost an experienced participant in such ceremonies. Attending more than one ceremony also suggests that these ceremonies are frequent and significant for the persona. In this respect, as Pellegrino argues,

> Heaney presents a new-found personal discovery: it is through a relationship with death, with dead bodies, that he may move from innocence to maturity. His sharp observation of the minute details in this scene demonstrates how important this passage is to him. The act of lifting a coffin creates the burden of mortality and physical decay. The responsibility of carrying a dead relative is a rite of passage to the world where responsibility for death (especially in the context of this civil war) is shared by all who fight and all who turn a blind eye toward the fighting. (126)

The poet conveys that no one should give a cold shoulder to someone who passes away. In his article "The Funeral Customs of Ireland" (1991), James Mooney suggests that a common characteristic of religions is believing in the other world or a future life, and funeral ceremonies are an essential part of this belief (244). Moreover, Paul Gaide stresses the importance of funeral rites He states, “[t]he celebration of the funeral rites is a task given to all the baptized” (151) in other words, to Christians who observe such rituals. To represent the cultural form of violence, Heaney underlines the meaning and value of respecting dead relatives in these lines. In fact, Gaide refers to the cultural element when he uses the term “baptized” (151) and underlines that it is a cultural task to be performed by everyone in the society. Considering the fact that there was no inclusive funeral ceremony, Gaide’s point becomes more relevant in terms of cultural violence. Following these lines, the persona begins depicting undesirable "rooms" (5) where these corpses “had been laid out” (4). Additionally, there is a detailed description of the physical conditions of corpses with “eyelids glistening” (6) and “their dough-white hands / shackled in rosary beads” (7-8). The persona respects the dead people in the room and says, “I knelt courteously / admiring it all” (15-16). These lines emphasise the necessary attitude to dead people. The persona completes this section by stating how the ceremony ends: “the black glacier / of each funeral / pushed away” (29-31). It is certain that the persona does not mean that everyone should observe this ceremony. On the other hand, these lines provide details about a proper Irish funeral ceremony.

It is in the second part of the poem that “Funeral Rites” moves to the killings connected with the Troubles. The poem's second section has a striking beginning, in this sense: "Now as news comes in / of each neighbourly murder / we pine for ceremony, / customary rhythms:" (32-36). The persona draws readers' attention to the high level of violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. There is a change in the tone of the poem as well as in the pronouns from "I" (1) to "we" (35). Heaney moves from an individual to a community perspective, and also adopts a more serious tone to represent the cultural form of violence in this section. This change implies that,

unlike the first section, which deals with funerals at the personal level, the persona talks about a collective problem now. Accordingly, the poem reveals that there are numerous killings resulting from the sectarian violence in the contemporary time. The persona clarifies that these are murders in the same neighbourhood. Furthermore, the persona informs readers that these victims are deprived of a proper funeral ceremony: "we pine for ceremony, / customary rhythms" (35-36). Or, that they attribute importance to funerals as much as they do for life. Hayes and Campbell discuss the family members' reaction to the news about losing family members related to the violence during the Troubles in their book *Bloody Sunday Trauma, Pain and Politics* (2005). Their study underlines that each family member reacted to the news differently. Hayes and Campbell indicate, “Some Bloody Sunday family members kept 'getting up their hopes', but for most, complete chaos ensued when they heard the news” (75). As one can imagine, learning about the loss of a family member is not easy, even if it is a reality in the world. Thus, losing a family member because of the Troubles increased the level of shock for relatives. Heaney gives the essence of the poem in this quatrain since he makes it clear that there are numerous killings resulting from the Troubles. In this respect, Whelan writes,

> [i]n ‘Funeral Rites’, the poet argues that all this violence must be converted into a ritual: you could not live then in Northern Ireland without becoming a connoisseur of funerals. … Heaney is not considering an individual death, but a generic death - multiple deaths that are consolidated under one aegis. We know that these are the coffins of dead relations, that this is a ritual that has been repeated endlessly, and the poem wants that seepage of ritual repetition to enter into the reader's sensibility. (278)

As Whelan asserts, funerals became an essential element of culture in Northern Ireland since more than three thousand people were killed by the parties to the Troubles, leading to continuous violence, to some extent a vicious circle, in Northern Ireland. Hence, Heaney presents the endless repetition of the funerals as cultural violence in “Funeral Rites.” Heaney states, “[w]e live in

sickly light of TV screens, with a pane of selfishness between ourselves and the suffering. We survive explosions and funerals and live on among the families of the victims, those blown apart and those in cells apart" (30). The Troubles created an unsafe atmosphere so that citizens were worried about their family members and relatives in Northern Ireland. Organising a ceremony for those who lost their lives serves to alleviate the pain of losing family members. Regarding the function of such ceremonies, Michael Robert Moline states that the persona of "Funeral Rites" approaches such ceremonies from a cultural perspective and considers them a sort of baptism (140), a necessary process to be accepted by the community. Accordingly, those who were killed by either the army or armed and paramilitary groups needed to pass a process to be cleaned and purified before they entered the other world. The persona explains what s/he means with "customary rhythms" and elaborates, "the temperate footsteps / of a cortége, winding past / each blinded home" (37-39). These dead people only needed a group that attended their ceremonies and acted under the code of behaviours, e.g., a slow march to the cemetery. There was also an expectation from the communities to show respect to dead people and their relatives. However, Heaney shows that the community was not attentive to such rites and did not act accordingly. Regarding the lack of respect from the communities, Tobin states that these cultural ceremonies incite and maintain the conflict between the communities (133). Furthermore, "[f]rom the time of origins such rites and customs have been implicated in the tribal mentality that leads to reciprocal violence. Thus, the homes of Heaney's neighbours are 'blinded' by more than window shades. They are blinded by the rhythms that bind them to the shades of the murdered dead" (Tobin 133). As Tobin argues, there was no possibility of cultural harmony between the communities because of the violence and the lives lost. On the contrary, such cultural practices, "the funeral rites" maintained the polarisation in the society. Heaney thus represents the violence provoked further by the funerals in the divided relations of the communities in Northern Ireland.

After describing the current polarisation in society, the persona moves back to the personal level by adopting the first-person pronoun. "I would restore / the great chamber of Boyne, / prepare a

sepulchre / under cupmarked stones" (40-43). These lines inform readers about the persona's dream of an inclusive funeral ceremony in the historical side of "Boyne" (40). Regarding this dream, in his article "Seamus Heaney and the Modern Irish Elegy" (2007), Stephen Regan emphasises the pre-historic quality of Boyne as a funeral site (15). Boyne as the place of funeral setting from the past enables the persona to think and talk about a ceremony that no one remains indifferent to. Furthermore, as Atfield states,

> [r]ather than the Protestant connotations of the Boyne valley linked with King William and the Orangemen, or any Catholic denunciation of that connection, Heaney refers to the pre-historic burial chambers discovered in the valley; his strategy here in response to the burden of history is to delve below it, to reach back into a previous era and link with the resting places in depths of the earth, the womb and tomb of mankind. (‘The End of Art is Peace’ 138)

Andrews comments similarly on the setting and states that the funeral scene from the past refers to a period in which there was no Protestant supremacy. (105). Similarly, Parker draws attention to the symbolic meaning of Heaney's choice of setting. He indicates that the setting is not coincidental, reminding people of the past when both communities attended these funerals together (131). The common point of these arguments relies on the symbolic meaning of the setting of the funeral as a cultural ceremony. This setting gives Heaney a favourable atmosphere where he could present a cultural ceremony before the sectarian violence of the Troubles led to polarisation in the society. While Heaney's representation of the cultural form of violence focuses on barriers between the Catholic and Protestant communities, even on the occasion of a funeral ceremony, Heaney's choice of a historical setting points to the contrary. Thus, Heaney conveys the idea that the communities did not suffer from polarisation throughout history, but it was a phenomenon in contemporary Northern Ireland. From this point onwards, the persona elaborates on the imaginary funeral rite in this historical scene. This is an inclusive ceremony so that "the whole country tunes / to the muffled drumming / of ten thousand engines" (47-49). There are

thousands of people in this imagined ceremony, as could be the case of any ideal funeral. Also, the whole society observes the mourning and respects dead person. The persona continues to share the profile of participants in this funeral. In contrast to the reality of "each blinded home" (39), there are women participants in this ceremony: "Somnambulant women, left behind, move through emptied kitchen" (50-52). The persona defines this imagined funeral with one dominant quality: one that is open to everyone and includes everyone.

However, the poem's last section focuses on the violence against the figures from the past. The persona knows that communal violence is not new to Northern Ireland. There were people subjected to violence and lost their lives in the history of Ireland. In this respect, the persona says,

> imagining those under the hill,
>
> disposed like Gunnar
>
> who lay beautiful
>
> inside his burial mound,
>
> though dead by violence
>
> and unavenged. (68-73)

Gunnar is one of these figures who was violently murdered, but no revenge was taken. Regan suggests that “[a]s a further instance of reconciliation, it [the poem] recalls the Icelandic saga in which Gunnar is violently killed but ‘unavenged’” (15). According to Regan, the persona remembers Gunnar to find harmony from the past since there was no revenge following this murder. Tobin highlights that “the figure of Gunnar thus functions as a kind of dynamic, psychic node? in which all of the strains of Heaney's cultural past, as well as the legacy of human violence, come together” (134). As Tobin argues, as a figure with qualities of culture from the past and human violence, Gunnar alleviates the sufferings in contemporary Northern Ireland and reminds people that there were periods without violence in the past. Hence, the persona completes the

imagined funeral ceremony with a clear message that despite the violent murders, it is possible to make peace and end the cultural violence suffered in Ireland.

To conclude, "Funeral Rites" underlines the significance of observing a proper funeral for people who pass away and considers the Troubles deterring fulfilling this responsibility as cultural violence. Mary P. Brown, in her article "Seamus Heaney and *North*" (1981), argues that Heaney wants the archaeological and mythological material “to provide more than parallels and continuities. He expects it to settle issues of right and wrong; to enable the uncertain, equivocating poet to decide what side to come down on; and even in ‘Funeral Rites’ to settle the whole conflict” (297). As highlighted by Brown, Heaney uses cultural elements including history, mourning and funeral ceremonies, to represent the cultural form of violence dominant in Northern Ireland.

As demonstrated by these three poems, “Traditions”, “Whatever You Say Say Nothing”, and “Funeral Rites”, Heaney's representation of cultural violence deals with how the violence of the Troubles affected the cultural relations and practices in Northern Ireland. For example, the Troubles created an atmosphere where one's language is distorted and forgotten, as in “Traditions”. Similarly, “Whatever You Say Say Nothing” demonstrates how the media serves misperceptions and prejudices about the violence generated by the clashing parties. Consequently, the last poem, “Funeral Rites”, demonstrates that people from different communities did not come together even on the occasion of a funeral, and traditional cultural ceremonies bringing people together are no longer observed because of sectarian violence.

CONCLUSION

As discussed in the Introduction, Chapter I, and Chapter II in detail, Heaney's Troubles Poetry presents the violent experiences of people from the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland. Heaney, in a way, suggests through his poetry of violence that, as Arendt states, "the practice of violence, like all action, changes the world, but the most probable change is to a more violent world" (80). As a poet who lived and produced during the Troubles in Northern Ireland, Heaney considered it important to represent the violent experiences, practices, and responses of the people of Northern Ireland and the British forces in Northern Ireland. In this context, his Troubles Poetry identifies three forms of violence, namely physical, structural and cultural violence in the Troubles, and represents these forms of violence in his poems examined in this thesis.

Heaney presents cases of physical violence in poems "Limbo" from *Wintering Out* (1972), "The Grauballe Man," "Punishment," and "Summer 1969" from *North* (1975), and "Casualty" from *Field Work* (1979). Each of these poems shows different physical violent acts: infanticide, torturing a girl and an adult man, the inescapability of violence even in a distant place, and bombing a pub that results in the death of an unemployed worker. The poems indicate the diversified violent acts which targeted primarily individuals to create a sense of fear at the community level. This Chapter also argues that perpetrators exert violence on specific segments of the communities. For example, "Limbo" draws attention to violence against children, while "Punishment" and "The Grauballe Man" draw attention to torturing acts that target girls and adult men. Moreover, violence was dominant and haunted people no matter where they were, as seen in "Summer 1969". Similarly, these violent practices were so prevalent that no citizens were safe even if they were not engaged in the Troubles. In this respect, the poem "Casualty" demonstrates how an ordinary citizen who had no interest in the Troubles lost his life as a result of a bombing act in Northern Ireland. Heaney's representation of three forms of violence, namely physical,

structural, and cultural violence, observed during the Troubles, a period marked by high violence in Northern Ireland from 1968 to 1998, draws attention to the dominant elements and factors of violence during the Troubles. His poetry demonstrates, for instance, that both for the Catholics and Protestants, there was no possibility of escape from violence. The perpetrators of violence also belonged to both communities: the British Army and the IRA were the main actors causing violence.

Heaney's poetry of structural and cultural violence is composed of "For the Commander of the Eliza" from *Death of a Naturalist (1966),* "Requiem for the Croppies" from *Door into the Dark (1969),* "The Toome Road" from *Field Work (1979),* "From the Frontier of Writing" from *The Haw Lantern (1987),* "Traditions" from *Wintering Out (1972),* "Funeral Rites", and "Whatever You Say Say Nothing" from *North (1975).* While the first four poems can be categorised under the structural forms of violence, the last three poems deal with the cultural forms of violence. In fact, these poems show that Ireland, and later Northern Ireland, suffered from violence because of the unjust policies and practices, i.e., the structural forms of violence exercised by the British Empire to the extent that the conflicting parties acted to maintain visible violence in public life. As a form of cultural violence, media was employed for political propaganda and used to create misperceptions about the Troubles. One of the primary means of state propaganda was developing a one-sided narrative and discourse of the Troubles. Heaney's poetry of violence that represents physical, structural, and cultural violence is functional to highlight that the policies and actions that led to violence were not impossible to prevent. On the contrary, the conflict was avoidable in Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland suffered from violence resulting mainly from human-made policies and practices.

Accordingly, this thesis foregrounds that Heaney's poetry treats the Troubles in relation to the three forms of violence it generated and perpetuated. Heaney explores the impact of these forms of violence on the victims. His poems on violence against children in "Limbo"; gender-based violence against women, specifically the young Irish girls, in "Punishment"; ordinary citizens in

"Casualty" and "From the Frontier of Writing"; and the inescapability of violence in "Summer 1969", in settings ranging from the contemporary to earlier centuries, show how widespread violence was in Northern Ireland. It is seen that Heaney uses the past to represent the present-day violent practices and attitudes in the poems "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'", "The Grauballe Man", "Toome Road", and "Funeral Rites", for instance. On the other hand, "Casualty", "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing", "Summer 1969", and "Limbo" use contemporary violent events to represent the violence dominant during the Troubles. In addition to the victims' diversified profile and settings, Heaney also represents violence through individual cases in "Limbo", "Punishment", "Casualty", "From the Frontier of Writing", and "The Grauballe Man", as well as from a collective victimhood perspective as observed in "Summer 1969", "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'", "Requiem for the Croppies", "Toome Road", "Traditions", "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing", and "Funeral Rites." Moreover, "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing", "Toome Road," "Funeral Rites," and "For the Commander of the 'Eliza'" show, there was almost no meaningful and constructive dialogue between Catholics and Protestants and this lack of communication deepened the gap and led to more violence on both sides.

Heaney's poems on violence enable readers and audiences to take a journey in the violent background of the Troubles, and suggest that the three forms of violence can be identified and observed throughout the Troubles. In other words, Heaney's Troubles Poetry provides a complete picture of the Troubles in terms of victimhood and settings and reveals that violence can never help to solve the problems experienced in Northern Ireland, but it destroys all. In this respect, it can be concluded that Heaney's poems represent violence and the Troubles in a wide spectrum. Hence, the selected poems by Heaney present physical, structural, and cultural forms of violence, showing that all phases and aspects of life were full of violence during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Accordingly, these poems describe the full cycle of violence, from the cradle ("Limbo") to the grave ("Funeral Rites") during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The selected poems demonstrate that Heaney's Troubles Poetry cover three forms of violence to deal with various

violence practices and policies that affected the whole society during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. In this respect, the formulation of from cradle to the grave highlights the magnitude of violence related to the Troubles in Northen Ireland. As stated, Heaney's poetry of violence concerning the Troubles maintains a neutral standpoint, as highlighted in chapters I and II, the victims of violence in his poems are anonymous victims who enable Heaney to maintain an objective and neutral position on the Troubles. Using unnamed victims allows Heaney to focus primarily on the violence performed in incidents in these poems. In fact, this is one of the peculiar characteristics and strengths of Heaney's violence poems. As stated, another added value of Heaney's representation of violence resulting from the Troubles is, clearly, makes invisible individual victims, who were part of various segments of the society, visible at the public level and beyond. Perpetrators aimed to silence these segments of the society and make them invisible through their visible violent acts and policies. In this respect, "Limbo" sends a message to infants, children and their parents. "Punishment" makes teenager girls visible. Moreover, "The Grauballe Man," "Casualty," "From the Frontier of Writing" refer to adult men from different backgrounds. All forms of violence have a potential risk of silencing people's voices. To achieve their goals, perpetrators exert physical violence, implement structural policies, and target cultural elements as the conflicting parties did during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. These perpetrators also heavily promote and publicise their activities. However, Heaney's Troubles Poetry goes beyond one-sided propaganda and demonstrates the stories underlying the exerted violence by developing other forms of narratives. Heaney's poems take readers to a higher level than the dichotomous discourses. While violence consolidates monolithic discourse, Seamus Heaney's Troubles Poetry demonstrates an alternative to this propaganda. Heaney represents that there are three forms of violence to highlight the fact that all forms of violence are destructive, and the suffering caused by violence goes far beyond what the conflicting parties' propaganda reveals.

The representation of three forms of violence also counters the dehumanising effect of violence during the Troubles. Heaney's Troubles Poetry shows that victims are more important than

statistics and have a story. The representation of three forms of violence in the selected poems draws readers' attention to the stories of an infant, a teenage girl, an ordinary citizen, and a driver. These poems argue that violence is the root cause of destroying these victims' lives. As Kevin Whelan argues, Heaney's Troubles Poetry is highly functional in contributing to the healing of the wounds caused by violence:

> Violence surges into Heaney's poetry as painful, disruptive and wounding divisions, for which his poetry is applied as a healing ointment. If Heaney's poetry has one supreme action within it, it is healing. The poet takes something shot, knifed, torn, divided, whose wound is still leaking and bleeding, and his poetry acts as a salve, a bandage, a suture that will mend that which has been torn, not so much to make it whole again but so as to reduce the pain, to make the wound capable of being borne. (278)

This thesis concludes that Heaney identifies the Troubles as a period of violence and represents three forms of violence, physical, structural, and cultural, exercised and suffered as part of the Troubles in his poetry. Heaney's Troubles poetry contributes to readers' understanding of violence and suffering, which were common, in the Troubles in a better way. Such contributions certainly are what a genuine and powerful poem can and should make.

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